IT IS A PRECEPT as old as parenting itself: Do as I say, not as I do. It follows us into adulthood, into professional and public life—a sustaining habit of favoring proclamation over action that inevitably leads to a disassociation of policy and practice.

For more than three decades public policy toward American higher education has derived from principles that are broadly understood, if unevenly applied: that a collegiate education ought to be available to anyone who seeks to learn, regardless of educational background, ethnicity or economic circumstance; that higher education should be affordable, personally rewarding, and conducive to a broader social contract linking education to the public weal. To this catalog there have been added other convictions, notably that colleges and universities ought to be publicly accountable for the quality of the educations they provide as well as the prices they charge.

Those goals notwithstanding, for three decades colleges and universities have consistently increased tuition faster than the rate of inflation; they have successfully avoided the kind of public accountability that has become the hallmark of primary through secondary education; and, with the exception of community colleges, they have almost uniformly sought the competitive advantages more selective admissions confer. American higher education has achieved its greatest success in the conferring of personal rewards—to the extent that a college education has become the principal if not the sole means of personal economic advancement.

Higher education leaders and public officials have been co-dependent agents in a process that has transformed practices without redefining policy. Both have essentially looked the other way as states accorded smaller shares of their total budgets to higher education, and institutions increased tuition and other costs faster than inflation. Even though state appropriations to public institutions as a whole have increased 13 percent in constant dollars per student between 1980 and 1998, state funding has declined as a proportion of the budget of public colleges and universities.

In seeking expanded sources of revenue to pursue new opportunities, universities and colleges have helped shift a greater share of the cost of higher education to students and their families, effectively raising the barriers of affordability for many. It is the market that increasingly supplies the funds by which institutions both sustain current operations and invest in new ventures—a lesson whose importance has not been lost on either institutions or their student-consumers.

In the process, what has become increasingly clear as well is that educational performance in the public interest and institutional performance are not one in the same. One event that has helped cast these differences in sharp relief is the publication and subsequent response to Measuring Up 2000: The State-by-State Report Card for Higher Education. This report card, published by the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, provides a first attempt to gauge how well each state’s educational system has collectively served the public interest in five broad categories: preparation, affordability, participation, completion, and the benefits higher education confers to a state and its citizens.

The report card helped underscore the differences that exist between statewide performance on matters of broad public interest on the one hand, and conventional measures of institutional performance on the other. In the first edition of the report card, only five states received an A for affordability, only seven received an A for participation, and just one state, Illinois, received an A in both categories. The nation’s overall grade in 2000 was a C for affordability and a C for participation. In the report card’s 2002 edition, the grades of most states on these measures remained decidedly average.

While the report card measures the performance of states in terms of how well the public is served, colleges and universities—and by extension the men and women who manage and lead them—are being evaluated by measures of a different devising. For these purposes, what is important is an institution’s visibility and prestige, its capacity to compete for students, for faculty, for research dollars, and even for athletes. For presidents in particular, what matters most is institution building—and if that has come to mean succeeding in an increasingly competitive market, so be it!

What has been occurring through the past 30 years is an incremental but steady privatization of higher education. The pipeline that would fund public purposes does not abound with dollars. For institutions, the most promising source of new dollars is the private sector, and those funds most often target the achievement of institutional purposes and competitive advantage. The experiences of states and institutions through this period have helped delineate more clearly what markets can and cannot achieve—and by extension, the kinds of roles public policy must resume or
Experience has taught that institutions are most likely to pursue a public agenda when the focus is on the creation of assets, yielding the possibility of more faculty in particular areas, the development of new programs, or the expansion of programs currently in place. The problem confronting public policy in a time of budget contraction is to engage the interests of institutions in refocusing the use of assets they currently have. 

A starting point for all such discussions is to pose a fundamental set of questions concerning the relationship of higher education institutions to their states: To the extent a state pays to support a system of universities and colleges, what should that state expect in return? What obligations do a state’s colleges and universities, both public and private, assume in return for the financial support they receive? Can or should policymakers expect the institutions supported by public funds to fulfill publicly enumerated goals and purposes? And, not least, can public officials be held accountable for how well their state’s institutions of higher education serve the public interest?

Our answers to these questions derive from a Roundtable on Leadership and Public Purposes, convened jointly by the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education and the Knight Collaborative in June 2002. Our premise was that the chemistry of any successful initiative to achieve better alignment between policy and practice would involve both presidents of institutions and policymakers as primary agents of change. Accordingly, our roundtable included those with extensive policy experience in a variety of state environments, as well as current and former presidents of a range of institutions both public and private.

**Practice Without Policy**

Anyone seasoned in the workings of public policy knows that the alignment of a state’s public purposes with the behavior of institutions is often tangential. One phenomenon that helped impart the appearance of unified purpose was the substantial growth in higher education enrollments that occurred from the 1950s through the ’70s. In the course of those decades, the number of four-year public institutions increased from 344 to 426; in the same period, the number of public two-year institutions increased from 297 to 634. It was a period in which public purposes and institutional purposes fell naturally into accord. Providing access to a quality higher education was the central theme of public policy, and expanded capacity was the means of achieving it. Institution building benefited the interests of students and of higher education, while also achieving a central component of a state’s public policy objectives.

Even today, the challenge of institution building confronts several states in which the demand for higher education exceeds current capacity. As most state systems of higher education have come to attain sufficient capacity, however, the alignment of public and institutional purposes has become less clear. Growth makes it possible to entertain several related goals in the assurance that the competition among them is small to non-existent. In times of budget contraction, however, the differences between an institutional and public agenda stand out in sharper relief. The relationship of institutional behavior to a state’s public agenda is now less obvious, as the challenge facing most public officials has shifted from capacity building to capacity utilization. With very few exceptions, this shift has evolved without sustained
public discussion of what should constitute the public interest in higher education following the era of capacity building. In the absence of such discussions, determining both the level and distribution of a state’s funding of its universities and colleges becomes a matter of inertia as interpreted through the prism of individual politics and personalities. No less than the colleges and universities they monitor, public agencies responsible for higher education policy have themselves become institutions—with all the ingrained customs and behaviors the term implies. As with institutions of every stripe, once the machinery of governance is set in motion, it becomes increasingly difficult to alter course. What happened last year becomes the basis for deciding what will happen this year and next—a self-repeating cycle that only occasionally takes note of changed circumstances or new leadership.

The result is a condition once described in these pages as “getting policy without making policy”—an environment in which a state’s higher education policy is the net result of budget negotiations, without reference to any larger framework describing educational ends. To proceed in the absence of stated policy is often a conscious, if unspoken, policy choice; taking this stance helps prevent latent differences from coming to the surface in public debate.

In the absence of deliberate policy, discretionary choice and individual pursuit of opportunity—often described as the workings of markets—become increasingly powerful forces determining the shape and direction of a state’s higher education institutions. One expression of this phenomenon is the declining power of many state systems of higher education to oversee or contain the growth and ambitions of individual institutions within a state. A particularly telling example can be seen in the dismantling of the Florida Board of Regents, leaving individual institutions in that state with greater autonomy to compete with one another in a Darwinian battle to build research programs and inch forward on traditional scales of prestige.

It is not that states have forgotten about their higher education institutions. The appropriations for salaries, operations, capital construction and equipment continue to account for substantial shares of every state’s budget. The problem is that those with public responsibility, for the most part, lack an agreed-upon agenda, and are pursuing instead a variety of maintenance agendas that are themselves products of habit and history, and that accord the greatest funding to institutions and students who are most advantaged.

At the same time, and perhaps ironically, public officials over the last decade have intensified their complaints about higher education’s performance in general and the failings of colleges and universities in particular. Too much attention is paid to research, and too much of it is esoteric. Teaching and learning get short shrift. At best, faculty are indifferent to the wants and needs of students who pursue a college education principally as preparation for work. Too often institutions are consumed by their quest for the icons of prestige. Too much time is spent in pursuit of institutional agendas. And yet, no matter how pointed their concerns about the quality of education that undergraduates receive in research universities, most states allot funding to such institutions in much greater degree than to those whose mission, and hence central focus, is the teaching of undergraduates.

The same disparity can be seen in the call for stronger partnerships between publicly supported colleges and universities on the one hand, and primary and secondary schools on the other. Despite the rhetorical support of programs designed to improve college preparation, participation and completion, there are embarrassingly few instances of a state actually aligning its resources to effect the building of such partnerships. Those institutions that work to advance the public interest experience neither better nor worse rewards from a state than do competing institutions that have not given priority to public purpose.

Inevitably, albeit quietly, most leaders within higher education have come to doubt the conviction underlying those protestations of public purpose. An institutional leader does not need rocket science to parse which priorities ought to matter most, given the disparity between the funding states allot to their research universities, comprehensive institutions, and community colleges. On most campuses—and certainly in the offices of the president and those responsible for governmental relations—it is well understood that the state allocates upwards of 95 percent of the public monies it annually invests in higher education to maintain that which has already been built.

The question that is almost never asked, by either presidents or policymakers is: Would a major recasting of such funding patterns yield a set of institutions more responsive to public purposes? In lieu of addressing that question, the decisions public officials make are largely confined to the mechanics of reallocation, weighing the state’s appropriation to higher education against an array of competing claims for state funds. The fundamental question—To what end?—is simply not on the table.

In seeking expanded sources of revenue to pursue new opportunities, universities and colleges have helped shift a greater share of the cost of higher education to students and their families, effectively raising the barriers of affordability for many.

**Presidential Agendas**

Nor do broad discussions of higher education’s public purposes appear on many presidential agendas. Measuring Up met a deafening silence on college campuses everywhere. Leaders of private institutions largely interpreted the report card’s grades as reflecting on the quality of their
state’s public system of higher education. And the presidents of public institutions for the most part avoided genuine engagement with the subject; the few passions that were evoked centered on the fact that a state’s private institutions might have skewed the affordability measure.

On no campus, as far as we know, was there a sustained discussion of the report card or its implications—no first steps toward a recasting of institutional practices to better pursue public purposes. This fact could only remind most presidents of what they already knew—that they are paid to build their institution and then protect its autonomy against all comers. There is simply no gain—and much to lose—in staking one’s presidency on the achievement of state policy goals.

In some ways the pressures confronting a college or university president today are not that different from those that existed 20 or 30 years ago. Broadening the revenue base, strengthening the quality and reputation of the institution, and enrolling the best possible student body have always been part of a president’s to-do list. What has changed is the all-pervasive importance of fundraising in a president’s job description—not just in the traditional form of donations from friends and alumni, but increasingly through the brokering of deals that shape an institution’s ability to compete in a full range of teaching, research, and service markets. More often than not, fundraising is the primary charge and performance criterion handed down from an institution’s governing board. For the presidents of both public and private institutions, the terms of office and measures of performance stem directly from the question: Where will the growth of institutional resources come from?

It is in this sense that today’s president is paid principally to be an enterprise builder. As most states came to achieve sufficient capacity in higher education, they shifted the focus of public policy to other priorities—fighting crime, improving public primary and secondary education, and funding the Medicare and Medicaid mandates established by the federal government. Institutions were increasingly left to their own devices, expected to pursue their own agendas while learning to master the discipline of the market.

Not surprisingly, the resulting institutional agendas seldom corresponded to the public policy goals of enhancing students’ preparation for higher education, improving the rate of participation, making higher education affordable to all students, or ensuring that a collegiate education, in addition to enhancing the economic quality of their students’ lives, strengthened the fabric of society. The only direct, though still largely accidental, link between a state’s public purposes and institutional priorities is the importance each assigns to increasing graduation rates. For most institutions, however, the benefits of increased retention are seen as largely financial and reputational. Colleges and universities with high graduation rates can both charge higher prices and practice more selective admissions.

What dominates most institutional, and hence presidential, agendas today is the need to advance the institution’s standing in higher education’s traditional pecking order. To a president it means such things as building endowment, increasing faculty salaries, and better branding the institution’s products. For many regional comprehensive universities, it means building and expanding graduate programs and winning more external research dollars in order to advance the institution another notch toward research university status. With regard to students, the president’s performance objective is often to lead a process of making the institution more selective. Colleges and universities have become remarkably adept at saying no to more students and calling it success.

While a president may give a personal stamp to an institution’s strategies and tactics, much of the chief executive’s role consists of helping generate funds to support an agenda of such long standing, with roots so deep in the institution as to seem immutable. The sheer inertia of institutional aspiration often makes presidents reluctant to embark on a course of action that departs substantially from the direction an institution has already indicated it wishes to pursue.

This pressure also helps explain the relative scarcity of those who use their presidencies as bully pulits to help define public purpose. A set of focus groups recently conducted by the National Center for Postsecondary Improvement (NCPI) suggested that even those presidents who do speak out on behalf of larger causes understand they are not likely to be taken seriously when they do so. Most audiences appear to think that presidents champion public causes only to burnish their own or their institution’s public persona. Like their counterparts in the business world, presidents are expected to become CEOs, applying their managerial and executive skills to pursue institutional goals and agendas while making sure that the enterprises they lead are financially successful and expansive.

**GETTING THERE FIRST**

Still, on occasion, college and university presidents can become active agents in the formulation of public policies, particularly when they and their institutions have focused on the details of governmental appropriation. By the kinds of data they collect and analyze, institutions often come to see emerging trends that have implications for how a state funds its universities and colleges. Institutions that enroll greater numbers of returning adult students and deliver more education through electronic means, for
example, have been the first to understand that state funding formulas based on full-time enrollments—or even contact hours in the classroom—work against the ways in which many students actually attain their college degrees.

In one example, data that community colleges gathered on the number of students completing their high school education through General Education Development (GED) tests helped refocus state priorities to encourage more students to earn their high school degree—and then proceed to pursue further study, most likely at a community college. It is an example of a group of organized presidents getting there first—helping draw the attention of public officials to matters that entail a rethinking of the mechanisms, and to some extent the purposes, of public appropriations for higher education.

Another example of the same phenomenon can be seen in a series of initiatives first undertaken by presidents some 20 years ago, some of which began to attain visible momentum through the past decade. While the particular focus of these activities varied, the impetus for each was a common presidential conviction of the need to engage undergraduates more fully in developing the values of citizenship and service to society. Small but significant numbers of presidents came to observe that the nation as a whole had begun to neglect one of its great strengths, which was the willingness of its citizens to help one another.

Collectively these initiatives, spearheaded by college and university presidents, served as a reminder that fostering the values of citizenship and service is an important part of the education their institutions provide. The point was—and is—that civic engagement means advancing precept into practice, helping students translate personal values into actions that serve societal needs in addition to benefiting themselves.

As more universities and colleges became involved in programs of this sort, it became evident that two things would have to occur if such efforts were to achieve full potential: First, a given program would need to link directly to the academic core of the institution; and second, a program would need to establish direct ties to the public policy agenda of the state.

Experience has also shown that in order to realize the second of these conditions, institutions and state policymakers must work together to create an infrastructure that will advance a given set of initiatives—not just in institutions but in the workings of public policy. Within any state, that infrastructure must consist of two things: a forum that makes it possible to advance and debate an issue in the realm of public discussion; and a vision and strategy for translating the purposes identified into actions, in state policy as well as in institutions.

Campus Compact is perhaps the largest and most visible result of those earlier presidential initiatives to foster increased commitment to service and civic engagement as educational values. This is an initiative that can be expanded through purposeful commitment of institutions in conjunction with state public officials. Collectively they offer examples of college and university presidents getting there first—becoming the drivers of an agenda that ultimately seeks to engage state public officials in the fulfillment of objectives that are important both to higher education institutions and to the public weal.

In principle, however, the more likely first movers are a state’s elected officials and policymakers, precisely because they have the power of the purse. They also have the advantage of a relatively broad consensus as to the stated goals of publicly supported higher education. What they say they seek is easily enumerated: broad access, economic development, a publicly engaged citizenry, a skilled workforce, and research that promotes improved standards of living.

The difficulty lies not in the rhetorical support accorded this agenda, but rather in its implementation—in the translation of this specific set of public purposes into the day-to-day activities and behaviors that collectively define institutional goals and direction. What is required is a set of public initiatives that institutions can perceive as being in their own interests to pursue. Part of the challenge, then, is identifying the areas in which the interests of public officials and institutional leaders overlap as a basis for collaborative approaches to achieving broadly shared public purposes.

A well-funded, well-formulated state initiative can give presidents the kind of framework and authority needed to enlist their own campuses in what must come to be seen as a common cause. The questions then become: How can public officials frame an agenda in a way that makes it sensible for presidents to take up an issue and move it forward? What are the public...
policy issues on which presidents are best suited to lead? And, what incentives and other inducements can public officials create that make it impossible for institution builders not to pay attention?

Finally, a question that can form a central axis in the dynamic between policymakers and institutional leaders is the role that data can play in shaping and advancing an agenda of public purposes. One of the lessons *Measuring Up*s report card teaches is the power of having real data, and hence concrete measures, of how well the stated goals are in fact being achieved. At the same time, the response to the report card shows the ease with which data can be devalued or dismissed out of hand if the measures do not correspond with an institution’s—or a state’s—own sense of where it is going and what it needs to know.

States that have taken the report card seriously have begun to ask different kinds of questions and consider alternative policies and programs. What has not yet happened in any substantial degree is the extension of this process to institutions, whose practices will determine in part how well a state achieves the kinds of purposes the report card helps to gauge. Comparatively few state officials have created an environment that leads an institution to ask different questions of itself or its principal constituencies.

**By the kinds of data they collect and analyze, institutions often come to see emerging trends that have implications for how a state funds its universities and colleges.**

literacy, and public primary and secondary education. No state can hope to make significant improvements in its educational, civic and economic vitality if one-third or more of its adult population lacks basic literacy skills. By the same token, no state can hope to improve its students’ preparation for higher education without dramatically improving the quality of education provided in its primary and secondary schools. Both of these challenges represent opportunities in which higher education can play a substantial role. If the governor and legislature were to engage a state’s higher education institutions in a process of reaching these goals through collaboration with schools, businesses and other players, institutional leaders would find it in their interests to contribute to these goals, far more than they do in the absence of such initiatives. Changing institutional behavior falls more squarely within the realm of possibility if a state can establish one or two strong priorities that serve to focus the resources and energies of higher education institutions and other stakeholders. The challenge facing state policymakers is the defining of public initiatives that in fact promise real progress in these domains.

Building a better alignment between the challenges of public policy and the agenda of higher education institutions is no simple task, and there can be no generic approach to the process, given the differences in the policy environments of states themselves. The extent of a governor’s power, the role and strength of a state’s higher education governing or coordinating board, the mix of public and private institutions, the amount of resources directed to higher education, the demographics of a state and its rate of population growth—all are factors that shape the dynamic between public policy and the workings of a state’s colleges and universities.

In the face of such variations, specific recommendations are difficult to make. What can be compelling for any state and any institution, however, is a series of questions, the answers to which can provide a telling portrait of how effectively the state’s policy environment aligns with the objectives of its higher education institutions. They are tough questions that may give pause to public officials and campus presidents alike:

**For Public Officials**

- How explicitly has the state identified and communicated the purposes it wishes to achieve through its higher education institutions?
• How well does the funding the state provides its higher education institutions align with the public purposes the state seeks to achieve through its system of universities and colleges? What incentives and methods of engagement has the state created to make the fulfillment of public purposes in the interests of institutions themselves?

• What systematic steps is the state taking to determine how well its investment in higher education actually serves the public purposes it has identified? What kinds of measures does the state apply to determine how effective its investment is in terms of advancing the common weal? Are the measures traced annually, trends reviewed, and discussions held about what is and is not working?

• Where are the firecrackers—in the form of programs and initiatives—that can break loose the pattern of institution building that bears little relation to a state’s public purposes?

For Institutional Leaders

• Through what programs and initiatives does the institution actively serve the public interests of a state and its citizens?

• To what extent are the institution’s initiatives on behalf of the public agenda understood and affirmed throughout the institution?

• Does the fulfillment of the purposes identified engage a broad cross-section of the faculty, staff, and administration, or is it relegated to a small number of units and individuals? Does the initiative’s symbolic value exceed the institution’s actual investment of time and financial resources to fulfill an objective?

• To what extent have the institution’s efforts to advance the public well-being occasioned changes in the priorities of the institution’s academic core?

• What steps has the institution taken to build the forum for debate and the partnerships that give an issue traction in the arenas of public policy? To what extent has the institution succeeded in getting there first—providing the leadership and coalition building required to advance an issue in the public agenda?

• To what extent has the institution collected data to gauge its performance in advancing a state’s public purposes? What kinds of data has it collected, and how have those data helped change priorities and behavior in the institution?

The Power of Collaboration

A common way of deflecting any initiative that involves changing behavior is to say that the time is not right. In times of economic scarcity, many are heard to observe that reform requires dollars that neither states nor institutions have. In times of plenty, the common wisdom holds that institutions have no incentive to change, and that a good recession is the prerequisite to any serious reform.

Public policy is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for changing the behavior of institutions. As institution builders, university and college presidents naturally respond to the wants and needs, both implicit and explicit, of the institutions they lead. Public policy and the pressures of public expectation make up part of that environment, but, as it turns out, they are only occasionally generators of presidential priorities. No public policy initiative has ever succeeded by simply appealing to a president’s instincts to do the right thing.

It is collaboration between higher education leaders and public officials that holds the most important key to success in advancing a state’s public purposes. The most practical way of beginning is to identify those areas where the interests of public officials and presidents overlap, and then to ask: What changes in incentives, what approaches to collaborative engagement, what funding mechanisms, what measures of performance would make it impossible for institutions not to engage in a state’s public agenda?

We conceive a model approach as being one that brings a broad range of players to the table to define a state’s public policy objectives and the roles that its universities and colleges can play in achieving them. For any given state, the process would include the governor, key legislators, the head of the state’s governing or coordinating board, and presidents of as many colleges and universities as it is possible to convene at a given time, in addition to business and civic leaders.

More than simply appealing to the presidents’ better instincts, a model approach would involve understanding just where the state stands in terms of key measures of public performance; setting statewide goals for improvement; and creating action plans to achieve those goals—programs that make it possible for institutions to play explicit roles that correspond to their own areas of strength in helping achieve a state’s civic and economic polity.

Some states have actively sought to build the partnerships that help achieve broader policy goals that serve the public interest. Missouri, North Dakota, Oklahoma and South Dakota have each convened statewide forums that engage public officials as well as institutional leaders. These forums have helped define a common vision to
address the educational challenges each state faces. In
North Dakota, that process has yielded a broadly shared
conviction that a key role of the state’s higher education
system is to promote the diversification and continued vitality
of the state’s economy. South Dakota has applied
the technique of a periodic statewide roundtable as effectively as
any setting in the nation for the purpose of identifying and
gauging continued progress in meeting the state’s educa-
tional objectives. Oklahoma has convened discussions that
center on its report card scores in framing the roles of higher
education, K–12 schools, business leaders and public officials
in improving the state’s overall educational performance.

Convening the dialogues is an important step in the larger
process of forming partnerships that allow a state to move
forward in advancing public purposes in conjunction with its
colleges and universities. The lesson of many roundtables,
however, is that good talk in itself does not complete the tasks at
hand. The challenge in any
setting is to proceed beyond
agreements in principle—to
forge the working partnerships
and action strategies that allow a
state to make headway on these
issues.

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Two Last Subsuming Questions
Perhaps the toughest questions are those
that public officials and campus presidents
need to ask of themselves. For nearly 30 years
now, most states have tended to solve short-
term budget problems by curtailing their rates
of investment in higher education and then
allowing institutions to augment their revenues by increasing tuition and
fees. The result is that universities and colleges have become market
enterprises increasingly dependent on their own ability to compete for
student enrollments, research grants and service contracts to fulfill their
own agendas. What public officials need to recognize is that markets
reward individuals and enterprises and only very indirectly public purpose.

The most difficult question those officials must ask themselves is this: If
a state is not prepared to allocate the resources it does invest more directly
toward the achievement of public purposes, can it realistically expect
higher education institutions to include such goals among their own
priorities?

For presidents the fundamental question that needs to be asked
requires less of a preamble. What every president needs to ask in the
condor of the mirror each morning is: Do I really want to be just a CEO? Are
the challenges and rewards of leadership wholly confined to managing the
enterprise—building its revenues, improving its branding, burnishing its
image? What is the possibility that there are sufficient allies within the
institution—among faculty, students, staff and governing board—who want
and expect the institution to be more, to be truly in the public interest? What
would it take to make me a first mover? ◆

The essay, “Of Precept, Policy and Practice,” is based on a National Roundtable on Leadership and Public Purposes, jointly convened in June 2002 by
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