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The coeducational transition of the Woman's College of The University of North Carolina: A case study in organizational change

Gallien, Louis Bertrand, Jr., Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1987

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THE COEDUCATIONAL TRANSITION OF THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA: A CASE STUDY IN ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

by

Louis Bertrand Gallien, Jr.

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

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Approved by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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This dissertation focuses on the coeducational transition of a public woman's college in the South: The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina. The study is conducted within the context of organizational change in higher education. It is a historical case study that focuses on the importance of the external and internal political forces that facilitate change within institutions of higher education. The theoretical framework is centered around J. Victor Baldridge's: Power and Conflict in Universities (1971). Baldridge's study focuses on the changes at New York University during the 1960's. While the changes at NYU are different from the coeducational transition of The Woman's College, Baldridge's model is a useful and fitting guide for examining organizational change in a collegiate setting.

The writer has interviewed the key living administrators of the coeducational period who held significant administrative posts during the transition of The Woman's College. The dissertation also analyzes the results of a questionnaire sent to the remaining faculty members of the present institution (UNCG) who witnessed the transition in 1963-64. Additionally, department heads and senior faculty members at Woman's College, General Administration officials at Chapel Hill, UNC board members, and state legislators were inter-

viewed and their responses integrated into the Baldridge model. There is also a discussion of the history of colleges for women in the South and a synthesis of Burton Clark's (1970) supposition of an institutional or organizational "saga" within distinctive colleges in the U.S.

The dissertation concludes that the coeducational transition was an inevitability based on a) the advent of former Governor Terry Sanford's administration and his determination to broaden opportunities for a wider and more diverse student body within the University of North Carolina system; b) the 1960's heralding an era of equal access by race and sex to public institutions across the country; c) collegiate women seeking broader social and economic opportunities that were not perceived to be available at the public colleges for women; d) the trend among public women's and teacher's colleges to emulate research universities.

Archival collections at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro are the main repository of information on the faculty and administrators of The Woman's College. These consist of letters, diaries, official presidential reports, personal papers, board minutes, biographical files on faculty members, and institutional reports. Primary materials from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (especially the Pearsall Papers), and The General Administrative Office of The University of North Carolina located in Chapel Hill were also useful.

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Alice Rice; a trusted colleague who always had time to edit my work.

Donna Sundre; a fellow graduate student whose friendship and encouragement sustained me through the doctoral program.

I would also like to thank my in-laws, Dr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Joyner, for their encouragement, support and love.

This work is dedicated to three women:

Rose Mudd Anderson -- a grandmother who provided me with much love, support and prayers.

Helen Minton Gallien -- a mother who is responsible for my total education, and has continually "walked the extra mile" for her children.

Lee Joyner Gallien -- a wife who inspired this work and made its completion possible.

The motivation to complete this work was provided by the memory of the author's father, who I think may have been proud of his son.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Overview

One of the most consistent features of organizational behavior is change. A popular and widely-held belief in academe, however, is that the university is highly resistant to change and provides a steadfast environment for students and faculty. While college administrators may hope for a stable environment for faculty and students, the outside environment does not remain immutable. Consequently, the college environment is forced to respond and adapt to the circumstances of this "outer" environment. Although the literature of admission offices may emphasize the "changeless nature" of the college, the reality is that the institution is constantly reacting to the outside environment which militates against that "changeless" image.

Changes in the environment may be as gradual as demographic changes which slowly affect enrollment, or as dramatic as a Supreme Court decision on perceived inequities in admission practices. Regional employment patterns may affect student enrollment due to a decline in traditionally stable businesses in the area. This may be particularly significant if the university is largely a commuter campus. The predicament for colleges is that they can never adequately prepare for sudden change in the outside environment.

The relationship between the public university and its environment is one of constant flux. Supporters (alumni and parents of students) try to influence and rally key legislators and corporate heads to their "cause" by seeking to make them powerful patrons of their alma mater. The political nature of the administrator's job may resemble the lifestyle of a Washington lobbyist rather than that of a collegial academician.

Problems may arise when the institution is on the verge of a major transition which affects its missions and goals. In the twentieth century, two types of colleges underwent the more drastic and overt changes in their "original mission." These were the former "normal" schools (state teachers colleges) and the public women's colleges. The basic nature of the changes included a move to co-education and emulation of comprehensive universities in curriculum and research. (It should be pointed out that many of the state teacher colleges were either exclusively female or contained undergraduate enrollments that were predominantly female. Thus the impact of the change in mission and goals of the colleges decidedly affected their female populations.) In most cases, the transition was affected by the "outer environment" (political forces) coupled with internal pressure (from administration or faculty) to emulate the changes that had occurred earlier at the other leading universities. The changes typical at many former normal and state teachers

colleges occurred at the professional school level with the addition of advanced degrees (M.A., Ed.D., Ph.D.).

The Coeducational Transition

The transitions previously noted were indicative of the changes that occurred at The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina during the period 1950-1964. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro has had four major transitions in its ninety-five year history. Chartered by the State of North Carolina in 1891 as a Normal and Industrial School for White Women, the school gained college status by 1918. It became the North Carolina College for Women during that same year. A State legislative mandate in 1931, led by Governor O. Max Gardner, consolidated the Greensboro women's campus with the men's campus at Chapel Hill and the State College at Raleigh. As a tripartite system, these three institutions became the University of North Carolina.

The historic missions of the three universities remained essentially the same. The Greensboro campus would retain its original mission of educating women for roles in primary and secondary teaching, as well as those roles opened predominantly to women. The State College in Raleigh would continue its mission of educating men in the fields of agriculture and engineering, and The State University at Chapel Hill would continue to be the historical "flagship" campus by maintaining its role as the premier public liberal arts college for men.

The major change for the Woman's College would be in the curriculum. Indeed, by the year of consolidation (1931) the College Catalogue declared:

> "While the College authorities have never lost sight of the fact that more than two-thirds of all the enrolled students and nine-tenths of all its graduates render service in either the public or private schools of North Carolina, the curriculum has been so broadened in recent years as to furnish a sound basis for liberal culture and for further scholarly research."[1]
>
> The Act of Consolidation itself declared that the Woman's College mission should be:
>
> "...to teach...all branches of knowledge recognized as essential to a liberal education, such as will familiarize them (women) with the world's best thought and achievement and prepare them for intelligent and useful citizenship; to make special provision for training in the art and science of teaching, school management, and school supervision; to provide women with such training in the arts, sciences, and industries as may be conducive to their self-support and community usefulness; to render to the people of the State such aid and encouragement as will tend to the dissemination of knowledge, and fostering of loyalty and patriotism, and the promotion of the general welfare."[2]

While the Act of Consolidation and the College's own broadened sense of purpose highlighted the changes at the University in 1931, the allocation of functions among the three colleges, provided for by the Act, limited the ability of the Woman's College to expand programs much beyond the traditional "women's fields." Consolidation also led to the elimination of schools and deanships. The Schools of Education, Home Economics and Music were reduced to departments under the direction of the Graduate School of Chapel Hill.[3]

Although the Woman's College was not the recipient of any transfer programs to her campus, the college did seek to enhance the academic atmosphere by adopting a basic two-year curriculum of general education for all candidates for the B.A. degree. Additionally, the College balanced its teacher training program by developing a broad program of liberal arts. It revised old departments and added new ones in the humanities and social sciences.[4]

The 1935 Catalogue noted the changes with the addition of departments of classical civilization, art, philosophy and physical education. It also elevated the Divisions of History and Political Science, Sociology and Economics, within the Department of Social Science, to separate departments with their own chairmen and specific objectives.[5]

Unfortunately, the Woman's College could not benefit from the impact of World War II and the tremendous development in science and technology as did the other two campuses. The Chapel Hill campus underwent rapid expansion in the field of health affairs, as did State College in agriculture, forestry, textiles and technology.[6] While the War did not have a significant impact upon the expansion of the Woman's College, it did portend a battle that would take place in the legislative arena for the next decade and a half. The first major test of the Woman's College status as an exclusively public female institution came in 1946-47.

As 10,000 North Carolina G.I.'s returned home from the War, they found that the campuses at Chapel Hill and Raleigh could not contain their number. Because of the relative inexpensiveness of the Consolidated University of North Carolina, the next logical alternative would be the full co-education of the Woman's College. (Men had already been accepted on the Graduate level since the 1930's.) Local VFW groups, and some alumnae, backed the idea of a co-educational campus and thought it "unpatriotic" to exclude the new veterans.[7] If not for the lobbying and persistence of the Consolidated President, Frank Porter Graham, the co-educational transition of the Woman's College might have occurred in 1947. Mr. Graham's motives for maintaining a state-supported women's college stem from the Consolidation of the three colleges (Chapel Hill, Raleigh and Greensboro) in 1931. A statement made by President Graham to the Board of Trustees at Greensboro on May 30, 1936 underlines his concern for maintaining "a distinctly and preeminently woman's college of arts and sciences." President Graham would entertain no thoughts of co-education at the Woman's College during his tenure of office, which ended in 1950.[8]

The decade of the fifties brought about some radical changes in the mission and goals of many former Normal and State Teacher Colleges across the United States. The Woman's College was no exception. Alexander Astin, an acknowledged expert in the field of higher education, writes of the era:

> "In the 1950's there were more than 200 teacher colleges in the United States. Almost all of the teacher colleges or normal schools in the public sector were converted into so-called state colleges and state universities during the period when most of the states began to develop hierarchial systems of public education. The process was as follows: Because the teacher colleges were considerably inferior in status to the flagship universities, they received relatively meager funding. The most obvious way to improve their status was to emulate the institutions at the top of the hierarchy. Among other things, this meant minimizing the teacher-training function (a symbol of low status), developing a general-purpose liberal arts curriculum, and expanding their graduate programs and research capabilities...[9]

With the exception of minimizing the teacher-training function of the University, the quote above mirrors the posture of the Woman's College during the 1950's. The faculty gender composition also changed from a female majority to a solid male majority. This was indicative of the changes in mission at the University and the general trend of hiring new faculty members with the Ph.D. For a variety of reasons, beyond the scope of this thesis, men would constitute the vast majority of holders of the doctorate. It is important to note that this degree would be the important credential for development of a research faculty at an increasingly comprehensive university.

The Woman's College's gradual deviation from its original 1891 mission would culminate after the 1960 elections of President John F. Kennedy and North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford. These two Democrats embraced reform-minded agendas for both the State and Nation. For President Kennedy, the

reforms would be highlighted by the civil rights movement that was focused in the South. For Governor Sanford, the changes would occur in sweeping transformations in public higher education. The Woman's College was affected by both the Federal emphasis on desegregation and the State emphasis on educational expansion. These two political administrations would signal both the change of most women's colleges across the nation and at the Greensboro Woman's College campus by 1963.

Changes in Organizations

Appropriate to the study of transition or change in higher education is an analysis of institutional change within a conceptual framework. J. Victor Baldridge, in Power and Conflict in the University (1971) provides a useful and generally respected framework for analyzing the transition of the Woman's College in 1963. The idea of conflict as a major component to studying organizations is not new to scholars of organizational change. Since Marx's analysis of industrial England gained recognition, others such as Ralf Dahrendorf (Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.), and Lewis Coser (The Functions of Social Conflict, Glencoe: Free Press, 1956.) have made significant contributions to the study of conflict analysis in modern society.

In the Baldridge analysis, several points are critical; 1) conflict theorists break society into interest groups,

each with its own particular mission; 2) conflict theorists study the interaction of these groups and examine the conflict processes by which they seek to gain advantage over one another; 3) finally, interest groups gather around divergent values, therefore, change is to be anticipated if the social system is fragmented by divergent values and conflicting interest groups.

In their review of the literature on innovation and change in higher education, ("An Analysis of Frameworks for Research on Innovation and Change in Higher Education.") David Dill and Charles Friedman, from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, describe Baldridge's model in this way:

> "The conflict framework traces its ancestry to an established tradition of research on social conflict in the disciplines of sociology and political science. For this reason, the conflict framework is universally recognized as a legitimate approach to examining social change...Unlike the complex organization framework, the conflict framework focuses readily on the natural history of one particular change or innovation, usually in one setting, and as such lends itself to a case-study research methodology."[10]

Baldridge emphasizes that conflict is present and unavoidable in every institution. A decision on any major change within the institution is quite naturally the seed of the next conflict. He demonstrates that the roots of conflict lie in the internal and external forces that exist within the prevailing social structure. This methodology helps clarify cause and effect issues neglected in other research models of change and innovation.

There are five assumptions critical to Baldridge's political systems approach to studying organizational change.

1. Conflict is natural, and is to be expected in a dynamic organization. Rather than avoiding or ignoring conflict, scholars and administrators should study areas of conflict in an organization as a way of explaining and understanding the organization. The tendency for students of higher education to examine the university solely within the context of its mission and goals leads to a superficial evaluation of the institution. As Baldridge suggests, goals are best evaluated within the context of the political systems model.

2. An organization is fragmented into power blocs and interest groups. It is natural that they will try to influence policy so that their values are given primary consideration. In his 1963 Godkin Lectures at Harvard, Clark Kerr described the fragmentation in higher education:

> "There is a kind of lawlessness in any large university with separate sources of initiative and power; and the task is to keep the lawlessness within bounds...There are several 'nations' of students, of faculty, of alumni, of trustees, or public groups. Each has its territory, its jurisdiction, its form of government. Each can declare war on the others; some have the power of veto... It is a pluralistic society with multiple cultures.[11]

3. In all organizations small groups of "political elites" control most major decisions. The decisions may be divided up, with different elite groups controlling different types of decisions. Neal Gross has observed:

> "...Faculty members tend to be focused predominantly on their own individualized and specialized activities rather than on departmental problems and problems of university-wide significance. The new result...has

been the neglect of many organizational problems and a no-man's land of decision making in the universities."[12]

Burton Clark adds: "The campus is a holding company for professional groups rather than an association of professionals...more like the United Nations and less like a small town."[13]

This situation has given rise to the more recognized and recognizable tenured professor who enjoys the respect and recognition of his/her colleagues and the administration. This professor is listened to and may represent a "power bloc" or "elite" should he/she desire to form one. In many cases, he/she holds the informal or formal title as consultant to an academic affairs office and is wooed by the administration as a powerful ally. He/she may, in turn, become a feared opponent.

4. Formal authority, as prescribed by the bureaucratic system, is severely limited by the political pressure and bargaining tactics that groups exert against authorities.

Kerr explains: "The president is mostly a moderator... He has no new and bold 'visions of the end.' He is driven more by necessity than by voices in the air."[14]

George Keller expands this by stating..."The main standoff is between the faculty and the president (and his staff). Trustees have become quiescent and docile at most institutions. Alumni strength is formidable only at a few dozen of the older private colleges and universities and several of the flagship state university campuses. And the assertion of student power, so strong in the Latin-America and Middle-Eastern universities, has seldom been sustained or deeply interested

> in helping to run the institutions, although it is now clearly a constituency to be consulted." He concludes "...academic's institutional paralysis derives chiefly from the neatly balanced powers of the campus executives and the professional scholars."[15]

The collegiate institution resembles a Washington-based system of lobbying groups, political leaders at varying levels of influence, and a constituency that is unable to form a consensus.

5. External interest groups have a great deal of influence over the organization, and internal groups do not have the power to make policies in a vacuum. For this reason the political systems approach pays close attention to the processes by which the goals of the organization become policies.

The processes by which the goals are formulated are bound in conflict and compromise. It is Baldridge's last tenet that will be expanded upon as the study examines the external processes that initiated the coeducational change at The Woman's College.

The Organizational Saga

Along with the need for a conceptual model for examining change is the necessity for an understanding of an organization's "saga", or the deeply rooted missions and the distinctiveness of the institution. Burton Clark's book, The Distinctive College (1970), analyzes the major changes at three colleges: Reed, Swarthmore and Antioch, within the context of institutional missions and mythologies. He des-

cribes in great detail the distinctiveness of each college and then examines the major changes that occurred at the three colleges in this century. The "saga" is the content of the institution's mission and goals. It is imperative that there be an understanding of an institution's mission in order to properly analyze large-scale organizational changes.

In an article in "Administrative Science Quarterly", Burton Clark defines organizational saga as:

> "...a collective understanding of unique accomplishment in a formally established group. The group's definition of the accomplishment, intrinsically historical but embellished through retelling and rewriting, links stages of organizational development. The participants have added affect, and emotional loading, which places their conception between the coolness of rational purpose and the warmth of sentiment found in religion and magic. An organizational saga presents some rational explanation of how certain means led to certain ends, but it also includes affect that turns a formal place into a beloved institution, to which participants may be passionately devoted. Encountering such devotion, the observer may become unsure of his own analytical detachment as he tests the overtones of the institutional spirit or spirit of place."[16]

In short, organizational saga refers to "a unified set of publicly expressed beliefs about the formal group that (a) is rooted in history, (b) claims unique accomplishment, and (c) is held with sentiment by the group."[17]

With the above definitions in mind, we can see that the Woman's College had a unique and special role in the history of The University of North Carolina as a woman's college that produced several generations of pioneer educators for

the state. Its role in state history was assured as the only public woman's college in the state. Indeed, before the educational transition, it was one of the largest public woman's colleges in the country.

One of its unique accomplishments was its expansion from a "normal" school to a doctoral-granting, comprehensive university before the coeducational transition of 1963-64. Few women's colleges across the United States ever attempted to reach the level of a comprehensive university and remain a woman's college.

With regard to sentiment, the Woman's College legacy is a strong one, even after twenty-two years of coeducation. Many alumnae and friends still refer to the university as "WC", and fondly recall the "golden era" of the 1940's and '50's.

All of these elements above combined to produce a "saga". The distinctiveness of Woman's College was based in its name. The college was uniquely for women and thus had a "built-in" saga by means of its exclusiveness. But by the arrival of the 1960's that "exclusiveness" would not fit into the broader societal idea of equal access in public institutions of higher education.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine organizational change within the context of the transition of the Woman's College of The University of North Carolina. Regardless of

type of institution, organizations are subjected to internal and external forces that ultimately lead to conflict and change. Instead of recognizing conflict and change as a healthy and normal process, many organizations, particularly institutions of higher education, are resistant to change. This study will examine a major transition in the history of The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The key elements of this study are:

1. Examination of the internal and external forces that led to the legislative decision to change the Woman's College of The University of North Carolina to a fully co-educational institution.

2. Identification and analysis of models of change as they relate to transition and change in higher education institutions.

3. Application of the appropriate model to the change of The Woman's College to a co-educational institution. Among factors to be analyzed are:

a. The political forces that favored and opposed the co-educational decision within a political conceptual framework of change.

b. The organizational effects of the transition and the means of accommodating the change within the organization.

4. Discussion of the development of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina within the context of an organizational saga and as it relates to organizational change.

5. Analysis of the political systems model designed by J. Victor Baldridge and testing of its applicability to the co-educational transition of The Woman's College.

Assumptions

The following assumptions are offered in connection with the scope of the study:

1. Organizational change can be successfully examined by applying change models to institutions of higher education.

2. The combined external administrations of President John F. Kennedy and Governor Terry Sanford directly affected the issue of coeducation at the Woman's College of The University of North Carolina and subsequently led to the coeducational transition of the College during the course of their administrations.

3. Within the context of primary external decisions mandated from Washington and Raleigh affecting higher education, the internal administration at The Woman's College became a secondary change agent for coeducation.

4. The political forces that favored coeducation at The Woman's College were effectively able to neutralize powerful faculty and alumnae groups that opposed coeducation

of the college, by quietly forming a coalition of key administrators, university board members, and state legislators who favored coeducation. In other words, there was no difference in the "official" organization's reaction to change and the internal/external forces that led to that change.

5. The coeducational transition of the Woman's College changed the historical saga of the College and thus created the necessity for a new institutional saga. Thus, change affects the organization and requires that a specific course of change be incorporated into the institution's self-concept. If this is not incorporated, the institution's self-concept must change.

Limitations

An historical case study has several limitations. First, examining only one institution makes it impossible to generalize to other institutional situations. Investigating other institutions "in-depth" can often lead to other useful insights and comparisons in organizational change. But, there can be no assurance that the samples taken from this particular study can be applied to any other institutional studies. In short, there is no assurance that UNCG is "typical" of most co-educational transitional colleges of the 1960's.

Another limitation is the heavy reliance on interviews to recreate the political climate of the transition. Interviews are inherently problematic because of the difficulty

of relating the information gained from the interview to the existing documentation on the subject. In this study, the documentation (i.e., personal papers and internal documents) offered very little information on the internal decision-making process. Hence, there had to be a reliance on the recollections of the "key players" both internally and externally in the transition. Another factor that cannot be overlooked is the absence of key individuals who have moved to other institutions and cannot be contacted or who have died. James Ferguson, former Chancellor and Dean of the Graduate School School in 1962, for example, died in 1984. His views on the transition, outside of official documents, can only be conjectured.

A delimitation of the study is the questionnaire presented to faculty members that were present during the co-educational transition. Because of the date of the transition (1963-64), the faculty members who actively opposed or supported the decision may not be accurately represented in the current questionnaire. Also, a majority of the faculty in 1963-64 are no longer associated with the university, or are deceased.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are critical to the present study:

1. Internal is defined as: "of or relating to the domestic or interior affairs of the university." It will be used as the antonym of external.

2. External is defined as: "of or relating to the outside affairs that directly affect the university."

3. Transition is defined as: "a change in the exclusive mission of the Woman's College from single-sex to coeducation."

4. Culture is defined as: "a synthesis of shared beliefs, values and behavior which organize action, govern behavior, and provide meaning, commitment and order to the college."

5. Saga is defined as "encompassing the content of the college's mission and goals."

6. First-order change is defined as: "a primary transition in the college's history."

7. Second-order change is defined as: "transitions that occur from a past development or first-order change."

Significance of the Study

The significance of a historical case study lies in its ability to allow many different techniques to be used for a unique in-depth examination of an institution. Interviews, questionnaires, document studies, and observation techniques are all used and compared.

Another advantage to this study's approach is the examination of the processes of an organization. This study goes beyond the official documents and structures that frequently hide a dynamic that is unwritten, and yet vital to the study

of organizational change. The dynamic can only be fully understood by interviews, participation and observation.

J. Victor Baldridge, presents the advantages of the historical case study in this way:

> "...Sociologists, in general, and organization theorists, in particular, tend to ignore the historical roots of a social system: tradition, culture, ethos, and deep-rooted values. It may be, in studying organizational change, that attention is on immediate interventions and findings that can be quickly translated into administrative policies. The neglect of history may also stem from the fact that most sociologists lack training in historical analysis. The case study technique, coupled with serious attention to organizational history, does, however, provide a depth and richness that highlights many problems of organizational change."[18]

Additionally, there has been no reported study on the co-educational transition of the College, nor has there been a published history of the College during or after the transitional years. No significant study has been undertaken on the ramifications of the co-educational change and its effects on the "saga" of the University. This work will represent an initial attempt at examining, identifying and explaining the historical and organizational changes that ocurred during those critical years in the history of UNCG.

Methodology

The methodology is comprised of several components. A case study is a widely-used method for focusing on events within a single institution. This focus is common to organizational research. In 1985-86 particular attention was given to an analysis of the coeducational transition at The Woman's

College. The main research techniques were interviews with administrators and faculty members who witnessed the transition, a survey of the forty-one remaining faculty members at UNCG who were appointed before 1964, and a thorough review of the documents pertaining to the transition in the Special Collections Division of the Walter Clinton Jackson Library. Additionally, internal papers in the Academic Affairs Office at UNCG were examined.

During the course of the research, letters, diaries, official presidential reports and personal papers were examined. Primary materials from The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and The General Administrative Office of the Consolidated University of North Carolina system located at Chapel Hill were also used.

Organization

The remaining four chapters of this study examine the issues raised in Chapter I.

Chapter II is a review of the literature on organizational change within higher education, collegiate organizational culture and saga, and, an overview of public women's colleges in the Southeast. This section will provide the background necessary to understand the context of Chapter IV.

Chapter III describes the methodology employed in studying the coeducational transition of the Woman's College. Along with appendixes, this chapter will detail and explain the triangulation research method used by the author, and

in context with the interviews conducted with university personnel and other important external figures.

Chapter IV provides an analysis of the coeducational transition within the parameters set by J. V. Baldridge for examining change, including a discussion of the coeducational transition at Hunter College in New York City. Also, an evaluation of the saga of Woman's College will be offered.

Chapter V is a summary of the findings along with an analysis of Baldridge's assumptions relevant to change within higher educational institutions. Recommendations and implications for future practice are included in this chapter.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1]Catalogue of the North Carolina College for Women, 1931, p. 23.

[2]North Carolina, General Statutes, ch. 116, sec. 39.

[3]Louis R. Wilson, The University of North Carolina Under Consolidation, 1931-1963 (Chapel Hill: The Consolidated Office, 1964), p. 341.

[4]Elisabeth Bowles, A Good Beginning (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 106-112.

[5]Catalogue of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina, 1935.

[6]Louis R. Wilson, The University of North Carolina Under Consolidation; 1931-1963: History and Appraisal (Chapel Hill: The Consolidated Office, 1964, p. 261.

[7]Greensboro Daily News, November 10, 1946.

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CHAPTER TWO

This chapter contains three sub-chapters on organizational change within institutions of higher education, the culture and saga of colleges, and the public women's colleges with particular emphasis on the institutions in the Southern region of the United States.

Organizational Change in Higher Education

The literature on change in institutions of higher education is highly descriptive with scant systemized data, limited empirical research and very few cumulative studies.[1] The notable exception is the model developed through J. V. Baldridge's exhaustive study of change at New York University in the early 1970's entitled: Power and Conflict in the Universities. This study led to the development of a model of organizational change within higher education, which is known as the "political conflict" model, and is described later in this chapter.

Background

While the literature may be focused narrowly on narrative material, theoretical fragments and opinions, there remains a body of literature that assists students of higher education in their search for an overview, definition of, and models relating to organizational change.[2]

A useful method of viewing the literature regarding change in higher education from the last twenty years is to identify three different shifts of emphasis. Beginning with the 1960's, much of the literature focused upon the development of innovative new institutions begun from demands for an alternative to the traditional college experience and curriculum, which some educators and students felt was stifling and non-creative. The changes and innovations at these new colleges reflected the broader social agenda of the sixties. Colleges such as Hampshire College in Massachusetts and Evergreen State in Washington provided an environment for students who were seeking an experimental curriculum and a broader array of elective courses, coupled with self-designed degree programs. As an example, Hampshire College began with the assistance and encouragement of Amherst College. Amherst administrators felt that Hampshire would provide an alternative to their traditional curriculum and focus as an exclusive men's college. This served a dual purpose as the demand for changes at their own institution would lessen as an "alternative" was provided in their immediate area.[3]

By the 1970's, few colleges were created as enrollment trends stabilized and the student market became quite competitive for many public and private institutions. The focus was on specific curricular and organizational innovations in existing colleges.[4] Although experimentation and change

occurred on the curricular level in the seventies, major change within institutions was limited to further acceleration of the transition to co-education in private colleges.[5] A limiting factor that would reduce the level of change at many institutions was the economic recession in the middle of the decade (1974-75) and the subsequent "tightening" effect it would have caused.[6]

By the end of the seventies, and well into the present decade, changes would be emphasized in the areas of organizational, instructional and faculty development, along with special emphasis on organizational renewal.[7] If pressed to describe the types of changes occurring at the college level today, the descriptive term would be "retrenchment." The colleges and universities that survived the turbulence of the sixties and the recession years of the seventies are faced with the declining enrollment trends of the eighties. Institutional survival is a reality for many colleges, and those whose immediate survival is secured are concerned with institutional "vitality." The changes that are occurring at many schools are from within, or internal.[8]

Models of Governance

Much of the literature relating to organizational change must be considered in relationship to the model of governance presented by the researcher. Nordvall describes five such models of governance related to the change process and decision-making within colleges and universities.[9] These are:

1) Collegial. A community of scholars making shared decisions. The college is described as a community of professionals in which a shared consensus is expected in decision making. Another division of the collegial model is the epistemological model, which divides the various academic cultures structured upon the diverse intellectual approaches of the discipline.[10]

2) Bureaucratic. Institutional decisions are made in a rational, formalistic nature by the appropriate administrators within a clearly defined hierarchial structure. The college is akin to a commercial enterprise in which formal authority confers decision-making prerogatives.[11]

3) Political. Decisions evolve through compromise and negotiation among powerful interest groups, who may have the strength to inhibit formal authority. A university is likened to a democracy in which those most affected by policies have some control over particular decisions.[12]

4) Atomistic. The departments are semiautonomous and reach their own decisions without much regard to institutional norms.[13]

5) Open Collaboration. Faculty members are actively involved in the formulation of decisions in order to increase commitment and responsibility. Problems are discussed openly, and sometimes with emotional commitment to a particular point of view. The communication is wide-open with a posi-

tive confrontational mode of decision-making. Competition and conflict inherent in the political model is replaced by cooperation.[14]

There has been much discussion concerning how a university is organized and governed. However, few scholars had written on the subject of the roles and structure of presidents and organizations within higher education until Cohen and March's book: Leadership and Ambiguity.[15] Their analysis concludes that higher educational institutions are fluid systems that have a great capacity to survive environmental disruptions. Furthermore, the authors contend that colleges and universities service a changing clientele (students) and encompass an uncertain technology. The ability to lead this type of organization through change or transition rests with the President's office.

While a strong President may attempt to lead an institution, other authors have suggested that the institution may limit the President's ability to lead. Lindquist concludes that there are a number of barriers to the implementation of reform or change. Among these are: 1) Changes will threaten secured positions. 2) Universities are divided into diverse and isolated sub-groups. 3) Power is dispersed among pluralistic interest groups. 4) Prevalent academic values oppose innovation. 5) Measuring advantages and future context for innovations is difficult. 6) Faculty are isola-

ted from teaching-learning research, theory and practice elsewhere. 7) Universities have few adaptive mechanisms to fight organizational inertia.[16]

Social Conflict

The idea of institutional change that is heightened and enhanced by conflict is a theme that is highlighted by social conflict theorists. The nineteenth-century philosopher Karl Marx believed that the more intense the conflict, the greater the structural change of the system. Furthermore, if proletarian forces are behind that change, then a greater degree of freedom and organizational unity will eventually prevail. Marx's idea of social change is fundamentally established in conflict, or dialectic and the forces that are responsible for the conflict--in recent history, the proletarian class (or external forces), would challenge the bourgeoisie (or internal forces).[17] This theory would have a profound affect upon later social theorists such as Ralf Dahrendorf and Lewis Coser.

Twentieth century social theorists such as Lewis Coser and Ralf Dahrendorf analyze conflict in modern society much like Marx. The ideas of dialectic can be used to study smaller organizations--like universities--in a broader context. Coser believed that conflict is omnipresent in all social groups and that the resolution of one conflict necessarily sows the seeds of future conflict.[18] The outcome,

then, is continual change in democratic groups. Dahrendorf suggests that the inequalities that inherently exist in social organizations inevitably lead to conflict and change. He believed that by studying the conflict, scholars could predict or account for the rate and direction of change in social systems.[19]

In sum, the conflict theorists analyze: 1) the fragmentation of social systems into interest groups, each with its own goals, 2) the interaction of these groups and the conflict processes by which they seek to gain advantage, 3) the assembling of interest groups around divergent values and the examination of conflicting interests, 4) an in-depth study of change, which becomes obligatory if the system is fragmented by divergent values and combative interest groups.[20]

Group Interaction

In contrast, other organizational theorists like Chris Argyis, Warren Bennis, Renis Likert and D. M. McGregore are exponents of the examination of peer group interactions and their effect on organizations. These theorists are concerned with how organizations may be changed to fit the needs of individuals. Argyis suggests that everyone has a need for "self-actualization" and, like Bennis, believes that the organization frequently stands in the way of that individual's self-fulfillment.[21]

Warren Bennis goes as far as to suggest that organiza-

tions have a tendency to crush individuals so change must be directed toward protecting them from organizations.[22] The approach of the "human-relations" writers, such as Bennis is to regard personal and organizational unity as a means towards an efficiently run university. This approach would discount organizational conflict as a means to enhanced growth of the institution .

Baldridge concludes that the organizational theorists: 1) have typically favored structural/functional modes of analysis which tend to emphasize organizational stability, 2) tend to examine only the internal aspects of the organization, 3) rarely analyze the conflict processes that generate the change in organizations, 4) study micro-level phenomena to the exclusion of macro-level attributes, and 5) in their search for technical rationality have inhibited the examination of struggle within interest groups.[23]

Baldridge was no doubt influenced by the work of Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn. In examining the ideas proposed by the current human-relations theorists, they conclude that the individual, when provided with new insights and motivation, will necessarily modify the role that he plays in the organization.[24] In effect, they (human-relationists) do not differentiate between the individual and the role that he plays in the organization. According to Baldridge, the weakness in the human-relations approach to change is the over-

emphasis on the individual's need for self-actualization to the neglect of the needs of the roles that they must provide the organization. A common debate in a democratic society is heard from such diverse groups as labor and management representatives when they seek to prioritize the individual's needs and organizational priorities.[25]

Cameron and Whetten are closely aligned to the conflict theorists. These authors posit that institutions develop certain "crises" over time that require transition or change. These transitions "occur when there is a mismatch between environmental demands, institutional attributes, and strategies being pursued."[26] Like Baldridge, the authors assert that the stimulus for change and conflict is generated from external forces, or the environment. And like Coser, they affirm that solutions to the "crises" create new organizational problems or conflict. Cameron and Whitten argue for a sophisticated understanding of transitions by guiding the problem-solving process.

Political Conflict

The theme of political conflict within higher education is described most comprehensively by Baldridge. Relying heavily on analysis of the processes of change, he examines the responses of interest groups to external pressures and their role in influencing decisions during times of transition. The processes are assumed to be based in conflict

that pits different interest groups within the institution against each other. The process is complicated when each group seeks to gain advantage over the other.[27]

Baldridge emphasizes that exclusive focus on internal forces is too limiting since studies suggest that most change occurring in higher educational institutions is generated from external forces. Baldridge would agree with Katz and Kahn's evaluation that the external environment is the source of change. These authors would also agree that structure and process are essentially the same and cannot be studied separately. (Structure means here the organizational "ladder" or chart).

Since examination of the change processes are important to an investigation of the conflict theme, and the feedback between organizational subsystems is an important component of the change process, each part of the system affects others. The dynamics of their interaction is a key "lever" for change. This approach emphasizes the dynamic features of an organization more than the structural features. Additionally, it focuses on large-scale events rather than on individuals. It is these two emphases (macro-events and dynamic interplay) that forms the key to a political systems approach to the analysis of organizational change.

For this approach to maintain credibility five assumptions are critical: 1) Conflict is to be expected in a dy-

namic organization. 2) Organizations are divided into interest groups and each will attempt to influence policy. 3) Organizations have small groups of elites that dominate most of the major decisions; some decisions may be divided among these elite groups. 4) Formal authority is limited by the political pressure and bargaining tactics that groups may exert against the administration. 5) External interest groups force many of the changes in the organization. For this reason, the political systems approach employed by Baldridge pays close attention to the processes by which goals of the organization become policies.[28]

There is a three step approach to applying the political systems approach to organizational change processes. First, one looks at the social structure of the organization, especially the interest groups that influence the organization. Second, one examines interest articulation, that is, the process by which the interest groups exert pressure on the administration. Third, one studies the decision-making process itself. The political/conflict approach examines and questions political coalitions and their activities and external pressures exerted from the environment. Thus, change is seen as a political process that evolves out of interaction among powerful interest groups within the social structure which affects the decision-making process of the institution.[29]

Political Linkage

Closely linked with the Baldridge framework is Lindquist's "political linkage" model. Lindquist examines the motivations to pursue or resist change, after relating the barriers (discussed previously in this chapter) to implementing change or reform. If an innovation promises to fulfill the individual's needs of survival, status/esteem or formal goals, the change will be favorably received. If, however, the change threatens any of the above, it may face heavy resistance.[30]

Additionally, Lindquist describes three levels of approval that the individual must go through to validate change. First, the need might be felt for the necessity to change or avoid a pressure to change. Second, the need or pressure may not be just at the individual level, but within the academic department or sub-group. Third, and at the broadest level, the institution may be faced with change and the individual must decide if he/she can or cannot support the institutional change. At each juncture, there is a formal governance system that must be persuaded to validate the change, the individual, the sub-group and the institution. Lindquist concludes:

> "It seems a fair hypothesis that the more levels and kinds of needs an innovation addresses, the more likely it is to be adopted if regarded as a resolution of those needs and to be rejected if seen as a threat to reduce current levels of need satisfaction."[31]

At the beginning of the governance system, Lindquist describes a process of "demand flow" as the initiator of the demand for change flows into an intricate governance system. The stages of this "demand flow" are very similar to Baldridge's stages of interest articulation--the resolution of conflicting values of goals, and the legislative stage--the dynamics of changing articulated interests into policies. Lindquist explains that at the beginning some person or group must articulate a need to change strongly enough to make it a "demand." The college administration must then take action. The need must obviously be of import to be articulated and known publicly, at least among his/her superiors.[32]

After the need or demand is articulated it must pass through what Lindquist describes as the "gatekeeper". The "gatekeeper" is an individual, or group of individuals, that permits the demand to enter the governance system. This could be a powerful department chair or committee who reviews demands/proposals to the administration or faculty at-large. If the initiator passes through this important person/group, he/she enters the next phase--a process of deliberation, usually by a committee. There is a search and study of external information and the formal linkage to innovation-diffusion channels may be made as the committee examines the possible solutions to the problem. The committee then formulates its recommendations and may seek to inform and influ-

ence persons or groups beyond its body. Finally, the decision is announced and the promulgation, implementation and consequences of the decision are "staged" in the department.[33]

Lindquist, quite like Baldridge, acknowledges the flow of feedback that is inherent to the decision-making process. The results of any one of the decisions that "flow" through the system may have a profound affect upon the individual, the sub-group and the institution.

Complex Organization

A model unlike those of Baldridge and Lindquist is the complex organization framework. In this model the institution is viewed through a series of complex variables that characterize the system. There are two types of variables described by Hage and Aiken: structural and functional. The structural variables are complexity, centralization, formalization and stratification. The functional variables are production rate, efficiency and job satisfaction. The functional variables are production rate, efficiency and job satisfaction. Hage and Aiken believe that only job satisfaction and complexity are positively related to the rate of change. The other variables would be negatively related. These variables are placed within the context of a given institution or population and examined by the rate at which new programs are added to these organizations. The rate of program variance is then explained by variance in structural

variables similar to those listed above.[34] The emphasis is on the internal organization and not, like Baldridge and Lindquist, the external groups/factors that influence and direct change.

An international study conducted by Becker and Kogan posited that innovation/change depends on whether there is an internal or external impetus or force to change; whether the forces are preceded by a change in values or in tasks; and whether they confront or confirm existing norms. They conclude that some kind of external pressure is usually needed. They argue that a predisposition for change is created when the equilibrium between normative (focus on the maintenance of values) and operational (focus on the execution of tasks) modes is distributed and values and tasks conflict. The model predicts that an innovation/change is likely to be successful if there is external pressure emphasizing normative to operational change which is evolutionary rather than radical in character.[35]

Diffusion Framework

Another framework that relies heavily on institutional analysis is termed the "diffusion" framework. This framework requires the researcher to examine a social system as a number of "adopter units". These units become the focus of an analysis for change or innovation. The researcher must identify a number of innovations (introduced at some point

in the institution) which can diffuse through the institution through adoption by a subset of units.

According to Rogers and Shoemaker, the change is usually introduced through "opinion leaders". These leaders are the first within the institution to know of an innovation or change. They, in turn, seek to influence others either positively or negatively toward the change. If positively oriented toward the change, Rogers and Shoemaker identify five factors that will decide if the change will occur: 1) relative advantage to the institution, 2) the complexity of the change, 3) compatibility with current practice, 4) trialibility--the ability to implement a small-scale trial of the change and, 5) observability--ability to evaluate the effects of a change.[36]

This framework is the most widely used among the various frameworks described in this chapter. It can be used to describe the history of a change/innovation, or how the particular set of units have reacted to a series of different innovations.

Planned Change

The "planned change" framework differs from the previously mentioned frameworks in its emphasis on intervention and implementation. The framework does not describe change, but focuses on the "strategic levers" by which the direction, speed and quality of change may be influenced.[37] These

"strategic levers" are described as the individual's attitude towards self-motivation and receptivity toward material and non-material rewards. Thus, the assumption is that change can be guided within the institutions it seeks to orient systems towards change.

Another series of assumptions important to this framework is: 1) the assumption that the institution will be assisted in its change by an external change agent and, 2) the change agent has several stages of analysis to deal with: a) establishing a rapport with the organization, b) examining the nature and level of the institution's problems, c) the decision to intervene, d) adding a self-monitoring and problem-solving process, e) replacement of the change agent after the plan for change is about to be implemented and f) building formal structures to support the changes for a permanent benefit to the organization.[38]

Rational Model

Another model that calls for a "change agent", described by Havelock, is the "rational model." Closely related to the Lindquist model, it involves a problem-solving process for innovation/change that passes through six stages. These stages describe the tactics and skills that the change agent will use at each stage. Havelock uses the Lindquist term of "linkage" to explain the interaction between users and experts as they seek to effect change.[39]

The six stages of the problem-solving process as described by Havelock are: 1) building relationships among key decision-makers, 2) diagnosing the problem, 3) acquiring resources, 4) choosing the solution, 5) gaining acceptance by consensus and 6) stabilizing the change. This model presumes cooperation and de-emphasizes conflict.[40]

International Study

On an international level Berg and Ostergren investigated seven fairly radical innovations in course development and teaching methods in a number of Swedish universities. They argued that the actions of members of an institution are determined largely by the groups to which they belong. They identify four major factors which enabled them to explain the success of some innovations and failure of other attempts at change.

The four areas identified were: 1) Gain/loss of security/stability. This relates to the amount of personal satisfaction or self-actualization that occurs as a consequence of change; 2) Ownership. This relates to the individual's involvement and commitment to the innovations or changes taking place and their commitment to its success or failure; 3) Leadership. There are four types of leaders who are: a) primary leaders who introduced the change, b) secondary leaders who were involved in part of the change, c) formal leaders in the position of making decisions and d) opposition

leaders and 4) Power. In order to implement the changes, the power base must be identified which serves to sustain the implementation of the changes.[41]

Organizational Culture and the Development of an Institutional Saga

This sub-chapter will highlight the theories and frameworks found in the literature on organizational change and culture, coupled with a review of the literature on women's colleges, with a particular emphasis on southern public women's colleges. The literature reviewed is important to the research because it provides a context from which to analyze the organizational changes examined during the coeducational transition of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina.

While the literature on organizational culture is extensive, that literature dealing directly with culture in higher education is less voluminous. Perhaps the most useful treatment of organizational culture has been made by Edgar Shein. Although Schein does not limit his discussion to higher educational organizations, his book provides a useful guide to the concepts of an organizational culture which he describes as: "basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organization that operate unconsciously, and that define in a basic "taken-for-granted" fashion an organization's view of itself and its environment."[42]

Other definitions expand the overview of organizational culture. Goffman and Van Maanen define culture as observed behavioral regularities when people interact, such as the language used and the rituals around demeanor and deference to others. The emphasis is on observable human behavior and interaction.[43]

Homans emphasizes the norms that evolve in groups (ie. "an honest days wage for an honest day's work") which were discovered in some of the 1950's studies of labor groups. These particular norms become legendary epithets passed down through generations of laborers and, as a result, become the common language of a number of workers in many fields of employment. The norm is usually "set" either by the head of the organization or by the labor union boss, and is frequently repeated and cherished (or, in some cases derided) in the organization.[44]

Culture may also be seen as the philosophy that predominates in an institution and sets policy for its faculty and students. This may be summarized in the mission and goals statement of any institution of higher learning which in turn may be the "measuring stick" by which all academic programs are measured. Many times the philosophy is passed down as an institutional "saga". Saga, in this context, would be defined as the distinctive character of the institution prescribed by the mission and goals of the university.[45]

The climate of the university, or its atmosphere personified in the physical plant, may define its culture. Tagiuri and Litwin suggest that the way the physical setting is planned will influence the way in which the members of an institution interact with customers. Within the present context the customers would be students.[46]

Pettigrew defines culture as "the amalgam of beliefs, ideology, language, ritual and myth."[47] He further suggests that an organization is a protracted social system and the element of culture maintains a powerful presence over the behavior of those people within it. Organizational culture causes purpose, commitment, and order. It provides social cohesion and defines and explains behavioral expectations. Dill concurs and defines organizational culture as "...the shared beliefs, ideologies, or dogma of a group which impel individuals to action and give their actions meaning."[48]

As Schein has pointed out, the above definitions may reflect the organization, but they do not necessarily capture its essence. For the essence to be defined, we must look at the specific literature related to institutions of higher education.[49]

Clark defines four cultural spheres that affect and shape academic life and, indeed, may hold clues for explaining the essence of academic culture.[50]

1. The culture of the academic disciplines. Clark sur-

mises that the bonding powers in an academic department are sometimes stronger than the individual's loyalty to the institution, especially in larger research universities. The example given by Clark is the professor at Harvard who twenty years ago introduced himself as "teaching sociology at Harvard." Today that same professor introduces himself as "a sociologist, who teaches at Harvard."[51]

2. The culture of the profession. This culture highly regards and cherishes personal autonomy and collegial government while denigrating bureacratic controls and any form of external supervision. The culture of the profession contains emotional defenses of professional autonomy and a professional right to power.

3. The culture of the institution. The extreme cases of strong institutional cultures are typified by "uncommon effort and achievement."[52] This extreme example is referred to as an institutional "saga". Sagas may turn into communities, or some have started from a religious community (eg. Salem and Guilford Colleges). In short, a saga is personified by an institution that contains a set of values, or an important mission which leads the members of the institution to believe deeply in.

4. The culture of the system. In contrast to the universities in Europe, American collegiate institutions are known for their diversity which varies significantly among

institutions regarding cultural contents such as scientific versus humanistic, narrow versus comprehensive coverage, scholarship versus pragmatic application. The collegiate system in Europe tends to be parochial and oriented toward traditional, pragmatic application of their studies.

After an institutional saga has been recognized and nurtured, the institution may later be defined as " legendary". According to Clark, the definition of an institutional "legend" is supported by five factors.

1. The "true believers" of the institution, and the group that maintains the legend, is the faculty. They are the remaining group in an institution that witnesses the transience of students and administrators. The faculty, over time, must be a stable group.

2. The curriculum must reflect the saga. The distinctive features of the curriculum, determining everyday behavior, will reflect and illuminate the saga.

3. The institution will have another group of "true believers" in the form of a formal/informal group of alumni supporters. They are "moral supporters" as well as financial supporters of the institution.

4. The students develop a sub-culture that is reflective of the distinctiveness of the college. This sub-culture significantly incorporates the idea that the institution desires to reflect to society.

5. The institutional saga--as an ideology--has forceful momentum upon society as a whole. It is recognized and recognizable.[53]

Although the overwhelming body of literature on culture in higher education focuses on the faculty's role, the study of academic culture is not limited to the professor's career. There is a history of interest in student culture and its effects on academe.[54] The atmosphere of the quality of life on a campus has also been examined, as have the effects that curriculum and administration impart on academic culture.[55]

Masland describes the "windows", or views, of organizational culture that uncover manifestations of that culture. According to Masland, the study of the history of the institution often illuminates the culture. The research into the actions and details of daily life over an extended period of time will reveal the self-concept of the institution. Additionally, Masland identifies four "windows" on organizational culture in order to facilitate both past and present cultural influences on the institution.[56]

1) Saga. The saga has its roots in an institutional history. The saga chronicles the distinct accomplishments of the institution. An institution's saga sets it apart from the others and shapes a particular image of the school.

2) Heroes. Heroes are individuals in the school's history who have distinguished themselves by their actions

or careers. They often represent the idealized scholar or inspirational administrator. Heroes become legends and role models to future generations of students and faculty members.

3) Symbols. A symbol may embody or represent a distinct set of cultural values and beliefs, thus turning a particular department, school or college into a symbol of excellence. At times, its reputation may precede the institution.

4) Rituals. Rituals turn culture into action. They also provide a link with the past. In institutions with ambiguous goals and uncertain futures, the annual teaching award ceremony, founder's day address or Chancellor's convocation may provide a sense of identity for the institution. Rituals reinforce culture.

Denzin describes an important method of examining organizational culture defined as triangulation. By combining interviews, observation and document analysis, the researcher forms an important triangulation. Each technique can act as an effective neutralizer or affirmer of the data collected from the three sources. When differences arise, the data must be evaluated and the reasons for the discrepancies discovered. In institutions with a strong culture, the data collected from the three sources will validate the cultural coherence of the school.[57]

Finally, Dill suggests that academic culture has been "fragmented" by the expansion within higher education. Lar-

ger, public multi-universities, increased autonomy of schools within the university, and narrow specialization within the disciplines, move the academic culture toward the many cultures of a conglomeration, rather than a single tight-knit community of scholars. The stronger cultures, according to Dill, are found at private colleges under firm denominational control, or which possess a strong religious identity. Only a few institutions (Harvard, Yale, etc.) have been able to replace the religious culture with an equally strong secular identity and culture.[58]

Dill argues that administrators must prove their mettle during this current era of fragmentation. Institutional culture may relieve some of the pressures that an institution must face to survive. Administrators must draw upon the positive aspects of the culture and lead the institution toward a cohesive identity.

In sum, organizational culture and a collegiate saga is the essence of the institution. It defines the institution's particular or peculiar mission. It assists observers in defining what is unique about the institution, and accords its members with a sense of purpose and identity.

Women's Colleges

Aside from institutional histories, which are frequently commissioned by the respective colleges, the literature specifically examining women's colleges is thin. However,

a survey of the literature on women in higher education reveals information related to women's colleges. For purposes of this study, the examination of the literature has necessarily been limited to the public women's colleges in the South. Patricia Stringer writes: "Although no synthesis of the history of higher education for southern women has yet been written, several major studies treat aspects of this history as it relates to white women."[59]

I. M. Blandin's History of Higher Education in the South --Prior to 1860 is a strong apology for sex-segregated education and denominational colleges.[60] Blandin argues for southern progressivism in ante-bellum education. She points out that there was one academy in each country in the South, through a combination of land grants and significant funding from state legislatures.[61] Higher education for women in the South began with a combination of private, denominationally-controlled seminaries and academies started with philanthropist funding. Blandin acknowledges the inadequacies of the curriculum, as compared to the men's colleges, but she gives no quarter for arguments of inferiority. Blandin argues that that the female seminaries fit the purposes of Southern culture.

In an interesting "Mason-Dixon" comparison of college expenditures, Blandin displays the differences between the two major regions of the U.S., with regards to numbers of

colleges, students and money spent on the colleges in both regions.[62]

	North	South
Colleges	205	262
Instructors	1407	1488
Students	29,044	37,055
Expenditures	$514,688	$1,622,419

Solomon has some exceptional insights into the history of higher education for women in the South with a useful perspective on the early "normal" schools for women in the nineteenth century. Solomon begins her perspective on Southern normal schools by writing...

> "The foundings in 1884 of the exclusively white Mississippi State Normal and Industrial School initiated a pattern soon followed by Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma and Texas. These institutions provided a briefer and less expensive course of study than that of colleges."[63]

Accordingly, the normal schools provided the South with its primary and secondary instructors. Needless to say, women constituted the vast majority of this occupation. As is the present trend in current professions, teachers were and are at the bottom rung of the ladder in American society. Solomon compares the average salaries in 1890 of three professions: Teachers: $250.00 , Ministers: $900.00, Physicians: $1,200.00.[64] The socio-economic backgrounds of many of the teachers would best be described as lower-middle class,

with a great number of women from rural, farming homes. Solomon describes the type of background of many of the women that attended the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial School:

> "Farm daughters formed another contingent of the first college women. Their families viewed education as a way out of the constrictions, isolation, and poverty of rural life."[65]

For many of these southern farm daughters teaching was an occupation that was not only "noble", but one that led to a more stimulating and liberating life-style. Since attitudes towards women tended to be parochial and provincial in the South, the life-style of a teacher opened the doors to greater independence for many women.[66]

In North Carolina, the "Normal" was considered to be the premier teacher-preparatory institution in this region of the country. Further, the socio-economic make-up of its graduates mirrored Solomon's previous evaluation of women's backgrounds. The uniqueness of the North Carolina College for Women would be its rapid rise to a full-fledged university for women, relatively large enrollments, and strong liberal arts reputation.

Blandin chronicles the beginnings of two Greensboro female institutions, Greensboro College and Edgeworth Female Seminary. The latter was funded by North Carolina Governor John Morehead (1841-45), and Greensboro's most celebrated citizen. Morehead was determined that his daughters receive

a good education in a town that was basically a farming community until the 1850's.[67] For this study, the importance of the two female schools is the location. By 1891, Greensboro would be the site of the State Normal and Industrial School for White Women and the state would enter a new century with another significant school for women. The city had a precedent for women's education coupled with a supportive citizenry.

Greensboro College was a Methodist college for women chartered in 1836. Because of the economic depression years of the late thirties and early forties, the college did not commence classes until 1847. Because of Salem Academy's secondary curriculum, some argue that Greensboro College was the first college for women in the state. The first and only female President of Greensboro College and in the history of private colleges in North Carolina would be a faculty member of the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial School for White Women--Lucey Robertson (1902).[68]

Edgeworth Female Seminary was basically a college-preparatory school for girls. The school flourished with 100 boarders eight years after its beginnings (1848) and became a highly-regarded seminary in the South. The Civil War closed the school and the seminary turned into a hospital for both Confederate and, later, Federal troops. The school never recovered from the War and closed in 1871. The next

year the seminary burned to the ground.[69]

Beyond the emphasis on the location, the importance of Blandin's study is its articulation of the peculiar traits of a southern education for women. The first peculiarity is the emphasis on sex-segregated education. This first emphasis would continue well into the twentieth century. Many of the public state universities in the South would remain sexually-segregated for the first fifty years of the 1900's.

Secondly, denominational colleges would flourish in the South. The secularization of private colleges would proceed very slowly. Indeed, the South still maintains the highest number of denominational colleges, under varying degrees of control by their respective church associations. Blandin argues that these denominational associations are important in traditional Southern culture.[70]

Finally, implicit in sex segregation is the historic segregation of the races that would be promulgated until the twentieth century. Most of the literature makes no mention of education for black women, and for good reason; education for blacks would be illegal in most Southern states prior to 1860.

Historian Thomas Woody of the University of Pennsylvania in his definitive study on women's education in the United States, emphasizes the colleges designated as full-fledged colleges by the Southern Association of Colleges. While

there were many women's colleges in the South by the turn of the century, only six were designated as colleges, as defined by the curricular standards of the Association in 1915. (Agnes Scott, Converse, Goucher, Randolph-Macon, Sophie Newcomb and Westhampton).[71]

According to Woody, the objectives of these colleges would have a distinctive Southern cultural definition of education for women. Woody describes five significant characteristics of these women's colleges, the goals were: 1) preparation for women's home duties, 2) cultivation of formal gentility, 3) discipline of the mental powers, 4) variety of professional opportunities and 5) religion and Christian purpose.[72]

As mentioned in the previous review, Woody echoes Blandin's reasons for Southern resistance to co-education of the sexes. Woody's analysis extends beyond culture and argues that the South's concerns with co-education was financial, as well as cultural. There was no support for consolidation of the colleges, or for discarding of a budgetary system that clearly favored the men's colleges. Secondly, a noted indifference, if not hostility towards co-education of the sexes existed in the South. Finally, a historical prejudice against mixing sexes in social groups also existed in the South. Woody quotes from Smith's Education in North Carolina:

> "In North Carolina the opposition to the co-education of the sexes in the higher institution of learning is so manifest that no one would dare propose, with any hope of success, that women be admitted to the University and leading denominational colleges of the State."[73]

He also mentions the historical arguments frequently used against higher education for women. The first, long argued in nineteenth-century medical circles, is the undermining effect that higher education had on woman's mental and physical health. There was a widely-held belief that higher education, or the rigors of college life, would adversely affect the constitutional nature of women. That nature was considered to be physically weak and emotionally delicate. The demands of a college schedule would overtax their strength in both areas.

Secondly, an argument that is repeated in this century is the failure of women's colleges to successfully compare to men's colleges. According to Woody, some people believed that women's colleges began as an inferior stepchild to men's education and their status would never gain parity with men's colleges. Therefore, women's colleges would suffer from an ubiquitous inferiority complex. While these arguments were severely tested by the Northeastern women's colleges, most Southern woman's colleges would not attempt to aspire to equal academic status with men's colleges. The "physically weak" argument had been disproved by the early twentieth century.[74]

While arguments were heard for the up-grading of education for women in private colleges, the state-supported colleges for women were finding an approving audience with Southern state legislatures. Most of the colleges began as Normal schools, and with the rise of women in higher education, during the Progressive Era (1890-1920), the state legislatures approved public college designation for seven southern woman's colleges. The seven colleges would later become full-fledged universities for women, and eventually all (with the exception of Texas Woman's University) would become co-educational institutions. The seven with their enrollments in 1921-22 were North Carolina College for Women--1,150, Texas State College for Women--1,473, Winthrop College--1,096, Georgia State College for Women--1,081, Mississippi State College for Women--965, Florida State College for Women--658, Alabama College--520.[75]

Woody's analysis of women's education ceases on the eve of the Depression, which would have enormous implications for women in higher education. Fortunately, in 1959, Mabel Newcomer, Professor of Economics at Vassar College, would continue the study of women in higher education with a major emphasis on women's colleges.

After the Depression, colleges and universities faced limited budgets from both state and federal legislatures. This would have a profound effect upon the state universi-

ties which depended upon state and federal funding for their survival. Consequently, plans for consolidating colleges within states became a popular remedy for alleviating the state financial burdens. In 1930-31 the North Carolina state legislature merged The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina College for Women in Greensboro, and State College in Raleigh into one system. The change would lead to significant changes for the North Carolina College for Women, both immediately, as a new university, and in the future, as a coeducational institution.

Newcomer offers three reasons for the co-education of single-sex colleges from the post-Depression era to post-World War II. During the Depression there was a general decline of enrollments in colleges across the country. As mentioned earlier, the forced consolidation of some colleges, and full co-education of others, was an answer to extinction. (Some private colleges were forced to close.) During World War II some men's colleges and professional graduate programs opened to women. However, after the war with the subsequent flood of veterans returning to college under the G.I. Bill, many women were forced to stay home. The returning veterans also accelerated the pace towards coeducation, especially in the public women's colleges. By 1950 the shift of women's colleges to coeducational institutions became a nation-wide trend. The southern colleges were the last to accede to co-

education.[76]

For the next two decades (1950-1970) a whole new set of factors forced single-sex colleges towards coeducation. Newcomer takes note of three factors: 1) declining enrollments at many colleges after the initial return of veterans, coupled with women marrying after high school; 2) pressure from local residents for admission to single-sex colleges for those students who could not afford to leave home; 3) a preference among many women and men for a coeducational environment.[77]

For some colleges a coordinate system of education between single-sex campuses would avoid full coeducation. This coordinate system had its roots in the Northeast with the beginnings of the "Annex" at Harvard College in 1879; (the "Annex" would later become Radcliffe College in 1894). By 1889, Barnard College was founded next to Columbia University in New York, and Sophie Newcomb College had been founded next to Tulane University in New Orleans in 1886. Some, mostly men's college administrators, insisted that this system provided the best of both worlds for both sexes. Men and women would live on segregated campuses, but would share academic facilities during the day. The exception was Radcliffe College, where Harvard College faculty members would repeat a lecture at the Annex, and thus eliminate the need for women to be in men's classrooms. The frequent criticism

concerning the coordinate system would center around separate and unequal facilities and budgets. The coordinate system would gradually turn towards partial or full coeducation on all three campuses.[78]

By 1959 only ten percent of all women students in the United States attended women's colleges. Even though curricular parity with men's colleges had been either partially or fully achieved at the "Seven Sisters" colleges (Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar and Wellesley) and some public women's colleges, the coeducational institutions were gaining enrollments among both sexes. By this time, the number of exclusively male colleges was in decline. Conway states that "one of the most striking changes to come out of the decade...was the near universal acceptance of coeducation."[79]

Newcomer adds:

> "Thus while the women's colleges were offering women the same education as that provided by the men's colleges, many of the coeducational institutions and particularly the state universities and colleges were providing women with something different."[80]

By the 1960's the public women's college were viewed as an anachronism by many educators and by society, in general. With greater opportunities available to both men and women with college degrees, the public, sex-segregated colleges were forced to open their doors to both sexes as demographics and the changing social system demanded equitable access to institutions of higher education.[81]

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CHAPTER THREE

Chapter Three centers around a discussion of the research methodology conducted for the study, combined with a analysis of the results of a survey sent to current faculty members at UNCG, who witnessed the coeducational transition of the university.

Setting of the Study[1]

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro is a public, coeducational institution that is one of the sixteen institutions comprising the University of North Carolina System. UNCG originated as the State Normal and Industrial School for Women which was chartered by the State and opened, in Greensboro, in 1891. By 1919, the Normal had been designated as a college, (North Carolina College for Women), and was awarded accreditation by the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges in the Southern States in 1921.

In 1931, the North Carolina General Assembly, noting the serious economic conditions induced by the Depression, voted to consolidate the public colleges of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina College of Agriculture and Engineering and, North Carolina College for Women into one state university with three distinct missions. Spurred by this new association, and with a growing curriculum, The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina

became a full-fledged university with graduate programs in home economics, education and music. Even though it had achieved university status, the institution still consisted of an inordinate number of prospective school teachers.

By the end of World War II, the college had introduced a basic two-year curriculum in liberal studies, and had expanded graduate programs in the fine arts, creative writing, dance, drama and studio arts. It had also become one of the largest state-supported women's colleges in the United States. By the next decade several new programs were added: the revised nursing program, drama, special education, medical technology, geography and political science. Additionally, entrance requirements were stiffened with the use of the SAT and high school ranking as prime factors for admission. At the time of the coeducational change in 1963, the college's graduate program consisted of one doctoral program (home economics) and fifteen master's programs. By 1986 the graduate school had proliferated to forty-five master's programs, nine specialist's programs and nine doctoral programs.[2]

Today, UNCG enrolls over 10,000 students, of whom close to 3,000 are graduate students. The faculty numbers 650. The student female to male ratio is at 68%-32%. While the university was once considered an institution that prepared students for careers in the traditional "women's fields", currently the School of Business and Economics enrolls over

2,000 undergraduate majors. With a nationally recognized male soccer team, coupled with the inception of fraternities and sororities, the University is seeking to forge a new image among the collegiate institutions in North Carolina.[3]

Method of Inquiry

A case study is a thorough investigation of one institution in a field setting. It presents a wholistic view of the institution and examines some of the institutional dynamics.

Additionally, the case study allows the researcher to be a participant. She/he lives among the other participants and experiences the same situations that the others witness on a day-to-day basis. This assists the researcher in identifying and defining the institutional culture.[4]

The case study also encourages what Denzen calls triangulation.[5] Triangulation is a term for the common techniques used to examine organizational culture: interviews, observation and document analysis. Each technique may validate, dispute or modify data obtained by the other two. Discrepances among the factors are investigated, weighed and reconciled in the final analysis.

This method also has several disadvantages. First, emphasis on only one case virtually eliminates a meaningful discussion of contrasting institutions. Because the single case study is an in-depth examination of one institution, a lengthy comparison of other institutions is beyond the scope

of the study. When many institutions are compared and contrasted, the result may provide some useful insights.

The second disadvantage is the inability for the single case study to be examined in a "generalizable" nature. Many researchers and scholars seek results that may be applied to many situations, not just to the one they are studying. There is no assurance that the institution chosen for examination represents other similar organizations.

Interviews

Interviews proved to be the most effective vehicle for collecting data on institutional beliefs, attitudes and values. Past and present faculty members, administrators, staff and students of the former Woman's College and UNCG were interviewed. Also interviewed were past and present UNC board members, administrators of The University of North Carolina System and state legislators. The above group was selected because they either; 1) witnessed the coeducational transition of The Woman's College; 2) played a major role in the transition or; 3) felt the effects of the change.

The questions were focused on the coeducational transition, the culture of the setting, and the perceived political situation at the time of the change. The questions were open-ended, with the respondent making whatever comments she/he felt was relevant to the topics. Frequently, the topic would expand and glimpses of the political and cultural en-

vironment of the institution became evident. Notwithstanding the expanded topics, the conversations were guided back to the topic outlined in Appendix I.

Interviews are, however, inherently problematic. First, they are dependent upon the memory of individuals who frequently do not retain information regarding the situation under examination. Secondly, the period of time between the event transpired and the examination of the event may be quite lengthy. Thus, their memory may betray their insights. Finally, the researcher may inadvertently prejudice the interview results by portraying certain faculty members in a heroic or favorable fashion. The researcher must constantly verify the testimony of those interviewed with either document study or verification of other colleagues who witnessed the event under study. A general interview guide was utilized, developed by Baldridge and modified for usage at UNCG, which the author used as a "starting point" for the interviews. (see Appendix I)

Document Study

UNCG allowed access to most University documents, excluding the E. K. Graham and James Ferguson papers.[6] Many of the facts found in this paper were discovered in the document study. Included in the document study were letters, diaries, official presidential papers and reports.

In 1984-86 the papers of Mereb Mossman (former Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs from 1951-1973) were examined. At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill important documents, including the Thomas Pearsall papers, were examined in the Southern Historical Collections of Wilson Library.[7] Additional research was conducted at Duke Library and an interview was conducted with William Chafe, Professor History and Director of the Woman's Studies Program at Duke University.

Also, secondary source materials such as university handbooks, yearbooks, alumnae magazines, student newspapers and other campus publications were reviewed. The Greensboro Daily News and The Raleigh Observer were particularly useful in their analysis of the changes in the University system from 1931-1963. Additional correspondence and letters are listed in Appendix III.

The most significant documents that were not able to be examined were the papers of President William Friday. Because of his historical importance as President of the UNC system, Mr. Friday's perspective on the transition could be discovered to some extent through the documents he sent to others. (see Appendix III)

Questionnaires

After many interviews had been conducted, a questionnaire was formulated to be sent to the remaining forty-one Woman's

College faculty currently employed at UNCG. As the interview data magnified certain topics, questions were designed to explore in-depth those recurring topics. Because many of the original faculty members were either deceased or had moved from the area, the questionnaire was targeted to the remaining members of the former Woman's College faculty.

The questionnaires surveyed a limited number of the faculty members who were present at the 1963 coeducational transition. Because of the small number surveyed, the research was not strictly quantified in a scientific method. Instead, the questionnaires were used as additional documents either to verify or to question other research conclusions. (see Appendix II)

One of the objectives of the research was to determine faculty perception and attitude toward changes at Woman's College/UNCG. Accordingly, a questionnaire was sent to the current forty-one faculty members at UNCG who were appointed before August 1, 1964. These faculty members were selected because they were present when the first male undergraduates arrived in August 1964. Many, as well, were present during the discussion of the coeducational issue in 1962-63. Finally, these faculty members have witnessed the changes that have occurred since the coeducational transition, and have been able to reach some personal conclusions regarding the changes. (See Table I)

Participant Profile: The total response was sixty-six percent of those surveyed. Eighty-five percent chose to give their name and fourteen percent chose to remain anonymous.

The present rank of the faculty members who responded is: Professor: 62%, Associate Professor: 29%, Assistant Professor: 8%. Their ranks in 1964 were: Professor: 8%; Associate Professor: 20%; Assistant Professor: 50%; Instructor: 20%. The respondent's average age in 1964 was thirty-seven, and in 1986 their average age is fifty-eight. Forty-three percent of the respondents are male; fifty-five percent are female.

Since the majority of the respondents were assistant professors in 1964, this may explain their relative lack of involvement in political matters at the college. The responses showed that few professors had much knowledge of either the internal or external groups which were active in the co-educational transition.

The respondents are heavily represented by the College of Arts and Sciences, which would be expected, since the professional schools were still in their infancy in 1964. The following schools present in 1964, Education, Home Economics, and Music, are represented in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to list their committee activities to discern their involvement in the internal political dimension of the university. Most faculty members chose not to fill out the

committees, administrative duties or positions which they held before 1964.

Response Summary

Question One: At the time of your appointment to a faculty position at The Woman's College did you feel that the University would remain a public woman's college during your tenure of service? If not, please explain your reasoning. Yes: 57% No: 26% Not responding: 15%

This question was meant to assess the expectations of the faculty members regarding the issue of coeducation during the 1950's and early 1960's. A few of the respondents who answered "no" offered some interesting insights. One responded: "As a choral director, I had been reluctant to apply for a position here in 1960 until assured that there was already consideration of the possibility of coeducation." Another added:

> "There was no public institution of higher education for white males in this area of the state; therefore, with the population increase and demand for affordable high quality education, The Woman's College was a natural place for coeducation as well as integration."

Most of the respondents felt that they had no reason to believe that the college would become coeducational. This further lends credence to the perception of (their) relative distance from discussions of the subject. While single-sex institutions were in decline, a number of faculty members at The Woman's College did not view this phenomenon as threaten-

ing to the Woman's College.

Question Two: In your opinion, why did the transition occur in 1963 and who were the forces behind the change? (Fifty-two percent responded and their answers are abbreviated and combined below).

1. External political forces in North Carolina and the United States.
2. Social and cultural forces in the United States.
3. Governor Sanford and the North Carolina Legislature.
4. The impending admittance to the UNC system of Charlotte College and its potential threat to The Woman's College.
5. Further consolidation of resources.
6. Admittance of men as graduate students.
7. The General Administration at Chapel Hill was in favor of coeducation.
8. The decision was mandated by state officials.
9. It was an administrative decision by The Woman's College administration because of future enrollment concerns.
10. A coeducational institution was needed in the Piedmont.
11. To gain recognition as a full-fledged university.
12. Overall concern with the budget allocations between Raleigh, Greensboro and Chapel Hill.

Question two was one of the few "open-ended" questions designed to examine the faculty's perception of the forces behind the coeducational change. According to the research,

all of the reasons offered by the respondents held some degree of validity. It appears that a certain number of the respondents were politically aware, (or became more aware after the changes were made), of the forces behind the transition.

Question Three: The Pearsall Committee was a sub-committee of the UNC Board of Governors that was commissioned to study long range plans for the consolidated University of North Carolina system. At what time were you aware of the recommendations of the Pearsall committee to the UNC Board of Governors to recommend coeducation of The Woman's College to the State Legislature? Late 1962: 23% Early 1963: 15% Not Aware: 61%

This question was designed to examine the level of awareness of the faculty members concerning the deliberations of the Pearsall committee. Since the research did not discover much public discussion of the issue on campus, the question was formulated to examine their knowledge of this important UNC committee which met for six months in 1962-63.

A majority of respondents (61%) could not recall or were not aware of the Pearsall committee report. This may be due to problems of recalling the existence of a committee that was convened twenty-four years ago, or their obliviousness of the committee's existence. Twenty-three percent were aware in 1962 of the changes proposed by the Committee

and fifteen percent were aware the following year. This response lends further credibility to the argument that the younger faculty members were not intimately involved with or aware of the forces behind the coeducational decision; and only a small percentage were aware of the early deliberations of the committee and its possible ramifications for the Woman's College.

Question Four: How would you describe your attitude toward the decision by the State Legislature in favor of coeducation? Very Favorable: 38% Moderately Favorable: 11% Mildly Against: 23% Strongly Against: 3% No Response: 25%

The question directly elicits a personal evaluation of the coeducation decision. An overall favorable rating of sixty-eight percent tended to confirm other research indications that most younger faculty members were in favor of coeducation. The opposition was centered among an undeterminable number of senior male and female professors who lamented the end to the distinctiveness of The Woman's College.

Question Five: How would you describe the stance of the Woman's College administration regarding coeducation? Strongly Favorable: 38% Moderately Favorable: 23% Mildly Against: 11% No Response: 26%

This question revolved around another question: What was the perception of the faculty concerning the attitude of the internal administration with regards to the issue of co-

education? Sixty-one percent responded that The Woman's College administration was either strongly or moderately favorable towards the decision. A small percentage felt that they (administration) were either mildly against coeducation (eleven percent), or were not aware (twenty-six percent) of their stance. Because the administration took no "official" public stance before the decision was made, it may explain faculty uncertainty over the internal administrative stance.

Question Six: In 1962 Governor Terry Sanford initiated plans for expansion of the UNC system. What impact do you feel that Governor Sanford had on the coeducation decision? Strongly supported coeducation: 53% Neutral on the subject: 7% No response/not aware: 34%

As noted previously, Governor Sanford assumed credit for support of the legislation that transformed the college into a coeducational institution. Whether or not he was perceived as a supporter of the changes in 1962-63 was tested by the above question. Interestingly enough, no one felt that he was against the idea of coeducation. This tends to confirm the belief that the Governor was a force for change in higher education in North Carolina, and by his own admission, a vigorous supporter of coeducation at The Woman's College. Again, a sizable number (thirty-four percent) either chose not to answer or were not aware of Governor Sanford's stance

in 1962-63.

Question Seven: Were you aware of any formal endorsement or protest made by either individual faculty members or groups either for or against the coeducational transition? Yes: 5% No: 95%

Since other forms of research failed to uncover any official endorsement or protest over the coeducational issue, this question sought to discern if there was any significant protest or endorsement of coeducation by the faculty or other groups. Only one professor answered "yes", and on the questionnaire, did not elaborate. In a separate interview, the protest recalled by the professor could not be viewed as "official", i.e., meaning the act was not in the form of a letter or petition to a legislative body or administrative official. No formal resolution was discovered in UNCG Special Collections/Archives or, the Woman's College administrative files.

Question Eight: What impact do you feel the coeducational transition of The Woman's College had on the mission and goals of the present university? Positive: 55% No Effect: 7% Negative: 14% Mixed: 18% Changed the mission and goals: 3%

The answers reveal the respondent's attitude towards the mission and goals of UNCG and the perceived impact that coeducation had on these goals. The present mission and

goals statement of the university emphasize: 1) An education firmly based in the liberal arts. 2) The best undergraduate professional preparation in North Carolina in selected fields. 3) Master's programs to meet urban needs. 4) National recognition of all doctoral programs and selected master's programs. 5) A balance of teaching, research and scholarship. 6) Nurturing a sense of community. 7) Service to the people of the state.[8]

A majority of respondents felt that the coeducational transition had positively affected the mission and goals of the university, and had broadened the previous mission of the college. However, a significant number of respondents (thirty-two percent) felt that the transition had either a mixed or negative affect upon the mission and goals of the university. The majority of respondents who answered negatively wrote that the current mission was too broad and the goals were unrealistic for the size of the institution and budgetary constraints on the university.

Question Nine: From your perspective at the present time, do you feel that coeducation was a good decision?
Yes: 80% No: 10% Inevitable: 10%

An overwhelming majority responded that the decision was a positive one, which is consistent with the degree of satisfaction the respondents exhibited throughout the survey. Ten percent did not offer an evaluation, but stated

that it was an "inevitable" decision. Only ten percent felt it was a bad decision. This confirmed past research which concluded that younger faculty members in 1962-64 approved of the transition.

Question Ten was designed to accommodate any further "aspects of the coeducational transition that (they) would like to share." This was to offer faculty members an opportunity to comment on any other aspect of the coeducational issue that was not covered in the questionnaire. Few faculty members offered additional comments, and those who did commented upon the present image or status of the university.

Summary

In sum the questionnaire revealed: 1) There was a high degree of political naivete among the junior faculty. 2) There was a favorable stance towards coeducation among the junior faculty. 3) In follow-up interviews, a difference in attitude towards the changing mission of the university of the junior faculty in relation to the senior faculty members of the era was confirmed. There were no significant contradictions between what was found in other research efforts and data/comments from the questionnaire.

The major point of contention among faculty members, representing all disciplines and ages, was the effect of coeducation on the mission of educating women. A significant number of respondents expressed concern over the impact co-

education had on women's roles in the university. They perceived that previous leadership roles were abdicated to men, and, the recruitment of male students left some women with the impression that they were no longer "special". They also felt that the dramatic environmental changes from a residential college to a large commuter student body affected the nature of community at UNCG.

While the above aspects mentioned (in interviews and the questionnaire), were not immediately perceived in 1962-64, the outcome was blamed on the decision made in 1963. From the questionnaire it may be concluded that there was a high degree of either satisfaction or resignation over the coeducation issue among the faculty, and a negligible degree of outward protest. Dissatisfaction grew among senior faculty members as the effects of the decision were felt a decade later.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1]Historical data for this section are taken from E. Bowles, A Good Beginning (Chapel Hill: 1969); The UNCG Handbook, 1986-87, Vol. 75, No. 6; James Rogerson, "Development of the Curriculum", Unpublished manuscript, April 15, 1982 (Greensboro: University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Special Collections, Jackson Library, UNCG).

[2]Undergraduate Catalogue, 1986-87, Vol. 75, No. 6. (Greensboro: University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1980).

[3]Ibid.

[4]J. V. Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University (New York: Wiley, 1971), p. 34.

[5]N. K. Denzin, The Research Art: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

[6]E. K. Graham papers were restricted and James Ferguson papers are still being processed by the Special Collections staff at UNCG.

[7]Former President William Friday's papers will not be processed for five years and, therefore, were unavailable for examination.

[8]University Undergraduate Catalogue, 1986-87, p. 9.

[9]University Undergraduate Catalogue, 1986-87, p. 9.

CHAPTER FOUR

This chapter will analyze the coeducational transition of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina within the parameters set by Baldridge in his model for examining change. Additionally, a discussion of the saga of The Woman's College and its implications for effecting change will be examined and discussed.

The Baldridge Model

As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, the model used to analyze the coeducational transition of The Woman's College is the political conflict model developed by J. V. Baldridge. He created this model while analyzing the changes that occurred at New York University in the late sixties and early seventies. In Chapter Two the theoretical foundations relevant to his model were discussed. This section of the chapter will introduce and explain the Baldridge framework for an analysis that is presented in Chapter Four.

Baldridge believed after analyzing New York University that there was a need for a framework which would assist researchers in unraveling some of the difficulties in examining academic administrations. Since no model existed, he felt it necessary to create one that would analyze the nature of the political processes in organizations. The model centers around the policy-forming processes. Major policies

tend to commit the institution to definite goals and, thus, determine the long-range planning of the university. In sum, the policies bind the institution to courses of action and policies become the focus of conflict among powerful institutional interest groups.

There are five stages of the political model as outlined by Baldridge.[1] (see Figure I)

1. Social Structure. This is an arrangement of social groups with differing political interests. These differences often lead to conflict, which is the critical term in this category. As differences are articulated, the pressure to protect "power bases" increases. The social structure of a university is tremendously diverse and fragmented with complex values and goals espoused by the various departments. The question for analysis is: What are the social conditions which promote the formation of divergent values and interest groups?

2. Interest Articulation. How do powerful groups exert pressure to obtain a favorable decision regarding policy? It is important to understand how the groups articulate and make their interests known to legislative bodies. The faculty, students and administration may all have differing interests with regards to a single policy decision. How these groups articulate their positions must be examined for the complete analysis of the decision-making process to be suc-

cessful.

3. Legislative Stage. How are the multiple pressures translated into official policy? Legislative bodies must frequently respond to the pressures exerted from the aforementioned groups. The process of negotiations, compromise and debates begin. The ubiquitous committees convene and policy is eventually shaped.

4. Formulation of Policy. Policy is an official commitment to certain goals and values. This is the end result of the typical committee work and negotiations taken place between faculty members and administrators. The policy officially ends the conflict and represents a binding decision to commit the institution to a particular set of goals or values.

5. Execution of Policy. The execution of policy may generate new conflicts and another round of articulation of interests may arise. This causes a feedback cycle in which new conflicts are re-cycled through the conflict processes.

In sum, the outline examines a complex social structure that generates conflict and turns into an interest articulation stage when powerful groups come to terms with the conflict. Next, the legislative phase translates the conflict into policy, and an execution phase germinates the seed for future conflict (feedback cycle). This approach closely scrutinizes: 1) goal setting and the conflict over values

rather than executing the goals; 2) the examination of change processes and the adaptation of the institution to the constantly changing environment; 3) the examination of conflict and conflict resolution; 4) the role of interest groups in the conflict process; 5) the legislative and decision-making phases, or the process by which conflict is translated into policy. Taken as a whole, these stages provide for an outline of the Baldridge model.

The first aspect of the Baldridge political model to be analyzed are the social conditions that surrounded the coeducational transition of The Woman's College. Baldridge offers a question that positions the first state: What are the social conditions which promote the formation of divergent values and interest groups? This question will be focused in an examination of the changing social setting that challenged the Woman's College traditional role of educating women in North Carolina.

Social Conditions Affecting Change

Mabel Newcomer offers two social factors that led to changes in the public woman's colleges. The first was the commuter phenomenon of the later 1950's and 60's. In order to cut down on rising college costs, many students chose to live at home and commute to their local public university. The commuter boom of the 60's would radically change the residential climate for most public universities, and many

faculty members across the country, and at Woman's College would lament the effect that this phenomenon had on the educational and social climate of the campus. Secondly, Newcomer pointed out that there was a sizable number of women who were marrying before graduation from college. This limited their range of collegiate choices to the college their husbands were attending. Conversely, men often limited their choice of colleges to a location where his spouse could find employment.[2]

The broader societal change occurred in women's attitudes towards their choice of collegiate environment. In the early part of the century, an overwhelming majority of women attended all-female normal schools and colleges. By 1960 only 13.4 percent of all college women attended woman's colleges.[3] As men's colleges opened to women, their (women's) numbers progressively rose. It was obvious that most women preferred a coeducational environment.[4]

This phenomenon was also felt at The Woman's College. In an interview, former Dean of the College, Mereb Mossman, reiterated Newcomer's thesis that "women preferred a coeducational environment."[5] Miss Mossman pointed out that there was a steady increase of women transferring from The Woman's College to The University at Chapel Hill during the 1950's and 60's. By then, Chapel Hill allowed a small number of female transfers <u>after</u> their sophomore year. Unfortunately

for the College, some of these women were the "better" students that The Woman's College prided itself on attracting. This dilemma was mildly alarming for The Woman's College administrators and faculty members, and would later be used as one of the arguments for coeducation.

A demographic phenomenon that caused some concern among North Carolina state legislators was the rapid growth of the Piedmont area, where The Woman's College was located. In the Pearsall Report of January 23, 1963, Pearsall emphasized:

> "The population studies of Forsyth County and Guilford County clearly show that this area is now and will long remain one of the state's major centers of population. It is an area of the state where the number of state-supported institutions providing substantial programs in the arts and sciences are limited, particularly for men. The University campus at Greensboro has a splendid reputation for undergraduate teaching and the library facilities are very good. With knowledge that in this region of North Carolina will occur one of the heaviest increases in student-age population and, again, asserting the essential role of leadership for the University, I propose the enrollment of qualified male students at the undergraduate level on a non-resident basis at Woman's College."[6]

The statement above was not the first call for coeducation at The Woman's College. As mentioned in chapter one, there was a drive for coeducation at The Woman's College by the local chapter of The Veterans of Foreign Wars after World War II. The rationale used by the VFW was the need for broader opportunities for the returning veterans, who resided in the Piedmont area. Interestingly enough, in Mr. Pearsall's final statement before the North Carolina Legislature, he

argued for a similar broader agenda for men, based on economic conditions.

> "University education is being denied many young men in this populous area of the state because of their inability to afford the costs of attending the University at Chapel Hill or State College."[7]

He concludes:

> "...It is difficult to conceive of a full-fledged university program at that institution restricted to women, for such restrictions are intrinsically inconsistent with the concept of a modern university. Opening the campus of the University at Greensboro to men will greatly strengthen that institution's opportunities to obtain faculty members of distinction and so to develop research and creative work to the levels expected of a university."[8]

Furthermore, Historian Barbara Solomon characterizes the G.I. bill attained by veterans after World War Two, as an example of expanding educational opportunities for men. The bill allowed men to venture on to the all-female colleges of Vassar, Finch and Sarah Lawrence. By contrast, female G.I.'s represented only three percent of the armed services eligible for government subsidies. By 1956, 2,232,000 veterans had been educated under the G.I. bill.[9]

External Pressures

With the advent of the Kennedy administration in 1960, the nation's public colleges were encouraged to make greater efforts for equitable access to institutions of higher education. Most of the reforms were aimed at desegregating Southern colleges as the system of separate institutions of higher education for blacks was particularly offensive to

the Kennedy administration, most notably, to Attorney General Robert Kennedy. By 1962, qualified black males were eligible to enroll in graduate programs at The Woman's College. This signalled a change in attitude by college officials and mirrored the societal changes that were occurring on a broader scale across the United States.[10]

In 1962, North Carolina ranked 49th out of the 50 states in sending high school graduates to college. Governor Terry Sanford commissioned a committee comprised of legislators, citizens and college board members, known as the Carlyle Commission, to study and make recommendations concerning the state of higher education in North Carolina. Noting that projected enrollments would leave 30,000 students out of local colleges, the Commission recommended: 1) a stronger and more comprehensive community college system; 2) the assimilation of Wilmington and Charlotte Colleges into the University of North Carolina System and; 3) undergraduate coeducation at The Woman's College, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill and State College in Raleigh.[11]

By this time, William Friday, President of the Consolidated University of North Carolina had taken two important steps in implementing the changes recommended by the Commission and enthusiastically supported by Governor Sanford. First, a special committee was formed from the Consolidated Board of Trustees to study the Carlyle Commission report and

offer recommendations to the UNC Board for their consideration. Known as the Pearsall Committee, named for Rocky Mount Attorney and Board member Thomas Pearsall, the Committee deliberated for four and one-half months before their final report was presented. Their recommendations were adopted by the UNC Board on January 25, 1963.[12]

Secondly, President Friday authorized a trip to California for members of the Pearsall Committee to visit and consult with University of California System President Clark Kerr. By 1962, the University of California system consisted of nine campuses across the state with Berkeley as its "flagship". The California system was at the summit of expansion for public universities in the United States. The recommendations offered by Clark Kerr to the special committee were an enthusiastic endorsement of the recommendations of the Carlyle Commission.[13]

One major figure who played a prominent role in support of coeducation at The Woman's College was the Chairman of the State Board of Higher Education, Attorney L. P. McLendon of Greensboro. In a letter to William Friday, dated November 19, 1962, he supports Friday's position on coeducation and further explains his reasoning:

> "...Since you heard me speak several years ago to the Faculty at Woman's College, my own thinking that Woman's College should remain a college for women has undergone a complete change because I am convinced that the only way it can become a real University is for it to be co-

> educational and among other things be able to attract the highest qualified people for its faculty. As you know, many professional teachers, particularly the younger ones, are reluctant about accepting a position in a Woman's College..."[14]

The support of Mr. McLendon was especially welcome to William Friday in view of the feuding that had taken place between the two offices during the previous years. McLendon was a powerful figure in local and state political circles and his support of coeducation consolidated the positions of the Governor, President and Chancellors on coeducation.

Internal Pressures

It was during 1962 that coeducation at The Woman's College became a visible issue. For some faculty members and administrators it was a foregone conclusion.[15] While there is no evidence from the research that University administrators sponsored open forums for faculty and staff to discuss the issue of coeducation, some department heads, deans and politically active professors were aware of the impending recommendations of the Pearsall Committee and made it known in their department meetings.[16] In a memorandum to her Physical Education Staff on October 23, 1962, Ethel M. Lawther, later Dean of the School of Physical Education, recorded her opinions of Friday's remarks to the faculty at The Woman's College.

> "...I think that you should know that, in my opinion now, the directions outlined by President Friday may well be the only way in which this institution can move

> at this time. With faith in our administration, I find that I must accept the fact that this would not be imposed upon us unless there were very good and sound reasons, many of which we may not be in a position to see or evaluate. In addition, because I have sincere faith in you and in the excellence of your teaching and thinking, it becomes quite possible for me to accept the challenges of new directions as these may be indicated by a possible change of status for this College..."
>
> She concludes:
>
> "...It goes without saying that this memorandum is sent to you only to share a decision which I have made for myself. Each of you must take your position on the basis of your own considered judgments."[17]

It was well known, though not widely circulated, from the General Administration Office, that President Friday favored coeducation on all three campuses. In a letter to Thomas Pearsall on October 6, 1962, Mr. Friday verifies his support of coeducation, along with the support of Chancellor Singletary of The Woman's College, Chancellor Aycock of Chapel Hill and Chancellor Caldwell of Raleigh, by stating: "...We should have a common undergraduate program in the arts and sciences open to both men and women on all three campuses."[18]

By October 16, 1962, President Friday alluded to these viewpoints, (previously mentioned in Dean Lawther's memorandum), at a Faculty Council Meeting of The Woman's College. By the next day, October 17th, Thomas Pearsall received a letter from Dr. Hugh Lefler, Professor of History at The University of North Carolina, that expressed a perspective which may have been shared by some senior faculty members

at Chapel Hill and Greensboro concerning the proposed changes.

Dr. Hefler writes:

> "...we have a good university here, a first class technical college at Raleigh, and an excellent woman's college at Greensboro. I hope and pray that we can keep up the standards of these three schools. It is likely that we will not do this if the "university" is expanded to include every college that wants to bear the title of university. This state cannot finance a dozen or more "universities".*
>
> I fervently hope that the decisions which are to be made will be based on educational standards--not on political considerations. I hope that somebody in high position will have the courage to fight off the "pressure groups". Calling a school a university does not make it one in the real sense of the word."
>
> He concludes..."I have been teaching in the university system since 1926 and I am forced to say that most of the major decisions in relation to education have been of a political nature rather than sound educational policies. Frankly, the present trend in higher education in the state-supported schools frightens me. Duke, Davidson, and Wake Forest seem to know what they are doing and where they are going.[19]

*It must be noted here, from President Friday and Thomas Pearsall's perspective, that a change in the name of the institutions also meant full coeducation at all three campuses. By this time the issue revolved around name changes at the campuses at Greensboro and Raleigh. The proposed changed names would be The University of North Carolina at Greensboro and The University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Hence, for the opposing parties on both campuses the debate would historically be known as a symbolic struggle against the dilution of the uniqueness of the institutions at Raleigh and Greensboro. The alumni, faculty and students of State Col-

lege successfully fought the name change. The Woman's College never effectively lobbied against the name change because the nature of coeducation would demand a new name for the institution. Some personnel at Chapel Hill were concerned with the over-expansion of the consolidated system as evidenced by Dr. Lefler's letter.[20]

The final mission of the Pearsall Committee--to broaden graduate programs, (thus, emulating other research universities, such as The University of California system) brought about unsuspected changes for The Woman's College faculty beyond the scope of coeducation. For some faculty members, the issue would not be coeducation, which they felt was inevitable, but their perception of a loss of emphasis on excellence in undergraduate education. The Pearsall Committee never foresaw the tension this would place upon The Woman's College as she struggled for academic parity with State College at Raleigh or the University at Chapel Hill.

In interviews with faculty members, who were present during the coeducational transition, a familiar theme pervades their analyses on the changes at The Woman's College during the 50's and 60's. One area they consistently refer to is the tension felt between priorities of teaching and research. As mentioned earlier, former Dean Mossman placed a high priority on hiring faculty members with a research agenda. She also made it clear that continued promotion and

tenure would rest with clearly developed research vitas from all faculty members.[21] While good teaching was considered vital, research became a more important factor as the college expanded to a more comprehensive university. The tension heightened when older faculty members, who were hired before the Mossman Administration, felt neglected in the promotion and tenure process. After decades of teaching, many of these professors were at a loss to begin an ambitious research agenda. Some felt their energies needed to be reserved for the classroom, and stiffly resisted the proliferation of graduate programs coupled with a progressive rewards system tied into research which quickly evolved in the ensuing decades. The political influence of the role of the Dean of the College (Mereb Mossman) can be demonstrated in a 1962 organizational chart, along with the complexity of the administrative structure at The Woman's College.[22] (see Appendix IV)

Woman's College Stance

A thorough examination of the papers left by Otis Singletary in the Special Collections Division of UNCG's Jackson Library was conducted. No private documents summarizing or stating Chancellor Singletary's stance on coeducation are recorded. However, the papers left by Mr. Pearsall, several interviews conducted with faculty who were present, and a review of a revealing interview conducted by The Greensboro

Daily News with Dr. Singletary confirmed the view that he supported the external move toward coeducation. In an interview in the Greensboro Daily News on November 20, 1962, Chancellor Singletary noted the erosion of The Woman's College's "protective tariff".

> "For years this college had had a sort of "protective tariff"; that is, if a woman wanted to enter the state university, she came to the Greensboro campus. This "protective tariff" has, in a very real sense, been a sort of guarantee of quality, a fact that helps to explain why this institution has enjoyed its justifiable reputation as the outstanding state-supported woman's college in the region.
>
> But our protective tariff is now eroding, and the future is none too comforting. Most people are not aware of the fact that there are over 2,000 women students at Chapel Hill and that the number at State College is increasing. Outside the university, we face the prospects of competition from new proposed four-year, liberal arts co-educational institutions in addition to those already in existence. For example, 16 percent of our entering freshman come from the area that will be served by the Charlotte institution."[23]

The editorial notes the changes in higher education in North Carolina and recommends that the Woman's College become a progressive, coeducational institution. With the addition of the Greensboro Daily News support for the coeducational change, the Singletary administration had successfully garnered public support for the impending change. Some alumnae, students and senior faculty members remained to be convinced of the soundness of the impending decision.

As mentioned earlier, Dean Mossman argued that the acceptance of female sophomore transfers to Chapel Hill nega-

tively effected the overall quality of the student body at Greensboro. This was not solely an administrative concern--it was also a faculty concern. Many faculty members felt that coeducation would enhance graduate programs and assist the undergraduate fields that were traditionally considered to be male. Some professors responded that they would have never accepted a position at The Woman's College had they not been reasonably assured that the institution would eventually become coeducational.[24]

By 1960 The Woman's College had its first doctoral program in Home Economics and was expanding its graduate programs in music, physical education and education. By the time of coeducation, it had fifteen masters programs, and its first and only doctoral graduate--Nance White in Home Economics.[25]

A dilemma brought on by the hiring of more men with the Ph.D. and a research agenda would be the changing gender composition of The Woman's College faculty. By 1960 the faculty at Woman's College was composed of a majority of men, while in 1946, during the previous clamor for coeducation, the faculty was composed of a female majority. In follow-up interviews, the author discovered that most men who were hired in the 1950's enthusiastically supported coeducation. This was not the case for the senior female professors and a few senior male professors. The impact of gender would be

representative of the faculty's lack of cohesion on the subject of coeducation by 1962 as male faculty members overwhelmingly favored coeducation, while many female faculty members did not.[26]

Patricia Graham writes:

> "...An institution that was trying to move up the prestige ladder, then, was well advised to recognize this fact (that women simply did not stack up against men...) and treat its own faculty women accordingly. After World War II, several of the women's colleges made a deliberate effort to increase the number of men on their faculties, presumably in the hope that this was a sign of improved quality, or at least, status."[27]

The Woman's College also followed the above trend in faculty hiring. In subsequent interviews with Dean Mossman, she stated that men with the Ph.D. would strengthen the rising graduate program and provide overall stature to the college. While their influence upon the graduate programs took longer to make its presence felt, their attitudes towards coeducation assisted the proactive stance of the administration. Consequently, the undergraduate program lost some of its uniqueness as the sole focus of attention. Also, women faculty members saw their positions eroding, as they became cemented on a single track/rank, and advanced more slowly than their male peers.[28] Coeducation coincided with a further erosion of women's faculty positions and the image of the faculty changed dramatically from the previous decades.[29]

Dean Mossman further noted that another internal factor affecting the hastening of coeducation (that administrators

and faculty members point to) was the historic differentiation between the state budget allocation given to Greensboro and the budgets allocated to Chapel Hill and Raleigh. In previous decades, the college had played the role of the "good girl", who returned unused money to the state. As this reputation grew, and as the political "clout" of The Woman's College would never compare to that of the influential alumni of North Carolina State and the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, the state legislature progressively cut the budget in relation to the public male colleges. The result was a "step child" role for The Woman's College relative to her male counterparts. As the college steadily gained in stature, the budget failed to correspond to its new status as a more comprehensive university for women. Chancellor Singletary and Dean Mossman were convinced that the budgetary situation would not change as long as the college remained exclusively female. For many professors, the discriminatory budget position was intolerable. The soundness of the argument for coeducation would have been convincing on these grounds alone.[30] This first stage of the Baldridge model provided the social context of the problem of coeducation. Since organizational change should be analyzed from two pressure or interest groups (internal and external), the changing social setting of the 60's challenged The Woman's College role and saga as an exclusively female college.

Interest Articulation

The second state of the Baldridge political model is entitled: Interest Articulation. The question to be examined in this stage is: How do the interest groups bring pressure to bear? During this state the various political groups are identified and their positions on the issue defined. This stage also defines the catalyst(s) for change and the effects which this impetus has on the various groups.

On a broad scale, the political administrations of President John Kennedy and Governor Terry Sanford provided the catalyst needed for changes in society that hastened the legal end of racial and sexual segregation/discrimination. Without these two administrations, it is possible that the Woman's College might well have lasted into the next decade as an exclusively female undergraduate institution, much like Mary Washington College in Virginia, Texas Woman's University and Mississippi University for Women. While the Kennedy administration provided the initial momentum for societal changes on a national scale, it was Terry Sanford who manipulated the actual changes in higher education in North Carolina.

In a speech before the UNCG student body, February 27, 1986, Sanford recounted his advocacy for changes in the higher educational system in the 60's. "I sponsored the legislation to change the name of the institution and ad-

mitted men as students" the former governor reminded students and voters at a forum for senatorial candidates.[31] Sanford's main thrust during his four years as governor was in the area of educational reform.

As a supporter of the changes advocated by Sanford in 1962, UNC President William Friday played a key role in the coeducational changes at all three consolidated campuses by negotiating the political decisions necessary to make the coeducational transitions successful. In an early letter to former Presidents Frank P. Graham and Gordon Gray, both strong supporters of The Woman's College's exclusive mission, he outlined his goals for the UNC system. He argues:

> "...There is no projected community college or existing state-supported institutions open to the white males in the Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and High Point area which, by 1965, will be graduating more than 3,500 students from their schools each spring..."[32]

He concludes:

> "...It is my firm belief that the best interests of the state will be served with one state university, operating on several campuses, with firm divisions of functions in research work and professional and graduate training. To be fully effective and successful, there should be a strong undergraduate program for men and women on each campus offering undergraduate work in the arts and sciences. The need for such programs is clear..."[33]

Mr. Friday received tentative support from Gordon Gray and no official response from Dr. Graham.[34] It is interesting to note that Friday sent his own personal representative to Graham's residence in New York, in the person of

Virginia Lathrop, author of a sentimental book on The Woman's College, (To Educate A Woman), and a strong ally of President Friday. Mrs. Lathrop's mission was to convince Graham of the wisdom of the "fait accompli". Since both principals are deceased, and no correspondence has been recovered, (regarding their meeting), no significant conclusions could be inferred.[35]

The two most vital committees, the Carlyle Commission and the UNC Pearsall Committee, provided the "official" momentum for the sweeping changes which occurred in 1963. The importance of these two committees cannot be overstated, especially in view of the leaders who guided their deliberations. For Governor Terry Sanford, the Carlyle Commission was the vehicle he needed to push for educational reform in North Carolina. For President William Friday, the Pearsall Committee was the impetus needed to radically change the UNC system and pave the way for future expansion to a sixteen member system in 1971.

Consequences of the Reports

As previously mentioned, the Carlyle Commission recommended sweeping change for public higher education in North Carolina. Their recommendations became the "agenda" that the University-sponsored Pearsall committee would use. The "chain-of-command" was adhered to as the Governor's commission suggested the reforms, with the University studying the

Governor's recommendations. In turn, their final recommendations were submitted to the Board and, eventually, to the State Legislature for action.

A working outline from Thomas Pearsall's papers provide a step-by-step plan for presenting their plans for the UNC board to consider as the next logical step in the process begun by the Governor.[36] The outline began with the authority, purpose and work of the committee. The steps were: 1. The authority, purpose and work of the committee. 2. Consideration of the petitions from Charlotte and Wilmington Colleges for entrance into the UNC system as full-fledged, four-year institutions. Their status, at the time, as broad community colleges, with growing enrollments located in North Carolina's two largest cities, seemed to indicate recognition as four year colleges. An impending petition from Asheville-Biltmore College, another two-year college in the western region of the State, required consideration for admittance for establishment of University campuses in the three major areas of the state without a public four-year college. Pearsall's committee travelled to each college and met to discuss their arguments for consolidation into the UNC system. The result of the visits was a favorable stance by the Committee towards the petitions.

For The Woman's College, the ramifications of this action, from the administration's point of view, was a threat to its

"protective tariff" based on Chapel Hill and State College not accepting women.[37] As more and more women were choosing coeducational institutions, Woman's College administrators viewed four-year colleges at Charlotte, Wilmington and Asheville as potential and real competitors for their female students. This factor was heavily weighed as University board members voted for the recommended incorporations, early in 1963.[38]

3. Consideration of the responsibilities of a modern university. The major concern was the responsibility a state university has to its constituents--or residential taxpayers. Noting the growing collegiate enrollments and projected increase among high school graduates who expected to attend college, the Committee explained the rationale and historic purpose the University had to its residents. This historic purpose consisted of maintaining institutions of higher education of quality for local students at a low cost.[39] For the Woman's College, the message was clear, the state could no longer justify its mission of educating women exclusively.

4. Redistribution of graduate programs. The committee proposed across the State to meet the needs of a broader student population which meant that the graduate program would no longer be principally housed at Chapel Hill. With permission from the UNC General Administration, other UNC campuses could offer some of the same graduate programs offered

at Chapel Hill, Raleigh or Greensboro. Also, Raleigh and Greensboro could expand graduate programs in areas from which they were historically excluded due to Chapel Hill's exclusive role as the primary graduate center.

A major difference among the future UNC schools would be that the doctorate would be offered exclusively at the original consolidated colleges of the UNC system (Chapel Hill, Raleigh and Greensboro). At The Woman's College, the broader opportunity to develop graduate programs found enthusiastic support among the younger faculty members, who had joined the University with hopes of working with graduate students.

The preliminary findings of the Pearsall committee received broad public support. They also enjoyed the support of a significant majority of the key administrators at General Administration, Chapel Hill, Raleigh and Greensboro, as well as the support of many of the younger faculty members at The Woman's College. A representative sample of the faculty members present during the coeducational transition bears this out. With strong support from every key political figure in North Carolina, the recommendations of the Pearsall Committee were destined for adoption by 1963.

The opposition to the coeducational decision was fragmented, and from 1962-63 never built an effective coalition against the recommendations of the Pearsall committee. This did not mean that the decision was a universally popular one.

Indeed, significant figures spoke out against the proposed changes. However, their voices tended to be lone ones with no support from other powerful allies.

Even though the eventual decision was a unanimous one, with regards to the University of North Carolina Board of Trustees, one trustee, Elizabeth Kittrell, was unalterably opposed to coeducation at The Woman's College, even though she did not publicly vote against the Pearsall recommendations. In an eloquent letter to President Friday on November 21, 1962, she expressed her reservations:

> "...I have heard three full presentations of the present plans for the University. I have read every report and every newspaper article and editorial in "The Greensboro Daily News," "The News and Observer" and our local paper. I have completely analyzed my feelings of loyalty and sentiment and have removed them as a cause for my two conclusive reasons for wanting Woman's College to continue as a University for Women.
>
> You can be assured that I feel that I am a "lone voice crying in the wilderness," but I would be less a woman if I did not speak for the present and future womanhood in North Carolina.
>
> What Woman's College has to offer is the kind of education and training in leadership and homemaking that a large majority of the young girls I talk to want--even in this modern year of 1962. It is what 90% of the enrolled students at Woman's College want. It is what the largest majority of alumnae want.
>
> Why does this need and this want have to be sacrificed for a materialistic Greensboro Chamber of Commerce and Charlottes' wealth, industrial growth and politics?
>
> Is it a fact that the State of North Carolina will not appropriate money to keep up the University standing of Woman's College so that the proper climate for research and high type of professors can still be attracted there (they are there now); or, is it because we who make the

> plans and the budget requests do not present the real needs in their true emphasis to the Legislators?
>
> My prediction is this, and I cringe to think about it. The College will become coed almost overnight. (I have seen this happen at East Carolina). Even if it is on a 50-50% basis, women will have no place in the curricula or leadership. 2. Fraternities and Sororities will follow. 3. A winning football team will be demanded by Greensboro citizens.
>
> Then--where is "McIver's Dream" for the young womanhood of North Carolina? I am speaking for the present young woman who truly wants a University-type education in the climate of a Woman's University and for the unborn generations of young women who will want it..."[40]

Mrs. Kittrell concluded by making a case for a low-cost, public college for women. She states that "few can go to Vassar...", and challenged Friday to assure "quality" education as evidenced by the Woman's College, to be saved for her granddaughters.[41]

The then current Alumnae President, Adelaide Holderness, a future member of the Board of Governors of the UNC System, also expressed her reservations to President William Friday. In the end, however, she supported a resolution from the Alumnae Association which read:

> "With pride in the accomplishments of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, with faith in the future, and with the realization that this changing future belongs to the youth of tomorrow; and Whereas we recognize that the population explosion exists in North Carolina, with the resulting soaring costs of higher education; Whereas qualified faculty and students are essential to the maintenance of excellence in academic achievement; and Whereas we recognize that cultural and scientific developments necessitate changes in educational structure; Therefore be it resolved that the Board of Trustees of the Alumnae Association of the

> Woman's College supports changes necessary to maintain university status at Greensboro."[42]
>
> In 1963, she would assist Friday in mollifying alumnae groups across the State.[43]

One of the more influential members of The Woman's College administration, Dean of Students Katherine Taylor opposed the change but made no public statements of her quiet opposition. Privately, it was a painful transition for a person who, as an alumnai of The Womans College and Radcliffe College, believed deeply in the exclusive mission of a woman's college.[44]

Using interviews with some of the remaining senior professors of the era, their opposition can be summarized into five areas: 1) The Woman's College would lose its distinctiveness, identity and heritage as an exclusive woman's college with a historic mission of educating women at a public institution. 2) The underlying purpose of educating women in a nurtured environment would be lost. 3) The leadership roles women held would be forfeited to men. 4) The higher education alternatives for women preferring a woman's college environment would be financially prohibitive for a large number of women in North Carolina. 5) The distinctiveness of the undergraduate liberal arts college would be lost in an expansion to a larger university with more graduate programs.

Student Reaction

The students at The Woman's College were not publicly vocal on the issue. The staff of the Carolinian vigorously supported coeducation in two editorials in 1963.[45] No letters of protest or reaction over the editorial stance ever appeared in the student newspaper. Like the Faculty Council, the Student Government Association took no official position on the subject of coeducation. While some professors were quick to point out their student's disappointment over the decision, no official documentation was discovered concerning protests over the transition. While it is likely that there were women dissatisfied with the decision, the opposition was apparently unorganized, and not particularly vigorous.

Summary

Based on the research, the opposing view was not politically effective because: 1) There was very little articulation of the issue on campus, which may have been the result of an internal administrative strategy. 2) The decision was viewed as an external one which no one could change or defer. 3) The opposition was never organized among the representatives of the alumnae, faculty, students and board member(s). 4) There was a significant lack of leadership concerning the commitment to the exclusive mission of The Woman's College after the retirement of Frank Porter Graham.

A major consideration in examining the opposition may be the external nature of the decision. It is unlikely, given the social and political setting of the 60's, combined with the two forceful administrations of Governor Sanford and President Friday, that any group of internal administrators, faculty, students or alumnae could have dissuaded the external coalition in favor of coeducation.

Legislative Phase

The legislative phase is framed by the question. How are (the) multiple pressures translated into official policy? This phase deals with how legislative bodies respond to the pressures to change. It is in these bodies that official policies affecting the future of institutions is finally decided.

The formation of the Carlyle and Pearsall committees, provided the platform from which changes were recommended to the two relevant legislative bodies--State Legislature and the Consolidated Board of Trustees of The University of North Carolina System. The pressures previously noted were: 1) the growing population of the state, 2) the growing number of high school graduates attending college, 3) the governor's desire to expand the community college and state university system.

The legislature gave broad support to the Carlyle report. The two extreme areas of the state, Asheville in the

west and Wilmington in the east, were particularly anxious to have public, four-year colleges. Included in the proposed expansion was Charlotte College, a two-year public college which desired admittance into the UNC system which would provide a campus in the largest city in North Carolina.

The UNC Board also received favorably the Pearsall Committee report. Given the support of the Carlyle report, the Trustees agreed that the time was appropriate for changes in the UNC system. While expansion and coeducation were not universally popular, the Trustees felt the changes were warranted and inevitable. No significant Board opposition was registered, except for Elizabeth Kittrell's letter to President Friday.[46] While initial sentiment regarding the exclusive mission of the Woman's College ran high, the demographic and budgetary arguments used by Governor Sanford and President Friday were far too persuasive to allow sentimentality to govern the discussions.[47]

Two personalities, Terry Sanford and William Friday, dominated the issue of expansion and coeducation. In political terms, these two men wielded enough power to bring about the changes with a minimum amount of conflict. Therefore, this particular legislative stage, as described by Baldridge, was not fraught with significant conflict. Conflicts would later arise with the implementation of the changes that were legislated in 1963.

Policy Execution

Baldridge describes this phase as an official commitment to certain goals and values. For the Woman's College, the change in values and goals focused on changes in the demographic composition of the student body as well as on academic programming. The demographic changes included coeducation and the increased percentage of commuting students while academic program changes centered in the expansion of graduate education.

Coeducation

The coeducational transition of the original consolidated colleges began in 1964. For The Woman's College, the first undergraduate males to enroll at UNCG were commuters.[48] It took several years for UNCG to fully accommodate men in residence halls. The administration's immediate concern was not in residence life, but, on how the coeducational environment would affect the academic program of the university.

As a general rule affecting woman's colleges that made the coeducational transition, during the 1960's, the former woman's colleges admitted few males who were stellar students. One senior faculty member at Hunter wrote: "I believe that certain (number) of the program changes made for the purpose of quickly attracting a balancing male enrollment seriously depreciated the academic character and quality of the institution." Another senior professor added: "The first male

students were very poor (scholastically) for the most part." This statement was later echoed by a UNCG professor.

This perception of male academic inferiority coupled with a perceived loss of program quality was a long-lasting concern and impression that many faculty members across several disciplines held. It was also a source of irritation to professors who had jealously guarded the excellent reputation of the undergraduate program at the Woman's College.

As was the case in many former teacher's and women's colleges, the institution was slow to experience a swift change in its gender composition. In 1964, the male population stood at 6% (282), it grew by approximately 2% a year to 21% (1423) by 1970. (see Chart I) Because the curricular changes were necessarily slow, the dominance of "women's fields" would keep the male population from dramatically rising over the next decade.

Commuter Change

One of the most profound and significant changes that occurred as a direct result of coeducation was the transformation of a residential environment to the sixties phenomenon of the "commuter college". In 1964 the number of off-campus students was twenty-four percent (1022). With an approximate four percent growth over the next six years the percentage rose to forty-three percent (2944) by 1970. As with many colleges of the sixties, public universities

attracted part-time/full-time students, who lived at home and held full or part-time jobs in the community. This radically altered the environment of the former Woman's College.

One strategy that was employed to transform the image of the school was using the growing enrollment to support a theme of wide accessibility and opportunity for all students. For many colleges in this era this meant adopting an urban theme. Fortunately for UNCG its close proximity to the downtown area coupled with the rise of graduate programs in diverse fields (political science, etc.), made the adoption of this theme viable.

In 1964, the enrollment was 4249. By 1970, the enrollment grew to 6703 or almost 500 per year. (see Chart I) This growth of the University was alarming to some members of the faculty who felt that the enrollment increase would eventually "get out of hand". During the Ferguson administration, the enrollment peaked at 10,000 in 1979. Within two decades the enrollment had more than doubled. With the rapid enrollment increase, the image of the university became the subject of re-definition and evaluation.

This changing environment was a "bitter pill to swallow" for older faculty members who decried the loss of a close residential community. In an interview, former Faculty Vice Chair Dr. Jean Buchert felt that the UNC system lost a good opportunity in 1962-63 to transform the Woman's College into

a premier, public, residential honors college--akin to the Governor's School, and allow Chapel Hill, Raleigh and the other universities to absorb the Woman's College graduate programs, thus preserving the residential undergraduate distinctiveness of the college.[49]

Graduate Programs

At the time of coeducation, Woman's College had one doctoral program in Home Economics and fifteen master's programs in predominantly education fields (business, music, physical). There was no graduate work in the arts and sciences except for the MFA degree in painting, graphic arts, music composition, dance, and creative writing.[50] The graduate program operated under an "allocation of functions" principle designed by the UNC consolidation of the 1930's.

The Graduate Administrative Board of the UNC system was headquartered in Chapel Hill and most graduate work in the system was completed there. Graduate programs proliferated at Greensboro and Raleigh after coeducation. Gradually, the new colleges at Wilmington, Charlotte and Asheville began to offer graduate programs in fields that had traditionally been restricted to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In 1964, the graduate enrollment at UNCG stood at fourteen percent (595) and rose by approximately two percent a year to twenty-five percent (1699) by 1970. (see Chart I)

The rate of change in the graduate programs mirrored the transition in the gender composition of the student body. As programs expanded, the enrollments naturally grew and attracted many college graduates from the Piedmont area.

A Comparative View of Hunter College

After examining the social factors that led to coeducation at The Woman's College, it is useful to examine another woman's college in another region of the country and discern if the same social changes were evident at a similar institution. While no published, in-depth study is known to exist on this particular area of organizational change, one paper was presented to a conference at Skidmore College on equitable education in March 1982 by Dorothy Helly which addressed the issue of coeducation and the subsequent changes that occurred on the Hunter College campus.[51]

The Normal College of the City of New York was founded in 1870 as a school for young women, who desired to become teachers. The curriculum was soon expanded, much like the North Carolina College for Women, and the institution became a liberal arts college. In 1914 it was renamed Hunter College in honor of its first President, Thomas Hunter, who was instrumental in transforming the normal school into a liberal arts college for women. Similar to the Woman's College, Hunter introduced its first graduate programs in 1921. By 1932, a Bronx campus was opened, and by 1950 coeducation was intro-

duced on that campus. The heart of the college, located on Park Avenue, became coeducational with the freshman class in 1964.

The Park Avenue campus had been able to deflect coeducation from its campus by allowing men (mostly returning World War II veterans) to attend classes at the Bronx campus in 1950. The Woman's College had withstood similar pressure from returning veterans in 1946 with the assistance of President Frank P. Graham. Also, Hunter allowed men to enroll in graduate programs and night classes on either campus. This seemed to slow the inevitable transition of the college in the 50's. The Woman's College had also allowed men to enroll in its graduate programs, excluding the years 1957-1962.

With the incorporation of the older units of the City College of New York system into a City University of New York multi-campus system in 1961, the pressure for full coeducation at the Park Avenue campus was not far in the future. Additionally, as enrollment projections increased in the early 60's, the external pressures on the college grew. To relieve the overload from the other institutions, the State Board of Higher Education, with the support of Hunter College President John Meng, voted for coeducation at the Park Avenue campus.

One observer, a member of the Faculty Council in 1963-64, and later dean of the faculty at Hunter, recalled that the

decision was particularly resented by members of the faculty. The decision was basically viewed as an external decision over which the faculty had no control. It is unclear whether a majority of the faculty agreed with the decision by the board, since no official vote ever occurred. Although no exact figures exist on the number of faculty members who actually opposed the coeducational transition, if some observers are to be believed, their resentment level was quite high. Dorothy Helly accentuates several factors that led to their dissatisfaction: 1) The change was viewed as an external decision in which the internal college administration colluded. 2) The faculty was not convened for an opportunity to express their opinions or vote on the decision. Following the decision, with the first class of males entering the Park campus; 3) some professors felt that the academic quality of the male students was poor in comparison to their female counterparts. Finally, some faculty members believed, 4) the distinct mission of the college was lost in the new coeducational environment.

Hunter's saga was built on its reputation as a low-cost, public woman's college that produced more women who went on to pursue doctorates than any other single college or university in the United States. Additionally, its reputation grew as a school of opportunity for disadvantaged and minority students who could not afford an education at New York

women's colleges such as Barnard, Skidmore or Vassar.

By 1982, the enrollment at Hunter College consisted of a majority of female students (66%-34%), much like UNCG's present female majority of 68%-32%. The similarities are remarkable and interesting to note, as both institutions faced strikingly similar external pressures, but are located in different regions of the country. The same social factors that led to Hunter's coeducation, at the exact time as The Woman's College transition, reinforces the notion of a changing educational climate across the United States with regards to single-sex institutions.

The Saga of Woman's College

Before a discussion of the Woman's College saga can take place, there must be an understanding of the notion of an institutional saga, as defined and expanded by Burton Clark:

> "An organizational saga is a collective understanding of unique accomplishments in a formally established group. The group's definition of the accomplishment, intrinsically historical but embellished through retelling and rewriting, links stages of organizational development. The participants have added affect, an emotional loading, which places their concepts between the coolness of rational purpose and the warmth of sentiment found in religion and magic. An organizational saga presents some rational explanation of how certain means led to certain ends, but it also includes affect that turns a formal place into a beloved institution, to which participants may be passionately devoted. Encountering such devotion, the observer may become unsure of his own analytical detachment as he tests the overtones of the institutional spirit or spirit of place.
>
> Organizational sagas show high durability when built slowly in structured social contexts, for example, the

> educational system...When the saga is formally developed. it is embodied in many components of the organization, affecting the definition and performance of the organization and finding protection in the webbing of the institutional parts. It is not volatile and can be relegated to the past only by years of attenuation or organizational decline.
>
> An organizational saga is a powerful means of unity in the formal place. It makes links across internal divisions and organizational boundaries as internal and external groups share their common belief. With deep emotional commitment, believers define themselves by their organizational affiliation, and, in their bond to other believers, they share an intense sense of the unique...Pride in the organized group and pride in one's identify as taken from the group are personal returns that are uncommon in modern social involvement...The organization possessing a saga is a place in which participants, for a time at least, happily accept their bond."[52]

For seven decades The Woman's College held to a consistent interpretation of its historical role within the state of North Carolina. From its beginnings, the college offered a low-cost, public education for women from all socio-economic backgrounds. The founding father's dream of educating women to support their families and serve the community was upheld through the continuing decades of change from a college to a university. As part of this philosophy, The Woman's College accepted some women of questionable academic ability and gave them the opportunity to prove themselves in a nurtured environment. As representative of this perspective, alumnai Minnie Lou Jamison wrote in her diary:

> "...our learning was not very noticeable but our eagerness to learn was something to be reckoned with. Most of us had come from homes of small means--some of these

> of poverty, but homes where better days had brought good literature into them."[53]

This image of broad opportunities for women at Woman's College was a prevalent "saga" which became a consistent tradition. Many generations of women alumnae recall with great relish the role that the college played in the further development of their personal and professional lives. Older faculty members described their earlier days at the college as a "mission" to educate women long denied equitable opportunities.

The pride in the college was rooted in its rapid rise from a normal school to a university for women in six decades of steady curricular advancement. From a sole teacher-preparatory curriculum to a broader-based, pre-professional curriculum grounded in the liberal arts, the college maintained a reputation that was to attract women from many sections of the Southeast. For a former normal school, this reputation was the highest accolade attained from its peers among other colleges, and most importantly, from the citizens of the state. It was also a rare accomplishment for a public woman's college.

As a normal school, and later as a college, its emphasis on preparing women for careers as public school teachers remained the primary mission of The Woman's College. This mission would change with the times, but, at a slow rate. The college's reputation would depend largely on the quality

of its alumnae, many of whom became public school teachers with reputations as outstanding educators. With the beginning of graduate programs, the Woman's College also began to prepare women for positions in college teaching. It is not unusual to find The Woman's College represented in many college catalogues in the South by its alumnae graduate students. The result was that The Woman's College external reputation was built on its preparation of women for the teaching professions.

With the changing times came a demand for more specialized training in the traditional "women's fields" of home economics, nursing and education. As home economics diversified by field, and more administrative opportunities arose for women in education and nursing, the need for advanced training in these fields enhanced the enrollment and reputation of The Woman's College. The College expanded its undergraduate programs in these fields and thus gained a more diverse student body. Those new opportunities broadened the mission of The Woman's College and set it further apart from the other women's colleges in the Southeast. The saga extended to graduate studies in selected "women's fields."

Finally, The Woman's College saga could also be uniquely defined from its residential life. The college environment was overwhelmingly residential with a special emphasis on halls for learning. Dean of Students Harriett Elliott gained

a legendary reputation for creating a "living-learning" environment in the dormitories. Counselors in the dorms were frequently members of the faculty, who encouraged student participation in extra-curricular activities and outside-of-class lectures. Alumnae frequently recount that their learning did not cease in the classroom, but, was further enriched by University-sponsored programs. Furthermore, the resident counselors played a vital role in stimulating their residents towards further intellectual pursuits. Beyond that, alumnae credit these experiences with the additional development of leadership skills that were to serve them well in the future.[54]

In sum, The Woman's College saga maintained and nurtured the image of a low-cost, public, residential university for women which encouraged and educated them for future roles as wives and professionals. Its unique mission was implicit in a university <u>for</u> women and not a coeducational environment that contained women.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1]J. V. Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University. (New York: Wiley, 1971), pp. 23-24.

[2]Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for American Women, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 39-40.

[3]Nancy Wartick. "Where the Girls Are: The State of Woman's Colleges," Ms., October 1986, p. 32.

[4]Newcomer, p. 40.

[5]An interview with former Dean Mereb Mossman by the author, October 24, 1985.

[6]Report of the Pearsall Committee to the North Carolina State Legislature, January 23, 1963, p. 5.

[7]Ibid, p. 17.

[8]Ibid, p. 18.

[9]Barbara Solomon, In The Company of Educated Women. (New Haven, 1985), p. 201.

[10]Solomon, p. 201.

[11]Outline Of The Report Of The Special Committee, October 11, 1962, p. 1.

[12]Letter to Thomas Pearsall From William Friday, July 27, 1962, Pearsall Papers $4300, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library Chapel Hill.

[13]Ibid, p. 1.

[14]Letter to William Friday from L. P. McLendon, November 19, 1962, p. 2. Southern Historical Collections, Pearsall Papers $4300, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[15]It would be exactly two decades later that the Supreme Court, in Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan, (1982) would decide that a public woman's college could no longer deny equal access to men in academic programs

which they did not have access in their immediate vicinity. The Court held that "even were the Supreme Court to assume that discrimination against women affected their opportunity to obtain education or to obtain leadership roles in nursing, challenged policy of state-supporting university limiting its enrollment to women but denying otherwise qualified males right to enroll for credit in its nursing school would be invalide under equal protection clause in that state failed to establish that legislature intended single-sex policy to compensate for any perceived discrimination." Federal Reporter: 653 F2d 222, 656 F2d 1116, S.C. #102 S. Ct. 3331.

[16]Interview with Dr. Marie Riley, Associate Professor of Physical Education, UNCG, by the author, October 30, 1986.

[17]Memorandum to: The Physical Education Staff, From: Ethel Martus Lawther on October 23, 1962.

[18]Letter to Thomas Pearsall From William Friday, October 6, 1962, Pearsall Papers #4300, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[19]Letter to Thomas Pearsall from Hugh Lefler, October 17, 1962, Pearsall Papers #4300, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[20]Pearsall Papers #4300, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[21]An interview with former Dean Mereb Mossman by the author, October 24, 1985.

[22]An Institutional Self-Study of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina. 1962, V-3.

[23]"Woman's College's Protective Tariff", Editorial, The Greensboro Daily News, 20 November 1962, p. 6.

[24]Questionnaire response from anonymous professor at UNCG.

[25]The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina Catalogue, 1946 and 1962.

[26]The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina Catalogue, 1946 and 1962.

[27]Patricia Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education", SIGNS, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1978), p. 768.

[28]Report of the Task Force to Study and Promote Women Leadership Skills, UNCG Faculty Committee, 1980.

[29]An interview with former Dean Mereb Mossman by the author, October 24, 1985.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Seth Effron. "Democrats Scramble for An Edge in Senate Battle at UNCG Forum", The Greensboro Daily News. 2 February 1986, p. 9.

[32]Letter to Frank P. Graham and Gordon Gray on November 1, 1962 from William Friday, Southern Historical Collections, Pearsall Papers #4300, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Letter to William Friday from Gordon Gray on November 7,. 1962, Southern Historical Collections, Pearsall Papers #4300, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[35]Letter to Mrs. A. H. Lathrop from William Friday on November 14, 1962. Southern Historical Collections, Pearsall Papers #4300, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[36]Thomas Pearsall. An Outline of The Report of The Special Committee, Pearsall Papers #4300, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, October 11, 1962, pp. 102.

[37]"Woman's College Protective Tariff", Editorial, The Greensboro Daily News, 20 November 1962, p. 6.

[38]Report of the Special Committee of the University of North Carolina Board of Trustees. Remarks by Mrs. John Burgwyn, January 25, 1963. State House, Raleigh, North Carolina, p. 29.

[39]Elisabeth Bowles, A Good Beginning (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1967), p. 3.

[40]Letter to Bill Friday from Elizabeth Hinton Kittrell on November 21, 1962. Pearsall Papers #4300, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Resolution of The Woman's College Alumnae Association on December 1, 1962.

[43]An interview with Adelaide Fortune Holderness, by the author, April 11, 1986.

[44]An interview with former Dean of Students Katherine Taylor, by the author, November 3, 1986.

[45]"Gain or Loss," Editorial, The Carolinian, 11 January 1963, p. 2; "Tradition v. Progress", Editorial, The Carolinian, 15 February 1963, p. 2.

[46]An interview with Emily Harris Preyer, member of the Carlyle Commission and The UNC Board of Trustees, by the author, October 20, 1986.

[47]Ibid.

[48]An historical exception to this first class was the 80 men who were conditionally admitted for one year to the Woman's College in 1931-32 as a direct result of the Depression. Among the matriculants was the future Civil War historian Burke Davis. Letter to Dr. Louis Wilson from Charles Adams, November 20, 1962, Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Greensboro Library.

[49]An interview with Dr. Jean Buchert, by the author, September 26, 1986.

[50]Catalogue of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina, 1961-62, pp. 204-211.

[51]Dorothy Helly, "Coeducation at Hunter College: Curricular and Structural Changes Since 1964", Towards Equitable Education for Women and Men: Models From the Past Decade, Conference Proceedings, March 11-12, 1983, (Skidmore College, New York, 1985), pp. 51-67.

[52]Burton Clark, "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education," Administrative Science Quarterly, 17, No. 2 (1972), pp. 178-184.

[53]Diary of Minnie Lou Jamison. October 5, 1892. Special Collections, Walter Clinton Jackson Library, UNCG, Minnie Lou Jamison file.

[54]Responses from interviews and questionnaires of former and current faculty and student body members.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary

The coeducational transition of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina occurred during an era of unprecedented social and political change in the United States. The contemporaneous administrations of President John F. Kennedy and Governor Terry Sanford sponsored legislation which opened the doors of public universities to a large number of high school graduates. Included in that number were women and minorities who had struggled for decades for equal access to America's public colleges. For women, the choices had been limited to private women's colleges, normal schools and state teacher's colleges. For minorities, the choices were severely limited to the historically black institutions.

The Woman's College had twice turned away attempts to make it a coeducational college. In 1932, during the depression, Woman's College allowed eighty men to enroll for a year, but this "dispensation" did not continue after the prescribed year. Twelve years later, after World War II, local VFW groups petitioned the state to force open the doors to the men returning from the War. With a supportive consolidated President and a politically strong faculty and alumnae group, Woman's College remained a public woman's college with a

growing reputation for academic excellence. By 1962, the social and political forces governing the state and nation would supersede the college's exclusive mission and open the doors of the college to men by 1964.

The major task of this study was to examine those social and political forces which forced coeducation upon Woman's College. Several methods were employed to study the changes which occurred in the sixties. Before those methods are delineated, it must be pointed out that a familiarity with the history of the institution was crucial in order to understand and analyze the events that transpired in 1962-63. Analyzing the events in isolation, or in ignorance of the past, would be a one-dimensional, limited and superficial examination of the problem of coeducation. Because of this, a significant amount of time was spent researching the history of Woman's College in order to gain a better understanding of the events that led to the coeducational transition.

The methodology used is called a triangulation process. This triangulation involved three key elements: 1) interviews with key administrators, faculty members, students, board members and legislators; 2) a review of the documents housed at Chapel Hill and Greensboro relevant to the issue of coeducation; and 3) a questionnaire sent to the remaining faculty members currently employed by the university, who witnessed the coeducational transition. Included in the methodology was a model for examining change within

higher education by J. V. Baldridge. This model was used as a guide to examine and explain the changes which occurred on a broad scale in the sixties.

Assumptions

There are five major assumptions made by both the author and J. V. Baldridge that were stated in Chapter One. An evaluation of these assumptions is offered in this section, by re-stating the assumptions, integrating the major findings of the study and evaluating the validity or pertinence of each assumption to the study.

Author's Assumptions

1. Organizational change can be examined successfully by the Baldridge model. The model provided the author with clear organization for the collected research. Beyond an organizational guide, the model served as an explanation for a political process which would delineate the major stages of conflict and change in a higher educational institution. In Figure I a flow-chart was presented to highlight the stages and posit key questions for examination of the process of change. Using this chart as a "point of departure", the transition was analyzed through the stages developed by Baldridge in his study of New York University.

2. The combined external administrations of President John F. Kennedy and Governor Terry Sanford directly affected the issue of coeducation at The Woman's College of The Uni-

versity of North Carolina and subsequently led to the coeducational transition of the College during the course of their administrations. As was noted in the review of literature, higher education experienced many changes after World War II which were to affect college-age students of both sexes and race. While the changes were somewhat limited to the transformation of the public normal, state teacher and women's college to more comprehensive universities, the sixties ushered in an era of equal access to these state institutions.

By initiating the racial desegregation of public colleges in the South, the Kennedy administration provided the initial momentum and support for the broad-scale changes within higher education in North Carolina. One of the main priorities of Governor Sanford's administration was the expansion of the educational system in North Carolina. A key element of the changes was equal access, by race and sex, to all public institutions within the state. Two committees, the Carlyle and Pearsall committees, provided the rationale for the changes recommended to the state legislature by these two committees, which were named by Governor Sanford and UNC President William Friday respectively.

3. Within the context of the primary external decisions mandated from Washington and Raleigh affecting higher education, the internal administration at The Woman's College became a secondary change agent for coeducation. Support for

coeducation by the Chancellor and Dean of Woman's College was evident in an interview with Dean Mossman coupled with supporting evidence from documents obtained at Chapel Hill and Greensboro which confirmed Chancellor Singletary's support for the changes recommended by the Pearsall committee. Working as a team, the General Administration at Chapel Hill and the administration of Woman's College planned for a non-controversial transition of the college from a single-sex college to a coeducational, comprehensive university. By meeting on a regular basis with President Friday, Chancellor Singletary was advised of the progress of the Pearsall committee from August-December 1962. Thus informed and consulted, Chancellor Singletary was able to weigh the strategies for the changes which occurred at Woman's College in 1963-64.

4. The political forces that favored coeducation at The Woman's College were effectively able to neutralize powerful faculty and alumnae groups that opposed coeducation of the college, by quietly forming a coalition of key administrators, University board members, and State Legislators who favored coeducation. In other words, there was no difference in the "official" organization's reaction to change and the internal/external forces that led that change.

One apparent strategy used by the Woman's College administration was to take a "low-profile" position in 1962-63 regarding coeducation, and thus maintain the perception that

the coeducation decision was totally an external one. While this perception was a correct one, the idea that the Woman's College administration was unaware of, or neutral towards, the proposed changes is refuted by the research. The strategy worked well as the decision was announced from Raleigh and viewed as an external mandate which Woman's College could do nothing to supersede or circumvent. This considerably minimized potential conflict at The Woman's College.

5. The coeducational transition of The Woman's College changed the historical saga of the College and thus created the necessity for a new institutional saga. Thus, change affects the organization and requires that the specific course of change be incorporated into the institution's self-concept. If this is not incorporated, the institution's self-concept must change.

The Woman's College shared the same dilemma her sister schools faced of replacing a seventy-year old saga, especially the exclusiveness of her historical mission. Some colleges replaced the saga with a drastic enrollment increase of men, a greater emphasis on sports programs, the creation of fraternities and sororities, and an expanded curriculum and graduate program with more majors and degrees. While the Woman's College included the latter soon after coeducation, it would be slower to adopt the same programs that colleges such as Florida State and James Madison would insti-

tute early in its coeducational transition which changed the saga of their respective universities. Thus, UNCG is a university that is still seeking to create a distinct "saga" within the UNC system.

Analysis of Baldridge Assumptions

1. Conflict is natural, and is to be expected in a dynamic organization. While some may argue over the dynamic nature of the Woman's College, a university has a certain dynamic, due to its collegial constitution and diverse body of ideas. Baldridge's assumption can be readily evidenced in faculty committee meetings, classes, extra-curricular events and external groups that continually clash with the university over a variety of social and political events.

The exception to this assumption would be the lack of energetic conflict over the coeducational decision. As evidenced by the research, most faculty and other significant groups viewed the decision as an external one, with no direct internal control. The conflict would later arise in different stages as the university struggled to claim a new image/saga.

2. The organization is fragmented into many power blocs and interest groups, and it is natural that they will try to influence policy so that their values are given primary consideration.

The groups that favored coeducation represented the Governor's office, the UNC General Administration, the State Board of Higher Education, State Legislature and the Woman's College Administration. There were no significant opposing group(s) which were either active or sought official support for their views. Potentially a state-controlled institution has a great propensity for conflict and fragmentation of groups and opinions. The groups on the list noted above have a vested interest in higher education. On the particular issue of coeducation, the power blocs happened to arrive at a general consensus with a minimal amount of conflict. The two power blocs that influenced the legislative bodies of the state and the university were the committees commissioned by the Governor and the UNC President. These two committees, building upon each other's findings, produced a single, unified result.

3. In all organizations small groups of political elites govern most of the major decisions. The decisions may be divided up, with different elite groups controlling different decisions.

The political elite in this case study took the form of two committees, the Carlyle and Pearsall, which represented the state government and the UNC Board of Trustees. These committees concurred with the two heads of both systems regarding the broad changes in the higher education system of North Carolina.

In this case, the committees made recommendations to their legislative bodies that were unanimously approved. This consensus is rare in the instance of such wide-reaching changes in a state system. In examining a private university, like New York University, Baldridge found more conflict in their decisions, centering on major changes within the institution, which were characterized by faculty conflict, administrative posturing and pressure from the state of New York. For many universities, there are multi-levels of decision-making that are controlled by different groups, both from within, and without the university system.

4. Formal authority, as prescribed by the bureaucratic system, is severely limited by the political pressure and bargaining tactics that groups can exert against authorities. The potential for groups such as the Woman's College alumnae groups, students, faculty and administrative officials at Woman's College for exerting pressure upon the state was/is limited due to the nature of authority from the state constitution. As a state-supported institution, Woman's College was limited as to the extent of political pressure and bargaining tactics that they could exert against the Governor's and President's offices. Hypothetically, the Woman's College's most powerful ally is its state's citizens. This would necessarily translate into support from the state legislature, and the Woman's College's influence among state

legislators, for a variety of reasons, had been traditionally thin.

5. External interest groups have a great deal of influence over the organization, and internal groups do not have the power to make policies in a vaccum. This assumption by Baldridge is his most salient point relevant to the coeducation decision. It must be emphasized that from the research, the decision was manipulated by the state. The Woman's College had little control over the issue of coeducation by 1962. This meant that any form of consolidated opposition from Woman's College stood little chance of success.

Evaluation of the Baldridge Model

The use of the Baldridge model in this case study is considered to have been successful for examining the coeducational transition and the subsequent organizational changes at Woman's College/UNCG.

The following four points highlight the usefulness of the model:

1. The model was a useful tool for examining organizational change. It became a map for organizing the research material and conducting interviews in a manner similar to the Baldridge study of New York University in 1970.

2. It provided an important theoretical framework from which to study organizational change. By examining external and internal political forces, the author was able to under-

stand the rationale behind organizational change in public higher educational institutions in North Carolina.

3. The processes of change (social structure, interest articulation, legislative phase and new policies), as described by Baldridge, were useful stages for analyzing the political nature of organizational change.

4. The research method of triangulation, promoted by Baldridge, was a significant research method employed by the author to combine three different dimensions for discussing the implications of organizational change.

Implications

This study has several implications for administrators and students of higher education. From examining the coeducational transition of the Woman's College, the author has four general implications which are important when examining or contemplating change in higher education institutions.

1. Internal administrators should have a clearly stated vision--or mission--for the college which attempts to shape or control its (the college) destiny. One of the major problems connected with the coeducational transition was an absence of a clearly defined vision for the future which would replace the former exclusive mission of the Woman's College. Because the decision was viewed as an external one, the Woman's College was slow to develop its own plan for the future "image" of UNCG. In other words, the college did

not attempt to shape its own destiny after coeducation was mandated.

Although shaping a destiny which is controlled or checked at several levels by a state-controlled bureaucracy, may be difficult, a systematized plan for a new vision for the university might have had a sympathetic audience in Raleigh and Chapel Hill. The General Administration at Chapel Hill could not have successfully mandated an entire set of mission and goals for each university that they had incorporated in the sixties.

2. Administrators should be scholars of the saga of the college that they are serving and plan within the context of the institution's history. Administrators who have a good knowledge of the saga of the college will have a better chance of implementing a successful program for change within that university. Administrators cannot successfully replace a saga without an understanding of the depth of the saga's affect upon its faculty, students and alumni. Administrators who can build upon the past without destroying some of its distinctive characteristics will have an opportunity to develop an evolving saga that may enjoy wide-spread support.

3. Administrators need to be aware of the political nature of the external interest groups who have the ability to mandate decisions which may affect the future of the in-

stitution. In the case of the Woman's College, two external groups were able to directly affect the future of the college; the consolidated UNC Board of Trustees and the North Carolina Legislature. In both groups, the Woman's College had little political influence over decisions which would affect its future. The Woman's College never possessed, in comparison with State College at Raleigh and UNC-Chapel Hill, the political clout with either the State Legislature or the UNC Board to bring its budget or future growth in line with the other two universities.

4. Administrators should be aware of the demographics of their region and the possible implications for the future of the institution. By 1946 it was clear that the Piedmont area of North Carolina would be a rapidly growing region. In the fifties, the options available to college students were broadening to include commuter study, part-time study, and a proliferation of coeducational institutions. By the sixties, all of these options were available at most state universities, including UNCG. Each decade brings forth a different set of problems and opportunities for higher educational institutions which are linked to the demographics of the region.

Recommendations for Future Research

The recommendations for future research center around the use of the Baldridge model in two areas; external and internal studies.

Internal Recommendations

1. An examination of the curricular changes over a ten-year period (1960-1970) at Woman's College/UNCG, to ascertain the effects of coeducation upon the curricular changes.

2. Examine the effects of coeducation on women faculty and students. How did the transition affect their (students) former exclusive status? What effect did the transition have on the status of women faculty members at UNCG?

3. Examine how the Woman's College saga changed over a ten to twenty-year period and define the current saga of UNCG.

4. Examine how the administrative structure of Woman's College changed over the last two decades and the effect upon the institution.

5. Examine the changes in the mission and goals of UNCG since coeducation; how and why have they changed?

External Recommendations

1. Compare the organizational changes at former public woman's colleges in diverse regions of the United States to the changes at the Woman's College in the decades of the 1960's and 1970's.

2. Compare and contrast the organizational changes at men's colleges during the decades of the 1960's and 1970's. How do those changes compare/contrast to the changes at the Woman's College or other public woman's colleges?

3. Examine and compare/contrast the change in the sagas of single-sex institutions during the decades of the 1960's and 1970's?

4. How has the mission and goals of single-sex colleges been affected by coeducation?

There are three aspects of a collegiate institution which for a student of history and organizational change cannot be ignored: 1) The saga of the college; 2) The subsequent image of the institution beyond the confines of the campus, and; 3) The mission of the university. This study has examined all three of these important aspects which have had, and will have, enormous implications for the future of the institution.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

1. What were some of the critical changes in Woman's College/UNCG you have observed over your tenure?

   a. Why do you feel they were critical?
   b. Who promoted the changes?
   c. Were there external factors promoting change?
   d. Who resisted the change?

2. Who were/are some of the key people involved with some of the critical changes that have taken place at Woman's College/UNCG?

3. What are the critical administrative problems that you see in your department, college, university?

4. What external groups can you identify as possessing (or in the past possessing) the most influence on policy at Woman's College/UNCG?

5. Describe the power, or lack of power of the Faculty Council? In your opinion, when was the Faculty Council at the height of its power/influence?

6. Do you feel that the faculty has enough control over policies in your department, college, university?

7. How do you feel about student influence at this university? Compare it to the Woman's College student body.

8. Are there "pressure groups" functioning at this university?

The interviewing took about 15 months beginning in August 1985 and running through November 1986. In all 68 interviews were conducted. The following chart gives a breakdown of the persons who were interviewed.

Status of Persons Interviewed

President - 1
Board Members - 2
General Administrators (UNC) - 2
State Legislators - 2

WC staff - 5
WC administration - 5
Faculty members - 29
Alumnae Presidents - 2
Students - 20

Total: 68

APPENDIX B

Faculty Questionnaire

August 12, 1986

Dear UNCG Faculty Member:

I am currently writing a dissertation entitled: The Co-educational Transition of The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina: A Case Study in Organizational Change. One of my objectives is to survey the remaining faculty members who were appointed before August 1, 1964. You are one of the remaining faculty members who I would like to have complete the attached survey.

Because of the small number of faculty members that remain from the transition, I need to have a high response rate. I know that many of you can understand the importance of this survey, as most of you have served on thesis/dissertation committees. I will be grateful for your thoughtful response.

Please know that you will be welcome to review the results and the completed dissertation in the coming academic year. If you have noted that you would be available for an interview, I will be in touch with you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Louis B. Gallien, Jr.
214 Mossman
Campus Mail
334-5390

Questionnaire to Faculty Members Appointed Before August 1, 1964 on The Coeducational Transition of The Woman's College

Name (optional)
Present Rank:
Rank in 1963-64

Department:
Sex:
Date of Birth:
Committees, administrative duties or position held before 1964:
If you have given your name, are you also willing to be interviewed?

1. At the time of your appointment to a faculty position at The Woman's College did you feel that the University would remain a public woman's college during your tenure of service? If no, please explain your reasoning.

2. In your opinion, whey did the transition occur in 1963 and who were the forces behind the change?

3. The Pearsall Committee was a sub-committee of the UNC Board of Governors that was commissioned to study long range plans for the consolidated University of North Carolina system. At what time were you aware of the recommendations of the Pearsall committee to the UNC Board of Governors to recommend coeducation of The Woman's College to the state legislature?

Late 1962
Early 1963
I was not aware of the Pearsall recommendations
Any further comments:

4. How would you describe your attitude toward the decision by the state legislature in favor of coeducation?

Very favorable
Moderately favorable
Neutral
Mildly against
Strongly against
Any additional comments?

5. How would you describe the stance of the Woman's College administration regarding coeducation?

Strongly favorable
Moderately favorable
Neutral
Mildly against
Strongly against

Any further comments:

6. In 1962 Governor Terry Sanford initiated plans for expanstion of the UNC system. What impact do you feel that Governor Sanford had on the coeducation decision?

Strongly supported the idea of coeducation
Moderately supported the idea of coeducation
Neutral on the subject
Additional comments:

7. Were you aware of any formal endorsement or protest made by either individual faculty members or groups for or against the coeducational transition? If yes, please elaborate.

8. What impact do you feel the coeducational transition of the Woman's College had on the mission and goals of the present university?

It has positively affected the mission and goals of the University.
It has had no affect on the mission and goals of the University.
It has negatively affected the mission and goals of the University.
Please comment further:

9. From your perspective at the present time, do you feel that coeducation was a good decision? Please explain. Also, have you changed your position over the course of the last two decades?

10. Are there any other aspects of the coeducational transition that you would like to share?

APPENDIX C

Documents/Correspondence

Two major research papers were written in 1985-86 focusing on the history of the early female college and the role of women scholars at the Woman's College before the coeducational transition. Research for the papers greatly enhanced the research for the dissertation and included investigation in the Jackson Library Special Collections Division at UNCG, and the personal papers of Mereb Mossman, former Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs. At The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill important documents were researched in the North Carolina Reading Room and The Southern Historical Collections of the Wilson Library. Duke University research was conducted at the Duke Library and through an interview conducted with William Chafe, Professor of History and Director of the Woman's Studies Program at Duke University.

Additionally, telephone and written correspondence with Dr. Elisabeth Tidball, Professor of Physiology at George Washington and member of the Board of Trustees at Mount Holyoke College, enriched my research. Dr. Tidball is the author of numerous articles on the subject of women's college and women achievers.

Additional correspondence and documents were received from:

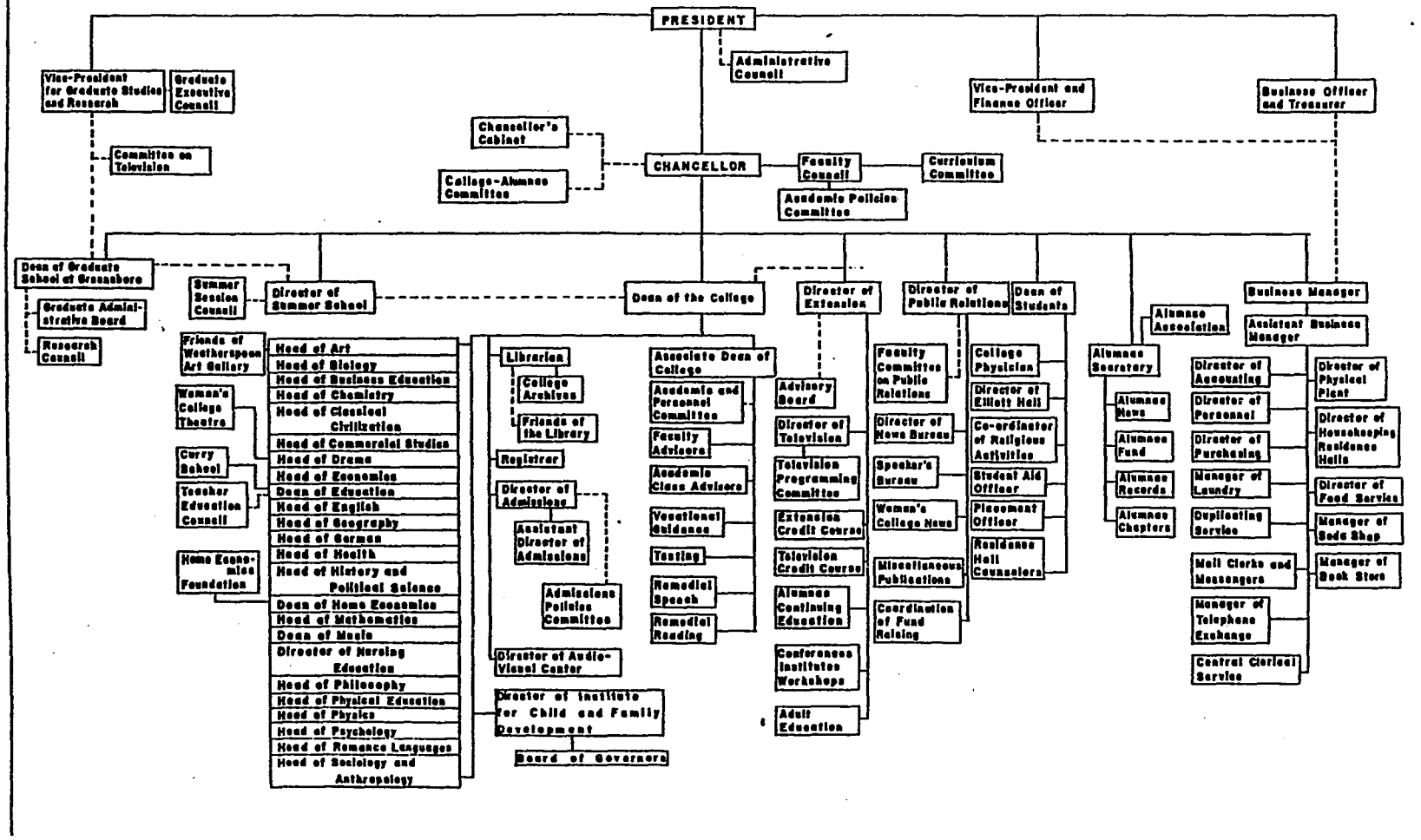
1. Ann Pauley, Associate Director, Woman's College Coalition.
2. Mariam Chamberlain, President, The National Council for Research on Women.
3. Mark Curran, Dean of Special Studies, Brown University.
4. Laura Lein, Director, Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College.
5. Lilli Hornig, Coordinator, Higher Education Resource Services, Wellesley College.
6. Jane Knowles, College Archivist, The Radcliffe College of Harvard University.
7. Jennifer Jackman, Senior Research Assistant, The Henry A. Murray Research Center, Radcliffe College.
8. Bernice Sandler, Executive Director, Project on the Status and Education of Women.
9. Lisa Brower, Curator, Vassar College.
10. Elisabeth Schalk, Associate Director, Academic Program Development, Vassar College.

11. Frances Hoffman, Dean of Student Affairs, Skidmore College.
12. Beryl Bendt, Assistant to the President, Skidmore College.

CHART V-I

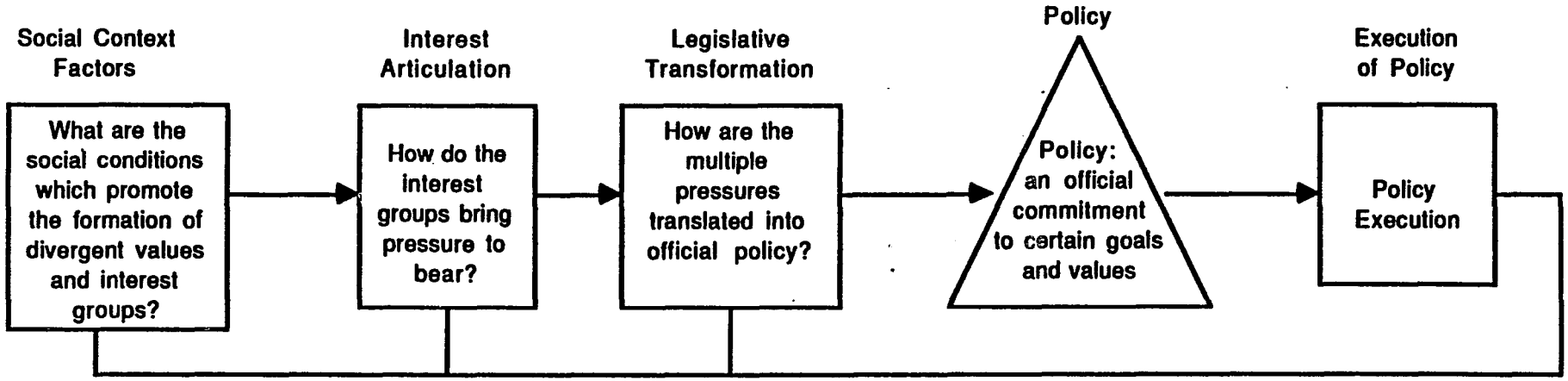
V-3

Organization Chart of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina



Appendix D

Figure I. The Baldridge Political Model



Social Structure	Interest Articulation	Legislative Phase	New Policies	Policy
Changing social setting challenges WC's traditional role as an exclusively female college:	Pearsall Report on changes in UNC system provides a catalyst for change:	Processes that translate into policies:	Translation of Legislation:	How Executed:
External Pressures Kennedy Sanford Friday	*Support for Changes* Governor and Legislature State Board of Higher Ed. UNC Board WC Administration	Sanford/Carlyle Report Friday/Pearsall Report Singletary/GSO Daily News All above recommend coeducation	Coeducation	Gradual coeducation by commuter
WC's traditional role Low-cost liberal arts college Prepare teachers Graduate education Residential college	*Opposition* Alumnae groups Senior Full Professors Female Professors Some Students Some Administrators	UNC @ NC Legislature APPROVE coeducation	Rise of graduate/ prof. programs	Gradual rise of grad programs from 15 master's to 45/ 1 doctoral program to 14
Internal Pressures Women transferring Research emphasis Budget Social attitudes		Faculty and Alumnae become aware of decision	Adoption of urban/ commuter theme	Swift changes in the 60's
		Conflict is minimal because the decision is viewed as EXTERNAL		MAJOR IMPACT
				UNCG "image" is unclear after co-education

Figure 11 The Political Model Applied to the Changes

Appendix F

Summary of On-Campus/Campus, Grad/Undergrad and Gender Composition of UNCG, 1964-70

Year	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Enrollment	4249	4721	4930	5365	5889	6423	6703
On Campus	3227	3358	3426	3509	3807	3810	3759
Off Campus	1022	1363	1504	1856	2082	2613	2944
Graduate	595	767	851	1106	1285	1558	1699
Undergraduate	3654	3954	4079	4259	4604	4865	5004
Men	282	375	467	645	910	1190	1423
Women	3967	4346	4463	4720	4979	5233	5280
Percentages							
On Campus	75	71	69	65	64	59	56
Off Campus	24	28	30	34	35	40	43
Graduate	14	16	17	20	21	24	25
Undergraduate	85	83	82	79	78	75	74
Men	6	7	9	12	15	18	21
Women	93	92	90	87	84	81	78

Appendix G