A Brief on the Historical Development of the UC Academic Senate and the Universitywide Administration

Submitted to the Task Force on Governance Panel 2 on Shared Governance: 8.18.97 **Revised 1.12.98** John A. Douglass

To assist the Panel in its deliberations, the following provides a brief on the management of the University of California, and specifically past and current modes of interaction between the Academic Senate and the universitywide administration.

I. An Evolving Relationship

The current organization of the University of California reflects what is a vast enterprise of nine campuses and three national laboratories. While the size and complexity of the University is relatively new, the basic elements of its administrative structure, and its organizational culture, have their roots in major historical changes in the institution. The following describes four general eras of organizational change in the history of the University, providing context for the analysis of potential changes in the Universitywide Senate's current organization.

Two thematic elements help to tell this story.

- The first is the development of two general spheres of policy making in the University of California that are relatively unique in American higher education: a) the Academic Senate with its delegated responsibility for issues related to educational policy; and b) an administrative structure that has developed largely in the post-World War II era, and has focused on the operational and financial aspects of the University.
- The second is the forging of the nation's first multi-campus research university system, which has had important implications for the University's internal organization.

<u>A State Charter and a Weak Presidency</u>

The University's 1868 state charter prescribed a central role for faculty in the management and operation of the university. The Academic Senate, stated the charter, would be "created for the purpose of conducting the general administration of the University." The organization of the Senate and its relationship to the university president and the governing board, however, was the prerogative of the Regents.¹

In an era that pre-dated the rise of the administrative and professional class now crucial to the operation of the university, faculty served as both teachers and administrators. The President, in turn, was the head of the faculty -- not the vast administrative structure that would emerge in later decades. The President served as the head of the Academic Senate, and focused his energies largely on academic affairs.

Officers of the Regents, and in particular the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Regents, managed the University's business and financial affairs, including the management of the University's federal land-grants. The result was a relatively weak presidency, subject to the micro-management predilections of a Board of Regents with a propensity for partisan bickering.

Redefining the Presidency and the Responsibilities of the Senate

While the two officers of the Regents would maintain close control of budgetary matters, the President of the University of California would be gaining new fiduciary and administrative powers, particularly during the presidency of Benjamin Ide Wheeler (1899-1919, and later Robert Gordon Sproul (1930-1958).² As noted in the earlier brief on Senate and Regental interaction, Wheeler gained significant new powers for the University presidency, including an important agreement that the president should become the "sole channel of communications between the faculty and the Regents," and would provide recommendations to the Board regarding the hiring and promotion of faculty. Wheeler expanded the role of the president, and began the process of establishing an administrative structure that helped catapult the Berkeley campus into a new role as one of the nation's premier research universities.

Wheeler's strengthening of the presidency, however, did not correlate with a decline in the role of faculty in the management of the University; rather, in fundamental areas faculty gained significant new powers, including the adoption of a peer review process for personnel cases and for the allocation of research funding. In addition, the growth of an administrative structure -- the second sphere of policy making noted earlier -- was fundamentally linked with the academic practitioners represented by the Academic Senate. The president remained the head of the Academic Senate, participating in its deliberations, including acting as chair at meetings of the entire faculty.

Most major administrative positions, a total of forty in 1909, were also faculty with appointments in one or more academic departments, including the deans of the various

colleges, a new dean of the graduate school, a dean of the lower division, a dean of academic faculties -- a position proposed by the Academic Senate leadership and the precursor to today's Vice President and Provost position. Further, the Recorder of the Faculty (later called the Registrar) was a faculty member and reported to four different Academic Senate committees that set admissions standards, selected students, and accredited California's high schools and junior college programs.

By 1920, and in the tumultuous aftermath of World War I and Wheeler's presidency, changes in the Regents Standing Orders gave an even greater delegation of responsibilities to the Academic Senate, including a larger voice in budget and administrative issues (the right to be consulted and to give advice, but not to decide). Perhaps most importantly, the Senate was given by the Regents the right of self-organization -- the result of faculty criticism that the president had too much power over the activities of the Senate. The so-called "Berkeley Revolution" of 1920 marked not only the expansion in the delegated responsibilities of faculty, but also the initial stages of a clearer differentiation between the two spheres of policy making.

Yet it is also important to note that the expansion of the authority and responsibilities of faculty in the management affairs of the University did not preclude a strong presidency. While the Senate gained greater autonomy, the President remained the head of the Senate, and remains today a formal and symbolic link between the faculty and the University's administration.

In no small part, faculty have historically recognized the advantages of having a capable administration with significant authority -- although, clearly, there has been a natural tension over the delegated responsibilities of the Senate versus the administration. Like Wheeler, Robert Gordon Sproul provided effective administrative leadership, while also embracing the Senate as a key component in guiding the development of the University through the difficulties of the Depression, World War II, and the early stages of a massive enrollment expansion. Although Sproul often ruled with an iron hand, he also cultivated the Senate to help transform the University into a multi-campus system -- the first such system of research universities in the nation.

The One-University Concept and a Multi-Campus Administration

The 1919 absorption of the Los Angeles State Normal School as a "Southern Campus" inaugurated the transformation of the University of California into a multi-campus institution. The result was not only the geographic expansion of the University's liberal arts and professional programs, but the beginning of an often bitter debate over the appropriate organizational structure of the institution. As with the model of the public land-grant university found in Wisconsin and Michigan, the University of California had satellite operations in various parts of the state. Research stations and agricultural extension programs existed in numerous locations, notably Davis, Riverside, San Diego, and the Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton, as well as professional schools,

including the medical center and the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco. These facilities and programs were viewed as an extension of the Berkeley campus.

The establishment of the Southern Branch campus, however, changed the dynamics of the University's internal organization. The faculty, students, alumni and the Regents had, in fact, been opposed to creating a new campus of the University in Los Angeles lest it draw attention and funds from Berkeley. But the threat of the southland's civic boosters, including lawmakers, to establish a new, independent state university caused Berkeley officials to rationalize a major new experiment in American higher education. At first, the "Southern Branch" was to have a status similar to the various research stations, with no significant internal administrative structure, and subject to the rules and regulations set by the Berkeley faculty and the University President some 500 miles away. The Los Angeles campus, much like that of UC Santa Barbara some thirty-five years later, was seen by many in the University community as an unwelcome addition that would need to be carefully regulated.

Fulfilling the need for greater higher educational opportunities among a burgeoning metropolitan population, and supported by a corresponding expansion of Los Angeles' political power, the Southern Branch was soon arguing for equal status with the Berkeley campus. The same tension and sense of rivalry that helped to create the Los Angeles campus now became a major concern in the internal management of the University. A slow process began in which the campus would increase its autonomy from Berkeley, but within the framework articulated by Sproul of "One-University": a university system, the first of its kind, governed by the Regents, centrally administered by the president, with shared processes in areas such as admissions and academic personnel, and with shared values including a commitment to serve the evolving research and public service needs of an expansive state.

Sproul had, in fact, offered three choices to the Regents in early 1937:

- The division of the institution into two separate universities, one centered in Berkeley with control over programs in northern California, and the other in Los Angeles with management responsibility for activities in Riverside and San Diego.
- A single university in name, but with a decentralized administration at the campus level, essentially a confederation.
- The one university model with a centralized administration.

In the midst of a significant push by supporters of California's state colleges for authority in graduate education and eventually research, Sproul argued that the first two would, among other things, lead to the destruction of the University's major strengths, and its ability to argue for resources from the state. For example, the first option might encourage lawmakers to simply create new publicly supported research university campuses, or to convert state colleges to that function. A change in the University's organization would also require a change in the state constitutional charge to the Regents. In turn, the result might be the end of the University's status as a public trust - a level of autonomy enjoyed by only a handful of public universities, and the subject of frustration among many legislators seeking greater control over university affairs.

The second option, argued Sproul, the decentralized model, would bring an end to effective leadership for the university, promote further tensions and the sense of rivalry between Berkeley and Los Angeles. "The logical end product of [this] system," he argued before the Regents, "will be a president for each part of the institution and a chancellor connected with no part but maintaining general oversight over all parts," essentially "a coordinating officer."

On the basis of Sproul's recommendation, in February, 1937 the Regents approved the "One University" model. Yet the transition to this unifying concept in the administrative affairs of the University was difficult. Prior to the Regents' action, three major organizational changes had already occurred, each related to the University's transition to a multi-campus system unique within American higher education at that time:

• The Los Angeles campus developed academic programs and the internal organization that effectively made it a general campus of the university -- although the sense of control and rivalry from Berkeley remained strong.

In 1923, a new College of Letters and Sciences was established and authorized to supervise instruction leading to the bachelors degree; four-years later, the campus was renamed the University of California at Los Angeles two years before moving to its current Westwood site; and by 1933, the Regents authorized graduate studies leading to the master's in twelve fields, and, by 1936, the Ph.D.

• President Sproul developed a new administrative structure to reflect the addition of the Los Angeles campus, and to refashion the role of the presidency as the leader of "one great university.".

In 1931, Ernest C. Moore, the "Director" of the Los Angeles campus since its absorption into the University, was given the title of "Provost," and Monroe E. Deutsch was given the same title to oversee the administration of the Berkeley campus. Both were also given the title of Vice-President of the University. However, this structural change, with its important symbolism, did not result in a significant delegation of authority from the president to the supposed heads of each campus. Sproul maintained tight control over the university and campus budgets, faculty appointments, and the selection of department chairs and deans.

• The Academic Senate changed from a representative body of the faculty at Berkeley, to a multi-campus structure with Northern and Southern Sections and

universitywide committees, and created new committees to assist the President in educational and planning issues.

Four years after the absorption of the Los Angeles campus in 1919, the President of the University and the Academic Senate established a "Council of the Southern Branch," to authorize and supervise instruction, consisting of faculty and deans at Los Angeles. The Council, however, was subject to the authority and rules set by the Senate in Berkeley's Bylaws and Regulations.

In 1933, the Council was replaced by a "Southern Section" and a "Northern Section" that passed legislation and motions related to their regional jurisdiction. At first, all Senate legislation was subject to approval by both sections. However, by 1936 legislation concerning only one section became effective upon approval of that section alone. At the same time, the Academic Senate developed three types of committees:

-- Universitywide committees such as BOARS with authority to set admissions policy and Subject A requirements for the multi-campus system;

-- Parallel committees with one in the northern section and one in the southern section, such as those concerned with graduate education;

-- Local committees related to campus and extension programs, including the process of selecting students for admissions under the universitywide rules set by BOARS, located not only at Berkeley and Los Angeles, but also Davis, San Francisco, and later in Santa Barbara, Riverside, and San Diego.

In an era when the President played an active role on Senate committees, in fact chairing the meetings of both sections, Sproul helped to guide the re-organization of the Academic Senate. He also requested that the Senate expand its activities in response to specific problems confronting the University. In the early 1930s, and with state budget cuts exceeding 25% over a three year period, Sproul called upon the Senate to create an ad hoc committee on educational policy to advise him not only on the budget implications of the reduction in funding, but also on the emerging regional college movement. The committee was central to Sproul's strategic efforts to guide the University through the Depression era, and was subsequently made a permanent committee of the Senate. And in 1944, Sproul convened the first All-University Faculty Conference to help discuss post-war planning -- a meeting that would become an annual event up until the 1980s.

The president's commitment to a "One University" model provided a rationale for building an academically strong multi-campus system that remains, in one form or another, today. Sproul articulated an effective approach to the University's long-term development, one that made sense for the internal management of a high quality academic enterprise, and that created the conditions for public support for a research university. But it also served Sproul's desire for detailed control of the university's varied activities -- a level of control that became increasingly difficult as the University grew in enrollment and complexity in the post-World War II era. By the early 1950s, Sproul had become an extremely rigid and conservative force who resisted significant and seemingly inevitable changes in the University's internal management.

Decentralization and the Emergence of a Campus Administrative Structure

The combination of Sproul's domineering administrative style, continued enrollment growth and the expansion in the number of campuses, along with the rivalry between the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses over resources and authority, provided the context for a significant change in the University's administration.

In 1943, a group of Los Angeles alumni leaders implored the Regents to appoint an executive officer with the power to appoint faculty and department chairs, and with greater budget authority, including the formulation of budget requests to the Regents -- powers closely controlled by Sproul. The position of provost had limited powers, but adding to their frustration, and to that of faculty and deans at Los Angeles, was Sproul's failure to appoint a new provost for the campus for over a year, and his establishment of a three-member administrative committee to manage the campus in the interim.

Sproul sought various solutions, including proposals to reorganize the Academic Senate, e.g., the establishment of an executive committee that would provide the president with a single representative body of the faculty to consult with on a regular basis -- a proposal that would later be resurrected as the current Academic Council, but as part of a larger reorganization scheme. But such modifications were not seen by Senate leaders as sufficient.

As the membership of the Board of Regents changed to include more boosters of the Los Angeles campus, pressure increased for greater autonomy for the campus. A 1948 report by the Public Administrative Service (a private consulting firm located in Chicago) urged decentralization, and a state funded study on the future of higher education, the so-called Strayer Report, which also recommended a new UC campus in Riverside, also criticized the over-centralized power of the president.

Yet Sproul fought all innovation in this regard. In the immediate post-war era, the president effectively defeated proposed reforms, but the struggle over the internal management of the University initiated a long-term erosion in Sproul's power and control and a slow process of decentralization.

The first significant organizational shift toward greater authority at the campus level came in 1952. On the insistence of Regent Edward Dickson and others, Sproul reluctantly agreed, and the Regents approved, of the new positions of chancellor at the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses.³ Clark Kerr was appointed at Berkeley and Ray Allen (the former president at the University of Washington) at Los Angeles. Sproul,

however, at first managed to limit the role of the chancellors. "The situation was this," remarks Clark Kerr in his memoirs now being prepared for publication by UC Press:

the chancellors had authority (nominal) over the campus business manager, and authority (real) over the selection of department chairs. The chancellors were in the stream of recommendations on faculty appointments and promotions on the way to the president and the regents, and also on budgets. The chancellors, by default at the universitywide level, could take leadership in making academic and physical plans for the campus . . . The chancellors, however, did not administer the campuses as the "executive heads," as the regents had said they would.

Kerr's appointment in 1958 as the new president of the University of California following Sproul's retirement resulted in a major reorganization effort, creating the last major period of reform prior to the contemporary shifts in authority. Between 1958 and 1963, both the administrative structure and the organization of the Academic Senate were altered to give greater coherence to the University's multi-campus system, to create greater local authority, and to provide general equity in the distribution of state funds to the campuses. Included were three general reforms:

Budget Equity

Because of the University's unusual status as a public trust, California state government has provided funding for I&R costs in a lump sum payment each year. In other states, legislators have more direct authority over how those monies are distributed and spent. The University of California, and specifically the Board of Regents and the President, have had the autonomy to distribute these monies as they see fit and with relatively few restrictions. Before the early 1960s, the Office of the President then distributed these funds on a year to year basis, and while there was a relation to student enrollments at individual campuses, both Berkeley and UCLA tended to garner the vast majority of funds.

The development of new campuses required a systematic approach to the distribution of state funds. Kerr and the Regents agreed to a formula that would provide a steady flow of funds to new campuses, while also protecting the two major and established campuses, Berkeley and UCLA. The distribution of state funds generated by enrollment would be according to the level of instruction. Lower division instruction would generate the smallest amount of state funding; allocations were then higher for upper division instruction, and higher yet again for masters students. The highest allocation was for doctoral students. The rationale was that costs increased according to the type of instruction. Graduate training was not only the costliest in terms of the amount of time faculty needed to devote to teaching and mentoring students, but also because it related to the research activity of the University. Core funding support for research was thus directly tied to the instruction mission of the University.

Conceptually, this model provided a level playing field for all campuses of the University of California -- although there were a number of caveats created to provide for special needs of campuses. While the enrollment surge at new campuses helped subsidize the graduate and research programs at Berkeley and UCLA, each campus, because of their already high percentage of enrollment at the graduate level, had the potential to gain similar funding support. This model provided an incentive for the new campuses to develop graduate programs, and to mature into strong research universities.

• Universitywide and Campus Administrations

Kerr and the Regents agreed to give more direct authority to the individual campuses -- including Berkeley, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and general campuses at Santa Barbara, Davis, Riverside, San Diego, and eventually the new campuses planned in Santa Cruz and Irvine. This included the transfer of responsibility and staff to the campuses in areas vital to their day-to-day operation. The staff in the Office of the President was reduced by 26% in less than a two-year period by the establishment of chancellorships at the other campuses of the University other than Berkeley and UCLA.

Campus business officers, as well as the deans, now reported to the chancellor with access to budgetary information previously controlled by the president and Sproul's long-time associate and Vice-President for Budget, Jim Corley. Chancellors, for example, could now approve research grants, contracts, and the transfer of funds. Campuses also gained control over graduate education, replacing the administrative structure of northern and southern deans reporting directly to the University President, and reflecting the structure of the Academic Senate established in the 1930s.

These organizational changes gave the Presidency a greater ability to focus on major issues confronting the University, while also providing new mechanisms for developing collaborative working relationship with the campus administrators. Kerr filled the position of Vice President - Academic Affairs, vacant since 1948, to help expand the consultative process with both the campus administrations and the Academic Senate -- what would be an essential component for guiding the subsequent and massive expansion in enrollment and academic programs. Between 1960 and 1975, it was projected that the University would grow from 49,000 students to over 130,000. Kerr also established a Council of Chancellors to meet regularly with the President, both to garner input and to coordinate activities, and urged the reorganization of the Academic Senate.

• A Divisional Model for the Academic Senate

Kerr helped to initiate major changes in the Senate's organization to assist in policy development and to reflect the shift of greater authority to the campuses. The Northern and Southern sectional division of the Senate proved cumbersome

as the University grew in size, and it also accentuated rivalries, not only between Berkeley and what was now called UCLA, but also between the hegemony of these two campuses and the emerging campuses in each section. Meetings were held either at Berkeley or UCLA, and membership on universitywide and sectional committees was apportioned by the number of faculty. Faculty at the new campuses, for example Santa Barbara, were not even regarded as fullmembers of the Academic Senate, and hence could not participate in Senate committees such as BOARS, until 1955.

Further, while universitywide committees existed to formulate universitywide policies and positions, including an "Academic Council" established in 1950 to iron out differences, the Northern and Southern sections would at times become embroiled in major disagreements. The precursor to today's Academic Council was, as observed in a 1953 study on "Faculty Self-Government and Administrative Organization," the "capstone of the state-wide committee system," charged with arbitrating such disagreements, among other things.⁴ But the process of reaching consensus was often overly lengthy, delaying important decisions.

Three major changes were incorporated by 1963 following an extensive review of the Senate's activities. In turn, these changes provide the framework for the contemporary organization of the Academic Senate:

-- The Northern and Southern Sections were disbanded, and divisions were created for each campus with their own network of committees. Reflecting the historical role of the President as the head of the Academic Senate (essentially, a faculty member who is also an administrator), Sproul had chaired all meetings of the Northern and Southern section. The new divisional model provided for a chair for each campus chosen from the faculty, and clear autonomy from both the universitywide and campus administration. "The presidency of the Senate," remarked Russell H. Fitzgibbon in his 1968 study of the Senate, "hence became more honorific than operative."⁵

-- A new Universitywide Academic Assembly was established with proportional representation from each of the campus divisions, with the authority to pass changes in the Bylaws and Regulations of the Senate, and resolutions and memorials to the President. As proposed by the Committee on Reorganization of the Academic Senate in 1961, the Assembly would have two purposes: one to be advisory to the President, "either in response to inquiries from him or in response to opinion emanating from one or more of the campuses," and to enact legislative changes to the Bylaws and Regulations. The Assembly should also,

in no way override the autonomy of the various campuses or undermine the authority of the several Chancellors. Presumably, it would be concerned with such issues as the definition of tenure, University admissions, transfer, and dismissal policies, and decisions concerning membership and voting rights in the Academic Senate. Its members should strive to bring into harmony conflicting attitudes on the various campuses, insofar as those attitudes threaten the well-being of the Statewide University.⁶

-- Universitywide Committees were to continue, but their number increased and their membership was determined by equal representation from each division. They would also report annually to the Assembly and be, in effect, subcommittees of the Assembly charged under the Senate's Bylaws and Regulations, with purview and responsibility to advise in distinct areas of policy.

-- The Academic Council, established in 1950, would continue to function as the executive body of the universitywide Senate. As noted in its charge, the Council would "study problems of over-all concern to the University," and make recommendations to the President. But it was now also charged to direct activities of the Assembly and the universitywide committees, with its membership to include the chairs of the new divisions and select universitywide committees, and with its members also serving on the Assembly.

In a 1961 discussion at the All-University Faculty Conference regarding these proposed changes, the fear of anarchy was seen as the major problem confronting the University of California as the campuses grew in size and autonomy. Perhaps to a greater extent than the President or the Regents, it was argued, the Universitywide Senate was to be the "means of preserving a common policy and uniform standards for the University."⁷

II. The Contemporary Context

The organizational changes of the late 1950s and early 1960s have provided an effective model for managing the University's multi-campus system, allowing for both a significant level of autonomy for each of the campuses, and a One-University vision that has propelled the University of California into the status of perhaps the highest ranked public university system in the nation, and the world.

While coping with massive increases in enrollment and the corresponding expansion of academic programs, the over-all quality of the system, not just of the oldest and most mature campuses, has risen in the post-World War II era. This change in the management of the University included two major advents by 1964:

- The establishment of a relatively equitable distribution of financial resources for core I&R related activities.
- And the creation of relatively equitable process for Decision-making built on a federal model.

This organizational structure also retained one of the University's greatest strengths: the two general and at times overlapping spheres of policymaking under the Regents, the Academic Senate and the universitywide and campus administrations. Through this structure, the President, and in turn the Universitywide administration, gained influence regarding the agenda for the Regents, and the process of setting universitywide policy by the Board.

As illustrated in the following figure, there has been one additional and significant change to this universitywide structure.



Post-1974 Organization of the University of California

In 1974, a state constitutional amendment allowed the Regents to appoint both student and faculty representatives to the Board. This resulted in the Chair of the Academic Council being appointed as a non-voting member, and the later addition of the Vice Chair (the Chair elect) also as a member. (See previous brief on Senate and Regent Interaction.)

Two major issues currently influence the effectiveness of this model, and in turn will shape discussion regarding the future interaction of the Academic Senate with the President and the Universitywide administration. The first is the expansion of administrative staff at the campus and universitywide level. The second is the continuing process of decentralization of authority.

The Growth of Relatively New Administrative Structures

The reorganization of the University of California in the early 1960s not only provided greater authority to Chancellors and other campus administrators. It also provided the

basis for a significant increase in the number of campus staff. This first occurred in areas such as business operations and staffing for deans and academic units, coinciding with large enrollment increases and the proliferation of new academic departments and faculty hires. But it also occurred in relatively new areas that provided support for the academic activities of campuses, such as student services and auxiliary services.

A major goal of Kerr, the Regents, and the Chancellors was to provide greater support mechanisms for students. At one time, these activities were provided primarily by faculty and a small number of administrators. Chancellors were now given resources to build student-related buildings and to expand services, reflecting a general trend in American universities and colleges that perceived the undergraduate experience as more than a scholastic activity, and more than collegiate athletics. Greater emphasis was placed on providing student housing, health services, counseling, and veteran services. In the aftermath of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the University also established new outreach and support programs to assist low income and minority students. This emphasis would also lead, again buttressed by federal legislation, to programs for the disabled.

The result has been the rapid growth of a new administrative structure, including the establishment of vice-chancellor positions focused on student affairs, as well as numerous other positions to help coordinate and supervise new and expanding areas of University activity.

A perhaps unanticipated corollary to this change at the campus level, and reflecting the general expansion of University activities over the past thirty or more years, was the growth in the Universitywide administration. President Kerr initiated a process of decentralization of both authority and staffing. But by the late 1990s, staffing at Universitywide offices was significantly higher than the levels employed during Sproul's presidency -- although it remains significantly lower than the staffing at the campus level as shown in the following charts.

In 1958 the universitywide Office of the President employed 992 positions; by 1965 that number had dropped to 365; in 1996, the total had increased to 2,599 (including those engaged in coordinating and administering the universitywide agricultural programs and the University's Natural Resources programs). In part, this growth in Universitywide staff led to the decision by University of California President David Gardner in the mid-1980s to move to a larger facility in Oakland.



Number of Universitywide and Campus Staff and Faculty: 1958, 1965 and 1996

Source: Development and Decentralization, Office of the President, 1966; Statistical Summary of Students and Staff, Fall 1996.

Shift in UC Administrative and Faculty Staffing: 1958 - 1996



Source: Development and Decentralization, Office of the President, 1966; Statistical Summary of Students and Staff, Fall 1996.

It is important to note that state budget cuts in the early 1990s resulted in an overall reduction in staff at both the universitywide and campus levels, and to a reduction in the number of faculty through three early retirement programs. Yet they did not result in major structural changes in the administration.

The growth of the administration at the campus and universitywide levels has important implications for the Academic Senate. While the organization and staffing levels for the universitywide Senate and the divisions have changed relatively little, a vast network of administrative offices has emerged, each with a distinct mission and with a desire, and

a duty, to influence policymaking. Probably in most cases, this proliferation of administrative units has been a necessary and important part of operating what is a huge public research university enterprise. One might argue whether there should have been less administrative growth. But of more relevance to this brief is the impact it has had on the role of the Academic Senate in its current organization.

While the Academic Senate has been delegated responsibilities by the Regents in areas such as curriculum and admissions, the vast majority of important issues are consultative -- where the Senate has partial responsibility, as in academic personnel, or advisory powers, as in the budget and administrative structure. The growth in administration has influenced, if not changed, the dynamics of how the President of the University and the Provost for Academic Affairs gain information and advice. They are obligated to consult and respond to an increasing number of organized constituents and managers, and at times these constituencies argue over the jurisdiction and appropriate influence of the others.

The figure shown on the following page provides an illustration (based on a chart originally developed by Senior Vice President and Provost King) showing the number of people, committees and units that are collaborating and, to a certain degree, competing in the process of advising the President and Provost in policy making. This group now includes not only a bevy of universitywide administrators, but the Council of Chancellors created by Kerr, a Council of Academic Vice Chancellors, a Council of Vice Chancellors for Student Affairs, and other groups with different jurisdictions and levels of influence.

Within this organizational framework, what is the relative power and influence of the Academic Senate? Over time, it appears that the Senate, while still extremely important, has become less influential in policy development. In part, this seems to be a natural development in light of the growing complexity of the University's operations, and the changing political and economic environment (e.g., the erosion in state funding, the growth of litigation, the politics and policy of affirmative action, admissions, and now outreach).

Within this process of policy development, it should be recognized that it is the administration, at the universitywide and campus levels, that generates the vast majority of proposals -- providing the analytical capability that both reacts to and anticipates external changes, and seeks solutions to internal management problems. The Senate has become less proactive, and more reactive and dependent on the analytical and technical staff of the University.



Internal Dynamics of Contemporary Universitywide Policy-Making

While recognizing the important role of universitywide and campus staff in developing proposals and analysis of University operations, one might also imagine mechanisms that could empower the Senate to become more proactive, and increase its value as a source of advice to the President, the Provost, and more generally the universitywide administration.

Faculty versed in the history and organization of the University can provide a valuable source of information on the benefits and problems of proposed changes in areas such as budgeting and personnel. The Senate, specifically, can also provide an alternative systemwide perspective from that of administrative bodies such as the Council of Chancellors which often reflect the strongest provincial views. It is in the interest of the President and the Regents to have an effective Senate, providing at times a countervailing force -- one that can, in fact, empower the President and the Provost in dealing effectively with universitywide issues.

A Continuing Process of Decentralization

Another important contextual factor influencing the future role of the faculty in University governance and management is decentralization. As in the 1930s and earlier, there remains significant tension between the two values of campus autonomy and the one-university concept.

Several factors appear to influence renewed discussions on the proper relationship of the Universitywide administration and the campuses, and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the universitywide Academic Senate and campus divisions. For one, the real and perceived decline in centrally administered state funding to the campuses has led to the further discretionary authority of the Chancellors -- real in that there has been an almost 25% decline in per-student state funding to the University since 1990; perceived in that while other sources of funding have risen and have helped to compensate for this decline (fees and tuition, contracts and grants, and gifts), state funding remains the bread and butter source for faculty salaries, core instruction and most research support costs (e.g., buildings, maintenance).

The prospect of only a modest flow of state funds to support enrollment growth, and the sense of greater reliance on campus derived funds, has raised the desire of campus officials for an even greater autonomy. At the same time, President Atkinson has articulated the need "to develop new management systems for the University to promote efficiency and guarantee accountability to the people of California." As part of this effort, the President proposed a budget initiative giving Chancellors greater "responsibility for managing resources and setting campus priorities" that was subsequently approved by the Regents.⁸ As stated in the proposal, this includes giving the Chancellors a single allocation for enrollment growth beginning in 1996-97:

Rather than receiving separate allocations for additional faculty, teaching assistants, institutional support, libraries, instructional support and student services, campuses will receive a block of funds which includes funding for all of the budget areas associated with enrollment growth.

Further, Chancellors now may use a portion of student fees and tuition as a source of support for the operating budget of the campus, e.g., core I&R activities including the library and faculty salaries. This step represents a change in the University's long-held no-tuition policy dating back to 1868 that has been introduced incrementally following the major state budget cuts of the early 1990s.

The growth in the administrative structure and the complexity of the University, along with the further decentralization of authority to campuses, provides an important background for looking at the present and future role of the Academic Senate.

¹ An Act to Create and Organize the University of California, California Statutes, March 23, 1868. ² See Verne A. Stadtman (ed.), *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley: University of California Printing Department, 1967) 9-11.

³ See Eugene C. Lee, *The Origins of the Chancellorship: The Buried Report of 1948* (Berkeley: Center for Studies in Higher Education and the Institute of Governmental Studies, 1995)

⁴ Report of the Study Committee No. 1., "The Two Structures: Faculty Self-Government and Administrative Organization," chaired by Ewald T. Grether, and presented at the Eighth All-University Faculty Conference, April/May, 1953.

⁵ Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *The Academic Senate of the University of California* (Berkeley: Office of the President, University of California, 1968) 53.

⁶ Report of the Study Committee No. 4, "The Reorganization of the Academic Senate," chaired by Sidney Cameron, and presented at the Sixteenth All-University Faculty Conference, March, 1961.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ President Richard Atkinson to the Board of Regents, August 2, 1996.