The relationship of the University to the community is that of a "highly specialized industry" to a dependent community.

The Structure and Influence of University and Non-University Representatives on University Campus Committees

by Dr. Hakim Salahu–Din
Kansas State University

Introduction

Today's university represents a significant departure from the 12th century university in Bologna, where students controlled the employment of teachers and the place of instruction. If students were not satisfied with their studies, they simply boycotted professors, or, if they did not like the town, they simply moved the university to another town (Haskins, 1957). Students first organized groups or universities "as a means of protection against the townspeople, for the price of rooms and necessities rose rapidly with the crowd of new tenants and customers, and the individual student was helpless against such profiteering" (p. 9). Together, students could bring the town to terms by the threat of departure since the university had no buildings. Many examples of such historic migrations exist. Against "their other enemies," the professors, students would collectively boycott. At times, professors were put under bond to live up to a minute set of regulations that guaranteed students the worth of their money. The subsequent "town-grown" split was inevitable since the concerns of the community and the university were different. Nevertheless, having a university in or near a community would lend prestige and income to a town, and faculty and students would have access to the community's resources, a mutually beneficial exchange.

The land-grant university, first established in 1862 in the United States, has a three-fold mission: instruction, research, and community service. Kansas State University,

Dr. Hakim Salahu-Din is Assistant Director of Admissions at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.

one of the first land-grant universities and founded as Kimball College in 1862, exemplifies this mission of educating and keeping farmers and the sons and daughters of farmers in the state. Modifying the Jeffersonian common school principle, the federal government became somewhat of a partner in higher education, which at Kansas State University and other land-grant institutions assumed a different focus from the traditional quadrivium of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, and the trivium of grammar, logic, and rhetoric found in medieval universities. The important idea is that the university was no longer simply an elitist institution, reserved for the rich and influential; education gained practicality. The land-grant mission attempted to meet the special needs of particular populations, bringing greater income, ability to compete with foreign markets, and civilization to newly settled communities (Litz, 1985). In short, a shift occurred that made the university function *for* the community rather than in the community. Community control, which had been absent under elitist models of education, was introduced and legitimized.

At the time of this investigation (1986), Kansas State University, the focus of this study, had undergone a number of changes, changes too numerous to investigate in this effort. These changes, more often than not were connected with administrative leadership. Between 1985 and 1986, for example, the University had employed two new vice presidents and a new president, three new deans and a new athletic director, four new head coaches, two of them in major revenue-producing sports, and incurred vacant positions for the director and two associate directors of the Office of Student Financial Assistance (three of the top four positions), one assistant and two associate registrars, a budget director, and a half-time position for assistant director of affirmative action. This list is far from exhaustive.

Located in Manhattan, Kansas, a city of approximately 40,000 people, Kansas State University is a major source of income for the city and its surrounding communities. The University's spring 1985 enrollment was 18,085 students (Final Enrollment Tabulations, 1985). The following indicates the school's potential contributions to the community.

University Budget

KSU's operating funds for 1985–1986 came from the following sources:

State appropriations	$ 83.4 million	45.4%
Federal land-grant funds	$ 7.0 million	3.8%
Student fees	$ 19.0 million	10.3%
Hospital and diagnostic fees	$ 1.1 million	0.6%
Auxiliary enterprises (including housing, athletics, and student union)	$ 33.6 million	18.3%
Gifts, grants, research contracts, and sales	$ 39.8 million	21.6%
	$183.9 million	100.0%

Student Financial Assistance, 1984–1985

Gift Aid to 8,800 students	$ 6.8 million
Loan programs for 9,000 students	$18.0 million
Jobs for 5,500 students	$ 5.4 million
Miscellaneous aid	$ 0.6 million
Total	$30.8 million

Faculty and Staff

Instructors	1,043
Researchers	579
Extension specialists	210
County extension agents	282
General support personnel (faculty)	231
University support personnel (staff)	1,857
Total	4,202

(Kansas State University, 1986)

These figures indicate the importance of the university to the local economy, "especially when one considers student spending for books, beer, and baubles at local businesses" (Flora, 1986).

Observing the many variables affecting a university—leadership and environment, finances and enrollment, quality of education and quality of life—one becomes interested in understanding the role of external agents in the control of the institution, particularly, "How do community elites get control of these institutions, and in what ways?" (Flora, 1986).

Colleges and universities have significant relationships with their environments, particularly in resource transactions. If their environments change, then the objectives of the university must also change (Tonn, 1978). Considering this and the maxim that "the institution that does not demonstrate that it has definite goals will find others rushing to supply them" (Dressel, 1981, p. 281), one finds a study of external agents and their connections to the university useful. By identifying members of the policy-making bodies of the university, we can then determine how broadly or how narrowly community boundaries can be drawn, and discover there are opportunities for narrowly and locally defined interest groups to become "the community" controlling the university (Flora, 1986).

Methodology

While not a part of Troustine and Christensen's (1982) research method in their study of San Jose, an effective way of capturing and understanding patterns of interlocking institutions in a community is network analysis (an essential element in the study of power). In the past several decades, many community power studies have appeared: "often the research pits sociologists against political scientists who debate whether local power is hierarchial ('elitist') or segmented ('pluralist')" (Wirt and Kirst, 1982, p. 109). Partly theoretical, partly methodological, and partly normative, the distinctions in the literature have not always been clear. Still, the point of agreement about power is that the capacity to cause or inhibit change in behavior is impossible to effect without power. Power is the ability of individuals or groups to control the policy-making processes in the academic community (Hodgkinson and Meeth, 1971).

According to Killacky (1973), the major economic activities in Manhattan over the two decades prior to 1973 were land development and construction, brought on by increased enrollment at the University and the growth of a nearby military installation. In his study of community power, Killacky's "modified positional methodology" analyzed organizations within the voluntary sectors, rather than just individuals in key positions. As in Killacky's study, the data used in this study are obtained from representatives of various concerns with the understanding that information that is not a matter of public record would not be used. Data were collected for the 1985–86 school year.

University Committees

This study examined boards of directors, trustees, planning and search committes, and other joint decision-making bodies, involving persons internal and/or external to Kansas State University. By examining university committees, this study focused on decision-making bodies influencing the leadership and direction of the University. Of 85 committees listed in the Kansas State University's listing of Student Senate, Faculty Senate, and Administrative Committees (Kansas State University, 1985), only the President's Administrative Council and the Advisory Committee on Campus Development are included in this study. This research focused on committees that would influence the resolution or non-resolution of major issues concerning the University and its relations with the public. A summary of the function of each committee follows:

The Alumni Association Board of Directors (KAA). Since its founding in 1874, the University's Alumni Association has grown as a non-profit organization, serving Kansas State University and its alumni. The staff has five primary goals: student recruitment, "friend-raising," financial maintenance, communications and record keeping.

The Alumni Association's board of directors is made up of 24 members—18 elected to three-year terms and four appointed. The president and president-elect are elected by the board. New members are elected each spring by association members. (Annual Report, 1984–85)

The Kansas State University Foundation Executive Committee (FEC). The organization encourages, receives, and holds in trust any real and personal property given for the use of the University, its faculty, or students. The Foundation invests or disburses, manages, administers, and controls all such gifts to provide services which cannot be provided through student fees (Trustee Handbook, 1986). The Foundation is governed by a Board of Trustees, consisting of 175 members, representing educational and geographic constituencies. Fifteen members make up the Executive Committee. "The Foundation is a nonprofit educational corporation chartered by the State of Kansas" (p. 1). It has complete autonomy and flexibility in handling gifts to benefit the University.

State of Kansas Board of Regents (BRS). The ten members of the Regents are appointed by the Governor of the State of Kansas to govern six state universities.

University's Presidential Search Committee (PSC). A 15-member committee was appointed by the Board of Regents in 1985 to review candidates for president of Kansas State University and recommend finalists for the position to the Board of Regents. [A president was selected by The Board of Regents on March 22, 1986.]

Athletic Director's Search Committee (UAD). This 11-member group was appointed by the president of the University to receive and screen candidates for the position of athletic director, then make recommendations to him. [An athletic director was selected in the spring of 1985.]

Coliseum Program Committee (CPC). This committee is responsible for the planning and construction of an estimated 14 to 17 million dollar sports coliseum for the University.

Advisory Committee on Campus Development (ACD).
"Advises the Vice President for Administration and Finance concerning the physical development of the campus on matters of planning, design, and layout of new construction and alterations" (Kansas State University Student Senate, Faculty Senate, and Administrative Committee Listing, 1985).

Presidential Administrative Council (PAC). "For discussion and review of University-wide policy issues and information of significance to University operations" (Kansas State University Student Senate, Faculty Senate, and Administrative Committee Listing, 1985). Persons become members of the council by virtue of their positions as executives/administrators, i.e., provost, vice presidents, deans, directors. . . .

University for Man's Board of Directors (UFM). Started in the late 1960s, University for Man began as a reform organization, primarily interested in causes, not in the mainstream of conservative ideology. The organization's focus has shifted to self-interest, energy conservation, demonstration projects, and grants. University for Man is an incorporated, nonprofit part of Kansas State University (MAES, 1986). Twelve members serve on the board. University for Man is a semi-autonomous entity nominally under the supervision of the Division of Continuing Education at Kansas State University.

McCain Advisory Committee (McA). A board of 21 adults and 4 students serve voluntarily and without compensation. People in the community that are interested in the performing arts may serve (Lowman, 1986).

Chairman of Series and Chief of Patrons for the Landon Lecture Series (LL). Two persons, a faculty member and the publisher of the local newspaper, receive suggestions as to who should be invited to participate in the Landon Lecture series, and they arrange for these speakers to participate in the series. "Leading personalities" are drawn from the public arena of world-renowned politicians, journalists, cabinet members, and other prominent figures involved in current public issues (Landon Lecture Series, 1985).

Dimensions of cultural values and political orientation are considered as well as is corporate influence. The Landon Lecture series, for instance, billed as one of the most prestigious series in America, has an image-making aspect. President Ronald Reagan, President Jose N. Duarte, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Congresswoman Patricia Shroeder, and Mayor Tom Bradley have participated in the series. The McCain series could influence which cultural values would be reinforced through entertainment at McCain Auditorium. Classical ballet, contemporary jazz, or a Broadway play are examples of kinds of entertainment. Of course, these committees may be only peripheral to the Foundation, the Alumni Association, the Presidential Search Committee, the Athletic Director's Search Committee, and the Coliseum Program Committee; still, such peripheral entities perform a socializing function. A discussion of cultural implication is given later in this paper.

After determining the committees to be included in this research, this study identified the membership of those committees. The important questions were: Which committees are central to the University? Which corporations have members serving on two or more committees? What do these corporations have in common?

Analysis
To refine the analysis of the power structure, interconnections among key institutions in the community were traced through their linkages with other key committee members. This is a modification of Troustine and Christensen's (1982) methodology, mapping institutional interlocks: sociometric or network analysis. Since each community is different and has its own constellation of interlocking institutions, network analysis is an effective way of capturing and understanding these patterns. An examination of the membership of the committees and identifying key corporate representation yielded the pattern shown in Figure 1 ("Contacts and Interlocks on University Committees"). Each line on the diagram represents a structured opportunity for a committee member to interact with a representative from another key corporation. Ray Enterprises, for example, had membership on four University committees and decision-making opportunities with eight corporate representatives, not including University representatives serving on four committees. For example, the number "12" represents structured opportunities for Ray Enterprises to influence university policy.
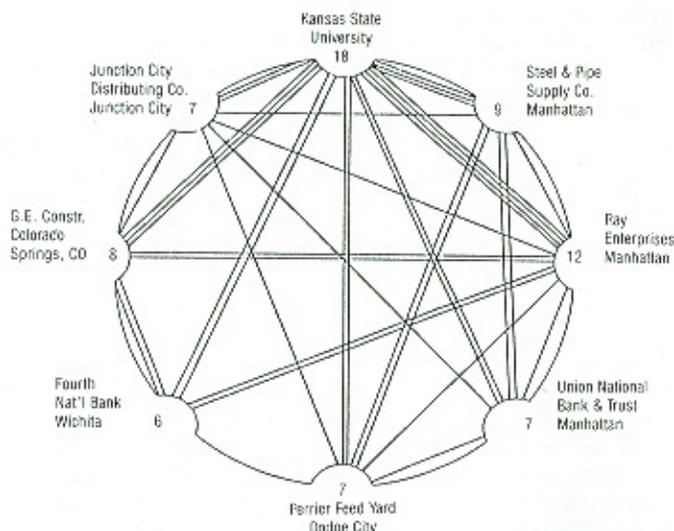

Figure #1

**Contacts and Interlocks
on University Committees**

Table 1, another way of showing interlocks, highlights direct connections and corporate membership of each committee. A representative from G.E. Construction Company, for example, shared membership with the University's faculty and administration, representatives from the Fourth National Bank, and Ray Enterprises on the University's Athletic Director's Search and Screening Committee.

TABLE 1
MATRIX SHOWING LINKAGES TO THE UNIVERSITY'S COMMITTEES AND CONTACTS, 1986

ORGANIZATIONS	UAD	UFM	LL	CPC	PSC	KAA	FEC	MCA
Kansas State University	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Fourth National Bank	*				*			
G.E. Construction Co.	*			*	*			
Perrier Feed						*	*	
Ray Enterprises	*				*		*	*
Steel & Pipe Supply		*				*	*	
Union National Bank		*					*	
Junction City Dist. Co.				*			*	

(Identify the committee; then read down to find the corporate linkages.)

Flora and Killacky's modification of Bavela's (1950) sociometric method was used in Tables 2 and 3 in the analysis of corporate and committee centrality:

> We simply counted the number of links [on sociometric chart] from individual "A" committee or corporation to all other individual [committee or corporations] in the network using the shortest route to each individual [committees or corporation]. Each direct link received a score of 1, a secondary link a score of 2, and so on. The sum of the distance from "A" to all people [committees or corporations] was "A's" centrality score (Flora and Killacky, p. 11).

TABLE 2
CORPORATE CENTRALITY MATRIX

	Steel and Pipe	Ray Enterprises	Union Nat'l Bank	Perrier Feed	4th Nat'l Bank	G.E. Const. Co.	J.C. Dist.	CENTRALITY SCORES
Steel & Pipe	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	8
Ray Enterprises	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	6
Union National Bank	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	8
Perrier Feed	1	1	1	0	2	2	1	8
4th Nat'l Bank	2	1	2	2	0	2	3	10
G.E. Const. Co.	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	9
J.C. Distrib.	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	7
CENTRALITY SCORES	8	6	8	8	10	9	7	

(Identify the committee; then read down to find the corporate linkages.)

Table 2, a Corporate Centrality Matrix, shows that Fourth National Bank, having a centrality score of 10, is less central to university decision-making opportunities than Ray Enterprises, which shows a score of 6. The lower the score the more central the corporation.

TABLE 3
COMMITTEE CENTRALITY MATRIX

	KAA	FEC	BRS	PSC	UAD	CPC	ACD	PAC	UFM	McA	LL	CENTRALITY SCORES
KAA	0	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	16
FEC	1	0	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	15
BRS	2	2	0	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	20
PSC	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	11
UAD	1	1	2	1	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	15
CPC	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	1	2	2	1	14
ACD	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	2	16
PAC	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	12
UFM	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	1	0	3	2	20
McA	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	0	2	20
LL	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	0	17
CENTRALITY SCORES	16	15	20	11	15	14	16	12	20	20	17	

Direct Links = 1
Secondary Links = 2
Tertiary Links = 3

In Table 3, a Committee Centrality Matrix, the same principle of centrality used in the examination of Table 2 is used. Thus, the President's Administrative Council (PAC) and the Presidential Search Committee (PSC) were the central committees at the University and potentially the most influential. The more important committees, the PAC, an ongoing committee and the PSC, a temporary committee, were within one point of each other totaling: 11 for the PSC and 12 for the PAC. The Foundation Executive Committee (FEC), scoring 15, the Athletic Director's Search Committee, scoring 15, and the Coliseum Program Committee, scoring 14, were within two to three points of the first group's centrality of influence opportunities and importance. Thus, opportunities for community representatives to influence decisions at the University become apparent.

To complement their sociometric network analysis, Troustine and Christensen (1982) prepared a questionnaire, and then interviewed people *"close to the exercise of power*—people who have to know about power in order to do their job or simply because of who they are, near the locus of power but not at its center"* (p. 61). In this study, three interviews were held with senior key university administrators, researchers, and professors that have observed, studied, and worked with powerful committees at the University and in the community. Respondents ranked the importance of the University's committees in Table 4.

"The President's Administrative Council has some very important people, but they don't do anything," Respondent X explains. "It's [PAC] a show and tell production. People in that setting do not exercise power." Yet the PAC has potential to influence. "When you break these people into components . . . the Dean's Council, for example, you have power. The most important committee on this campus is the Dean's Council. Nothing on this campus would fly if there were a unified effort by the Council of Academic Deans to stop it."

TABLE 4
RANKING OF COMMITTEE'S INFLUENCE BY PEOPLE IN THE KNOW

Name of Committee	Respondents		
	X	Y	Z
Board of Regents	1	1	1
Foundation Executive Committee	2	3	4
Presidential Administrative Council	2	11	2
Presidential Search Committee	2	2	3
Athletic Director's Search Committee	3	6	6
Coliseum Program Committee	3	8	7
Alumni Association's Board of Directors	3	4	5
McCain Advisory Committee	4	7	8
Landon Lecture's Chair & Chief of Patrons	5	10	9
Advisory Committee on Campus Development	*	5	11
University for Man's Board of Directors	*	9	10

*Committees were perceived as relatively uninfluential.

The spheres of influence are different, and none of the committees in the study has anything to do with academics, Respondent X says. The Vice President for Administration and Finance has power because he has resources—but he has none [power] in academics. Non-University members of these committees and boards influence the university's priorities by contacting the president and trying to influence him, according to Respondent X. "They would say that the [the President] better fire the football coach. . . . I believe that outside groups had more influence than anybody else in getting those positions in Admissions." (The incoming president has created nine additional "admissions counselor" positions in his efforts to increase enrollment at the University.) Members of the business community are concerned about the University's direction because "when enrollment goes up, townspeople profit. The downtown crowd gets upset when enrollment goes down because they lose business." For graduates of the University, success—a winning football team or prestigious academic program—helps the alumni's prestige. "It helps to define them. Much like graduates of West Point or Harvard, they (alumni) define themselves through the University that they have gone through." According to Respondent X, important committees that were not included in this study are college and departmental advisory committees. "Advisory committees in the College of Engineering will raise money for scholarships, equipment, or development. The Advisory Committee for Journalism and Mass Communications will call the president and let him know its' [the committee's] concerns!"

Respondent Y summarized that the Board of Regents is influential because it is a policy-making body. "Control. . . . When they mandated periodic program reviews and when they recently mandated mission studies, we had to comply." On the other hand, at the university the president is the central figure. "The President's Search Committee's meetings were confidential so it's hard to say. This committee (PSC) has enormous control over who would fill the key role." The Foundation is important because of resources and independence, he says. "Largely, because they have money and enough autonomy to determine how it's going to be spent, they have options because they control their own operations. The Alumni Association's Board members

haven't got themselves organized to where they can feel their own muscle as much as the other committees [BRS and PSC]."

Concerning involvement of non-university members on these committees, Respondent Y points to the PSC. "Off-campus people were the largest group of the constituency forming the search committee and their appointments were seen as an attempt to grab power from campus members. The fact that the Foundation is excused from reporting to the new vice president [a newly established position by the incoming president] is an indication that the president is *afraid* of the downtown representatives," he says. "They are largely responsible for the dwindling support that the last president received. They control a lot of the money decisions that will determine whether we will go with the coliseum or offer a scholarship to a student or attract faculty members by offering them incentives. Control is largely left to those people off campus."

According to Respondent Z, since the Alumni Association is "controlled by a group that has no official ties to the University, their ability to coordinate University activities is eliminated by the University's structure that keeps them (non-university committee members) outside the structure. We [administrators and faculty] don't have any real control over what they do." To people "downtown" the University is important on an economic basis. "When the image suffers and enrollments decline, it's bad for business. Economically, there is a lot at stake. People who are here only for the University [parents visiting students, attending sport events] spend a lot of money and don't demand a lot of services. When we have a winning football team, students bring their parents up and spend a lot of money. Image and reputation contribute to the economic well-being of the state. There is also the emotional appeal . . . the desire to identify with a winner and avoid being identified with a loser, Respondent Z says. Athletic rah-rahs are the best examples. But there is pride in the high rating of the accounting program and pride in the citation of vet med as a leading program in the nation. The two basic interests are economic and ego.

"Obviously, the Board of Regents is important because it makes financial decisions. Of course, the Legislature makes critical decisions, giving us only part of what the Regents recommend. But the Regents request the budget," he says. "The Regents is more of a *conduit* in terms of ultimate power. They make only one choice, the president. Depending on their choice of president, the university becomes more intellectual, more sport conscientious, or research oriented.

"The Foundation is entirely non-university. [The president is a member of the Foundation's Executive Committee.] These people have money to give and brains. Almost all of the Manhattanites who belong to the Foundation are multimillionaires or half-millionaires. Some are not even college graduates. They have become successful without a degree. Some get on the board of the Foundation to get prestige." The direction of the University is a concern to members of the business community. Respondent Z says, "Enrollment is the critical, number one fact of life, for the people downtown. When the University had 3,000 students, the town had 5,000 to 6,000 people. With 16,000 to 17,000 students the town has 25,000 people." Respondent Z believes that the community's growth is in proportion to the University's enrollment: "one and one-half residents for each student," he says. "People need houses, buy groceries. . . . Everything depends on a population that is dominated by this one institution. Anybody who runs a business makes less money if there are fewer students. Simply, the

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number of students determines the number of townspeople which determines the number of dollars. The number of professionals . . . the number of patients of a doctor is always reflective of the number of students [at the University]."

Discussion

Table 5 is a comparison of findings showing the four most influential committees revealed through the Corporate Centrality Matrix and interviews with key sources.

TABLE 5
FOUR MOST INFLUENTIAL UNIVERSITY COMMITTEES

	Centrality Maxtrix	Resp. X	Resp. Y	Resp. Z
#1	PSC	BRS	BRS	BRS
#2	PAC	FEC/PAC/PSC	PSC	PAC
#3	CPC	UAD/CPC/KAA	FEC	PSC
#4	FEC/UAD	McA	KAA	FEC

[Although Respondent X ranked three committees for the second and third most influential committees and scored influence on a scale of 1 to 5 rather than 1 to 11, Respondent X's replies are mixtures of the centrality matrix's scores and the answers of respondent Y and Respondent Z.]

The consensus was that the four most powerful committees influencing the University were: the Board of Regents (BRS), the Presidential Search Committee (PSC), the Foundation Executive Committee (FEC), and the Presidential Administrative Council (PAC). The second most influential committees were the University's Athletic Director Search Committee (UAD), the University's Alumni Association Board of Directors (KAA), and the Coliseum Program Committee (CPC).

Perhaps what is not seen and, equally, what is important is the composition of these committees. Interesting gatherings of powerful business representatives are found on certain committees. The most influential ad hoc committee, the Presidential Search Committee, conducted its business behind closed doors, according to Respondent Y, who quipped, "We are being run by beer barons." The most cohesive grouping and a very influential body, the Presidential Administrative Council, was called a do-nothing committee by two of the three respondents, one of whom was a member of the PAC. Yet, all respondents recognized the PAC's potential influence in decision making.

The relationship of the University to the community is that of a "highly specialized industry" to a dependent community. The dependency of the community has been explained by the respondents. Still, unlike major industries in small towns, no evidence was found that indicated the University directs the town; although there are indications that business leaders influence the University's direction. Although the Board of Regents is of primary importance, even though its members are appointed by the Governor, rather than elected. Yet, the Regents' relationship with the University is formally routinized and necessarily more structured than the influence of community elites who could telephone the Regents or governor or president about an issue.

Without question, such pressure can affect the Regents. The respondents seemed to appreciate the makeup of university committees, their potential, their impact, and their "lethargy." Implications are that University committee members do *not* effectively exercise their influence in determining the priorities of the institution; whereas, non-University committee members do exercise their power. These conclusions are drawn from noting the composition of the committees deemed important in this study.

For the purpose of this project, the distinctions made as to the longevity and composition of the respective committees are sufficient to distinguish the players and their arenas. Perhaps categorizing these committees would lead to different but not more interesting findings. The interesting questions explore the exercises of power by the various players. Who has it? Who uses it? Nevertheless, the information gained and lessons learned from this study would be useful in studies of educational administration.

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