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GUIDE TO THE 1948–1990 ARCHIVE OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY CASE PROGRAM (ICP)

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by Edwin A. Bock

SUMMARY

Between 1948 and 1990, the Inter-University Case Program (ICP)—named during its early years “The Committee on Public Administration Cases” (CPAC)—published five case books and 170 individual studies of government policy-making and administration.

The Program was created by educators who had spent over three years working in Washington wartime agencies. They wanted to show their post-war university students an aspect of public administration that was largely ignored by prewar textbooks: namely, the civil servant’s role in the making and carrying out of public policies. And they wanted to demonstrate to professors of public administration who had not had personal experience at policy levels—or perhaps any government work experience at all—that by teaching only about efficient management and about techniques of budgeting, accounting, or civil service personnel management they were sustaining a prewar canon of dubious correctness. That canon—stemming from 19th century progressive reform movements and from 1920s “scientific management” experts—held that public administration was—or ought to be—separate from “politics.” By the term “politics,” those who extolled the canon usually had in mind a blend of Tammany corruption, greedy lobbyists, yellow journalism, incompetent political appointees, and an atmosphere of dishevelment and dubious morality that was the opposite of orderly, honest, efficient, rational, calm administration.

During the Case Program’s forty years, its Board members, who came from different universities and professional generations, were frequently disagreeing about the relative priorities of preparing (a) case studies that further explored the changing politics of policy formulation/execution, or (b) case studies that focused primly and “scientifically” on narrower, more rigorously comparable managerial episodes. Correspondence from Board members expressing differing views about research priorities and about the quality of case proposals and of prepublication drafts is accessible in the ICP archive.

COMPARATIVE ADMINISTRATION

In later years, the ICP also played a role in the larger movement to carry to foreign countries American types of “clinical” public administration research and teaching. Reciprocally, its work

program responded to the growing recognition in American universities of the significance of foreign/comparative public administration and of the special features and demands of what came to be called “development administration.” The ICP archive contains the files of its foreign activities in Europe, India, and other areas.



The finding aid (<http://library.syr.edu/digital/guides/i/icp.htm>) will take the reader to the complete list of the publications and files contained in the ICP archive. Text references below will give researchers directions to source materials in other public administration collections located (a) in the Special Collections Research Center at Syracuse University Libraries (e.g., the papers of Alan Campbell and of Donald Stone), and (b) in the separate Syracuse University Archives (e.g., the extensive papers of Paul Appleby and of Dwight Waldo and the complete Maxwell School records from 1926 to the present).

OVERVIEW

This guide contains two sections. The first, a Selective History, begins with a narrative of not-easily-accessible facts about the founding of the Case Program. That account is followed by a compressed chronological summary of the main features of its post-1950 years for which documentary evidence is abundantly available in the ICP archive. The second section, Biographies, to be posted later, starts with some of the program’s 1948 founders:

- E. Pendleton Herring (Harvard, Carnegie Corporation, Social Science Research Council)
 - Paul Appleby (Department of Agriculture, Bureau of the Budget, Syracuse)
 - Wallace S. Sayre (Cornell, City College, Columbia)
 - George A. Graham (Princeton, Ford, Brookings, NAPA**)
 - Harold Stein (first Staff Director; PACH*, Princeton)
 - Rowland Egger (PACH, Virginia, Princeton)
- [*PACH: Public Administration Clearing House. See History below.]
[**NAPA: National Academy of Public Administration]

A SELECTIVE HISTORY

ANTECEDENTS, 1920–1947

The initiative to start an inter-university case program in political science and public administration was taken by Pendleton (“Pen”) Herring in 1947. Had such an idea been put forward in the 1920s when Herring was a graduate student most political scientists would have thought it outlandish; studies of constitutional law or of theories of sovereignty were prestigious research subjects then.

Between 1920 and 1947, five major changes led to a climate of opinion more receptive to Herring’s case proposal.

1. Rise of “Field Research” and Participation

As a Columbia University graduate student before World War I, Charles E. Merriam (b. 1874) came to believe that political scientists could learn important truths by participating in politics rather than just reading about them. In the 1920s, after he became Department Chairman at the University of Chicago, Merriam encouraged generations of graduate students to take part in politics and to make direct observations of behaviors in government agencies. In 1926 as a doctoral candidate at Johns Hopkins, Herring (b. 1903) had had to win special University permission to be allowed to base a dissertation (*Group Representation before Congress*) largely on Washington interviews. In 1935 at the University of Chicago Harold Lasswell and Gabriel Almond, his graduate assistant, published the first methodologically explicit political science case study—it was about welfare office decision-making (*The Participant Observer: A Study of Administrative Rules in Action*). By 1947, “field research” and “participant observation” had become acceptable.

2. Growth of University Interest in Public Administration

The 1930s brought expansion of government services and government regulation, making public administration more interesting to political scientists and their students. Also, due partly to gains made by the progressive reform movements earlier in the century, government research bureaus began operations in some cities and states. Some were based on university campuses. Starting in the mid 1920s with the Syracuse University’s Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs and the University of Southern California’s School of Government, universities began offering programs for students aiming at careers in public administration.

Another notable connection between university education and public administration was made with Rockefeller funding in 1930 when a building that came to house the secretariats of a number of national associations of government professionals (city managers, budget officials, etc.) was located adjacent to the campus of the University of Chicago. This “collaboration by propinquity” was brought about by Louis Brownlow (b. 1879), the director of the new, Rockefeller-financed Public Administration Clearing House (PACH). Brownlow and Merriam worked together to foster interchanges between the public administration professionals and the faculty and graduate students in political science.

In 1937, the number of public administration courses already taught by Harvard's political science department was expanded by graduate courses offered in the new Littauer School of Public Administration. Herring, a professor of political science, became Secretary of the new school.

3. *Rockefeller/SSRC Support for a Public Administration Research Committee*

With Merriam's instigation during his term as President of the American Political Science Association—and after some initial hesitation by economists—support from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund financed the creation of the Social Science Research Council in 1923. In the late 1920s, the SSRC created a Public Administration Committee (PAC) to foster research and teaching. Between 1934 and 1944, the PAC, initially chaired by Brownlow, sponsored and designed several important research projects. Some of these involved “field research” by university professors. The PAC began as a small committee with members from academia, from PACH and institutes and bureaus of public administration research, and from research-minded public officials. Its actions led to the creation of the core professional journal, *Public Administration Review*, and to the formation, in 1939, of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA). The new society included academics who had been restive in the American Political Science Association (APSA), just as the APSA, in 1902, had drawn professors who had been restive in the parent American History Association.

Some of the research projects sponsored by the PAC required “field research,” interviewing, and direct observation of the workings of public agencies. Especially important were priority “capture and record” studies of the operations of new types of federal agencies created by the first Roosevelt administration as it sought to cope with the urgent problems caused by the Depression. A notable example of these PAC studies was *The Administration of Work Relief* by Columbia Professor Arthur Macmahon, John Millet, and Gladys Ogden eventually published in 1941.

4. *The PAC's Case Study Project, 1938–1944*

In 1938 the SSRC's Public Administration Committee constituted a subcommittee on “Research Material on the Administrative Process.” The extensive minutes of the two-day meeting (prepared by PACH staffer Charles Ascher, who later became professor of political science at Brooklyn College) show that it was devoted entirely to the question of how to develop “cases.” Members included eminences such as Luther Gulick, director of the New York Institute of Public Administration; Professor Leonard White, University of Chicago; Dean William E. Mosher of Syracuse's Maxwell Graduate School; Dean Emery Olson of the School of Government, USC; and the sub-committee chairman, Professor George C. S. Benson of the University of Michigan.

Also attending were George Graham, a youngish professor from Princeton; Donald Stone, soon to head a new Management division in the U.S. Budget Bureau, a Maxwell graduate, first director of the Public Administration Service, a PACH consulting and publishing organization; and Henry Reining, Jr., then from the National Institute of Public Affairs, which administered a new Washington internship program for college students interested in public administration. Reining had already begun collecting cases on personnel management. After the War he would become head of the USC School of Public Administration and an ICP Board member. Not at the first subcommittee meeting was

Professor Edwin O. Steen, who, at the University of Kansas, had begun to experiment with case studies for use in a city manager training program.

The subcommittee members all accepted White's definition of a case study as "including the statement of relevant facts involved in an administrative problem, a decision taken with reference thereto, and the results arising therefrom, gathered for the purpose of (a) testing a hypothesis, (b) illustrating a significant administrative situation, or, (c) providing material for critical consideration by students."

The members wrestled for a day and a half with many of the methodological difficulties of case studies. Could cases validate theories? Could cases serve both research and teaching purposes at the same time? Should they seek cases of "pathological" or "normal" situations? Several hours discussion was devoted to attempting to formulate "hypotheses or questions" to be investigated with cases. Dean Mosher declared that "as a group of social scientists, the committee was interested in the testing or verification of hypotheses, in the hope that by observation of many comparable episodes general principles or laws would emerge."

By 1942, what resulted from this planning session was a three-volume, loose-leaf set of about 100 short "case reports" published by Public Administration Service, Chicago, after editing by Mrs. V. O. (Luella Gettys) Key. In them, public officials or their interns reported with edited brevity and muffled pride how they had dealt with stated categories of middle managerial problems.

In later years, critics noted that the PAC's "Case Reports" did not include any examples of public officials participating in the formulation of public policies. The collection's concentration on middle management efficiency efforts may have been caused by that program's reliance on reports volunteered by civil servants who prized efficient management and who associated "policy politics" with the graft and corruption that the civil service system had been created to fight.

Another possible reason, advanced in a 1994 PAR article by Alasdair Roberts ["Demonstrating Neutrality: The Rockefeller Philanthropies and the Evolution of Public Administration, 1927-1936," *Public Administration Review* 54:3] was that the PAC committee members had been warned to avoid research that touched on political elements—by staff members of the SSRC and the Rockefeller Foundation, whose boards were anxious to prevent allegations that foundation elites were trying to shape government policies.

5. *World War II Brings Academics to Washington*

America's 1941 entry into World War II and the earlier enactment of a military draft had major impacts on the academic climate that came to exist in 1947. The Draft cut university enrollments, and the enormous expansion of federal agencies brought into temporary government service a substantial number of social science professors and advanced graduate students. Whether they had previously agreed or disagreed with the Charles Merriam, "Chicago School" doctrines advocating learning by participation in, or by direct observation of, government operations, scores of professors spent the war years serving in Washington agencies such as the Bureau of the Budget, the Office of Price Administration (OPA), the War Production Board, and the Department of Agriculture.

Particularly effective in recruiting fellow academics to fill Washington positions was Wallace S. Sayre (b 1905) who, as professor of political science at New York University and at City College, and

as a Civil Service Commissioner in the LaGuardia city administration, had gradually persuaded colleges and universities to start courses in public administration. In 1942, Sayre became Director of Personnel for OPA, working closely with the Administrator, Chester Bowles, to bring qualified academics into that hard-pressed and often controversial agency.

By mid 1942, there were enough public administration minded professors and graduate students in Washington to make it worthwhile for the PAC, still with Rockefeller Foundation support, to conduct a series conferences on advanced subjects. The lists of participants included the names of leading academics of the post-war period: Wallace Sayre, George Graham, Pendleton Herring, Rowland Egger, V. O. Key, Lloyd Short, James Fesler, Alvin Hansen, Harvey Mansfield, Jesse Burkhead, Earl Latham, William Anderson, Henry Reining, Egbert Wengert, Walter Sharp, Charles Hyneman, Philip Jessup, Robert Cushman, Myres McDougal, and Ralph Fuchs.

Several of the temporary officials were involved in preparation of agency war histories. With support from high officials in the Bureau of the Budget who, in the 1930s, had helped the PAC plan its "capture and record" projects, a delegation of the heads of learned societies including Brownlow (by then President of ASPA) and Prof. William Anderson (PAC chairman and President of the APSA), had convinced President Roosevelt of the importance of preserving records of the government's war mobilization efforts. The President's executive order, directing the Bureau of the Budget to create and provide money to staff such a program, established a supervisory Committee on Records of War Administration. It was composed of the Librarian of Congress, archivists, historians, and social scientists. Herring agreed to serve as the first Secretary of the committee and later became its chairman.

During the War Herring traveled frequently between Washington and his office at the Harvard Littauer School. In 1944 he had to organize a new graduate course, "Governmental Administration and Public Policy," that would start in September. He decided to use cases and, moreover, to ask the students, many of whom were on leave from government posts, to prepare their own cases for seminar discussion. The following year funds were made available for case preparation so that some of the student drafts could be improved by junior faculty with field research that included interviews with persons depicted in the cases. One of those assistants working for Herring on the case writing effort was political scientist Oliver Garceau, who had attended the Harvard Business School before the war. The Business School had emphasized the case method since the 1920s.

A 1947 PROPOSAL FOR CASES ABOUT POLICY FORMULATION AND POLICY EXECUTION

In 1947, Herring embarked on a career in the world of foundations and learned societies. He resigned from Harvard and accepted the post of staff associate at the Carnegie Corporation of New York, a foundation, smaller in size than the Rockefeller Foundation. After moving to Carnegie, Herring, in August 1947, notified Littauer Dean and economist Edward Mason, that he believed the Carnegie trustees could be persuaded to make a grant for an inter-university public administration case program if a quality proposal could be submitted in time for the November 1947 trustees meeting. Mason turned the matter over to Political Science Professor Merle Fainsod, who had returned from the War Production Board and who had been assigned to take over Herring's annual course.

Herring had deliberately chosen to encourage an “inter-university” case study program, he recalled later, because of his positive experiences as a member of the carefully-selected inter-university PAC, and because he wanted to avoid the proprietary, “methodological-Vatican” approach taken with the case method by the Harvard Business School.

Fainsod sent letters to the deans of the Syracuse Maxwell School, the Cornell School of Business and Public Administration, and the new Princeton School of Public and International Affairs, inviting them, or someone designated by them, to meet early in September to see if a project proposal could be agreed upon.

Paul Appleby had become the new Dean of the Maxwell School, with encouragement from the University to broaden and elevate its public administration program. The new Dean at Cornell was Paul O’Leary, recently-resigned head of the OPA’s just-emasculated price-control program. As his director of personnel and professor of political science, he secured Wallace Sayre, a close OPA colleague. Sayre attended the Littauer meeting. Appleby, Sayre, and Fainsod were to become the mainstays of the Case Program during its first three years.

Fainsod’s Princeton invitation was addressed to Donald Wallace, another former OPA economist now become a professor and the busy founder of Princeton’s new public policy graduate program. By 1948, Princeton’s board member on the new case program would be political science department chairman George Graham, returned from wartime service in the Bureau of the Budget. Graham and Herring had both been invited to membership on the PAC in 1937.

The two-day September planning meeting at Harvard was followed by a one-day decision meeting in October. It was hosted by Appleby at the Syracuse Maxwell School. Because of his long high-level government experience (Under-Secretary of the Department of Agriculture and then wartime Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget) and because of admiration for his unpretentious, plain-spoken dedication to public service—also evident in his 1945 book, *Big Democracy*—Appleby came to be treated by the others as the leader of the committee.

THE FOUR-SCHOOL PROPOSAL

The proposal agreed to at Syracuse requested a three-year grant of \$30,000 annually “to finance the collection of case materials in public administration.”

The four schools believe that analysis of case materials which throw light on the actual processes of policy formation, decision-making and program execution is essential . . . they wish to make use of such materials a major element in their programs in this field.

Optimistically, the proposal envisioned “the preparation of approximately 150 good cases during a three-year period”: “A Policy Committee composed of representatives of the four sponsoring schools would be responsible for the selection of the staff, development of criteria and priorities for case selection, and close supervision of the work of the staff especially with respect to the form of presentation of cases.”

A statement of objectives reflected the committee's initial mix of political scientists and economists as well as the rising hopes among contemporary social scientists for multidisciplinary research:

- (1) To provide the basis for realistic concepts, hypotheses, and generalizations about administrative organizations . . . by using a clinical approach and drawing on case studies of administrators in action
- (2) To explore the application and possibility of integration of the various social sciences and disciplines in administrative policy making
- (3) To make . . . available a body of case materials which . . . will be particularly useful for teaching purposes, for scholarly inquiry, and to practitioners in the field of public administration.

Distinguishing its proposed case collection from the PAC Case Reports, the proposal stated that "the sponsors of this project believe that public administration should be broadly conceived as the formulation and execution of public policy and that case materials are needed which focus attention at the point where an administrator contributes to this process. . . . [Our] cases will present a much broader conception of public administration than the cases hitherto published . . . which have dealt chiefly with techniques of organization and procedure and with decision making at relatively low levels."

As examples of the higher-level, policy cases to be produced, the proposal cited the cases recently produced at Harvard under Herring's direction. After presenting details of a proposed three-year \$30,000 annual budget (\$9,000 annually for a Washington staff director, \$16,000 for assistants and secretaries, \$2,000 for travel, the rest for rent, supplies, telephone, equipment), the proposal concluded that "the associated schools . . . hope . . . a grant can be made effective by February 1, 1948." Their hope was realized. The Carnegie trustees approved their grant proposal.

PICKING THE FIRST STAFF DIRECTOR/EDITOR

The Committee members had begun discussing possible staff directors at their Harvard meeting. At the Syracuse meeting they narrowed the list of eligibles, and it is likely that there were conversations with Herring about these names. The proposed program relied heavily on a Washington Staff Director: "the first few months will be devoted to a further refinement of criteria for [case] selection . . . in meetings between the . . . Committee and the Director, and to the determination of initial priorities.

The Director will undertake a . . . reconnaissance to discover suitable cases and to make certain that clearance problems will not impede [research and publication] . . . He will consult with key government officials to obtain suggestions. With the assistance of the Policy committee he will also explore the resources of the faculties of the Schools . . . particularly interviewing [faculty members] . . . who have had relevant government experiences. He will also consult ex-government officials and other likely sources . . .

After the preliminary reconnaissance . . . the Director will submit a recommended work program to the Policy Committee for approval and determination of priorities. The project will then move into the stage of . . . actual preparation of reports, though it goes without saying that the Director's responsibility for locating appropriate cases will be continuous and will shift from area to area as the priorities of the Policy Committee unfold.

The Committee members were thorough in weighing the qualities of those on their short list. Sayre recorded the Committee's assessments in the margins of his agenda paper. Three who got "1" rankings from the Committee were to become ICP Board members later: Don K. Price, James Fesler, and Oliver Garceau. Other "1"s were Philip Coombs, J. Donald Kingsley, and Kermit Gordon. Also on the "1 List" was Harold Stein, who was the final, and somewhat audacious, choice. In the initial list he was described as having "[u]nusually rich federal government experience; able and observant administrator. No experience in teaching public administration." (For Sayre, the fact that Stein had never read a textbook on public administration was a definite plus.)

Stein (b. 1903) had majored in English at Yale (1922), earned a Ph.D. at Yale in Literature, taught English at the University of Wisconsin, and then, in 1934, moved by enthusiasm for President Roosevelt's policies, began working in Washington in a series of newly created federal agencies. Opinionated, socially conscious, and well-connected in higher New Deal circles, he had a reputation as a vigorous, goal-oriented administrator, and, among those who knew him well, as an Elizabethan man.

THE 1952 CASEBOOK:
"PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT"

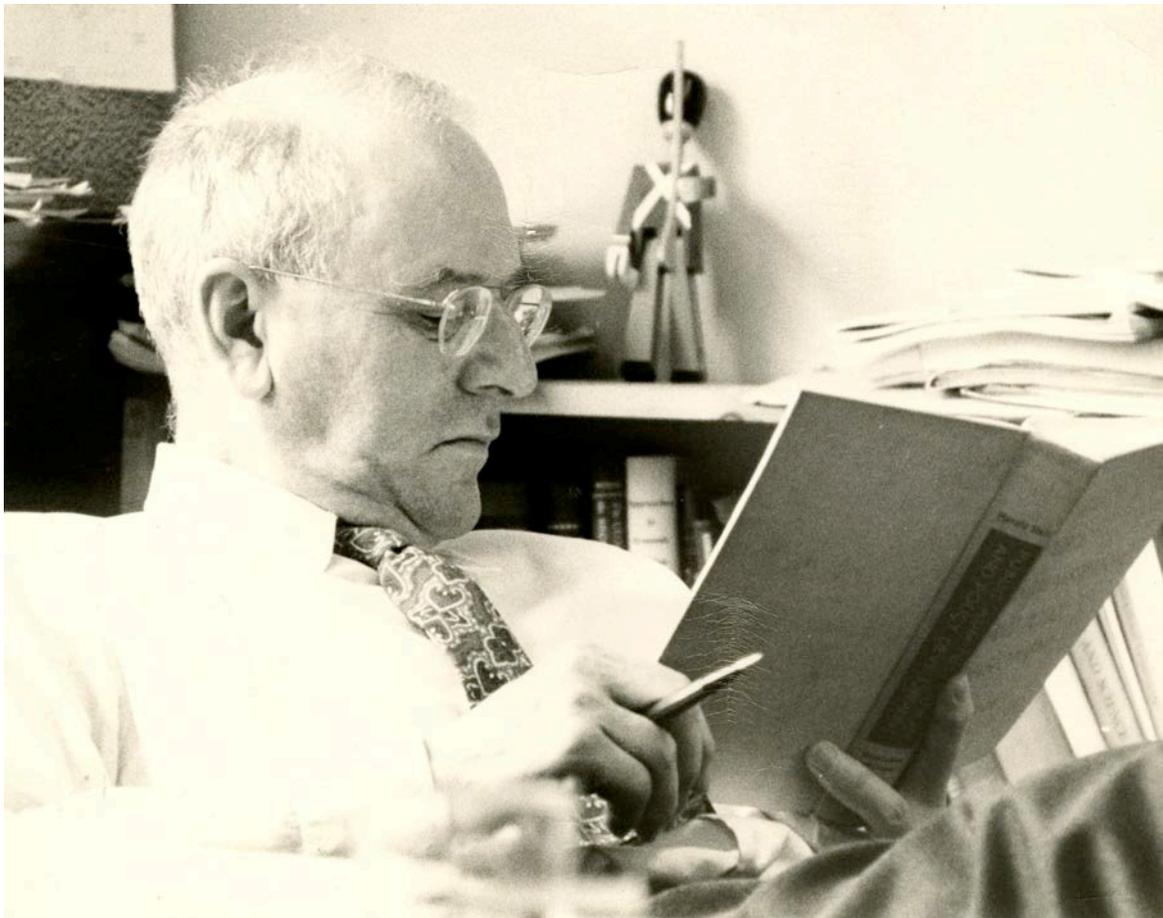
By 1952, the Program had published (Harcourt Brace, New York) an 857 page book that contained twenty-five cases; three different syllabi showing how the cases had been used to teach three different graduate courses by three public administration professors at Harvard; and two indexes that listed the cases by topics and by the government agencies about which they were written.

The volume opened with a thirty-page introduction by Stein that came to be regarded as a methodological tour de force. Stein explained the new focus on policy formulation and substantive program execution. He compared the case method to more traditional forms of research and teaching. He described the recent history of public administration research and analyzed the comparative strengths of case study research. It was a dazzling, tightly-reasoned essay, the more persuasive because it was stylishly written in classical English that avoided academic jargon. The Introduction concluded with a disarming recognition that the ICP style of case method was not a panacea.

there is no reason for thinking that every aspect of public administration can best be examined by this [case] technique, nor is there reason for thinking that any given aspect of public administration, though usefully examined by cases, should not be subjected to other types of analysis as well. As in Kipling's jingle,

There are nine and twenty ways,
Of making tribal lays,
And every single one of them is right.

The 1952 casebook reflected Stein's editorial genius and the extraordinary labors of Appleby and his committee colleagues, which went far beyond just making basic policy decisions and deciding what cases should be written (and by whom) and which drafts did or did not merit publication. The Committee members defined for their staff director the features and quality standards of what came to be known as the ICP type of case study. They helped their staff director to work out arrangements with agency heads for research access and for fact checking. As Appleby wrote in response to a congratulatory letter from the President of the Carnegie Corporation, "[t]here was an enormous amount of work in reading and commenting on successive drafts of so much and so complex material, in planning and selecting cases" and in deciding about methods of publication. "I have never seen a committee function so consistently well for so long a period."



Harold Stein reading his Foreign Service Act case before teaching a Princeton seminar.

APPRAISALS OF THE 1952 CASEBOOK

The Stein casebook drew very favorable reviews in academic journals, including the *Yale Law Journal*. Dwight Waldo, University of California at Berkeley, already recognized as a leading political science authority on public administration, wrote a positive but cautious review in the *American Political Science Review*. He speculated about what would become of the case method in political science and public administration. He guessed that “important further developments will flow from this popularity” but noted that he might be mistaken and that the case method might prove to be an elegantly paved, six-lane highway that led “nowhere in particular.”

From a twenty-first-century perspective, one notices two (quite different) features. The first is the extraordinary length of some of the cases, a feature that stirred complaint in 1952. One case, *The Foreign Service Act*, written by Stein himself, ran 75 double-column pages, a hefty reading assignment compared with the 3-8 page length of typical managerial or business school type cases at that time. Although there were five short cases in the casebook, several others ran between 50 and 70 pages; and the rest averaged 40 pages. Not only students complained. Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote a thank-you note to Stein for sending him a copy of his case, adding: “It does look like pretty formidable reading for the present, but I’m glad you sent it anyway.”

Defensively, Stein’s casebook Introduction explained that policy cases, because they dealt with more complicated matters and a wider, more political environment, were necessarily longer. Length was related to scientific standards of relevance. He explained the length of some of the CPAC policy cases in this way: “[The CPAC] guide for deciding what to include and what to exclude in drafting a case has been to aim at what the ideal administrator would take into account in making or reviewing a decision.”

The second feature noticeable from the twenty-first century is the pervasiveness, throughout the casebook, of an implicit underlying assumption that was apparently so widespread among that generation of public administration scholars that it did not need to be stated. This underlying assumption was that of Roosevelt New Deal liberalism: namely, that it was morally imperative to expand the role of government in order to defend the common people against the harms of nature and the brutalities of unchecked power in a “free enterprise” economic system. The possibility that big democratic government itself could do harm is not brought to mind when re-reading the CPAC cases today.

This is not to say that they—or their casebook—ignored the pathological bureaucratic and political selfishnesses that were part of big, New Deal government. Because of their personal government experiences, they—especially Appleby, Stein, and Sayre—were more familiar with them, more angered by them, than most of their contemporaries. But, like Roosevelt himself, they saw them as impediments to meeting the immense and urgent needs for remedial government actions.

1950 FRENCH LICK CONFERENCE AND CREATION OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY CASE PROGRAM

Stein’s Introduction also described a 1950 conference that had been held at French Lick Springs, Indiana. Professors from about 30 universities attended, their travel expenses paid by a special Carnegie grant. They heard Committee members explain the new case method. They witnessed

Professors Arthur Maas and Merle Fainsod conduct successive demonstration seminars, showing how they taught with the cases at Harvard.

The conference and the sample CPAC cases succeeded in fostering wider use of the ICP style of case research, writing and teaching. At the end of the meeting the Inter-University Case Program was organized to take the place of the CPAC. With another Carnegie Corporation grant for a further three years came the decision to enlarge the Board to a minimum of ten members who were to be “broadly representative of all areas of the United States.” The slate of Board nominees would have to be approved by representatives of “subscribing institutions,” i.e., universities and government training agencies that paid annual dues. By 1960, the group of subscribing institutions had risen above sixty in number.



This history section now shifts purpose, focus, and degree of magnification. In fact, it stops being a history at all and turns into an overview of the ICP's remaining thirty years. The aim is to aid researchers with a quick yet serviceable guide to what might be of significance to them in the ICP archive.

GLIMPSES OF THE ICP PERIOD, 1953–1980

LARGER BOARDS—NEW STAFF DIRECTORS

Appleby retired from the Case Committee at the end of 1951. (Syracuse continued to provide payroll, accounting, and auditing services.) In March 1952, the first ICP Board elected was chaired by George Graham (Princeton), continuing from CPAC. Other members were James Fesler (Yale), Harvey Mansfield (Ohio State), Emmette S. Redford (Texas), George Shipman (University of Washington), Lloyd Short (Minnesota), Edward Weidner (Michigan State), York Willbern (Alabama), Frederick Mosher (Syracuse), Charles Ascher (Brooklyn College), and Oliver Garceau (Bennington). Sayre, then at City College, and Fainsod also continued from the CPAC Board, Sayre as Vice-Chairman.

Stein retired as full-time Staff Director in 1952. The new, part-time Staff Director-Editor was Paul Ylvisaker (b. 1922) who had written two of the Herring cases as a doctoral student at Harvard. Both cases, after editing by Stein, were included in the first casebook. It had been agreed with Carnegie that the ICP would produce more cases about state and local government; Ylvisaker's two cases were about events in Minnesota, his home state. Ylvisaker was a political science professor at Swarthmore, and the Case Program office moved from Washington to the Swarthmore campus.

THE EISENHOWER PERIOD, 1952–1960

An even bigger change had occurred that was to affect the work of the new ICP. The McCarthy Committee hunt for communists in government had begun during the latter part of the Truman administration, and charges that the executive branch had been infiltrated by communists and homosexuals were widely publicized during the 1952 Eisenhower-Stevenson election campaign.

When President Eisenhower's Administration came into office in January 1953, it was suspicious and uneasy about having to rely on the Roosevelt-Truman vintage civil service appointed since 1933. So were the Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. During the election campaign, the Republicans had promised to cut bureaucracy and to weed out untrustworthy, possibly even sinister elements in the civil service. One result—partly voluntary, partly forced—was an eight-year emigration from Washington of many officials who, like Stein, had come to Washington to serve in the New Deal. For the ICP this shift had two consequences. First, the Board members could count on less assistance from higher officialdom in identifying currently important case situations and in arranging access to agency participants and files. Second, the CPAC Board members who had worked in Washington agencies during the War and had returned to academia confident of their intimate, first-hand familiarity with how things worked, began to realize—some more slowly than others – that there were now growing limits to the relevance and applicability of their 1940s experiences.

This may partly explain why, during the 1952–1960 period, the proportion of ICP cases set in Washington agencies steeply declined. And why no new ICP case studies were commissioned that focused on any of the many (and often only partially successful) efforts of the Eisenhower Administration to get Federal agencies to change policies or procedures that had evolved during the Roosevelt-Truman years.

The new members who joined the first ICP Board knew about and largely accepted the ICP type of case that the CPAC had created. Some of them, like their new Staff Director/Editor, had not worked in middle or upper levels of Federal policy agencies. They all knew one another from prewar academic meetings, but collectively they had a wider range of backgrounds and less singleness of purpose than members of the smaller CPAC Board. The Minutes of their semi-annual Board meetings (available in the archive) began to record more differences of opinion about what new cases should be commissioned.

There were also extensive Board discussions of the merits and deficiencies of case drafts. The members' individual written critiques of drafts were usually compiled into a document that was circulated before a meeting. Sometimes views differed considerably, but, in the end, Sayre's summary of a discussion usually distilled agreement about what major changes had to be made. The Staff Director needed such agreement in order to instruct the case writer (usually a junior professor but occasionally a professor of high standing) about additional research or about essential editorial revisions. Case writers were usually paid half their honoraria after their case proposals were approved; the second half was paid after a final draft had been accepted for publication. A budget for research travel was usually part of a case proposal.

In September 1953, Stein moved to Princeton as Visiting Lecturer and then Visiting Professor in the Woodrow Wilson School, where, with support from the Twentieth Century Fund, he and his associates assembled a collection of cases published in 1963 under the title *American Civil-Military Decisions*. In 1954 he became an ICP Board member.

Early in 1955, the Board was further enlarged. In E. S. ("Bert") Wengert of the University of Oregon, the Board gained a political scientist who had worked in wartime Washington, who had spoken about case teaching at the French Lick Conference, and who had written thoughtfully about the value of cases in research and teaching. Other new members were Avery Leiserson, Vanderbilt, and David Truman, Columbia—political scientists trained at the University of Chicago who had written about the impacts of interest groups on Federal agencies. Others were James Charlesworth, University of Pennsylvania, and Herman Somers, Haverford.

Late in 1954, Ylvisaker, whose interest in urban government had intensified, decided to accept an offer to become a senior assistant to the new Democratic reform mayor of Philadelphia, Joseph Clark. In 1955, Edwin Bock (b. 1922), then an Assistant Director of the New York office of the Public Administration Clearing House, became the full-time Staff Director, and the Case Program office moved to Woodrow Wilson House, 45 East 65th Street, Manhattan, where it remained until the fall of 1963.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE 1952–1957 PROGRAM

Because the research for an ICP case was now usually carried out by academics during summer vacations or during sabbatical leaves, and because substantial rewriting sometimes had to be carried out after Board reviews of first drafts, some cases remained on the "Cases in Progress" list for one or two years. When Ylvisaker became Staff Director quite a number of CPAC draft cases remained to be completed. Many of these were Washington cases that dealt with wartime or Truman peacetime

situations. As a result, the ICP would still be issuing Truman-era cases well through the Eisenhower and Kennedy years.

For this reason, most of the newly-commissioned case projects launched in the 1953-1957 years were about state and local government or about Federal regional and field administration situations. These and similar cases produced in later years were published in *State and Local Government: A Casebook*, edited by Bock, (University of Alabama Press, 1962). A complete list of all ICP state, regional, and local government cases published through 1965, including some that did not appear in the casebook, can be found in the *Index and Summary of Case Studies* issued by Bobbs-Merrill Company in 1966; it is in the ICP archive.

During 1954–1955, the ICP with special funding from Resources for the Future launched a series of relatively complex cases about resource administration. They depicted the political, bureaucratic, economic, and technocratic forces affecting the formulation and execution of major programs. One, *From Forest to Front Page* written by Roscoe Martin, described the relationships between the giant Bowater paper company and the Tennessee Valley Authority in building a large paper mill in the TVA region. The second, *The Echo Park Dam Controversy* by Owen Stratton and Philip Sirotkin of Wellesley College, portrayed in 100 pages the rival roles of western interest groups and east and west coast conservation groups in the decision to build the enormous Echo Park Dam that would affect the allocation of Colorado River water between upstream and downstream states (the latter including California) and between the U.S. and Mexico.

The third RFF funded case was *The Upstream-Downstream Controversy in the Arkansas-White-Red Basins Survey*. Written by former officials, this case described the efforts of an inter-agency committee, authorized by Congress in 1950, to plan the integration of the flood management plans of two powerful rival agencies, the Corps of Engineers and the Department of Agriculture. One of the notable aspects of the case was its depiction of the inability of technical experts from the two agencies to agree on what would be the economic and hydrologic effects of their different projects. Martin's Bowater case was published in 1956. The other two cases, which dealt with larger processes, were not issued until 1959 and 1960. All three were handsomely produced with photographs and data tables thanks to the RFF funding.

DIFFERING VIEWS ABOUT THE SCIENTIFIC USEFULNESS OF CASE STUDIES

A chronic issue during the life of the Case Program was what could, and should, be done to increase the scientific value of case studies. The questions included:

- Could a case study ever be scientifically useful?
- Could a case study prepared primarily for teaching be made scientifically useful without becoming so long and detailed that it lost instructional value?
- Should readers be told what theories or purposes had guided the case writer in deciding what to observe and what not to observe, what to include and what to omit?
- Was not too much happening in the making or carrying out of public policy, were there not too many factors, including accidental ones, to permit rigorous scientific

observation and analysis?

- Were the data from different case studies scientifically comparable or additive? Could they be made so?
- Were there, in fact, any principles or basic theories of public administration that had scientific standing on which rigorous hypotheses could be based?

Perhaps the root concern of Board members stemmed from the allegation that, from a scientific standpoint, 50 carefully produced ICP cases added up to nothing of theoretical value. Skepticism and even derision from political science theorists had begun before the war. The Waldo papers in the Syracuse University archives contain an August 1940 letter from Robert Dahl, written while Dahl was a Washington intern. Waldo, a more junior graduate student at Yale, had informed Dahl about his decision to write his dissertation about theories of public administration. Dahl's reply, typed, with occasional cross outs, on his portable machine in his rented room in Arlington, read:

Arlington, Va, Monday

Dear Dwight,

Your dissertation subject is a grand one, and I know you'll do a good job. I'm glad to see someone tackling public administration with your perspective. There's a lot of wind in some big sails that needs to be kicked out (to mix a metaphor or two); on the other side, there's a constructive job to be done.

My own short experience here won't help you much. I think it's no exaggeration to say that if there are any principles of public administration independent of normative considerations, we people in the Division of Organization & Management are in a position to discover them. My own conclusion is that there are no such independent principles. I have argued the question with some Syracuse boys who believe in such principles, and the argument only reinforces my prejudices that (a) there are no independent principles, or, (b) if there are, they cannot be communicated or taught, for situations are so variable that rarely can a principle, if discovered, be transferred to another apparently analogous situation.

I may say that my boss, who has had a good deal of experience in the field of organization, but who was (luckily, I think) trained in the case method of law, makes something of a hobby of decrying "principles of public administration." He claims that every organization is a fresh case, to be analyzed do novo. [*The emphasis was added.*]

In 1948 during a Political Science Association panel discussion about the start of the new Case Study Program, Dahl and Columbia Professor Arthur Macmahon crossed swords over the possible scientific value of public administration cases. This led to correspondence between Dahl and Stein and between Stein, Sayre, and Dahl, which is in the ICP archive.

Years later, in a thoughtful analysis written for the ICP's 1962 collection of *Essays on the Case Method*, Waldo summarized his thinking about the scientific usefulness of the ICP type of case study. He wrote after experiencing six years of discussion of this subject at ICP Board meetings:

I conclude with a purely personal statement on the use of the cases in the service of science. I began my service on the Board of Directors with the outlook of the optimistic critic, and, with some wavering and qualification, still retain this outlook. Agreeing with the opinion that the existing genre does serve science marginally, I thought nevertheless that it was possible and desirable for the cases to serve science centrally, and that this could be achieved by following the strategy outlined above . . . I have since come to appreciate the great force of the argument that the great number and elusive quality of the variables in even the smaller cases makes this strategy a matter of serious question. Also, I have become more solicitous about the present genre, eager to retain it for its obvious merits, loath to sacrifice or slight it in pursuit of problematic goals. I avoid the points of this dilemma by saying that we should follow the present well-marked path, but also try some new ones in the name of science.

In the social sciences I see no sensible alternative to pushing ahead as vigorously as possible at all levels of generalization and with all strategies and tools of research. It strikes me as stupid or irresponsible to avoid high and middle range theory (in terms of Robert Merton's classification) because of a judgment that since certain tools of scientific inquiry cannot be used at these levels, no inquiry is warranted as it cannot be "scientific." The case method as developed for the study of public administration and policy development is a tool for working especially in the area of middle-range theory, and for relating the theory of all three levels—from societal mechanics to personal influence. It is a tool with limitations, but it is also one of demonstrated usefulness. There is no responsible alternative to using it.

1958–1963: PROGRAM EXPANSION

In 1957, the ICP prepared an ambitious grant proposal for submission to the Ford Foundation. (Documentation about this is in the ICP archive.) It asked for a five-year grant much of which would support the preparation of "clusters" of cases. Each cluster would be designed by a committee of specialists chaired by an ICP Board member but including experts from outside the Board. Collectively, the clusters were portrayed as taking the next step in improving the usefulness of case research. All cluster projects were expected to produce publishable studies, some to produce casebooks.

It is notable that the proposal to Ford did not, like earlier Carnegie proposals, seek funding for the purpose of winning acceptance of the case method in American public administration and political science. Indeed, it explicitly stated that foundation "risk-capital" was no longer needed for that purpose: case writing had become an accepted form of academic activity; cases were appearing in professional journals; and commercial firms were starting to publish case books prepared by professors. When this proposal was prepared and submitted to the Ford Foundation, Harvey Mansfield was the Board Chairman. Sayre, now at Columbia, was active as Vice Chairman. Earlier in the 1950s

Sayre had served as a consultant to the Ford Foundation, then based in California, during its Board's effort to outline a long-range grant program in governmental affairs. (See the Sayre biography below and the Wallace Sayre archive in the Columbia University Low Library Special Collections listing.) The final version of the ICP proposal reflected the interests of the 20 Board members as well as the priorities of the Ford Foundation's several staff units. George Graham had retired from the Board—and from Princeton—to become head of the Public Affairs Program at the Ford Foundation. The Foundation trustees approved the proposal.

SUMMARY OF 1958–1963: CASE CLUSTER OPERATIONS

The new, expanded five-year program was composed of five “cluster” efforts, each advised by its own committee that usually consisted of a core of Board members and selected “outside” specialists. From a methodological standpoint, three of the five clusters involved the extension of standard ICP case writing to fields not previously targeted. The two remaining clusters were more challenging. One was referred to as the “Science/Theory” cluster, and it was expected to produce analyses as well as cases. The other was a multi-purpose exploratory venture at producing Comparative and Development Administration cases. Four of the clusters were carried out by the ICP staff, which also continued to produce target of opportunity cases directly overseen by the full ICP Board. Most of the work of the Science/Theory cluster was carried out at Dwight Waldo's Institute of Governmental Studies on the Berkeley campus of the University of California under the direction of Frederick Mosher. (After Mosher moved to Berkeley, Maxwell Dean Harlan Cleveland had become the Syracuse Board member.) A summary of the work of the 1957–1963 case cluster groups, along with the names of their principal members begins here.

First-Year Course Cluster

The First-Year Course Committee was chaired by Alan K. Campbell (Hofstra College, Syracuse University). Members included Robert Connery (Duke), Webb Fiser (Syracuse), Oliver Garceau (Bennington), William Beaney and Stanley Kelley (Princeton), Joseph C. Palamountain Jr. (Wesleyan), Hubert Marshall (Stanford), George Shipman (University of Washington), Herman Somers (Haverford), and Deil Wright (University of Iowa). The Committee wanted to introduce into the elementary course case studies that “(1) dealt with situations in which important values were at stake in the governmental process, and (2) showed how the fate of those values was affected by key aspects of government structure and process.” Its casebook contained nine cases. It was published by Prentice-Hall in 1962 under the title *Case Studies in American Government*, edited by Bock and Campbell.

Government Regulation of Business

This cluster had an inter-disciplinary mission: preparing cases of value to professors of political science, law, and economics. Its advisory committee was chaired by Emmette S. Redford (Professor of Political Science, University of Texas). The members included were Marver Bernstein (Political Science, Princeton), Kenneth Culp Davis (Law, Minnesota and Chicago), James Fesler (Political

Science, Yale), Carl Kaysen (Economics, Harvard), Soia Mentschikoff (Law, Chicago), and Frank Newman, (Law, University of California at Berkeley).

One product was a casebook, *Government Regulation of Business*, edited by Bock and published by Prentice Hall in 1965. It contained three relatively short cases (under 50 pages) and three longer cases. The longest, about a 14-year long proceeding, was titled *The Federal Trade Commission and the Indiana Standard Case* and ran to 130 pages. Written by Joseph C. Palamountain Jr., it included (thanks to the cooperation of two former FTC chairmen) rare data about relationships between commissioners and staff aides that “shed valuable light on what has been called the dark side of the moon of the regulatory process.”

Other studies were issued as individual ICP cases. These included Redford’s study of industry-government cooperation in preparation and passage of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (*The Federal Aviation Act of 1958*) and Winston Fisk’s detailed study of the formal aspects of an air route proceeding (*The CAB and the New York-Chicago Case*).

Regional and Urban Planning—And Politics

Designed for use primarily in graduate schools of Urban and Regional Planning, this cluster was designed by a committee that included Board members Sayre and Willbern, and Martin Myerson (School of Planning, University of Pennsylvania), William Wheaton (School of Planning, University of California at Berkeley), and Edward C. Banfield (Political Science, Harvard).

The cases were to help planners understand the political elements affecting the planning process. The cases were published individually. They included a series of three Minneapolis-St. Paul cases prepared by Alan Altschuler as part of his Harvard dissertation which was supervised by Banfield: *A Land Use Plan for St. Paul, Locating the Inner-City Freeway*, and *The Anker Hospital Site Controversy*.

A second spread of planning cases was located in Berkeley and was written by Warren Campbell: *Berkeley Initiates a Master Plan, Improvement of North Shattuck Avenue, Campus Expansion and the City of Berkeley*, and *Berkeley Down-Zones the Flat Lands*.

Mosher Cases about a Theory of Administrative Reorganization: A Joint Venture with the Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley

In 1958 the ICP Board asked Frederick C. (“Fritz”) Mosher, a devoted Board member, to “design a case cluster primarily for scientific research purposes”—if possible about an “hypothesis about administrative behavior”. To work with Mosher a Research Committee was constituted; it included two Board members who had long expressed the need for more ICP attention to increasing the theoretical significance of cases. These were: Dwight Waldo (University of California at Berkeley) and Herbert S. Kaufman (Yale University). They were joined on the committee by Frederick N. Cleaveland (University of North Carolina), Frank Sherwood (USC), and E. S. Wengert (University of Oregon). Waldo’s persuasiveness, over the years, brought this effort about. And it was the University of California’s Institute of Governmental Studies, headed by Waldo, that contributed a substantial part of the cost. Led by Mosher, the Cluster Committee, after reviewing over 50 cases of governmental reorganization, agreed that its cases would deal with a theory about middle-level administrative

reorganization. This was the participation hypothesis, which may be summarized here as stating that government reorganizations will be more effective when those whose behaviors are expected to change take part in the process of deciding what the changes will be and how they will be made.

In selecting its cases, the Committee carefully chose “a representative sample of a variety of . . . reorganizations.” It decided to produce nine cases. The case writers were briefed about the hypothesis and two sub-hypotheses. A common case-writing guide was prepared for them. In its casebook, *Governmental Reorganizations—Cases and Commentary* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967) the Committee added four earlier ICP cases that dealt with reorganization. Mosher concluded his casebook with a 65-page Analytical Commentary. He also wrote one of the book’s major cases, *Reorganization of the California Personnel Board*.

Comparative and Foreign Case Studies

This ICP cluster had two goals: fostering the production and use of public administration cases in Europe and Asia and producing cases for U.S. teaching of comparative and development public administration. Since the first goal aimed at cultivating foreign public administration cases, it was decided at the start that this cluster would not aim at producing an ICP casebook. Rather, it would seek to foster case production abroad and at the same time try to commission ICP cases that could be used in American university courses about comparative administration and development administration. The guiding committee and advisers included:

James Fesler (Yale, Co-Chairman)
Rowland Egger (Virginia and Princeton, Co-Chairman)
Ferrel Heady (Michigan)
Fred W. Riggs (Indiana and Hawaii East-West Center)
Dwight Waldo (University of California at Berkeley)
Wallace S. Sayre (Columbia)
D. N. Chester (Warden of Nuffield College, Oxford)
Raymond Nottage (Royal Institute of Public Administration, United Kingdom)
S. S. Khera (I.C.S., Cabinet Secretary, Government of India)
L. P. Singh (I.C.S., Home Secretary, Government of India)

In Britain, the ICP cooperated with the Royal Institute of Public Administration as it launched its British case-writing program, which led to the publication of *Administrators in Action*, edited by F. M. G. Willson (vol. 1, RIIPA, London, 1960) and subsequent collections. Making headway on the continent required both seed-planting and cultivation. The French pattern of public administration emphasizing administrative law, which Napoleon had spread to much of Europe, was part of a larger culture of the State that differed greatly, in practice, politics, and pedagogy, from the common law, pragmatic culture prevailing in Britain and the North Atlantic countries. A three-day introductory conference was held in Italy in 1961 at the Rockefeller Foundation’s Villa Serbelloni on Lake Como. It was attended by scholars and officials from France, Belgium, West Germany, Sweden, Yugoslavia,



and Italy, and by British and American academics with case study experience. THE PHOTO ABOVE shows Wallace Sayre chairing a session. Others visible are Dwight Waldo, D. N. Chester, Richard Neustadt (then at Columbia), Virgil Zimmerman (then teaching in the University of California program at the University of Bologna), Pierre Viot (*Conseil d'État*, Paris), and Edwin Bock. In 1962 the International Institute of Public Administration (IIAS) in Brussels published English, French, and Spanish editions of the ICP's *Essays on the Case Method*, edited by Bock. It contained Stein's classic Introduction to the 1951 casebook and more recent essays by Fesler, Waldo, and Bock. Other IIAS efforts included an international panel on case teaching convened by Donald Stone at the IIAS Congress at Vienna in 1962. Rowland Egger became editor of the IIAS *International Journal of Public Administration* and successfully encouraged several articles in the case study genre.

At the request of Prime Minister Nehru, strongly supported by Ambassador Chester Bowles, the Ford Foundation, which had established an office in New Delhi, financed an initial 1952–1953 mission by Paul Appleby to examine public administration in India and to make recommendations about how it could be improved. One result of the Appleby Report was the creation, by the government, of the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) in 1955 with a Board chaired by Nehru and consisting largely of high-ranking civil servants. With Ford funds, the Institute was able to invite foreign scholars to lecture and to work with its initial core staff of Indian professors. It was also able

to send selected academics and senior government officials to Harvard, Syracuse , and other institutions abroad. In 1960, the ICP was asked to aid the IIPA in case writing and teaching. Between 1960 and 1975, the ICP staff director helped the IIPA to develop a case program and assisted in its efforts to encourage the creation of case programs in state institutes and schools of public administration in Jaipur, Bombay, Bangalore, and Calcutta. Later, support was given to case development at the Nepal Center for Economic Development in Kathmandu, which was also funded by the Ford Foundation.

The IIPA case program published several case books, beginning with a precedent-setting study, *The Establishment of the Heavy Electrical Plant at Bhopal* written by S. S. Khera, I.C.S., and published in 1963 during Khera's tenure as Cabinet Secretary. Also influential on the IIPA's board and on its Case Study Committee in those years was L. P. SINGH, I.C.S., THE HOME SECRETARY, (SHOWN BELOW IN HIS OFFICE IN THE NORTH BLOCK, NEW DELHI).

The IIPA cases were used in its own training programs and in other Indian institutions. Some portrayed problem situations confronted at the district level by young officials in the All-India career Indian Administrative Service set up after Independence to succeed the elite I.C.S. service that had



The Inter-University Case Program

A Selective History



A 1959 photograph with H. Pai-Panandikar of India, second from the left; Ferrel Heady, fourth from the left; Edwin Bock, sixth from the left; John Lederle, director of the University of Michigan's IPA, seventh from the left; E. S. ("Bert") Wengert, eighth from left; and Frank Sherwood, on the extreme right.

functioned during the British colonial period. A notable case of this sort was *The Transfer of the Collector of Matsyapura*. Other IIPA cases dealt with higher-level matters, including the changing patterns of relations between ministers and officials. An extensive state-level case program in public administration was begun in Jaipur at Rajasthan University, sparked by Professor M. V. Mathur, who became University Vice Chancellor and who was also an initial member of the IIPA case committee.

To help the ICP start outreach work in South Asia, Professor Ferrel Heady, a comparative administration scholar and then assistant director of the University of Michigan's Institute of Public Administration, arranged a case method workshop for Asian graduate students in 1959. The ICP brought to Ann Arbor for the workshop Professor E. S. Wengert (University of Oregon) and Professor Frank Sherwood (USC School of Public Administration). Wengert had written about the teaching uses of ICP Cases and Sherwood was experienced in both case teaching and case writing. Some of the students came from Manila, where Heady had spent a season with the staff of the new Philippine Institute of Public Administration in the University of the Philippines. Others came from Thailand, India, Indonesia, and Viet Nam. Identifiable in a 1959 photo are H. Pai-Panandikar, India,

2nd from left; Ferrel Heady, 4th from left; Bock, 6th from left; John Lederle, director of the University of Michigan's IPA, 7th from left; E. S. ("Bert") Wengert, 8th from left; and Frank Sherwood, extreme right. (Several of the students could not be present for this photograph.)

At Heady's suggestion, the Rockefeller Foundation, which was supporting the development of the Philippine IPA, funded Bock's two-month 1959 visit to Manila to help it build a case program. In December, IPA Director Carlos Ramos convened a gathering of South Asian public administration educators from Indonesia, Thailand, Viet Nam, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The possibility of sharing case studies among the countries of the region was raised during the sessions, which proved to be the start of what, in the following year, was to become EROPA, the Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration. Two of the Thai professors of public administration at the Manila gathering were to become the principal case writers and case teachers in the public administration program at Thammasat University in Bangkok, which was being supported by Indiana University. On the trip back, Bock made a first visit to public administration programs in Saigon, Bangkok, New Delhi, and Belgrade.

In the following years, visits were made to the Thammasat-Indiana program in Bangkok, the Manila Institute, and the Indonesian National Institute of Public Administration, whose Dean, Atmosudirdjo Prajudi, had attended Ramos's 1959 Manila conference. The latter program was being aided by Indiana University. Visits were also made to the Pakistan Administrative Staff College in Lahore, where a Ford Foundation grant enabled Syracuse's Maxwell School to maintain a professor in residence. (With Ford support in 1953, Rowland Egger had conducted a survey of government administration. Like Appleby's India Mission Report, Egger's report had led Ford to start a major grant program in Pakistan.)

Some of the cases produced by the case programs in Britain and India had usefulness in ICP's American universities. An example was Tito Firmalino's Philippine case, *The District School Supervisor vs. Teachers and Parents*. In development administration, possibilities were seen for a casebook. Its major component was to be a full study of the Kennedy reorganization of the U.S. government's foreign aid efforts after the eight Eisenhower years. Professor E. S. Wengert began a two-semester research effort into the State Department's role in this decision process, but, sadly, died before he could complete his research and begin writing. A second case, *Prelude to Reorganization: The Kennedy Foreign Aid Message of 1961* by Professor Edward Weidner (University of Minnesota) was issued in the ICP Special Series in 1969. Individual cases about development included Frank Sherwood's *U.S. City Planners in Iran* (1962) and Fred Peterson's *The U.S. Adviser and the Ministry of Economics* (1964). (For others, see below under the period between 1963 and 1990.)

The comparative administration cases directly commissioned by the ICP included a series of Indian cases—some issued as "special studies"—that were also made available to the IIPA. An outstanding example was one written by J. B. (Bain) D'Souza, who was in the first batch of candidates admitted in 1947 into the new elite Indian Administrative Service (IAS), which was formed to succeed the famed Indian Civil Service (ICS) institution of the British raj. In his case about *The B.E.S.T. Strike*, D'Souza described how he, as I.A.S. General Manager of the Bombay Electric Street Transport, sought to cope with the turbulences that swirled around a bitter transit strike. In another case, he



portrayed the decision of a young career official to hold strictly to the letter of administrative propriety against the demands for flexibility that came from his state's powerful chief minister. D'SOUZA IS PICTURED ABOVE receiving an award from Bock in New Delhi in 1969. In its October 7, 2007 obituary of him, *The Guardian*, London, wrote: "D'Souza rose to become one of the great lords of the Indian administrative universe, while devoting most of his professional life to the unfashionable concern of improving India's cities, in particular Bombay (now Mumbai), and more specifically, to bettering the housing and public services of the poor."

Among the non-Indian cases produced by the ICP during this period were Fred Riggs' *Taiwan Veterans Retirement* and Sidney Baldwin's *A Budget for Venezuela*. Baldwin also worked on ICP case editing and re-writing during the 1962–1963 period. European cases included several produced by case writers in the Yugoslav Institute of Public Administration. One dealt with setting the salary levels of workers in a state industry; at the time, the Tito regime was experimenting with worker participation in such decisions. French cases included Aline Coutrot's *Fight Over the 1959 Private Education Law in France* and two extensive case accounts of the effort to decentralize French administration by changing the powers of the Prefect and by strengthening the influence of regional councils.

THE SYRACUSE DÉNOUEMENT, 1963–1990

In the fall of 1962, the ICP proposed to the Ford Foundation a three-year program for a more ambitious set of case clusters, including one in development administration. Once again, the proposal opened with a recognition that the use of case studies for teaching purposes had now become so widespread that it no longer needed foundation support to sustain itself. By this time, case writing programs and projects had been started in a number of graduate schools of public administration, management, and public affairs, not to mention substantial programs in the fields of public health and social work.

In the spring of 1963, the Foundation concluded that it would make a terminal grant only for the completion of cases still in the pipeline and for helping the ICP move its office onto the campus of one of its member universities, an arrangement similar to the Swarthmore model of the early 1950s. To assure member institutions that it would maintain its inter-university nature the Board decided to make the ICP into a non-profit corporation. All the major graduate schools belonging to the program were contacted. Several extended invitations, and after exploration the Board warmly accepted the arrangement proposed by the Maxwell School at Syracuse, which had provided auditing and payroll services to the program since its inception under Appleby in 1948. The Maxwell Dean at that time was Stephen K. Bailey, former Board member and the author of a recent case. The current Syracuse Board member at that time was Alan K. Campbell, who would succeed Bailey as Maxwell Dean when the latter moved to Washington to head the staff of the American Council on Education. The Maxwell Dean between Appleby and Bailey had been Harlan Cleveland, another former ICP Board member, who by 1963 was serving in the State Department.

Bock became a professor of political science on the Maxwell faculty in September 1963, and the Maxwell School provided office space and secretarial assistance while editorial assistance was funded from the Ford grant. The Foundation's grant also supported special efforts for cases about development administration and for an experiment in adapting some ICP first-year cases for advanced high school use. Between 1963 and 1977, Ford's India program continued to fund Bock's work in India with the IIPA and with the Centre for Economic Development in Nepal. Also during that period, the Carnegie Endowment funded his study of relationships between U.S. Ambassadors and A.I.D. Mission Directors in Asian and African countries. During the Syracuse period some 55 additional cases were published, either in the regular monograph series or in the Special Studies series.

NASA Science Policy Cases

Of the new cases undertaken after 1963, the most focused batch dealt with science policy. Started in 1963 with NASA grants—later in the 1960s and early 1970s NASA grants made possible a Syracuse University NASA Program involving both the Maxwell School and the University School of Engineering—the ICP science case collection included:

Shooting Down the Nuclear Plane by W. Henry Lambright

Tiros Nimbus: Developing a Weather Satellite by Richard Chapman.

From Mohole to No Hole by Michael Reagan

The NASA–University Memoranda of Understanding by Laurin Henry

Launching NASA’s Sustaining University Program by W. Henry Lambright

What Manned Space Program After the Moon? by Emmette Redford and Orion White

Demise of the Ballistics Division by Evelyn Glatt

The NASA grant enabled the ICP and the Maxwell faculty to bring to Syracuse W. Henry (“Harry”) Lambright who carried the major load of preparing science cases and who was to achieve eminence in the science policy field with a succession of books after his work with the ICP ended. Lambright’s doctoral work at Columbia had been partly under Sayre. Two of the other science case authors were ICP Board members: Emmette Redford (University of Texas) and Professor Laurin Henry (University of Virginia). The architect of the Syracuse NASA Program was Professor John “Jack” Honey, also an ICP Board member.

Foreign and Comparative Case Writing

At Syracuse, the ICP continued to produce cases about foreign and development administration, drawing guidance and advice from members of its 1958–1963 cluster committee which now included Fred Riggs who had become a Board member. These studies included:

Location of the Brick and Tile Factory at Skopje by Hristov and Klinski.

Starting the Punjab Tractor Finance Project by Tej Khanna

French and Italian Administrative Law by John Adams

Planning Problems in an Indian District by John Simon

The Assistant Collector and the Maharaja by A. Khambatta

Foreign/Comparative Science Policy Cases

During the Syracuse period, the ICP produced two studies about science policy in foreign and international settings. The second one contained four cases about one large process. The first depicted the complex blend of foreign policy, science policy, and the abrasions between old line engineering experts, career USAID officials, and a cocky Presidential panel of leading-edge American physicists, hydrologists, and systems analysts picked to advise Pakistan’s President Ayub Khan’s officials about an alarming loss of arable land caused by salinization of large irrigated areas. This was *Presidential Use of a Scientific Panel in Foreign Affairs: The Revelle Report* begun by Professor Albert Gorvine (Brooklyn College) and completed in 1986, after additional research, by Bock.

The second was a series of four comparative government cases, prepared mostly by Bock with a grant from the National Institutes of Health. The purpose was to compare the blending of foreign scientific inputs into the respective fluoridation policy processes of Ireland and Britain. The cases in this series (numbered ICP 131-135) bore a common, stem-winding series title, *Trans-National Influences on British and Irish Fluoridation Policy-Making*. Completed in the 1980s, they were:

British Ministry Scientific Mission Leads to City Trials by Edwin Bock
Executive Initiative Takes Ireland to [compulsory] National Fluoridation by Edwin Bock
*An International Scientific Trial—Ireland’s High Court Weighs Foreign Fluoridation
Evidence* by Edwin Bock
Kilmarnock and Other Local Fluoridation Decisions in Scotland by Thomas F. Carbery

Winding Up in the 1980s

The British-Irish fluoridation cases were the last cases issued in the regular, numbered CPAC-ICP series. By the 1980s, a profusion of cases and similar “clinical” teaching materials was available to American professors of political science and public administration. Significantly, a growing proportion of the new case materials was “home grown”—prepared by graduate faculty members to fit precisely their particular teaching subjects and their particular students—whether undergraduate, graduate, or mid-career.

Also significant were the new forms and styles of “real life” materials that now met the kind of teaching mission for which, in the early post-war Herring–Appleby–Sayre years, only CPAC-type cases were available. For example, by 1980, video transcriptions of congressional hearings and presidential press conferences were being shown in classes.

Another “newness” at the graduate level was the growing use of “policy exercises” in which the files and reports and interview transcripts that a case writer would have reviewed in researching a case, were now packaged and presented in thick binders to teams of students who were then asked to construct defensible, viable policy positions. (See, for example, ICP #130: “*Total Policy Exercise*”: *Overcoming Some Limitations of Case Studies*, 1980.)

After 1980, the ICP stopped commissioning new cases, although it continued to maintain an inventory to respond to requests that now came largely from university bookstores and libraries. Early in the 21st Century, the Board decided to begin the process of transferring the CPAC-ICP files and papers to the Special Collections Research Center of the Syracuse University Libraries. By 2005, the files and a complete set of all ICP publications were given to the Syracuse University Libraries, and the Library was authorized to make any CPAC-ICP publication available for reproduction without copyright fee.

As a final bow to Political Science and Public Administration, the ICP’s last publication was in its Special Essay Series. It was about the political science professor often thought of as the father of American Public Administration, the President whose inaugural Pendleton Herring had witnessed as a boy: *How Professor Woodrow Wilson Would Rate Public Administration Today*. The article was written by George Graham, 1949 CPAC board member from Princeton, who died in 2005 in his 100th year. Herring, whose 1947 initiative had led to the start of the case program and who, during his retirement years at Princeton, had headed the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, had died in 2004 also in his 100th year.