

Ernest L. Boyer.

***Scholarship Reconsidered:
Priorities of the Professoriate.***

**Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie
Foundation for the Advancement
of Teaching, 1990, 147 pp.**

In his latest contribution to public discussion about higher education in general and undergraduate education in particular, Ernest Boyer reconsiders scholarship. More specifically, he examines the scholarly priorities that are embedded in "the culture of the professoriate." For Boyer, consideration of faculty time and the faculty reward system is pivotal to any effort to improve undergraduate education. Currently, the academic profession is dominated by a restrictive model of scholarship that emphasizes narrow, specialized research that results in professional publication. Such a model does not acknowledge academics' diverse talents; it weakens their commitment to undergraduate education, and it is out of touch with societal needs. Boyer's remedy is to redefine scholarship in more creative and realistic ways that tap the full potential of the faculty and address the full range of higher education's academic and civic mandates. Scholarship is said to consist of "four separate, yet overlapping, functions": the scholarships of discovery, integration, application, and teaching.

Many of the themes of *Scholarship Reconsidered* hark back to Boyer's earlier book, *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America*. Colleges and universities are confused about their goals. The sense of campus community is diminished. The curriculum and academic life of higher education institutions are increasingly specialized, lacking relevance and coherence. Academics are more loyal to the profession than to the campus, and more driven by the professional status that comes with basic research, than by the needs of either students or society. In targeting the hierarchical "priorities of the professoriate"

as the basic source of the above problems, Boyer offers a more inclusive, pluralistic conception of professional performance as a solution.

In the first chapter, Boyer traces the post-World War II ascendancy of the restrictive model of scholarship as basic research. This most recent stage of scholarship is attributed to German influence, in contrast to the colonial college and land-grant college traditions that previously dominated American higher education. Historically, then, we have moved from an emphasis on scholars as teachers shaping the character of future generations, to scholars as practitioners applying knowledge to serve societal needs, to scholars as basic researchers pursuing and producing specialized knowledge. In Boyer's view, the latter model pervades American higher education, to the detriment of the two earlier conceptions of academic work.

Having provided this background, Boyer offers his enlarged perspective, incorporating four functions of scholarship. The scholarship of discovery refers largely to the basic research model. It is investigative scholarship. The scholarship of integration refers to multidisciplinary work that is geared not just to discovery but to interpretation that involves "making connections across the disciplines." It is synthesizing scholarship. The scholarship of application refers to models of academic work found in land-grant and more practically oriented institutions that involve applying skills and knowledge to practical problems. It is scholarship as service. The scholarship of teaching refers to those activities that stimulate understanding that not only transmit but transform knowledge. It is scholarship as education.

In talking about the faculty, Boyer emphasizes that members of the professoriate are marked by different strengths that vary over time. Although faculty are increasingly expected to publish on a regular basis, many academics believe that teaching should be a primary criterion for promotion and that the emphasis on re-

search publications is problematic. Most faculty do not think of themselves primarily as researchers. Most do not sustain a primary commitment to research over time. Interests and creative capacities change. Patterns of productivity are complex. The evaluation standards embedded in narrow conceptions of scholarship do not accommodate such diversity in the careers and concerns of faculty. In order to incorporate and validate his four different conceptions of scholarship, Boyer suggests the use of "creativity contracts" that would enable and encourage faculty to redefine and reorient their professional work in three- to five-year periods.

In promoting academics' pursuit of diverse forms of scholarship, Boyer calls for flexible contracts; in promoting institutions' pursuit of diverse forms of scholarship, he calls for a stable division of labor. Universities and colleges are asked to "carve out their own distinctive missions." For the most part, these missions correspond to Boyer's four forms of scholarship. Research universities should emphasize the scholarship of discovery and honor teaching. Community colleges should emphasize the scholarship of teaching and of application. Liberal arts colleges should emphasize the scholarship of teaching. Some comprehensive institutions should emphasize the scholarship of integration. Some others should emphasize the scholarship of application. Rather than pursuing the model of scholarship as discovery, most colleges and universities should find dignity in other models.

Boyer closes his report by dealing with the connection between the academy and external society. Echoing Derek Bok's warning of the "dangers of detachment," Boyer suggests that we need closer connections between the campus and the community. He offers, once again, his expanded notion of scholarship as a means by which to renew not just the academy, but society.

In delineating four models of scholarship, Boyer seeks to move the discussion "beyond the tired old 'teaching versus research' debate and give the familiar and honorable term 'scholarship' a broader,

more capacious meaning, one that brings legitimacy to the full scope of academic work." Yet, the broader meanings of scholarship Boyer provides utilize longstanding, and some would say, tired, terminology in the lexicon of higher education—multi-disciplinary (versus specialized) and applied (versus basic) research—that adds little that is new to the discussion and that leads us to overlook important existing developments. Moreover, Boyer's Special Report reads very much like other reports about undergraduate education, in that it invokes the same demon in the form of the research model.

If the research model works a powerful influence on many universities, and clearly it does, such a pattern of academic drift can be overstated. Colleges change their names to universities. Regional and municipal state institutions aspire to be like the flagship public institution. But what does this mean for how academics spend their time? Large numbers of colleges and universities are anchored by a variety of factors in their niches, and their faculty simply are not cutting back on the time they devote to teaching and service in order to conduct basic research. If Boyer had synthesized the considerable research on how faculty actually spend their time, the limits of the research model's dominance would have been evident.

More importantly, Boyer ignores some of the major causes of the drift toward scholarship of discovery. The Special Report's title suggests that the linchpin lies in the priorities of the professoriate. Certainly the faculty as individuals, and in their professional associations, are implicated in the process. Just as certainly, colleges and universities establish and benefit from reward structures that encourage faculty to conduct not just research, but funded research. In those comprehensive and doctoral granting institutions that aspire to research university status, it is not the bulk of the faculty that drives them in that direction. Boyer's own survey data on the sentiments of faculty in those institutions would confirm that fact. Rather, it is administrators, in conjunction with small numbers of faculty, who try to

change the culture of the organization from the top down.

Boyer does not discuss the resource implications of the dominant research model. The priorities of the professoriate, and of the managers of these professors, are shaped by more than the desire for prestige. In an era of indirect cost charges of over 50 percent at most institutions, colleges and universities stand to gain a great deal from their faculty's research. At the same time that university presidents call for an increased emphasis on teaching, they push their faculty to obtain more and more lucrative research grants, and they invest resources disproportionately in those units and those faculty that generate the most external monies. Public universities not only stand to gain directly from their faculty's research, they stand to lose resources from their state legislatures if their faculty do not conduct research. Boyer calls for "diversity with dignity." What this means for those institutions that do not find themselves at the top of the hierarchy is, be happy with your place. That might be easier if, for example, regional, comprehensive state institutions were supported by their states as well as the flagship institutions. They are not. The discussion of priorities, then, needs to address not just faculty, but administrators and state legislators.

In some ways, perhaps the major shortcoming of Boyer's report is that it perpetuates the isolation of discourse about undergraduate education from other discourses in higher education. For instance, there is a tremendously significant debate raging about the commercialization of science. It is deeply ironic that Boyer cites Bok in decrying the detachment of the academy and of scholarship at precisely the time when the principal national discussion about science and technology concerns conflict of interest, with federal agencies drafting guidelines to regulate the activities of individual professors, and with politicians and professors sharply criticizing universities (such as Harvard) for certain arrangements with private industry. The academy is not detached. It is no longer an ivory tower, if it ever was. Presidents

and professors have sometimes taken their organizations beyond not just the tower, but some would suggest, beyond the pale. The debate revolving around these concerns on the surface deals with science, but it has profound implications for both graduate and undergraduate education in terms of faculty/student relations, faculty involvement with students, and curriculum. Shapers of the policy debate should draw out such implications and connect what are currently disconnected discussions of higher education.

One of the problems with discussing scholarship generically is that the different forms of scholarship, as they are practiced in higher education, serve certain groups more than others. For example, the scholarship of discovery blossomed because the federal government came to be convinced of just how useful science was in waging war. For all of our talk about detached, pure science, federally funded research has long served to address fundamental societal needs, such as health, energy, and defense. In the process, it has served particular industries more than others (e.g., nuclear and oil industries more than solar and other alternative energy source industries). Similarly, institutions engaged in the scholarship of application have served some interests more than others. Land-grant institutions have served agribusiness more than family farmers. Metropolitan universities and community colleges have serviced some municipal agencies and industries more than others. I believe our discussions of higher education should go beyond questions of whether we should be serving, to whom we are and should be serving, and to what choices we are making in the content of our scholarship.

In summary, Boyer intones comforting words and phrases for those who believe the research model has thrown American higher education out of balance. Yet, in failing to take the discussion beyond the conventional lexicon of higher education, I believe that if his words soothe, they will provide not change, but continuity, in what functions are performed and what interests are served by higher education institutions and their faculty. If on the

surface this Special Report attacks the current hierarchy in higher education, I fear that ultimately its effect will be to perpetuate patterns of privilege within and beyond higher education.

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Bruce Wilshire.

The Moral Collapse of the University: Professionalism, Purity, and Alienation.

Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990, 287 pp.

Bruce Wilshire's *Moral Collapse of the University* is a thoughtful analysis of some problems plaguing the modern university. Wilshire's primary focus is the epistemological source of the dualisms that shape research, educational processes, the organization, and the structure of the research university. Wilshire explains the perpetuation of these dualisms, using the history of his own discipline, philosophy. He also employs historical accounts of the development of American higher education, and theoretical and methodological perspectives from psychology, anthropology, and feminist theory. He explores mind/body, self/other, male/female, professor/student, culture/nature, dualisms that shape perceptions of intellectual work.

Descartes' separation of mind and body, Wilshire argues, spurred processes of legitimating knowledge that have increasingly moved toward the "totalizing ambition" of modern science and materialism. (p. 42) This movement has occurred generally in modern society, but is particularly manifest in the contemporary secular university. The pursuit of knowledge has become the primary valued activity of the university, rewarded in a variety of structural ways, including hiring and tenure policies, departmental organization, and institutional rewards and punishments that shape self-esteem. Therefore, the ef-

fects of the totalizing process merit examination in light of the university's other major, though seemingly less important, mission: education.

Plato's definition of education—the act of fostering the desire for right conduct and the good—serves as a guide for exploring the means that universities provide for the formation of the self in a particular cultural and historical location. Making of the self, or identity, Wilshire suggests, is propelled by archaic energies. Any effort by teachers to participate in that process must include recognition of its rootedness "in a generic-religious background" poorly served by institutions with a narrow, scientific, and materialist orientation to the production and assimilation of knowledge. (p. 66) At this point, Wilshire's depiction of the effects of technical rationality gives a compelling twist to related arguments in Jurgen Habermas's *Reason and Rationality* and Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization*. But Wilshire proceeds to link explicitly the role of the university to the production of technological competence. This linkage is manifest, first, in valuing the production of knowledge through a single "method of discovery through experimentation and calculation" and, second, in the university's function as a gatekeeper to power, wealth, and identity. (p. 44)

This last function is central to Wilshire's argument about the shaping of identity. Once the means of discovering new knowledge was in place in universities, the faculties became concerned with protecting it from pollution. They located academic disciplines within separate departments in an ongoing process of purification of technique and delineation of the boundaries of content. In addition, those with less precise knowledge, i.e., students, have been shunted off to graduate students or less research-oriented faculty members, unless they commit themselves to elaborate rituals of initiation into the academy by working for the doctorate.

Elements of Wilshire's argument elicit immediate recognition from anyone who has worked in a research university and witnessed the rituals of purification, the abandonment of undergraduates, and the protection of departmental turf. This is

particularly the case in institutions so governed that faculty cannot come to grips with curricular policies affecting the whole institution, because they are encouraged to compete for resources or see another's loss as their gain. Indeed, one only has to reread Robert Hutchins's lament in *The Higher Learning in America* (1936), or Clark Kerr's warning in *The Uses of the University* (1963) to find threads of continuing anxiety about these characteristics of the modern university. Pushing beyond description of the structural and behavioral attributes with which we are familiar, Wilshire offers a number of complex, intertwined reasons for them.

The persuasive power of his explanations varies. By singling out the research university to explore its "conception of knowledge, and of the knower, which was constricted and outmoded" before being taken up by the university, he ignores the interconnectedness of the university with the whole American system of formal education. (p. 33) Passivity, alienation, and the meaningless transmission of information are endemic characteristics at all levels of schooling. They represent the impoverishment of the particular conception of knowledge and the knower that so concerns Wilshire. One could argue that focusing on the research university only barely touches on the problem. Quite possibly, if the university's clientele, the students, were educated earlier to demand a richer educational experience, universities would be compelled to respond in order to survive.

With respect to the effects of departmentalization on students' educational experience, Wilshire makes a plausible case for exploring basic concepts shared by all disciplines in, for example, the natural sciences or the social sciences. The purpose would be to provide students with the means of discussing and making sense of disciplinary studies, while also encouraging understanding of the whole. The University of Chicago college faculty devoted twenty years to such an effort before it was slowly dismantled by the university administration in the 1950s.

Yet, Wilshire's explanation for departmental protectiveness lacks adequate

support and deflects us from possibly a more central problem. In a novel application of anthropological and psychological constructs involving aversion to bodily pollution (pollution taboo), he asserts that professors act on a deep-seated tendency to keep their disciplinary purity (methods and content) from violation by the uninitiated—students. The problem with this assertion, which is provocative, if weak, is that he offers very little support. A few examples, like John Dewey's and F. M. Alexander's effort to explore body-consciousness (chapter 8), and anecdotes from his own experience to elucidate this phenomenon are not convincing. He could have made a better case for the viability of this explanation if he more explicitly had linked the anthropological and psychological theory with actual behavior and reflections about the behavior by those who experience it. By claiming this aversion to mixing (or pollution) as a deep-seated tendency, Wilshire leads us to believe that it is innate behavior, or instinctual response, rather than behavior elicited and fostered by the institutional culture of universities.

A further problem is Wilshire's use of history to assert that the 1920s decade was a moment of possibility for interdisciplinary study of the social sciences and that the 1990s present a ripe moment for changing the culture and structure of universities. He cites the work of William James, Martin Heidegger, Alfred North Whitehead, and John Dewey to support the first claim. His own work at Rutgers and a program at the University of Minnesota support the second. Again, the assertions are disturbing because his arguments are not persuasive. Neither his logic, nor his evidence, nor the power of his explanation is convincing. Unlike his articulation of the deep discontents within the research university, and one only has to read *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and recent critical studies to find support for this, his explanations for the structural development of them need richer grounding in the experience of those affected.

Because of these shortcomings, Wilshire's proposals to counter the long-term effects of positivism on the university's institutional development,

"reclaiming the vision of education," are decidedly limited. (p. 255) Using gender studies, for their ability to unmask bias in our epistemological and cultural assumptions and to foster interdisciplinary thinking, holds great promise for questioning the arrangements in all of our educational, cultural, and political institutions. But until universities begin tangibly to reward interdisciplinary endeavors, increased faculty-student interaction, and good teaching, and to acknowledge education as a moral, rather than simply technological, enterprise with clear statements of policy, faculty members are unlikely to respond.

Similarly, truth in advertising about where institutions really stand on the education of undergraduates or about the "moral relationship between persons devoted to truth," is a fine goal. (p. 229) But the truth is not so simple. Every research university has dedicated scholars who also are principled teachers. How does one deal with this in advertising the institutions? The relationship may exist in residential colleges with full-time students, but what about in metropolitan universities with a commuter clientele? Centers for analyzing moral and social problems of twentieth-century culture, unless they penetrate the departmental structure, do not offer much hope. Witness the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago. It is a successful venture that has not affected the departmental structure of the university.

Two recent pieces of literature on universities offer illuminating connections to Wilshire's argument: Thomas Bender's concluding essay in *The University and the City* (Oxford University Press, 1988) and Mike Rose's *Lives on the Boundary* (Penguin, 1989). Taken together, they raise profound questions about what is involved in the educational process, how it is supported within institutions, and what it means to educate people in the late twentieth century. Bender, for example, notes the importance of examining the university's role in affirming or contesting a society's inclusivity with respect to participation in defining public culture. Rose explores institutional responsibility through a rich contextual examination of the intersection

of individual lives and the formal education institutions provide. By examining the teaching-learning process with those who have abandoned or been abandoned by the educational system, Rose affirms a central concern of Wilshire. And this concern is at the heart of education as a social and moral, as well as intellectual, enterprise, whether the institution is a pre-school or a research university.

"A truly democratic vision of knowledge and social structure" that values "diverse sources" and manifestations of competence, Rose argues (p. 238), would provide educators "a revised store of images of educational excellence." As Wilshire tellingly suggests, "there is no substitute for human relationship and presence, for listening, for sharing silence and wonderment, and for caring." (p. 282) Until the work of scholars and teachers reflects the belief "that there is no expert knowledge of the human self that can be claimed by any particular academic field," and universities develop policies to reflect that piece of wisdom, we bear the burden and responsibility for guiding students to only a fragmented understanding of themselves and their world. (p. 282)

Wilshire's *Moral Collapse* is an insightful effort to inspire the painful self-examination necessary to change universities to make them more hospitable to education as a complex, humane, interpersonal process of growth.

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**Stephen A. Hoenack and
Eileen L. Collins.**

*The Economics of American
Universities: Management,
Operations, and Fiscal
Environment.*

Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1990,
285 pp.

From its modern roots in the eighteenth-century writings of Adam Smith to

the late twentieth-century works of Theodore Schultz and Richard Murnane, economic theory has provided a powerful source of insight into the behavior of educators. With their focus on costs and benefits, allocation of scarce resources, incentives, and maximization of social well-being, economists can provide higher education personnel with a number of useful, divergent perspectives on pressing day-to-day issues. Unfortunately, as Henry Levin observed recently in *Educational Researcher*, "Of all the disciplines that are represented in the educational research community, economics may be the least familiar to educational researchers generally."

In their work, *The Economics of American Universities: Management, Operations, and Fiscal Environment*, Stephen A. Hoenack and Eileen L. Collins provide an accessible survey of our current understanding about the operations of a highly complex institution, the American university, and the potential responsiveness of this institution to public policy initiatives. Hoenack and Collins argue that "the first steps in improving (universities') responsiveness to society's demands for their services should be close study of their production processes, their costs and supply behavior, and their student attendance demands and funding environments." (p. 2) To pursue this objective, Hoenack and Collins present a series of nine papers, which were originally commissioned by the National Science Foundation, that tackle such core issues as: (a) how universities transform inputs (e.g., students, faculty time and effort, buildings and equipment, endowment assets) into outputs (e.g., research, instruction, public service); (b) the relationship between institutional goals and resource allocation decisions; and (c) how universities adjust to a changing financial environment.

At the core of microeconomic analysis of any organization is the production function—how scarce resources available to the organization (e.g., faculty time and tuition payments) are related to outputs produced (e.g., learning outcomes). In one of the stronger papers in this book, David S. P. Hopkins describes, synthesizes, and

evaluates more than twenty years of literature exploring the higher education production function. The paper concludes that economists' knowledge of how institutions of higher education transform inputs into outputs remains "rather low at present." (p. 32) The task, he argues, is extremely complex, many of the critical inputs and outputs are currently unmeasurable, and the tools for estimating the mathematical relationships are woefully inadequate.

While it is widely believed that research and teaching are mutually supportive activities, Hopkins asserts that numerous efforts to model the exact nature of the interaction between the two have proven inconclusive. The strongest findings to date concern the existence of a negative relationship between instructional costs per student and institutional size (known as economy of scale), especially in those institutions devoted primarily to teaching. Interestingly, "no evidence about economies of scale in university research (i.e., cost per unit being inversely related to student enrollment) could be found in any of the literature reviewed for this paper." (p. 28)

Another top-notch piece, by William E. Becker, addresses the demands placed upon higher education institutions by their various constituencies. While he observes that these demands include undergraduate and graduate instruction, basic and applied research, certification, public service, and even entertainment, the focus of Becker's paper is the effect of cost (i.e., tuition and fees) and income on the demand for higher education enrollment. In a rather technical, but very informative section of the paper, Becker traces the evolution of our understanding of the college-going behavior of high school graduates from early models based only on grouped tuition, income, and demographic data, to intricate statistical models of individual choice that look at the impact of alternative forms of financial aid on the "tuition effect."

The final section of Becker's paper explores how universities set their tuitions and why institutions provide financial aid to students. The traditional argument for

tuition subsidies is based upon the assumption that these subsidies are the least expensive way to provide equitable access. Becker presents evidence that low university tuition may actually be inefficient and inequitable, especially in public four-year institutions.

The highlights of the book, though, are two papers exploring the decision making and priority-setting processes used by American universities. Universities give faculty a great deal of discretion in determining the nature and quantity of instructional and research outcomes, but these decisions are significantly constrained by the university's internal governance structure. This structure is intended to provide incentives for individual faculty members to pursue the stated or implied goals of the institution.

Howard P. Tuckman and Cyril F. Chang set out to define the relationship between institutional goals and the eventual allocation of university resources. To do so, they ask two questions: (1) What are the goals of higher education institutions? and (2) How are the goals of constituencies (e.g., students, faculty, administrators, trustees and governing boards, legislatures, outside funding agencies) melded into a set of institutional goals? They conclude that institutional goals can be usefully formulated, but the role of these goals in resource allocation is critically dependent on the nature of the budget process. In order to create the necessary link between goals and budgeting, Tuckman and Chang suggest that universities: (a) take the time to carefully define goals, budget categories, and budgetary rules; and (b) work with participants in the budget hierarchy to gain consensus.

In the second paper dealing with decision making, Estelle James surveys what economists know about how decisions are made in higher education. The most pertinent section of James's paper considers the impact on university decision making of differing—and often conflicting—objectives held by various participants. Specifically, institutions of higher education must deal with conflicts due to zero-sum allocations and departmental preferences, spill-over effects (i.e., when the benefits or costs of

one department's actions accrue to other university departments), and differences in faculty and administrative preferences among undergraduate instruction, graduate training, research, and other activities of the institution.

James concludes that universities emphasize the maximization of prestige by subsidizing graduate training and research with resources generated by profitable activities such as vocationally oriented programs (e.g., education, management, law), evening programs, and to a large extent, lower-division undergraduate teaching. The crux of the issue, according to James, is whether these priorities also maximize societal well-being.

Metropolitan universities are currently under a great deal of external pressure to explore new roles in their communities, which will inevitably generate demands for additional resources. The most promising avenue for generating these additional resources, in the face of uncertain state and federal funding, is by increasing the efficiency with which these universities use existing funds. In most cases, though, these attempts to improve decision making are made without reference to any conceptual framework about the effectiveness or efficiency of resource use. The absence of such frameworks, which could relate the proposed reforms to models of behavior within universities, increases the possibility that reform attempts will create perverse incentives for university personnel and actually worsen the institution's efficiency.

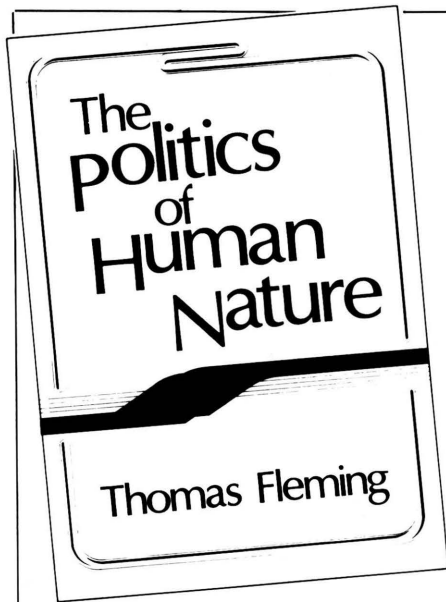
The papers included in this volume make a strong argument for the central role of reasonably sophisticated economic analysis in helping to advance educational decision making. Currently, educators are grappling with issues at the core of economics—resource allocation, scarcity, incentives—without using a powerful set of tools that economists have developed specifically for this purpose. This is not to suggest that economic analysis has all the answers to universities' problems. Indeed the most fruitful use of this perspective may be to help educators formulate the next good question to ask.

Having outlined the strengths of what

I believe to be a praiseworthy effort to bring together the current state of knowledge in higher education economics, I must take issue with the editors' almost total neglect of the higher education labor market. Colleges and universities are extraordinarily labor-dependent institutions. Economic analysis of the factors that influence faculty career paths—from entry to mobility to exit—would seem to be quite important in providing the knowledge base needed to support the editors' goal of improving universities' responsiveness to society's

needs. While much has been written about the possible impact of technological advances on colleges and universities, for the foreseeable future at least, efforts to strengthen an institution of higher education will hinge primarily on its ability to attract and retain appropriate faculty.

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and superbly
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