

The Profession

On Being a Department Chair

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Just as Harry Truman advised public officials who wanted to be loved to buy a dog, so faculty members who wish to be rewarded for their service as department chairs should buy savings bonds if they want a sure return. It is wiser to assume that the rewards, if any, are to be found in the next world. When you, as chair, start feeling that you are under-appreciated, that you give so much yet get so little, it is time to quit. At an institution that values scholarship, the best you can hope for is for your colleagues to wait a few months before being asked, evermore insistently, "But what have you done lately?"

What should a departmental chair do? Why, he (or she) should serve the departmental interest. In the following section I shall try to add content to that elusive but nevertheless indispensable concept. Then I shall delineate some of the ways in which the departmental interest may be manifested in ordinary administration, political administration, and super-crisis.

The Departmental Interest

The departmental interest requires that faculty members not look at the chairmanship as something to be sought but rather as a duty to be endured. Were the chairmanship a desired objective, numerous evils would follow. Politicking would become more important than innovating, administration (where experience would count toward a chairmanship) more important than scholarship. If a chair is so all-fired wonderful, scholarship that leads to publication and teaching can't be so important. This decline in the impor-

tance of scholarship would be reinforced because, on average, as administration became an avenue of advancement, chairs would be less capable scholars. Whereas in the arts or sports less capable artists or players may make splendid critics or managers, the same is not true for scholarship. Among scholars, my strong impression is that "it takes one to know one."

If it is not scholarship nor monetary reward that matters (chairmanships typically bringing in only a few thousand more a year, discounted by lack of time to engage in other money-making pursuits, such as consulting or summer teaching), what does? Exercising power. How? By intruding the chairmanship into all sorts of matters once considered routine. Department members may gradually come to believe that they owe what they get to this seemingly indispensable intermediary. An indirect way of accomplishing the same thing is to intrude the higher reaches of the university bureaucracy into department affairs. All of a sudden, the deans or provosts or vice chancellors are in on everything. Nothing apparently can be done without them. Instead of the intellectual exploits of its faculty and students, department stories now revolve around the idiosyncrasies of provost X or dean Y who, one is assured, is on the department's side or would be so inclined were it not for a mysterious factor that can be guessed at but not known except (you guessed it) for the good offices of our indispensable intermediary, the department chair.

As a result of these machinations, that essential quality, the department interest, gets lost from departmental deliberations. Now that the depart-

ment has been reduced to a cog in campus-wide plans, always assumed to be operative but actually enveloped in fog, there is no place for what, through curriculum and personnel changes, should be the strengthening of shared norms around what constitutes excellence. Moreover, there is an unfortunate displacement of roles. Higher administrators need to understand what each department wants in view of its own conception of its interests. Instead it gets a sense of what the chair thinks the dean or provost wants. Thus even the higher level administrators are deprived of information on preferences essential to their tasks.

For department chairs to pursue the departmental interest they must know what that is and expound it to their colleagues. As always, rhetoric matters, especially if it is accompanied by congruent actions. To the extent that such a collective interest has not yet been discovered or articulated, it is the chair's task to do so. The most important departmental interest is a shared sense of excellence in research and teaching. Easier said than done, nurturing that sense of common purpose in general declarations, though that might create more trouble than it would get rid of, is the least of it. Discussions with colleagues, first privately at length, and several times, if necessary, about appointments and promotions and the admission, retention, and placement of students, are the way to create (or make explicit the existence of) shared understandings about the quality and quantity of scholarly work required of faculty and students. Case law becomes common law to be acknowledged as a departmental standard that can be

invoked against more partial interests, such as personal friendship or subfield preference or trades among fields so each can get its preferred candidate. It matters that members evoke a departmental interest even if there are differences over what it signifies in a particular instance.

A departmental interest includes staff and students as well as faculty. Indeed, because faculty have higher status and are in a position of some power in regard to students, the chair should be alert to prospects of abuse. Of course, it works both ways. The protections now given staff through union agreements and administrative arrangements make it difficult to dismiss anyone, even when their performance is awful. The record keeping burden alone is substantial. Yet one or two employees who either do not work or do poor work can demoralize an entire department. By the same token, a chair wants to show appreciation for good work and take account of employee problems. In large departments there may be an administrative assistant or an associate chair who is in the first line of supervision in regard to staff. Then these tasks may be delegated. However, I would not feel satisfied without at least a conversation a semester with each and every staff member. Heading off problems, as we all know, is a lot easier than solving them.

Since the right of chairs to talk to faculty is one of their most important assets, using that right to help colleagues, without any other matter at stake, helps build a reservoir of support that extends to other things.

I am not one of those who believes that people who spend a lifetime in a field without writing about it for their colleagues are likely to be superior teachers. Quite the contrary; those who know the most are, on average, in my experience, the best teachers. But some are not. The first thing a chair needs to do is find out about teaching. Fortunately, there are more systematic efforts to collect student appraisals than existed when I was a chair in the 1960s. These should not merely be collected but looked at and, if necessary, discussed with the professor. A chair may have developed some ideas about how to improve teaching, no doubt all of

them, as in my experience, labor intensive. Or colleagues the chair knows who care about and are good at teaching may be put in touch with one who is less able in this respect, all, of course, with mutual consent. And there are now services on campus aiming at helping individuals improve their teaching. These tutoring and learning services for students are extremely valuable but are often ignored as they are not part of the academic structure. A little effort at communication, so professors know who to call about what, helps a lot. I like to give students a specific name and phone number to call rather than a general admonition to seek help.

The requirement that teaching

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appraisals be included in discussions of promotions and merit increases is a good one. When teaching performance is poor and remedial efforts fail, the individual may still be valuable to the institution for administrative skills or extraordinary scholarship. If that is so, the chair should talk with deans or provosts as well as the individual involved and arrange a schedule, kinder to students, that will enable the professor to do more of what he is good at and less of what is painful for others. Should there be insufficient offsetting virtues, I would not approve tenure or promotion or a merit increase. (Correspondingly, the occasional colleague whose scholarship is a bit lacking, good perhaps but not quite good enough, should be supported for tenure and promotion if that colleague has extraordinary teaching ability. Good institutions are known in part by their flexibility.)

The general rule must be that students matter greatly and therefore that teaching matters. I confess to still liking it. But I have come to realize that some faculty, especially

as they grow older, no longer like to teach undergraduates and some do not like to teach at all. These cases have to be dealt with on an individual basis, largely, I think, by creating other ways in which faculty can contribute to the common weal. A chair should be especially sensitive to colleagues who have been administrators or who have had positions that give them, say, a couple of years leave or a number of years at half-time, because, after such experience, it becomes difficult for some professors to imagine themselves going through the teaching cycle, whether it is lectures or grading papers or advising. These professors have to be gently but firmly reminded that teaching is their responsibility.

Recall the admonition against expecting rewards. Following one of the precepts outlined above, I interviewed a distinguished elderly colleague during my first few weeks and got very little from him except a pervasive dissatisfaction, one might even say alienation from the department. Looking back over his records, I discovered that he was eligible for and should probably have received a number of salary increases. After consulting with the dean, who heartily agreed, we figured that about a \$6,000 increase would set things straight (multiply at least by three to get the current value), and he took the matter to the Budget Committee, the Berkeley Faculty personnel committee. I called professor X in, told him that in view of his distinguished contributions, the University had decided he deserved an unsolicited increase of some \$6,000 plus a year. He glowered, though I did not expect at all what came next: "Is it retroactive?" Nonplussed, having only been on the job a few months, I stammered out that I might be mistaken but I thought that, as with all such matters, the increase would take place at the beginning of the fiscal year, only several months away. "F*** it," he said, "then I don't want it!" And stomped out of the chair's room where he had been so rudely insulted. Nevertheless, I believe he cashed his checks.

It is well known that internal conflict is a besetting vice of academic departments. Quarrels are easy to begin and seemingly impossible to

end. Once started, internal divisions can persist for decades, carrying their animus long after the originators have departed from the scene. Working out conflicts before they have an opportunity to fester, therefore, is a major task of a chair. In my experience, departmental conflicts have come from three sources—ordinary administration, political administration, and super crises—continuing and spectacular and small and sometimes amusing and otherwise dreary. I shall try to separate these sources of conflict and discuss how a chair might deal with them.

Ordinary Administration

Ordinary chairs in ordinary times should remember the rule—have fun while you're doing it because there won't be any afterward. No one will remember, no one will care, and no one will remind you except to take note of that hole in your vita. The best thing I did before becoming chair (the graduate dean was then administering the department and not enjoying it) was to insist on having a genuine department administrator to take care of the forty-plus professors and associated staff. I thought this was farsighted, not knowing that campus administration was thinking seriously about it and that, therefore, I was knocking on an open door. LeRoy Graymer proved a godsend. But not right away. He had to learn the ropes and I had to learn how to make my colleagues appreciate the value of an administrator and simultaneously relieve my burdens by going to him with a variety of problems. Naturally, they thought it better to call me all hours of the day and night. Over time, however, as they began to see how well they were being served, and how much trust the associate chair merited and had placed in him by the chair, this changed. Having a talented associate chair who was not only a splendid administrator but full of ideas on how to improve administration, and not a slouch at department policy either, albeit in muted tones, made a huge difference. The health of the chair should matter too.

Over time, Associate Chair Graymer took from me the chore of preparing the department budget.

There was an awful lot to know, but not about allocating resources. That was impossible under the system that prevailed then and, so far as I know, prevails now. The \$1 million-plus department budget was mostly taken up with salaries that were decided directly by the budget committee, upon the recommendation of the administration. My requests as chair and later as dean that we be given lump sums so that we could distribute merit increases and do something to earn our salary were uniformly rejected. This meant that no request took away from any other request. This is not resource allocation. Such practices solidify the identity of chairs as trade unionists for professors. The department received \$25,000 or so from a special

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fund, which was the object of considerable attention, because it was all we had to allocate as we chose. Still, when questions came up of transfers between funds, of whether a talented employee could be paid more under one label or another, Graymer came either to know it all or to know who knew it all, and so we prospered.

By the second week of my chairmanship, I knew that the new administrative assistant was not capable of doing her job. She had to be replaced. Yet, before this, I had never hired let alone fired anyone. For three days I agonized over this decision, more time than I have taken on any remotely comparable matter since. And, generally, without distress. Eventually I decided that firing people was part of the job and if I could not do that I had to give way to someone who could. That makes it sound too crude. Talking to the employee in question as much as I could, I realized that much more was going on that was showing on the job. So, with her consent, I called in psychological counseling. Within a few days a change was made helpful to the employee and the department. After a period of rest and rehabilita-

tion, I understand, she performed well in a higher level but quite different kind of job.

No one is more important to a chair than his secretary. He or she (I have hired secretaries of both genders) expedites the tasks to be performed and, if I have my way, checks on their implementation. I had my department secretaries prepare lists of items to be implemented. They checked progress and let me know if the item wasn't working. More important, I tried to imbue the secretarial-cum-administrative staff, including undergraduate and graduate secretaries, with a sense of departmental objectives so they might see themselves as serving a larger purpose. An effective way to do this is to inform staff of important departmental decisions on curriculum, personnel, and campus-wide issues. If the staff has a sense of mission, they help communicate it to students and faculty as well.

I have been fortunate in finding marvelously capable people who have been of enormous help. Once, however, in a research capacity, I hired a secretary who might charitably be described as hostile-dependent. This secretary both wanted direction and resisted it so that the poor chair was left exhausted while being complained to about overwork. Every time I think of the difference between that situation and the others I have had, I breathe a great sigh of relief.

One of a chair's most important tasks is its institutional development. By that I don't mean growing larger; rather, I mean developing the capacities of the people who work with you and the organization to which you all contribute. (In recent years, given my interest in budgeting, I have been dismayed to see how little attention directors of the budget pay to the Office of Management and Budget itself.) A good administrator should leave behind not only effective policy but people and organizations that are more capable than the one he inherited. And that means nurturing ability wherever it is found.

The first thing to do is to take an interest in where your employees come from and where they want to go and how they might get there. It means, secondly, gradually increasing

the range and the scope of responsibility so that personnel grow by doing different things and taking more responsibility for them. If there is anything I hate in an organization it is people who hide in the division of labor, who say "I did my job," as if carrying a message between C and D, without seeing that it got to its destination or had the intended effect, was doing one's job. Everyone has to be motivated to do completed work, i.e., to take on the organization's task as their own. If that proves impossible, serious consideration should be given to letting the employee go. On the one hand, premature enlargement of tasks may make the person involved fearful; on the other hand, never advancing responsibilities leaves them stale and without a mechanism of determining what they can do. I prefer to err on the side of more rather than less. Satisfaction comes in observing the people you work with enlarging their capacities. Leaving a stronger staff for your successors is part of serving the departmental interest.

Political Administration

Professors are born rationalizers. They are gifted at taking, defending, and abandoning positions one after another. Treating departmental decisionmaking as if it were a matter of intellect, therefore, is a losing game for the chair. Who can outsmart so many gifted people? And who would be foolish enough to try? But there is a difference between being intellectually smart and being politically wise. In academic departments, wisdom means managing conflict. My suggestions follow.

Talk to your colleagues and keep talking. In a fundamentally egalitarian departmental structure, chairs have little authority, but the right to talk is one of them and should be exploited to the full. In addition to the other benefits flowing from this practice, a chair who listens can find out how colleagues are likely to vote on contested items before the vote takes place.

There are enough meetings. I learned not to call meetings unless there was (a) something specific that needed to be decided and (b) something on which the faculty agreed or

could be persuaded to agree. I liked to do my persuading before and not during the meetings. Quarrels begun or carried on in meetings can last a long time. And I did like to know how the meeting was going to come out before I entered. What is amazing is how little this sort of elementary political calculation goes on in political science departments.

A department chair should never assume his colleagues have been treated fairly or even that ordinary administrative matters have been completed. Every colleague should be interviewed and asked specifically whether he or she is happy with the way things are going. Even that approach, however, is too general. There should be questions about pensions, benefits, leaves, salary, teaching and the sense of being appreciated. I began this practice at Berkeley, my entire administrative experience then consisting of one year's

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membership on the graduate committee, because that was what the party workers did with whom I intervened on behalf of my immigrant father in the 1930s and 40s. From this I heard detailed tales of woe, almost all of which, if noted, are easy to take care of. This colleague feels slighted because she has not been put in for a teaching award and another feels that his sabbatical credits are too few. A third colleague feels that his work is underappreciated, a feeling that is not easy to alter but not impossible to work on.

The chair, if he has not already done so, should read the work of colleagues when they come up for promotion and render a judgment. He should also talk to others in the field. Maybe there is nothing to be done as the judgment is deserved. If there is a discrepancy between the

worth of the work and the feeling of being honored for it, then a chair can get other colleagues to motivate disciplinary awards, papers at conferences, even a kind word now and again. Large universities tend to be cold places. Arranging celebratory occasions is a pleasant and useful activity for a chair.

Great universities are bottom heavy; the important decisions that establish their character—the capability of faculty and students, the suitability of the curriculum—should be made at this organizational level. For there, if anywhere, is the repository of knowledge and learned intuition of what constitutes excellence in each field. Higher level bodies cannot possibly know or sense or care as much about intellectual quality. Indeed, when a field of study is a collection of traditions, as in political science, the subfields may well be the proper repositories of decision. That is why the judgment of a chair, either in choosing the best faculty or in knowing who is best able to choose, is vital. That is why when one hears that provosts and presidents are the main movers, there is reason for concern. Dealing with external bodies, considering the surrounding community, occasionally (very occasionally) intervening to provide new deans and chairs when the departments or schools in question have failed to function properly, by all means, but not continuous direction of departments.¹ Departmental, i.e., faculty, failure to keep up with or lead its field and to instruct its students so they receive appropriate appointments can be remedied only at higher organizational levels.

It would be absurd and counterproductive for a chair to conceive of herself as the parent, the combined mother-father of the department. It is absurd because departments are usually egalitarian, at least among the full and associate professors, or oligarchic, rarely hierarchical. Willingness to subordinate one's views is at a minimum, the capacity to express them forcefully at a maximum. The young may know more than the old, possess superior skills, and have mentors elsewhere who can challenge overly demanding senior faculty. All are, after all, pro-

fessors. When colleagues see their concerns met in small matters, they are more likely to accept the chair's authority in larger concerns.

I love surprises, but not at department meetings. A chair who calls a meeting without knowing what he wants is asking for trouble. A chair who doesn't know how a meeting will turn out is not doing his job. If a chair doesn't have a good idea of where his department should go, he should let someone who does do the job. A chair is much more likely to keep his department cohesive and imbued with a sense of purpose if he arranges meetings to express the agreements that exist, while keeping disagreements out of public sight. These should be taken up face-to-face, one-on-one, to preserve hard-won civility. To be more precise, deliberative meetings are useful when there is widespread agreement on the general direction the department ought to go but a lack of appropriate instruments of policy. Disagreements over direction, by contrast, are likely to create or exacerbate hostility unless guided by understandings that all are searching for the departmental interest. Throwing one's weight around would be counterproductive because it encourages rebellion.

It is appropriate, however, for chairs to take on a nurturing role. There is never enough effort to build the capabilities and careers of all concerned. Unless such overtures are rebuffed, chairs should see to it that senior faculty who are willing (or they themselves) try to develop available talent.

A department chair performs a political function—motivational maintenance and institutional change. Whether one is amazed that anything coheres or that change occurs so slowly, maintaining support from diverse constituencies—faculty, students, department staff, campus administrators, the profession at large—is essential. Leadership requires the usual qualities—energy, decisiveness, vision. In one sense, however, universities are different. The rhetoric is more high flown but the motives are more transparent. And this transparency is never more evident than during crises.

Being a Chair During the Free Speech Movement (FSM) at Berkeley

For the three years I was chair of the Political Science Department of the University of California at Berkeley, from July 1966 through June 1969, the leitmotif was a kind of inspired madness. It was the simultaneity of crises that made these events either awful or wonderful depending on one's taste for the histrionic.

One of my very few regrets about academic life is that I did not think then to keep a diary. Whereas being a dean of a school of public policy later was relatively calm and quiet so I could remember the key episodes when I wanted to write about them,² there is no way now that I can recreate as well as a diary could the multiple happenings, each one

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bizarre enough in and of itself, no less the interaction among them.

When teaching at Oberlin in 1958 to 1962, the only other regular academic job I have had, I liked everything about it except for the incessant discussion of students, sometimes extending to their private lives. The free-speech movement at Berkeley converted it from a cosmopolitan to a local place in which "the students" were a continuous and, for me, not that fascinating, source of discussion. Like everybody else, I found myself enveloped in endless meetings about the occupation of this building or that or of the chancellor's office, about whether students should be allowed to cheer and jeer at faculty meetings, about what rules were or were not appropriate for free speech, whether rules about time, place, and manner of holding discussions outside of class were subject to

regulation or were not. On and on and on. Never shall I forget the meeting at Pauley Ballroom, with over a thousand faculty, or so it seemed to me, when a distinguished professor, whose work I admired greatly, asked, with rhetorical flourish, what our students meant when they kept telling us to engage in self-procreation. By then, I thought I knew.

My personal problem, albeit one widely shared, was how to maintain the scholarly work that I had come to Berkeley to pursue. This was the only time in my life as an adult I can remember not being engaged in research. Then, an intersection of two things came to my aid. I had begun The Oakland Project, devoted to action research, in which I supervised a number of students who provided assistance to the mayor, the city manager, the city council, poverty program activists, and others in the city of Oakland, and from which these students and I eventually wrote books about the fascinating city in which I have lived now for twenty years. The point here is that these students were committed to their work and therefore did not ask foolish questions like whether studying statistics would warp their minds. Fortunately for me, I was not in the position of regarding "these students" as an enemy, a foreign force to be warded off. That would indeed make a mockery out of being a teacher.

After a while, as I struggled to get more time to work, a valuable thought suddenly came to mind. Our student radicals were late sleepers; indeed, nothing much happened until about 11:30 a.m. Thus I began coming in earlier and earlier, discovering that if I started around 7 or 7:30 and kept going until 11:30, that was about as much scholarly work as I could do in a day. It also meant that I could let the free speech movement roll over me in the late mornings and afternoons and evenings without feeling that I had given up an important part of my life's purpose. And good humor was certainly essential for survival.

One morning, encountering a well-known professor in the offices of the Political Science Department, I went to greet him only to discover five or

six students, all male, all in various stages of undress, racing around him crying that he had sold out, I couldn't tell to whom or what for. Nor did anybody turn a hair, considering such events to be standard. Another day I saw riots in the making and dashed up, together with my friend Peter Sperlich, to talk to the police and administrators in front of Sproul Hall where our presence may or may not have ameliorated the situation; at least nobody got beaten. By that time, I had understood that throwing students in the way of police was a major method of radicalizing them and perhaps the major purpose behind these events.

That was only in the morning. In the afternoon there would be petitions from graduate students, who were teaching assistants, asking that they be excused from giving class because FSM thought that it was a good idea to add complaints from students that their education was being ruined to requests that the violations of University rules not be held against students who were working for degrees. The last was an easy one since all of us wanted to keep the academic life separate from the political life. But there was the rub; they kept intersecting no matter which way we went.

A major task of my chairmanship was to keep the turmoil on the outside from destroying collegiality inside the department. So I went to considerable lengths to show that all members received even-handed treatment, no matter which side they were on and whether or not they agreed with my increasing opposition to these goings on. If in doubt, I always resolved it in favor of colleagues who supported FSM.

A stroke of good fortune was my growing friendship with a man whose qualities I admired perhaps more than any before or since, Jacobus tenBrook, a scholar who was blind and, among other things, did great work on laws affecting poor people and on the *Anti-Slavery Origins of the Fourteenth Amendment*. In addition, he was a great expert on free speech, knowing what it did and did not require. Known for his brilliant use of the Socratic method, when you got an argument past "Chick" tenBrook, nothing could touch you.

It was his guidance I sought and followed at every turn, thinking, correctly, that he was not only smarter but wiser on this matter than I. There follows a typical episode whose irony has facilitated my otherwise faulty memory.

Besieged as usual, called to act upon vandalism in which several students overturned filing cabinets, strewn out their contents in Sproul Hall, the chancellor's office issued a statement to the effect that these students would be suspended, unless of course their department chairs certified that they were indispensable to the teaching program. Now wait a minute. If I am going to immolate myself, I like to be asked first. All of a sudden, therefore, I had to decide which way I would rule. Immediately I sought out Chick tenBrook to see if my initial thoughts would pass muster. However difficult the discussion, I knew I would have a fine time as Chick always mixed hilarity with help.

Shortly thereafter a graduate student under provisional suspension came to see me. He came to talk to me man-to-man, as he put it, so that he could make plans for his future life in case he were expelled. He would not tell me how to decide, though of course he wanted to stay on and serve his students, but he did require a rapid decision, meaning no longer than two days. I would rather have waited a few more days to ruminate on this matter, but, in view of the student's heartfelt plea, and the fact that I had already consulted tenBrook and knew where I would come out, I agreed to his request. Two or three days later my recommendation was published, including its reasoning, which held that a teaching assistant owed more not less fidelity to the institution and that he, not campus rules, was responsible for whatever disruption occurred in the lives of his students. That same day or perhaps the day after a leaflet appeared in which "Chairman Wildavsky" was accused of various misdeeds, a leaflet I had reason to believe the young man had helped in preparing, in which the worst thing about my action was not the decision itself but the unseemly haste in which it was issued.

Those were the days when one did

not have to think about where to entertain guests; all that was necessary was to take them to witness the occupation of Moses Hall or some other such place. Though mechanisms for communication to and within the faculty had been improved, no one felt well-informed, everyone wanted to know what was happening, and no one claimed to know. So it is time to stop the atmospheric and get on to how a chair might handle such an extraordinary series of situations. Allowing them to express themselves, deflecting their reactions one way or another, letting them know their thoughts were known and that the chair was interested in them, did more to defuse the situation than any specific action. Good personal relations help smooth over other difficulties.

What proved to be impossible, at least for me, was keeping departmental conflicts wholly apart from campus-wide disputes. These events taught me the importance of cross-cutting cleavages. I worked hard to resolve or paper-over conflicts of many years standing between different factions. Older faculty members were given recognition but not power, middle-aged members were given power but not so much recognition, and younger ones were saved from being pulled apart by the contending currents. When the same people who differed in the department also turned out to differ on questions involving the free speech movement, however, all the work done one day would be undone the next. The cost was the departure of two distinguished political theorists, a great loss, which I counted then and count now as a failure. The chair's job is to add intellectual distinction to a department, not take it away.

Who could enjoy such a situation? I enjoyed the pace, the fire-fighting, the unexpected, the necessity of devising different formulas for different occasions and types of problems, the hurly-burly, even the idiocy of much that went on. Maybe it takes one to love one. I took pleasure in the constancy of crises, sometimes two and three times a day—an appointment in danger because the candidate worried about living amidst fear of tear gas on campus,

another building occupied: Should the police be called? Should classes be held under this or that circumstance?—which made the theater of the absurd appear like an exercise in normalcy.

There is no general rule for coping with crises other than (a) an intensification of the methods of good leadership that help in more ordinary situations, like keeping in touch, and (b) viewing yourself as a resource person who will better serve the

departmental interest if you are rested, cheerful, and retain the energy to correct the errors you are bound to make.

Notes

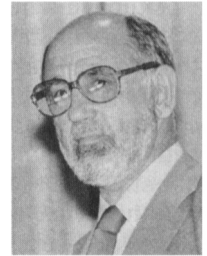
1. Martin Trow, "Leadership and Organization; The Case of Biology at Berkeley," Chapter 7 in Rune Premfors, ed., *Higher Education Organizations: Conditions for Policy Implementation* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1984).
2. See Aaron Wildavsky, "Appendix" to

Speaking Truth to Power (Little, Brown, 1979).

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On the Potential Impact of *Rust v. Sullivan* as a Model for Content-Based Restrictions on Federal Arts and Humanities Funding

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On May 23, the Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision upheld regulations prohibiting Public Health Service Act, Title X family planning funds from counselling patients regarding abortion. The bare majority of the Court held constitutional regulations which conditioned a clinic's receipt of federal planning funds upon its doctors' silence about an abortion option, essentially no matter what the medical circumstances. Broadly, the court found that the contested regulations violated neither freedom of speech nor the woman's right to choose abortion.

The ruling upheld regulations promulgated in 1988 for the 4,000 family planning clinics which serve an estimated 5 million low-income women nationwide. Between the 1970 enactment of legislation establishing the program and 1988, the clinics were not allowed to perform abortions using federal funds but the regular provision of abortion counselling was sanctioned. The 1988 regulations which the court has now upheld, forbid the provision of information about abortion. Although there is some ambiguity as to congressional intent, the record seems to indicate that Congress declined to include in the statute the restrictions later promulgated by the Secretary of Health and Human Resources that are at issue in this case.

In the majority opinion of Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist that

"The Government can, without violating the Constitution, selectively fund a program to encourage certain activities it believes to be in the public interest, without at the same time funding an alternative program which seeks to deal with the problem in another way. In so doing, the Government has not discriminated on the basis of viewpoint; it has merely chosen to fund one activity to the exclusion of the other. . . . 'There is a basic difference between direct state interference with a protected activity and state encouragement of an alternative activity consonant with legislative policy.' . . . This is not a case of the Government 'suppressing a dangerous idea' but of a prohibition on a project grantee or its employees from engaging in activities outside of its scope. . . . To hold that the Government unconstitutionally discriminates on the basis of viewpoint when it chooses to fund a program dedicated to advance certain permissible goals, because the program in advancing those goals necessarily discourages alternate goals, would render numerous government programs constitutionally suspect . . . when the government appropriates public funds to establish a program it is entitled to define the limits of that program."

Mr. Rehnquist continues, however, "This is not to suggest that funding by the Government, even when coupled with the freedom of the

fund recipients to speak outside the scope of the Government-funded project, is invariably sufficient to justify government control over the content of expression. For example, this Court has recognized that the existence of a Government 'subsidy,' in the form of Government-owned property, does not justify the restriction of speech in areas that have 'been traditionally open to the public for expressive activity,' . . . or have been 'expressly dedicated to speech activity.' Similarly, we have recognized that the university is a traditional sphere of free expression so fundamental to the functioning of our society that the Government's ability to control speech within that sphere by means of conditions attached to the expenditure of Government funds is restricted by the vagueness and overbreadth doctrines of the First Amendment."

Not surprisingly, the decision was greeted with dismay by the large group of "pro choice" individuals and organizations and the overlapping and even larger group concerned with freedom of expression and the First Amendment. Within days of the decision, a major effort was launched to roll back the impact on the Title X family planning clinics, many of which indicated that it would not be possible to continue using federal funds under the court-approved regulations. If the Emergency Campaign to Overturn the Gag