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Values and the academic organization

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The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1986

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VALUES AND THE ACADEMIC ORGANIZATION

by

Susan Colberg Macdonald

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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The purpose of this study was to examine the academic organization, in general, and the liberal arts college, in particular, within the context of institutional values and operational modes as important determining factors for organizational strength and survival.

As a means of examining the academic organization and the problems and possibilities it faces in contemporary American society, three differing explorations were presented: a selective review of the literature, an exploratory essay, and a case study.

The review of the literature defined the academic organization in terms of its philosophy and values, its goals and characteristics, and its structure and governance. A model was developed for an analysis of the literature that presented the various aspects of the academic organization in terms of the broader society, the organization as a whole, and the internal organizational system.

The essay discussed the problems of institutional survival and presented the proposition that the major crisis facing American higher education is a crisis of values. A renewal of purpose and institutional distinctiveness through the curriculum and organizational characteristics of the liberal arts college, with an emphasis on the importance of connection between values and governance, was explored.

The case study presented the recent history of a small liberal arts college as an example of an academic organization whose survival possibilities have

been strengthened through purposeful connection of values, purpose, and governance. Burton Clark's concept of the "organizational saga" was used as a basis for analyzing the ideational and organizational realities of the college.

The final chapter presented a summary, some conclusions, and recommendations for further study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will examine the problems facing American higher education, in general, and the liberal arts college, in particular, within the context of the importance of institutional values and operational modes as determining factors for organizational strength and survival.

It is generally agreed that there is a crisis in higher education. The reaction to this crisis has been primarily a concentration of thought and effort on finding answers to recent problems concerned with rising costs and shrinking funds, lowered enrollments caused by demographic changes, the vocational demands of a rapidly changing society, and institutional competiton arising from a rapid increase in size and variety of various academic institutions. This dissertation will argue for the proposition that, while these problems are real, the underlying, most basic problem facing higher education today is essentially one of values and must be addressed as such if the institution is to survive and prosper as a particular entity within the culture. Within this context, it will also be argued that the primary danger facing the academic organization is loss of purpose and direction stemming from a lack of understanding and knowledge about the institution itself and the particular stresses it is subject to within contemporary American society. While many individual institutions may well survive the exigencies of the current academic marketplace, the institution as a whole may be faced with losing its distinction as an important cultural contributor through a failure to clarify and protect its value base and the particular organizational characteristics and operational (governance) modes that support it.

The small liberal arts college will be examined as a section of American higher education that appears particularly threatened by problems stemming from dwindling resources, but one that offers, through its concentration on the liberal arts and its unique organizational characteristics, the possibility of academic renewal through a connected expression of values, purpose, and operations.

Chapter I will present some of the available literature applicable to the academic organizations as a way of defining the institution in terms of its philosophy and values, its goals and characteristics, and its structure and governance. A conceptual model will also be presented as a means of organizing the literature while stressing the interrelatedness of all the elements that form the institution of higher education.

Chapter II will explore the primary crisis facing American higher education as a crisis of values brought about by an erosion of primary purpose within an institution that is beset by intrusions and expectations stemming from a constellation of values that are dominant within the broader society. The specific problems facing the small liberal arts college, its chances for survival and reclamation, will be discussed in terms of the values connected to the liberal arts and the importance of structure and governance as a support for those values.

Chapter III will present a field study conducted at a particular small liberal arts college, Guilford College. The school will be presented as an example of an academic institution whose recent history shows concerted effort and positive movement toward the incorporation of values with organizational purpose, characteristics, and governance. Burton Clark's concept of the "organizational saga" will be used as a basis of organizing an analysis of the

college, whereby ideational elements in combination with organizational realities are examined as important components of a coherent and strengthened academic community.

Chapter IV will present a summary and discussion of previous chapters, along with some conclusions and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER I

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: A DEFINITION

OF THE ACADEMIC ORGANIZATION

The study of formal organizations has interested scholars in many fields (philosophy, sociology, anthropology, political science, business management, and education to name a few), and understandably so, since organizations have been such an important part of human life. However, it has only been fairly recently that scholarly attention has been focused on the what, why, and wherefore of organizations. Perhaps this is because organizations in the modern view are no longer seen as eternals, as was the medieval church or the ancient imperial governments, but as changing and evolving parts of culture. Certainly, the emergence of many of the newer fields of study within colleges and universities has contributed greatly to scholarly scrutiny directed toward organizations as having distinct existence, and objective or conceptual reality. Whatever the reason, the study of organizations has been a very recent phenomenon and one that continues to cross the academic disciplines.

As an entity, within the broad context of the larger culture, formal organizations can be said to differ from other social structures, such as family, community, or informal groupings, by what Talcott Parsons calls a "primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal."[1] According to this definition, formal organizations are purposive social systems whose place within society is determined by the values and goals of the organization and whose internal workings are deliberately constructed to function in pursuit of those

goals. Although agreement on this definition is not universal among scholars of organizational theory, it is certainly general enough for it to stand as a fundamental definition that separates complex organizations from other social groupings.

Beyond this basic definition, however, there appears to exist little agreement among organizational scholars on the characteristics of formal organizations. A search through the literature within the various disciplines that house subsets concerned with the analysis of complex organizations shows differing, sometimes conflicting, typologies designed to further define and explain the characteristics of formal organizations. These typologies are wide-ranging, concerned with many levels of analysis, and focused on many different aspects of organizational reality. While the range is broad, it appears to this researcher that the field consists primarily of an abundance of partial explorations into organizational life and structure. Partial, in this case, means neither superficial nor peripheral (one can hardly dismiss the contributions of Parsons, Weber, Blau, and others as lacking in important meaning) but fragmented, often unconnected in a truly meaningful and logical way with other explorations in the field.

Furthermore, in scholarly discourse within the field, it is not unusual to find typologies concerned with very different levels of analysis and/or focused on entirely different matters of organizational reality grouped together as if there were dealing with the same thing. In a broad sense, of course, they are for their connection is the general topic of organizations. However, they are often unconnected in other ways: with one perhaps concerned with the place of various organizations within the culture, another with the organization within the organization, still another with the personnel composition or the authority structure of specific types of organizations.

The study of organizations as a scholarly endeavor may be in a stage that is perhaps common to most beginning intellectual explorations. The fact that it is housed within several different disciplines may also, while encouraging a wide variety of exploration, have led to a splintering of focus into many un-connected foci. Whatever the cause, the impression one is left with is that of a field of study in which some important theoretical constructs have been made, much scholarly attention is focused, but few unifying or integrating schemata are available.

Since the major focus of this dissertation is on higher education, the liter-ature search for this study was not confined to general organizational mater-ial, but also included that which dealt specifically with the university* as an organization. My hope was to integrate general organizational material with material about the university as organization, so that a better understanding of the nature of this institution could be reached. However, in researching the literature, a problem presented itself; not only were the connections largely missing from the general organizational literature, but they were similarly absent to a great extent in the literature dealing with academic organizations. The field is smaller, the view is more contained, but many of the same prob-lems of fragmentation also exist in this area. The problem for me became one of connecting two areas of study, that are themselves largely disorganized and scattered in focus, in a logical manner that would help give meaning and unity to the literature concerning organizations of higher education.

Although organizing schemata are not much in evidence in the field, a search of the literature uncovered two that, with some reworking, could be

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*Unless otherwise noted; the term "university" is used in this section in the generic sense, meaning both universities and four-year colleges.

useful for an analysis of academic institutions. One by Charles Perrow lists five types or levels of organizational goals, distinguished primarily by their referents. The major purpose of Perrow's model is to illustrate the variety of goals organizations pursue and to emphasize that the goals (purposes) of organizations are not unilevel or monolithic.

Perrow's five goals are:

1. Societal Goals.   Referent: <u>Society</u> in general and the fulfillment of societal needs.

2. Output Goals.   Referent: The <u>public</u> and what is furnished it in terms of goods and services.

3. System Goals.   Referent: The <u>organization</u> and the state or manner in which it functions, independent of goods or services.

4. Product Goals.   Referent: The characteristics of <u>goods and services</u>.

5. Derived Goals.   Referent: The uses to which the organization puts the <u>power</u> it generates.[2]

S. B. Sells has also devised a model for examining various organizations. Using as a base an earlier model, which was devised for the analysis of a social system such as might be found in an extended duration space ship, he has listed eight major categories that define the distinguishing characteristics of an organization.

Sells' eight categories are:

1. Objectives and Goals

2. Philosophy and Value Systems

3. Personnel Composition

4. Organizational Structure

5. Technology

6. Physical Environment

7. Social Cultural Environment

8. Temporal Characteristics[3]

Neither model, by itself, is very useful for my purpose of organizing the literature for an analysis of the connection between those aspects of the academic institution that distinguish it from other organizations within the culture. Perrow's model deals only with goals and does not attempt to deal with other aspects of organizations. Sells' model, while covering many of the characteristics of organizations within its eight categories, does not distinguish levels of analysis and lacks logical progression within its listing. However, both models offer possibilities for help in the development of a new model: in Perrow's schema it is his distinguishing of levels of analysis, each with specific referents; in Sells' it is his fairly comprehensive listing of organizational characteristics.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have chosen to distill most of Sells' model into three categories. Perrow's schema has been used mainly as an inspiration in the use of referents as a way of clarifying groupings for analysis. In my model, the term "category" has been used rather than "level," because the word level implies hierarchical standing in a more complete way than I wish to imply. Although there is an obvious, planned narrowing of focus from society to the organization as a whole, to the internal functionings of the organization as the model progresses through categories I to III, there is not necessarily a similar narrowing of intellectual or theoretical focus.

It should also be understood that regardless of categorical boundaries, the interrelatedness of all the phenomena of higher education organizations should be kept in mind, for there is constant interaction not only within categories, but among and between them. Unless this is remembered, there is the risk of giving up the complexity of reality for the simplicity of logical categorization. For this reason, a pictorial representation which attempts to illustrate this is also included.

By reducing the number of categories, it is hoped that the borders of each category will be expanded enough so that they will be able to encompass, with comfort, general organizational theory along with more specific explorations. This decision necessitates a trade-off, with categorical oversimplification winning over more specificity. It is felt that this trade-off is justified, because of the existence of such a wide variety of as yet unconnected explorations in the field.

Macdonald's model is as follows:

Category I
    Social-Cultural Environment
    Philosophy and Values   > Referent: Society as a whole

Category II
    Objectives and Goals
    Characteristics   > Referent: The organizational entity

Category III
    Organizational Structure
    Governance   > Referent: The functioning system
                                               within the organization
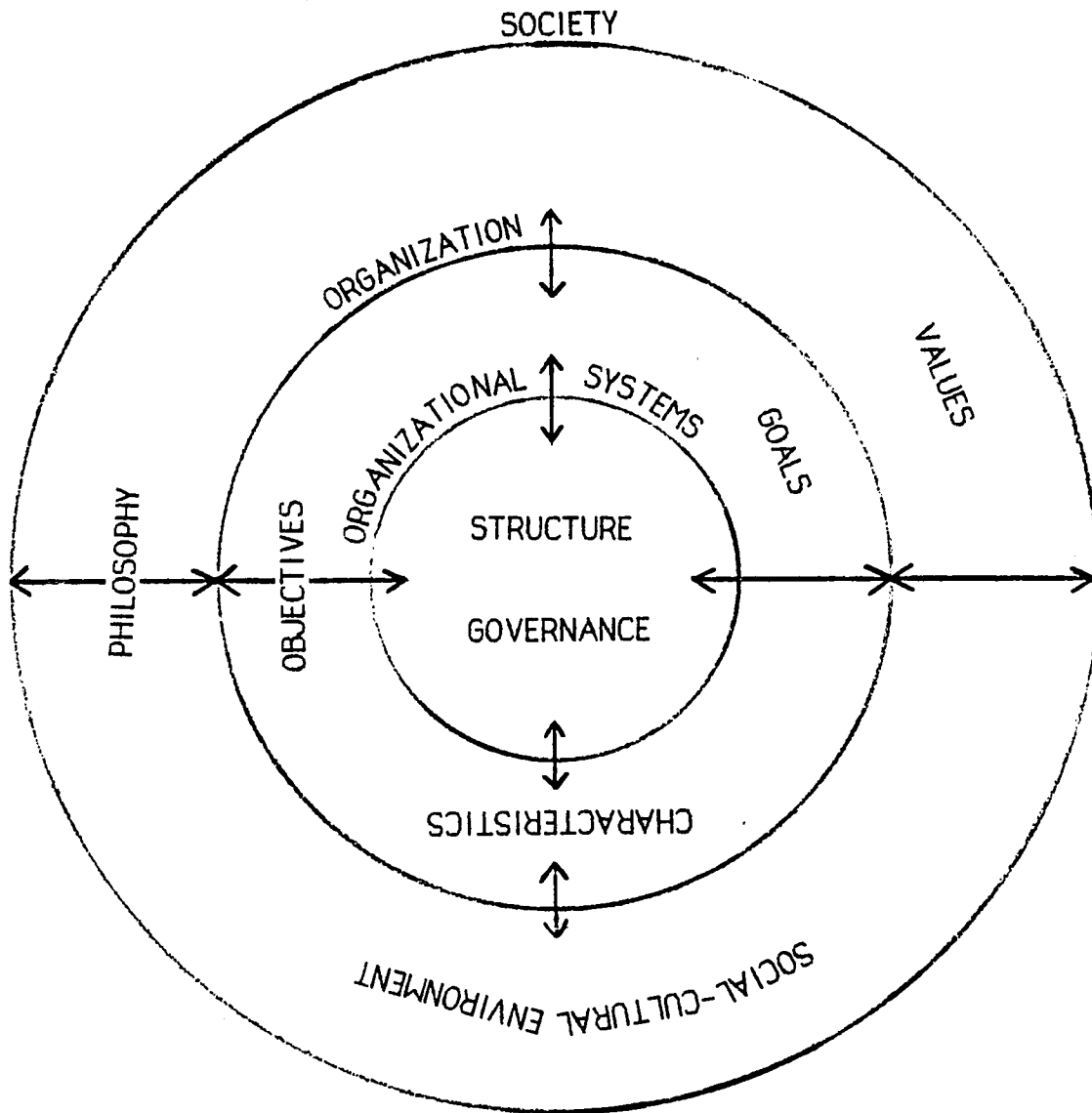
Figure 1: Macdonald's Model

Category I: Social-Cultural Environment, Philosophy, and Values

Referent: Society as a whole.

The university is an organization which is housed within a particular so-
cial system. It has, in common with other organizations within the culture an
ongoing relationship with the larger system in which its own purpose, when
fulfilled, also fulfills a purpose for and within that social system.

According to Talcott Parsons, a culture or society can be located within
one of four categories: "Pattern Maintenance," "Integration," "Goal Attain-
ment," or "Adaption." While all societies are living systems that must perform
all four functions to survive, a particular society's place within the quadrants
is determined by the primacy of its value orientation and way of operating.
For American society, the priority given to the adaptive function places it
within that quadrant.[4]

The "adaptive" society is oriented toward active mastery of the environ-
ment, with no definitive goal for the society as a whole. Rather the emphasis
in on developing a generalized capacity for use in the attainment of a variety
of unitary and collective goals concerned with the production of disposable
wealth. Hills states that the "adaptive" society is primarily concerned with
"...rational, technically efficient action in the interest of goals with rela-
tively little concern for what those goals are, so long as they are somewhat
'worthwhile.'"[5] The justification of goals is not required as long as they can
be efficiently reached and be seen as making some contribution to the society.
The "adaptive" society's governing value standard is utility and its functional
pattern emphasizes disposable and malleable organization, along with individ-
ual performance and achievement as a way of serving that value pattern.

Parsons also contends that organizations or subsystems within a society can be identified by their outputs of goods and services into the larger encompassing system and, by that identification, be classified or placed within one of the same quadrants. In the case of organizations whose primary outputs are cultural, expressive, or educational (like that of the university), their place is within the quadrant designated "Pattern-Maintenance." This quadrant is distinct from those in which organizations primarily engaged in economic production (Adaption), political goals (Goal-Attainment), or social integration (Integration) are housed.

Organizations that are classified as "pattern-maintenance" have as their greatest priority the acquisition of value commitments, or the internalization of values and cultural elements. Their *raison d'être* is based upon an "uncompromising adherence to the values ascribed ... in its status as part of a transcendental order."[6] For education, the product output is change in the individual, the authority is moral authority, the relevant value standard is integrity, and successful contribution is measured in terms of pattern-consistency or consistency of action with generalized commitments that enhance the integrity of its value pattern. In the case of the university, the value pattern is cognitive rationality: the production, transmission, and application of knowledge.[7]

Katz and Kahn, in a similar functionalist typology, have also emphasized system need within the larger society as a way of determining the place of organizations: i.e., (1) Productive or Economic; (2) Maintenance; (3) Adaptive; (4) Managerial-Political.[8] Others who have emphasized the goal orientation of the organizations within a cultural context and have elaborated on this theme are Eisenstadt,[9] Scott,[10] and Gordon and Babchuk[11].

According to Sterling M. McMurrin, education can properly be conceived of as a function of the culture; that is, its character depends upon the nature of the culture. It is not necessarily culture-bound in some narrow parochial meaning, but is an immensely important force native to a particular culture. While it is determined by the character of the culture and its other social institutions and conditions, it is at the same time a powerful determinant of that culture.[12]

McMurrin, Parsons, and others emphasize the openness and interrelatedness of subsystem to system, or organization to society. In a culture whose main emphasis (according to Parsons) is that of economic production, it is not surprising that such notables as Harold Taylor[13] and Robert Nisbet[14] have spoken strongly for the necessity of the university strengthening its philosophical/ value base in order to guard against strong intrusions by the ideology and value structure of the larger culture.

What sets the university apart from other organizations within the larger social system and determines its function within the culture, stems from its particular philosophy and value base. It is, in Parsonian terms, the theoretical system upon which the existence of the institution is based ". . . a complex of assumptions, concepts, and propositions having both logical integration and empirical reference."[15] In other terms, it is the "academic dogma" of Nisbet[16] and the "theology of higher education" of Warren Bryan Martin,[17] the belief system that determines the organization.

The aims and purposes of higher education as expressed within the theoretical system appear more varied than might originally be imagined, for the dimensions of this expression, while housed primarily within the rational, also encompass transcendant beliefs, hopes, and projections.

Cardinal Newman spoke of the university as a center of greatness, unity, and excellence: where the intellect may range and speculate, reach and conflict with its search for truth within a community of art, orators, and oracles.[18] A more modern expression of the mission of the university is W. Allen Wallis' purposes: the preservation, discovery, dissemination, and application of knowledge within a community united by the "ethical and aesthetic values of science, scholarship, and the intellectual life."[19] Scholarship, says Nisbet, is basically what the dogma of the university is all about.[20] For Clark Kerr, the university exists as a means for "preserving truth, creating new knowledge, and serving the needs of man through truth and knowledge."[21]

Wertfreiheit (freedom to research), *lehrfreiheit* (freedom to teach), and *lernfreiheit* (freedom to learn) have long been agreed upon as the cornerstones supporting the philosophy of the university (the cognitive rationality of Parsons), but there are other values that, while less universally agreed upon, nevertheless form expectations and shape beliefs about the nature of the institution.

K. G. Saiyidain speaks eloquently of the social responsibility of the university, not only to acquire more knowledge, but to learn to use it wisely and humanely, to build up "an abiding passion for the pursuit of truth, goodness, beauty, and social justice."[22] Although more prosaically put by the Carnegie Commission of 1973, "A college or university exists to produce instruction, research, and creative activity, public service, educational justice, and constructive criticism of society."[23] The missions of public service and moral responsibility to higher ideals for the elevation of society as a whole are quite explicitly stated several times within the document.

There is probably not another institution in our society whose place and function are defined with such high rhetoric. It is, however, a rhetoric that reflects and forms a certain reality. In the case of the university, the given place of the institution within the culture, its relationship with society, and the expectations of the larger system for the organization are all recognizable to some extent within that rhetoric.

The university is one of, if not the most "value-burdened" institutions within contemporary American society. Added to this, as Perkins,[24] Brubacher,[25] and many others have noted, it appears to be an institution in transition, becoming more open to a multitude of demands from elements within the larger culture whose value base and functional expectations are very different. Nevertheless, it survives, distinct within the social-cultural environment, based upon values and a philosophy that have shaped that distinction, an integral part of the larger society in which it is housed.

Category II: Objectives, Goals, and Characteristics

Referent: The Organizational Entity

Colleges and universities as complex organizations differ in a number of ways from other types of organizations in objectives and goals, as well as specific characteristics.

Closely related to its general value base, the goals of an organization are the objectives it seeks to reach in order to fulfill its purpose. For the university, the possible list of goals is long and involved, including teaching, research, service to the broader community, guardianship of a cultural and

scientific heritage, support of the arts, the encouragement of the university community, and so forth.

Baldridge and Riley mention goal ambiguity as one of the chief characteristics of the academic organization; by this is meant, multiple missions and unclear, ambiguously stated, and often highly contested goals.[26] To John Corson, the university's charter states its purpose so evasively as to provide little guidance to the members of the organization.[27] Gross and Grambsch, in a study that involved many American universities, showed much agreement among faculty and administrators about certain goals of the institution (academic freedom and various institution enhancing goals), but also some agreement on almost all forty-seven listed goals.[28] If the government, the public, and the students had also been questioned, many more goals would undoubtedly have had to have been included and much less agreement would have been registered.

The multiplicity and ambiguity of goals can logically be seen as stemming from the reality within which the organization functions. The discovery and transmission of knowledge is itself directed toward highly individualized and unspecifiable goals. Furthermore, as academic institutions become more and more the repository of the cultural and expressive functions within the society, as well as more open to other influences from without, they have attempted to satisfy a growing list of expectations, not the least of which stems from the governmental and economic sectors.

The kinds of technology used within an organization have also been a basis of distinguishing among organizational types and systems. Scholars such as James Thompson have extended the scope of technology typologies beyond their original base within industrial organizational theory. Thompson makes a

distinction between long-linked, mediating, and intensive technologies and attempts a connection with structure, operations, and environment.[29] Within Thompson's typology, the university would be based within the latter category as an organization concerned with the complexities involved in the transformation of knowledge and people. This is perhaps the most complicated technology of them all, for there is much disagreement on how people learn, and how this process should be facilitated. Research, social service, community formation, and the other goals of academic institutions are similarly fraught with problematic technologies.

Blau and Scott classify organizations according to who benefits and list four populations that should be taken into consideration: the membership, the owners, the clients, and the public at large.[30] Because of the university's multiple and ambiguous missions, three out of the four populations can be seen as benefiting from the organization: the membership, because of the wide latitude given faculty for individual interest and entrepreneur-like ventures; the clients or students, as recipients of knowledge and training; and the public at large, as the recipients of the research, knowledge, cultural, critical, and service activities of the university.

As people processing institutions, colleges and universities are faced with further ambiguities and complexities. They are, to a large extent, client-centered, at least within the teaching, community-building, and service functions, and as such are open to the demands of those being processed for significant input into the workings and direction of the organization. "Member of the university" includes students, for the recipient of a service-providing institution is also an operative member of that organization.

For Baldridge and Riley, the university tends to be a total institution, encompassing for many of its members (administrators and faculty, as well as students), not only the work-associated aspects of their lives, but the recreational and social aspects as well.[31] In fact, Sanders believes that the organizational model for the university should be that of the local community, because of the university's similarity to an all-encompassing working community.[32] However, the relative looseness of the social organization within the campus community adds a complication to this conceptualization.

The university is, in economic terms, a "labor intensive" enterprise, with multitudes of administrators, nonacademic staff, clerical and maintenance personnel and, most importantly, faculty. The faculty in most respects must be considered professionals, but "fragmented professionals" according to Baldridge and Riley, for their professional loyalty is often grounded within the separate disciplines, not the teaching function per se. Nevertheless, the faculty can be viewed not only as somewhat less than professional in the context of the organization, but as an extreme case of professionalism since the acquisition and transmission of knowledge are the very essence of their mission.[33]

Blau and Scott list several other aspects of professionalism that contrast with other kinds of workers and organizations. Professionals constitute a collegial group of equals; every member of the group, and no one else, is assumed to be qualified to make the judgments necessary within the profession. Professional decisions and actions are governed by universalistic standards; there is a specificity of expertise and, within certain guidelines, the good of the client and the profession are expected to supercede self-interest.[34] However, the university is not only an organization of professionals, as it has

within it whole groups of workers serving functions and goals outside the interests of the professional sector. In this aspect (personnel composition) as in others, the university is mixed and complicated as an organization.

Typologies that look at the characteristics of formal organizations in terms of general patterns of power relationships, also highlight the complexities of academic organizations. Etzioni places the university in that group of organizations that use normative means of reaching compliance within the organization.[35] Compliance based upon normative means depends heavily on socialization and the acceptance of the goals of the organization by its members. Van Riper looks at the relative strength of various power relations within organizations and on a continuum from totalitarian to democratic-anarchic lists: control organizations, production organizations, bargaining organizations, representative organizations, research organizations, and communal organizations.[36] An argument could be made for elements of the last three as applicable to the university.

Another way of classifying organizations is by looking at the generation of resources from which the organization derives its support. Vickers has listed four categories: (1) user-supported, (2) public-supported, (3) member- or donor-supported, (4) endowment-supported.[37] Once again the university can be seen as mixed and unclear, this time in relation to its financial base. It depends to some extent on user support through tuition, fees, patents, etc.; it is publicly supported in a direct way by taxes and/or indirectly as a non-profit organization, and it is usually endowed. Since it does not depend primarily on self-support, as is the case of profit-making organizations, the university is open to more environmental pressures in its search for funding. Its vulnerability, while not as high as some organizations (the public school for one), is fairly high and appears to be growing.

Most complicated organizations in modern societies can be characterized as bureaucracies. Although few formal organizations are completely bureaucratic according to Weber's ideal type,[38] most modern organizations of any size and complexity show many of the characteristics of the bureaucracy; the university is no exception according to Stroup. He lists the following as bureaucratic characteristics that fit Weber's classification: competence for appointment, appointed officials, fixed salaries, recognized and respected rank, exclusivity of career, security (tenure), separation of personal and organizational property, formal hierarchy, formal policies and rules, formal channels of communication, bureaucratic authority relations, and bureaucratic decision-making processes. However, even Stroup agrees that the university cannot be classified only, or even primarily, as a bureaucracy since many other elements of the organization provide for a much more mixed and complex environment.[39]

Perrow suggests a four-fold typology for analyzing an organization and its parts: routine and nonroutine, craft and engineering.[40] The teaching and the research functions of the university are good examples of non-routine, craft operations that do not respond well to bureaucratic organizing. These and other functions of the university, having to do primarily with the transformation of knowledge and people, place the university as organization in the non-routine/craft quadrant. However, there are other elements within the organization that are routine, adding to the complexity of the internal environment.

As an organization, the university is distinctive in its goals and characteristics. It is distinguished by a long list of ambiguous goals, multiple missions, problematic technology, a participating clientele, a largely, but not entirely, professional personnel, all housed within a complex environment that is

increasingly open to the demands of the larger society. These and other characteristics make it one of, if not the most complicated of complex formal organizations within modern American society.

Category III: Organizational Structure and Governance

Referent: The functioning system within the organization.

Because of its particular value base and the complexities inherent in its goals and organizational characteristics, it is not surprising that the university's inner structure and governance patterns are also complex.

A typology proposed by R. S. Ackoff considers an organization within the concepts of geneity and nodality. Geneity refers to the relationship between an organization and its working members, i.e., homogeneous (variety decreasing) or heterogeneous (variety increasing). Nodality refers to the way authority is distributed within the organization, i.e., uninodal (hierarchically structured) or multinodal (many decision centers).[41] The university according to this typology has a heterogeneous multinodal organizational structure, the most complicated one of four possible structural categories.

March and Simon propose looking at an organization to determine if its structure is unitary or federal. It is unitary if the scope of total activity within the organization involves a single operational goal, reached by a means-end functioning pattern. It is federal if several goals are in simultaneous operation, requiring complicated governance structures and integrating mechanisms, as is the case of the university.[42] Burton Clark sees this as a fairly recent development within the history of higher education, a direct

response to the multiple and ambiguous goals of the institution, leading to structural ambiguity and segmentation.

Institutions of higher learning have tended, in recent times, toward composite structures stemming from size, plurality of purpose, and the complexity of organizational characteristics. Clark posits that there is no consistant structure, not only between academic institutions, but within them. Multiple units form and reform around functions in a catch-as-catch-can manner. With a multiplicity of ambiguous goals and a variety of sub-units, authority can become extensively decentralized, the structure coming closest to that of a loosely joined federation. Within each campus a variety of social groups and organizational units creates conditions that mitigate against unification of orientation and purpose. Only a few small and highly defined institutions are seen to have escaped a general splitting of what was once a unitary structure.[43]

Yarmolinsky mentions several fundamental disjunctions between faculty and administration, having to do with the nature of the structure of organization within colleges and universities. Differing governance belief systems add to the strain between overall institutional planning and budgetary areas and the departmental and functional areas.[44] Katz and Kahn speak of system strain caused by competition between different functional subsytems (horizontal strain) and conflict between various levels of power, privilege, and reward (vertical strain).[45] Institutional fragmentation and the uneasy equilibrium maintained within an organizational system that reflects multiple goals and authority foci are seen by these researchers and others as the result of continuing readjustments and responses to a complex organizational structure.

Several scholars and researchers have attempted to characterize governance patterns within higher education. Given the complexity both among and within academic institutions, it is not surprising that differences of opinion exist. A view of campus governance as predominantly collegial, democratic, or professional is expressed by several. John Millett is perhaps the best known proponent of the collegial view, where the campus is seen as a community of scholars imbued with professional authority and reaching decisions primarily by consensus. According to Millett the administrative apparatus is little seen and less heard. This kind of administrative functioning is seen as not actively managing, but primarily care-taking.[46]

Platt and Parsons seem to agree in part since they also view academic governance as more associational and collegial than bureaucratic. Influence, dependent upon a delicate balance of forces, is the principle mechanism of operation as they see it.[47]

Clark sees campus governance as best characterized by the concept of "federated professionalism," the expression of professional authority within a loosely joined structure. The primary function of this authority is the protection of the work of experts amidst great divergence and it is particularly adaptive to the need for a high degree of autonomous judgment by individuals and subgroups. The administrative structure coordinates and mediates under this form of governance.[48]

Another concept of governance arose out of an American Association of University Professors (AAUP) sponsored study and has been called "professorialism." It is best summed up by the following quotation:

> Faculty participation in university government is not an expression of some kind of democratic principle adopted from the outside world; it

is, rather, the consequence of the unique professional expertise of the professor which makes his contributions to decision-making essential to the success of the university."[49]

This concept of governance is expressed in the words "colleague" and "collegial" and its operations are grounded in the departments as the natural extensions of professional expertise.

Gary Sykes believes it is possible to characterize much of governance within higher education as "process democracy." Here the departments, along with faculty senates, committees, and so forth, are viewed as generally following democratic procedures. The important focus in on the process itself, whatever the underlying rationale.[50]

While these scholars and others view governance as primarily consisting of professionally based collegialism and/or generally democratic in nature, others are not so sure. Peter Blau, while acknowledging some collegial aspects of governance, such as no direct supervision or rules for the performance of academic responsibilities, sees some bureaucratic characteristics as well. Foremost among them are a formal division of labor, an administrative hierarchy, and a clerical apparatus. Blau emphasizes, however, that bureaucracy coexists with an academic authority structure which is not bureaucratic in nature.[51]

William Evens sees the university as consisting of a mixture of organizational principles and governance patterns, reflecting the potentially incompatible interests of the three major internal constituencies: Bureaucratic Authority (administration), Collegial Authority, and Participatory Democracy (students).[52] Duryea sees two bureaucracies in academic institutions, a faculty one and an administrative one, with an almost insurmountable

psychological wall between them.[53] John Millett draws attention to the high degree of autonomy and decentralization of the productive units of the university (teaching and research) and the high degree of centralization and control in the performance of the support services.[54]

Baldridge, in rejecting both the collegial/professional and the bureaucratic models as only partial explanations of higher education governance, proposes a political model which focuses on policy-forming authority. He sees the university or college as fragmented into interest groups vying for influence over major policy. Conflict and negotiation are the integral parts of this process, and they severely limit formal authority. The influence of external pressure groups is also emphasized in this model.[55]

The governance of the university or college by a small elite group is posited by several researchers. Caplow and Mcgee maintain that the loose and informal authority structure within the organization encourages the assumption of power by academic strong men.[56] Monson and Cannon list the conditions under which an elite group gains power within institutions: large size, monopoly over political/managerial skills, control of revenue, and the ability to spend the time.[57] Their list would seem to indicate positive conditions for administrative power within today's academic organizations.

Milbrath has classified political behavior into three groups: spectators (about 60 percent), apathetics (about 30 percent), and actives (about 10 percent).[58] The case for actives comprising an oligarchy within institutions of higher education is convincingly made by Mortimer and McConnell. According to them, the spectators are primarily content with presumed potency, but are potential activists if sufficiently aroused. However, the ongoing decisions are made by a small group of amateur administrators who

have given up much of their other activities in exchange for political power.[59]

In contrast to this view of governance is that of Cohen and March. They see campus leaders as relatively weak, serving primarily as catalysts or facilitators, channeling activities in subtle ways. All is fluid; decisions happen as the by-products of unintended and unplanned activity. This model, called "organized anarchy," views campus organization as a:

> collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings look-
> ing for decision solutions in which they might be aired, solutions
> looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decision-
> makers looking for work.[60]

A more sanguine variation on this theme is the "congenial anarchy" of David Feldman.[61]

It may well be that American campuses are, as Clark Kerr says, a Tower of Babel--a combination of a democracy, a corporation, a bureaucracy, a church, and a community--with all the myriad governance patterns that these many institutions entail.[62] However, much of the variety of opinion about university governance patterns can be attributed to a lack of carefully delineated perimeters. Although some scholars make careful distinctions concerning campus governance, others do not, causing difficulties in know-ing exactly what is being discussed. Is it a view of what ought to be or of what actually is; is it based upon a particular time, a particular type of higher educational institution, a certain segment of the organization, or a broader, more inclusive governance view? Without the use of methodologi-cal controls, pronouncements of prevailing governance modes remain a col-lection of opinions, each perhaps as valid as the next, given varying circum-stances and persona.

Two major studies, using empirical methodology and encompassing large numbers of varying types of higher educational institutions, have attempted to correct this problem by beginning a much needed next step in the study of governance patterns.

In 1973, Peter Blau's study of 115 colleges and universities was published as the <u>Organization of Academic Work</u>.[63] Blau was interested in looking at the authority structure within higher educational organizations through a comparative institutional approach. Among the many variables looked at were size, formal structure, ratio of administrators to faculty, academic performance, administrative and collegial climate, faculty participation, and orientation to research and teaching. Some interesting results were obtained from this study. Blau found that the ratio of administrators to faculty is lower in large institutions but this was counteracted to some extent by differentiation within the larger institutions into multilevels of administrative control. Small colleges were less bureaucratic than their larger counterparts in the complexity of their formal structure, but they were more bureaucratic in the relative size of their administrative machinery. A high ratio of administrators to faculty encourages centralization of decision-making, since administrators are not fragmented in their work commitments.

Blau saw two areas, educational policies and faculty appointments, where the issue of bureaucratic versus professional authority was joined. Decision-making in these areas was less centralized in higher status institutions where faculty had more leverage in terms of professional prestige. What seemed to discourage bureaucratic centralization of educational responsibilities most was an institutionalized faculty governance structure, along with heavy faculty participation in governance.

Blau noted that academic organizations are particularly susceptible to the ill effects of bureaucratic rigidity, primarily within the teaching function which, in contrast to the research function, appears less able to wall itself off from the negative influences of size and bureaucratic incursions. He goes on to say that the unthinking use of mechanical teaching devices and computers, a complex and multilevel bureaucratic structure, a high student to faculty ratio, and an impersonal atmosphere appear to have deleterious effects on both students and faculty.

A larger and more substantive study of governance in higher education was done by Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, and Riley.[62] A national sampling of 300 institutions of higher education was broken down into several categories: Private Multi-Universities (large and elite), Public Multi-Universities (large and elite), Elite Liberal Arts Colleges, Public Comprehensives (middle-quality state institutions), Public Colleges (average undergraduate), Private Liberal Arts Colleges, Community Colleges, and Private Junior Colleges.

Baldridge et al. found that these institutions not only have widely differing structures and purposes, but also widely differing forms of governance: some institutuions had strong boards and/or presidents, others had strong faculty and collegial participation; some are heavily bureaucratized, others give students a strong voice, still others are dominated by community or state regulation. These distinctive and divergent governance patterns evolved as the result of institutional history, environmental relationships, professional task, size, and organizational complexity.

Perhaps the most interesting finding that emerged from this study is that governance patterns vary systematically among the different types of

institutions. In general, the further the progression up the scale from the community college, the more influential the faculty, the less dominating the administration, the less likely the impingement of environmental factors, and the less likely unions. Substantial differences in the way institutions promote professional values and autonomy, or frustrate them with bureaucratic regulations and administrative control, were found. Private and Public Multi-Universities tended to exemplify the concept of "federated professionalism," with a strong and highly specialized faculty and an administration that exercised moderate control over the institution, but little control over areas of high faculty interest. The Elite Liberal Arts Colleges came closest to the collegial model of governance, with the highest faculty participation and influence over all spheres of governance, the lowest amounts of faculty apathy, and the lowest percentage of faculty favoring unionization. The Public Comprehensives and the Public Colleges showed high bureaucratic controls and administrative power, strong outside influence, inactive faculty participation, and a high likelihood of unionization. The Private Liberal Arts Colleges were characterized by a fairly weak faculty, high bureaucracy, a strong administration and strong environmental influences. The Community Colleges and Private Junior Colleges had the weakest and most inactive faculties, the strongest administrative controls, high environmental influence, and the highest support for faculty unionization.[64]

Both the Blau and Baldridge studies have the advantage of large numbers and varying types of institutions, as well as fairly objective methods of research. As such, they represent the beginning of research recognition of the role that institutional complexity and variance plays in governance

patterns. The Baldridge study is particularly useful in its examination of different types of institutions of higher education. While the authors admit that the categorical boundaries delineating different types of institutions are not applicable to all colleges and universities, this study goes beyond others in its recognition of the realities of institutional differences within American higher education.

Academic organizations appear to differ markedly from each other in terms of structure and governance. However, beyond their differences a certain similarity exists based upon their place within the culture, their value base, and their particular characteristics. It has been said that colleges and universities are "peculiar institutions." Their inner structure and governance patterns reflect that peculiarity, adding further complexity to an institution that has one of the most complicated organizational realities.

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CHAPTER II

AN ESSAY: THE ACADEMIC ORGANIZATION IN CRISIS

A Time of Crisis

American higher education is entering a very difficult phase, one that threatens the survival of some institutions and certainly taxes the ingenuity and problem solving capabilities of all. After years of unprecedented prosperity in terms of growth in both clientele and funding, the twin specters of lowering enrollments and rising costs within the context of a generally troubled economy are leading toward what many view as a crisis of great magnitude within higher education.

The baby boom is over for our colleges and universities. As we move through the eighties a much smaller percentage of our population is of traditional college age. Although expanding educational opportunities have, in the recent past, helped to compensate for a general slowing down of the growth rate of eighteen to twenty-one year olds, expansion of clientele can no longer be seen as the answer to problems of institutional survival. With a large percentage of our high school graduates already going on to some form of higher education and many adults already in the process of continuing their education, with the number of eighteen year olds taking its first real drop in 1983,[1] the population available for academic institutions is becoming problematical.

Beyond these general demographic problems, the impact of other influences upon enrollment statistics adds further complications. General economic trends, public policy decisions involving funding and access, job-market

realities, and the changing nature of the institutions themselves can all be seen as important factors.[2] Add to these a general societal confidence factor about the worth and value of higher education within society at large, and some of the problems and complexities of enrollment projections become readily apparent.

National enrollment projection studies have experienced an uneven level of success, in part because of the complexity of interaction among many factors, but also because they have tended to be based on past trends. What can be projected with certainty is the availability of a particular population of eighteen to twenty-one year olds within a particular four year time span. Based on this projection and the traditional reliance of many sectors of higher education upon this age group, trouble in the form of a shrinking pool of applicants has already begun to make itself felt and can be expected to continue at least through the early 1990s.[3] However, by itself, a small shrinkage of the undergraduate age group could probably be fairly easily dealt with if other factors were not also present.

Prior to World War II, higher education was almost totally funded in one of several ways: church funds, endowments, and tuition for private and/or religion-related colleges and universities; state taxes and to a lesser extent tuition for the land-grant schools. About 10 percent of the college age group (20 percent of high school graduates) went on to some form of higher education in the years directly prior to the war. Higher education was viewed as primarily the province of a young, economically and socially privileged, white male elite, with some egalitarian inroads being made by the state land-grant institutions. Women and minorities were sequestered, to a large extent, in programs and institutions designed for that purpose.[4]

Following World War II, the federal government committed its resources to a very different idea of higher education. Implicit within the GI Bill was the idea that the federal government supported, both ideologically and fiscally, the idea of some egalitarian access to college education. This unprecedented federal commitment continued and broadened beyond the GI Bill to include support not only for other groups (minorities, women, lower income), but for programs and the institutions themselves. In 1968, the federal government supplied 40 percent of the educational and general funds for the private research universities, 25 to 30 percent for public universities, and about 7 percent for the small liberal arts college.[5]

When these funds stop growing, as they have since 1968, and costs continue to grow at unprecedented rates, the reliance of higher education institutions on federal funding can become a major problem. Some of the major research universities, like Massachusetts Institute of Technology, California Institute of Technology, University of Chicago, and Stanford University, got between one-half and three-fourths of their funds from the federal government and appeared to be particularly hard hit in the period following 1968.[6] The Reagan administration's intention, if carried out, of reducing student loans and other aid could have far-reaching, negative effects, particularly among the less prestigious, less endowed private schools.

States have had an even longer history of funding in higher education and, in recent decades the amount of funding has increased rapidly, along with expansion of support into areas not previously financed. The recent North Carolina per capita support of all state students to in-state private colleges is a case in point. However, states also are feeling the financial crunch and although most have continued to increase their support of higher education, this support

has not kept pace with cost inflation. State colleges and universities, with between 45-60 percent of their budgets supported by the varying states, may be facing a less sanguine future.[7] So far, the negative impact of reliance on state funding has been spotty, depending strongly on tax structures and conditions, tradition and confidence, and political power.

Not a few universities and colleges have, in recent decades, turned to corporate funding as a solution to undependable federal and state support. Stanford's Hoover Institute, the Center for Economic and Legal Studies at the University of Florida, and the Thomas Jefferson Center for the Study of Political Economy at the University of Virginia are examples of corporate funded "think tanks" that operate in the university setting. These centers, along with numerous projects, departments, and university chairs speak of large corporate investment throughout academia.[8] Aside from the problems this kind of investment brings to the independence of the university from the corporate agenda, there is evidence that this fiscal support is also becoming more undependable. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, in a report titled "Corporate Classrooms: The Learning Business," estimates that, within corporations, nearly 60 billion dollars a year is spent on nearly 8 million students, making corporate-run education similar in expenditure and outreach to all the nation's four-year colleges and universities. According to this report, educational programs run by business and industry now constitute an alternative, if not a threat, to traditional academic institutions.[9]

In 1985, for the fifth consecutive year, colleges and universities will be raising tuition costs to their students at a faster rate than the national inflation rate. This has been primarily an attempt by academic institutions to make up, in part, their losses from the decade of the 1970s with its raging

inflation and lessened federal support, to compensate for student aid cuts, and to shore up neglected buildings and salaries.[10] While the most prestigious colleges and universities may be able to sustain increasing tuition raises with no real negative effects on enrollment, less prestigious private institutions, many of which already charge more than $10,000 a year, may be gambling with their futures in terms of consumer resistance. State supported colleges and universities run the risk of alienating tax payers, who have traditionally considered one of the primary missions of these institutions that of providing easily available and low cost education to state residents.

There can be no doubt that a large segment of higher education in this country became very used to conditions of the recent past, with what looked like a never ending supply of students and money. Common sense and negative projections were ignored as buildings went up, programs proliferated, and faculty and administrators increased exponentially. Not only did the supply of students and funding look unlimited, but optimism about the general economy continued even in the face of some grave indications of trouble ahead.

Besides that, the American public believed. Higher education has been part of the American dream, a way out of the drudgery of farm and factory to better jobs, higher status, success and happiness in life. Today, over 50 percent of American high school graduates go directly on to colleges and universities. What Peter and Brigette Berger have called the "blueing" of the American college student has taken place, accomplished by a shifting of expectations concerning higher education among the general public. The idea of higher education for the social, cultural, and intellectual finishing of a small elite has given way to the idea of higher education as a practical preparation for the economic and social mobility of the children of lower-middle and working

class parents.[11] While the American public has never quite trusted or admired the intellectual and social elitism of the more "selective" segments of higher education, it has tended to enthusiastically support the belief that, for their children and themselves, higher education is an entreé to a better and more secure future.

The desirability of higher educational opportunities for almost all Americans appeared to be no small part of the beliefs and policies governing decisions in higher education during the late, oft-lamented, expansionary period. Funding became available for many more students, private institutions and state systems expanded both in numbers and variety of offerings, community colleges appeared to spring up at every crossroads, and entrance and matriculation requirements loosened. Much of the rationale supporting this great expansion was a genuine belief in mass democratic mobility with advancement for the individual and society as a whole. As long as the money held out, a boom psychology prevailed and little examination of results took place.

For many students there can be no doubt that this expansionary period made available opportunities for further education that had not been there before. In this sense, a real democratization did occur in higher education. However, other evidence shows mixed or negative impacts on students, with implications for higher education as a whole. Students in large institutions or systems which the majority of today's students attend, appear to be less changed by their experience, less involved, and less satisfied than those in smaller schools.[12] There is growing evidence that community colleges may turn out to be a very expensive form of higher education, and one that seems to discourage continuance by those students who in the past would have graduated from a four-year institution.[13] Furthermore, a ranking hierarchy of institutions

appears stronger than ever, affecting students in important ways: different kinds of students go to different kinds of schools, receive very different kinds of education, and emerge to find quite different receptions in the outside world. For many students, experience in higher education institutions has meant little more than a continuance of high school, a lengthening of adolescence with no specific meaning and no real intellectual or personal impact.[14]

One of the most popular of recent rationales for attending college has been an economic one: the student and ultimately the society as a whole benefit in terms of actual dollar return on educational investment. This in turn justified the large amounts of mainly public money that was poured into institutional expansion, as well as the sacrifices made by students and their families faced with ever rising tuition and residential costs. In the past few years, however, economic analysts and others have made it increasingly clear that the return on the dollar investment in higher education, both for the individual and the public, appears to be shrinking fast.[15] A purely economic rationale for supporting or attending a college or university is proving less and less tenable as the economy contracts and the dollar returns diminish.

Higher education appears to be entering a new and troubled period of self-examination. After decades of incredible expansion of clientele and facilities, it is being forced into a reexamination of purpose caused in part by shrinking enrollments, shrinking dollars, and the results and consequences of past policies and practices. The overemphasis of both the democratic and economic rationales have led to a comparative and sometimes real neglect of those aspects of higher education where the impact is more personal, less quantifiable, and probably more meaningful. It has run the risk of putting in real jeopardy public support and belief in these institutions' ability to make a

difference in the lives of its graduates and the future of the nation. Cynicism about the value and worth of higher education is a growing phenomenon among the American public, and it is couched in terms that make clear its connection with a certain disillusionment stemming from failing expectations.

Faculty and institutional morale is being affected directly and indirectly by the financial crisis. Professors who in previous times were perhaps adequately paid, are now being called upon to sacrifice their salaries for the institution, faculty-student ratios are changing, tenure appears threatened. More and more decisions, including many previously in faculty venue, are being determined by money factors; decision-making appears to be centralizing, not only intra-institutionally but extra-institutionally, as outside funding becomes all that keeps the wolf from the door. More Ph.D.s are available for fewer jobs and the pressures for finding and keeping a position within academia have increased dramatically within recent years. Yet even with an overabundance of available Ph.D.s, the uncertain financial future of many institutions has led to an increased hiring of faculty adjuncts without terminal degrees.[16] As early as 1978, only 40 percent of newly hired faculty had doctorates, an indication that even in a buyer's market colleges and universities are, in many cases, choosing the least costly, non-tenure track teachers available.[17]

The democratization of educational opportunities within higher education, while contributing greatly in past years to institutional expansion, can also be seen as having negative consequences for faculty morale. Expectations that the boom years would continue with increasing job opportunities, mobility, and rising salaries, determined many career decisions within academia. These expectations have, to a large extent, not been realized in recent years; what has followed has been, among many faculty, a feeling of loss of power and

control over their professional lives. The bargaining position of faculty has lessened under contracting conditions; the threat of losing faculty because of low salaries or institutional decisions affecting their power base is no longer the important consideration it once was in many colleges and universities.

A further disillusionment on the part of faculty can be traced to both the expansionary period and to institutional response in its aftermath. Faculty life is, for the most part, still bound to the classroom; within higher education, faculty members are the personnel who deal directly with the students. The quality of students and their ability and preparedness to do college level work can be seen as having a direct impact on the job satisfaction of academic faculty. While the boom years brought into colleges and universities many students who seemed unprepared for college work, this was balanced, in part, for the faculty by a belief in the democratic rationale and their expanding career opportunities. With that balance being eroded, the quality of student-faculty interaction may be the prime determinant of feelings among faculty of the worth of their work lives. If institutional response to the drop in clientele population is to get any warm bodies to fill the spaces, faculty morale can be expected to further decrease.

A Crisis of Values

It is generally agreed upon that this is a time of crisis for higher education in the United States. Rising costs and shrinking funds, demographic changes that affect enrollments, the exigencies of a changing marketplace and economy, the fractures and dislocations brought about by the period of great expansion followed by retrenchment are bringing about a period of reexamination

within higher education. I believe that this reexamination is long overdue and offers the possibility of strengthening colleges and universities, provided that this difficult period is seen as an opportunity to rethink and reformulate the purpose and *raison d'être* for these institutions' existence. It is my thesis that the major problems within higher education will not be solved by a concentration of effort solely in those areas having to do with financial survival. Reactions to the problems of financial survival that are based upon a narrow view of expediency or "efficient management," while appearing to solve short-term difficulties within higher education, may well exacerbate the more important, long-term difficulties these institutions face.

I believe that the major underlying crisis in higher education is a crisis of values. Until higher education, or rather those who are most concerned with its survival as a particular and vital institution within the culture understand this, there will be a continuing erosion of its real and potential contribution. That contribution is grounded in the constellation of values that have tended to make up the belief system of the institution. These values are, I believe, still there and capable of revitalization, but they are daily being diminished and threatened by another constellation of values. Since these other values are the primary belief system of the culture as a whole and, in most cases, directly opposite or even inimicable to those that make up the *raison d'être* of higher education, the threat is massive.

In recent decades, the emphasis on the democratic and economic rationales for higher education have tended to overshadow the more traditional basis that gave it special meaning within the culture: the form and function that stems from its particular philosophy and value base. During the boom years, many colleges and universities appeared to give little thought to the consequences

for their institutional mission brought about by their eager embrace of money and students. In many ways, the phenomenon connected with extreme growth obscured for many within higher education an erosion of a real sense of how this institution differs from other institutions within the culture, what particular purpose and mission it has traditionally performed for our society. As higher education attempts to deal with retrenchment, there is the real possibility of further erosion of that which sets it apart within the culture—its ideational base, its function, and its form.

The expression "ivory tower" in regards to the institution of higher education encompasses both truth and falsehood. It brings to mind that which is set apart, sheltered, removed from reality, and, perhaps, more than faintly ridiculous. Reaching high above the streets whereon the real business of life is thought to be conducted, it symbolizes the ideological aspirations and reality of a different view of life, while at the same time proclaiming a certain irrelevancy to the life that surrounds it. As an expression of the place and meaning of higher education within the broader culture, it evokes a contradiction of feelings, both positive and negative.

Implicit in the notion of the "ivory tower" is the idea of a place set apart and transcendant in aspiration and meaning. It is the place that Newman[18] and Saiyidain[19] speak so eloquently about, where the "cognitive rationality" of Parsons[20] resides. It survives today in such catalogue and commencement pronouncements as "preserving our heritage" or "search for Truth" or "serving mankind." While the expression of its idealized purpose or mission may often seem far from the realities of the institution, it tends, nevertheless, to form an important part of our cultural perceptions and beliefs as to what higher education should be all about.

Unfortunately, these same expressions of values and purpose that set higher education apart and define it as somehow beyond the every day, carry with them a burden. In a society whose main thrust is economic, whose standard is utility, where materialistic concerns and values are paramount,[21] high sounding rhetoric about the value of higher education for other than material and economic advancement is often dismissed as mere value posturing, unrealistic and irrelevant to real life.

As long as a small elite were the main beneficiaries of higher education, the traditional values expressed by and within these institutions remained relatively safe from encroachment by the primary values of the larger culture. This was never so for public education in the United States. Public education on the primary and secondary level has always been viewed as a means of social indoctrination and as preparation for work for a citizenry that would further the power and prosperity of the nation.[22] Recently, higher education has become, to a large extent, public education. The democratization of higher education, with its huge numbers of young and not-so-young adults and its funding from public tax coffers, makes it vulnerable as never before to the educational expectations of the general public and state and federal governments. Its reliance on outside funding from government sources has caused many colleges and universities, particularly now that these funds appear to be drying up, to turn even more eagerly to corporate monies, with the inevitable strings that are attached.[23] That these dependencies are two way cannot be denied; however, intrusions from the outside into the university are both stronger and also more dangerous, since they often directly attack the theoretical/ideal base of higher education.

The value base of the university rests primarily within its intellectual role: the preservation, discovery, dissemination, and application of knowledge or truth for its own sake, the development of wisdom. This presupposes a certain objectivity and separation from the rest of society whose agenda may be very different. The pressures of mass education on the institution of higher education have led to certain problems and dilemmas. The expectations from students, their families, and the public at large that higher education's primary benefit will be social and economic mobility has little or no direct connection with the primary purpose of the university. Mass education as a means of furthering a democratic ideal, the idea of helping to realize the potential of all Americans for making responsible, intelligent decisions within a democracy, has a much closer connection with the value base of the university. However, it has tended to be accompanied by the real or potential problems of dilution of quality in academic achievement, the compromising of institutional goals, the scattering of resources, and the expectation that the university can solve many of the social, economic, and democratic needs of the society.[24]

The university's dependence upon state and federal funding has led to other dilemmas and problems. Funds specifically earmarked for research which serves the needs of the nation or state, but not necessarily the purposes of the institution (most notably in defense, technology, public education, and medicine), can be seen as having an imbalancing effect within the university in terms of power, prestige, facilities and salaries.[25] When funds are withdrawn or redirected, colleges and universities often must remain committed in terms of their own resources to areas of research that do not emphasize the broad and basic pursuit of knowledge that is one of the main purposes of the institution.

Those who control the purse strings tend to want, at the very least, control over the direction and scope of that which is funded. For the university, this can mean a loss of control not only of research direction, but also over the direction and functioning of the institution as a whole. In recent years, state overseeing of funded academic institutions has become more obtrusive, monolithic, and enmeshed in bureaucratic rules and regulations.[26] "Serving the state" runs the risk of involving the university too closely with societal and governmental goals and agendas, with detrimental consequences to its independence. The role of critic is one of the functions stemming directly from the university's value source. In fulfilling this function, which may mean negative appraisals of governmental actions among others, it can bring forth animosities and antagonisms from the sources of much of its funding. Accountability to governmental agencies and bodies may mean more than the accounting of funds; it may also mean the accounting of intellectual thought and practice.

Corporate involvement in academic institutions has increased in recent years. While its most obvious manifestation has been in those areas that can be seen as directly benefiting corporate economic goals (economics, business management, technology, and science), the influence of corporations within academia has been much wider than appears on the surface.[27] The governing boards of most colleges and universities in the United States have always contained members of the business world, but the entrepreneur, the philanthropist, and the small businessman have largely been replaced by representatives of large, far-reaching, and influential corporations. The personal agenda of the businessman has given way to the agenda of the self-perpetuating corporation. Since governing boards are charged, by tradition and law, with the general

overseeing of colleges and universities, particularly in matters of institution-
al policy making, fund allocation, and the hiring and firing of top administra-
tors, their influence can be pervasive. It is not by chance that many recent
college presidents have business backgrounds or that Schools of Business have
been very well funded in recent years, often to the neglect of other areas
within academia. Furthermore, the fund-raising efforts, results, and possi-
bilities of the corporate sector have been an important economic factor for
many colleges and universities, and cannot help but be taken into account in
administrative decision-making.

Corporate intrusions into academic life may have a particularly negative
potency since these organizations' primary role is that of economic produc-
tion, based within a cluture whose primary orientation is also that of "adap-
tion." The corporate value base is very different, if not opposite, to that of
the university. It stresses utility, technical efficiency, economic goals, in-
ternal solvancy, disposable facilities, and malleable organization, while that
of the university stresses internalization of values and cultural elements, in-
tegrity, moral authority, and consistency of action with organizational val-
ues.[28] Furthermore, its involvement with the university is not tempered, as
is governmental involvement, by the necessity of serving many constituencies
or the good of the nation as a whole.

Higher education in the United States has always been subject to some di-
rect social and functional expectations from our society. What appears to be
different today is the extent to which expectations from outside the institu-
tion are determining both the substance and form of higher education. The
"ivory tower" purports to be within the world, but not of it. However, while it
can be seen as set apart or differentiated by its traditional value base, it can

no longer be viewed as sheltered from the demands and pressures of this particular time and place. If the "ivory tower" appears to many to be removed from reality, it cannot be because it is not subject to many of the realities of the culture in which it resides. It may well be because its own "reality," based traditionally upon a specific constellation of values and a specific way of functioning, is very different from the "reality" of the larger culture. If it appears irrelevant to the life that surrounds it, it may well be that the world view most encouraged by American society finds it difficult to incorporate and understand the particular place and function of the university.

"Effort-Optimism," "Material Well-Being," and "Conformity" are, according to Cora DuBois, the major focal values of American culture. These values stem from a constellation of beliefs: a mechanistically conceived universe, a view of man as master of this universe, and a view of men as equal and perfectible.[29] This conceptualization is very similar to the "adaptive" society of Parsons, with its emphasis on utility, mastery of the environment, and individual achievement and performance as a means of serving collective, utilitarian goals.[30] Americans tend to view the world and life within it in terms of mastery and manipulation. This has been true of some segments of our population from the very beginning, and as the industrial revolution and its accompanying material benefits progressed, this only served to focus and solidify a belief that technology was the way to complete mastery and control over the environment. The relative wealth and power of this nation within the post-World War II era tended to confirm even more strongly our cultural beliefs in the primacy of "scientific" and economic technology, as well as the simple cause and effect relationships of a materialistic reality, as the only reality.

P. W. Bridgman has addressed the implications of this world view for society at large:

> To adopt the operational point of view involves much more than a mere restriction of the sense in which we understand 'concept,' but means a far-reaching change in all our habits of thought, in that we shall no longer permit ourselves to use as tools in our thinking concepts of which we cannot give an adequate account in terms of operations.[31]

According to Herbert Marcuse, our habits of thought serve to coordinate ideas and goals with the prevailing system, to enclose them in the system, and to repel those which are irreconcilable with the system.[32] How we view the world is not only shaped by the prevailing cultural ethos, it also becomes the "reality" of the world, shaping its direction and future.

Concurrent with this world view have been methods and modes of operating that have stressed "rational, technically efficient action."[33] This and the increasing complexity of our society have also led to organizational patterns, primarily bureaucratic, which further encourage an increasing permeation throughout the culture of the primary technological ethos. To Marcuse, the "concept is synonymous with the corresponding set of operations" and a mechanistically conceived universe is inevitably intertwined with mechanistic operational and organizational patterns.[34]

In my view, organized education is yielding fast to a general solidification of the technological ethos. What appears to be happening within education as a field is an increasingly closer fit with the broader American culture, with its emphasis on control of the environment, materialism, practicality of outcome, specialization, "equality of opportunity," meritocratic credentialling, and operational and organizational patterns that support all of the above. This has

been reflected in an educational value set that emphasizes: (1) a reduction of uncertainty and ambiguity about the nature of knowledge and the learning process through a simplification and miniaturation of goals, (2) a belief that by objectifying educational processes they can be lifted out of value choice into "science" and consensus, (3) a general agreement about what education is, i.e., the mastery of a certain number and/or level of skills, (4) a definition of educational purpose as that which directly serves the economy and the state, (5) the movement of large numbers of the population through various procedures and steps leading to efficient utilization of human resources, and (6) increasing centralization of educational decision-making as a means of furthering all of the above.

While public elementary and secondary school systems appear to have succumbed more completely to the technological ethos and its attendant organizational patterns, there seems to be increasing evidence that this is also happening within higher education, with a shift toward a more specialized and vocational curriculum housed within large, heavily bureaucratized institutions and systems. In many cases, this has been an intentional shift by institutions and systems that have viewed their primary mission as serving the utilitarian and economic needs of the country; in other instances, the shift has been more reactive, a drifting of institutional direction brought about by outside forces and lack of definition of primary purpose.

In October of 1984, the National Institute of Education issued its final report of the Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education.[35] Their report serves to emphasize the current intrusion of the technological/educational ethos into higher education. Some of the facts they presented are: (1) increasing numbers of undergraduates are majoring in

narrow specialities. Out of more than 1,100 majors and programs offered by American institutions of higher education, nearly half of them are in occupational fields. (2) The proportion of bachelor degrees in the arts and sciences, as opposed to vocational/professional degrees, fell from 49 percent in 1971 to 36 percent in 1982. Since 1977, intended majors in the physical sciences dropped by 13 percent, in the humanities by 17 percent, in the social sciences by 19 percent, and in the biological sciences by 21 percent. (3) Increasingly, the undergraduate professional programs are being dictated by accreditation associations that confine students' work to narrowly defined areas of study. (4) Proportionally, more and more students attend large institutions with their accompanying bureaucratic complexities, fragmented offerings, and often alienating lack of personal and intellectual involvement.

If higher education has not yet completely succumbed to the technological ethos that has largely permeated other parts of the American educational system, it certainly shows strong indications that this is in process. It is probably not pure chance that the rise of the research university coincided with the increasing dominance within our society of meritocracy as an expression of mass democracy, of high technological extension in communications and industrial/governmental output, and growing bureaucratic modes of institutional and societal control. The American penchant for bigness as best, and measurable production as uppermost, fits nicely with those huge research institutions that prize above all else sustained scholarly, scientific, or practical output.

Although variety in institutions and offerings continues to be a particular feature of American higher education, domination of the values of the research institution in the prestige hierarchy seems to be pushing much of higher

education in this country toward a monolithically defined structure.[36] The
concern for scholarship as defined by national organizations, for the genera-
tion rather than the transmission of knowledge, for professionalism within
the disciplines, has increasingly defined an institution's place on the ladder.
That many institutions do not fit into this mold is beside the point, since
general agreement on standing is the rule. Even those colleges that take great
pride in the teaching of the liberal arts also take great pride in the number of
their graduates who go on to attend the great research universities (Jencks
and Reisman call them the "university colleges"[37]).

While the most prestigious of the large research universities appear to
have retained some real connection with those elements within their idea-
tional base that is not directly measurable in terms of practical output, this
in not so generally the case in what Baldridge et al. have called the "Public
Comprehensives."[38] These universities, often without the historical base of a
strong tradition in the liberal arts, subject to the stresses of recent massive
growth through state and federal funding, often appear to be nothing more than
extensions of society's technological-educational ethos. While pockets of in-
dividuals, perhaps an occasional department within these institutions, fight on
to retain a strong connection with the values that have set higher education
apart in both form and function, they face tremendous and ofttimes over-
whelming institutional indifference, even hostility.

Alvin Gouldner has said:

> To understand modern universities and colleges we need an openness to
> contradiction. For universities and colleges both produce and subvert
> the larger society. We must distinguish between the functions univer-
> sities publicly promise to perform - the social goods they are char-
> tered to produce. . . [and] . . .the production of dissent, deviance and the
> cultivation of an authority-subverting culture of critical discourse."[39]

Many of the "Public Comprehensives," to all intents and purposes, function primarily as reproducers of the society as it is. They have largely succumbed to the notion that their reason for existence is the "efficient" processing of Full Time Equivilents (FTEs) through the various credentialing steps that will lead to "efficient" utilization of these same FTEs within the economic sector. Their main connection as institutions with the values that have traditionally defined the purpose of higher education can be seen entombed within a few paragraphs of the university catalogue, just before the pages that are devoted to extolling the practical benefits of the shiny new School of Business.

At the other end of Baldridge's scale from the prestigious research universities are the community colleges. These, along with their close kin the small state-supported colleges, have proliferated under the late, great expansion of state systems of higher education. In almost all cases their overriding purpose and function have been the serving of vocational interests, often dictated by local economic and political agendas. Many of these schools have never had any real connection with the ideals that form the value base of the traditional college or university; their only pretensions in that direction have been concerned with a quest for more offerings, more years, and more prestigious sounding names.

In that vast middle ground of higher education, between the two extremes of the prestigious research university and the service-oriented community colleges, the small private liberal arts colleges struggle on. No longer, as they once were, the center of higher educational thought and practice, increasingly vulnerable to pressures for change, they are at that crucial point whereby their existence as peculiar educational institutions may well be at stake. They no longer have the luxury of going along as though nothing has changed, as

though what they have to offer is understood to be of value within the increasingly competitive field of higher education and within the society as a whole. If the liberal arts are defined as a set of fragmented and finite courses within certain subject fields, certainly other institutions, from the large universities to the community colleges, remain ready and willing to accept their students and responsibilities. If the primary aim of higher education is to prepare students for the economic marketplace, their limited resources and historical commitment to the liberal arts places them out of the competition. Not only are they unable to match the well-funded multitude of "practical" offerings of other higher education institiutions, but they must compete with the increasing numbers of alternative programs offered by business and industry.

Survival and the Liberal Arts

While all of higher education is vulnerable to the economic realities of these times, the small, private liberal arts colleges appear to be the most vulnerable to problems that may have direct bearing on their ability to survive. On all fronts (both internally and externally) they are more exposed and less protected. In most cases, the major share of their budgets comes directly from tuition.[40] Since many have very small student bodies, any small drop in applicants may spell disaster. Moreover, a drop in student enrollment cannot always be compensated for by raising tuitions since this is generally precluded by competition from state-supported schools and the brakes applied by the realities of a stagnating economy.

Furthermore, small liberal arts colleges are primarily unidimensional as institutions. Internal shiftings and compensations that are possible in a larger, multidimensional institution are not a viable possibility for most of these schools. A "losing" department or program can be compensated for by gains in other parts of a large university where an "expensive" offering in a foreign language may be more than balanced by other classes with students numbering in the hundreds. In the smaller colleges, obligated to certain basic curriculum offerings, often with a student-faculty ratio of 10:1, a static internal situation accompanied by rising costs may spell sure, though perhaps slow, disaster.

The small liberal arts college lives closer to the bone; a dip in enrollments, a building built in the salad days to be paid for today, a faculty too disproportionately tenured, a small drop in federal, state, or church support, lower stock market or endowment investment returns, and the end may be near. The Chronicle of Higher Education listed some 106 private colleges that closed their doors between the spring of 1970 and the fall of 1976; a further sixteen shifted to public control.[41] This is, of course, the most obvious tip of the iceberg. Failures have continued and, to date, there are countless small institutions that are just barely surviving. Some have been dipping into their capital endowment; others have raised fees beyond competitive realities and have suffered a further drop in enrollments, starting a downward spiral from which they will not recover.

As higher education becomes more and more vocationalized and less articulate and sure about the traditional values of a liberal arts curriculum, those small colleges that offer mainly that curriculum suffer disproportionately. In a practical and highly materialistic nation such as ours, those aspects of the

culture that are not immediately usable for quantifiable benefits need con-
stant articulate and powerful elements within the culture as advocates.

In recent years that advocacy appears to be growing within higher educa-
tion. Several recent national study groups have addressed themselves to the
problem of the diminution of the liberal arts curriculum in higher education.
The National Institute of Education's (NIE) panel on conditions of Excellence in
Higher Education has urged a national debate on quality in higher education,
maintaining that "gaps between ideal and actual are serious warning signals."
They go on to say that the college curriculum has become excessively voca-
tional, and "the bachelor's degree has lost its potential to foster the shared
values and knowledge that bind us together as a society."[42] The American
Association of Colleges' (AAC) Committee on the Meaning and Purpose of the
Baccalaureate Degree has called the bachelor's degree a "virtually meaningless
credential" and has urged immediate and widespread attention be paid within
academia to the strengthening of the basic principles and skills that underlie a
coherent, liberal arts curriculum.[44]

These reports appear to be signaling the beginning of a newly articulated
concern that higher education in the United States is in grave danger of losing
sight of the purpose of the institution, the value base upon which it has tra-
ditionally rested. That value base has traditionally been expressed, for the
undergraduates, within the liberal arts curriculum; and there appears to be
growing evidence that, within the last two decades at the very least, this ex-
pression and, by inference, that base have been eroded. That the liberal arts
have fallen out of favor within higher education has been obvious for a long
time to many who work in the field; it is borne out by the statistics that are
released with increasing frequency by the councils, study groups, and

professional gatherings that make it their business to study such things. The Bennett report, for one, cites drastically lowered enrollments in the liberal arts (since 1970, English majors have declined 57 percent, philosophy majors by 41 percent, history majors by 62 percent, modern language majors by 50 percent) and the absence in many colleges and universities of any requirements in languages, literature, and history (75 percent do not require European history, 72 percent American literature or history, 86 percent the history of the civilizations of Greece or Rome).[45] The NIE, AAC, and Bennett reports all decry what they see as a strong tendency within higher education to pander to monetary, numerical, and political considerations at the expense of its traditional mission.

The liberal arts are generally thought of as comprised of certain subject matter or bodies of knowledge drawn largely from the cultural heritage of the Western world. A quick look at any university or college catalogue under the heading "Liberal Arts and Sciences" is all that is necessary for a general understanding of what courses are considered by institutions of higher education to be part of this group. While offerings differ somewhat from institution to institution, and new inclusions and exclusions are often hotly debated, the core curriculum of the liberal arts can still be considered fairly universal throughout American higher education. While the last few decades have seen a loosening of requirements in this area, for most students at least a sampling of these courses is still a general requirement for a baccalaureate degree. Undergraduate degrees are still usually designated Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science, but it is becoming increasingly obvious that for many, if not most, American undergraduates, the liberal arts have come to mean only that particular and fragmented body of courses that are required before a more

economically practical major can be embarked upon, a sort of common trivial pursuit of late adolescence. The idea of the liberal arts as a coherent and meaningful contributor to the lives of students and to the culture as a whole appears to have lost real power. Unless compelling reasons can be given for its importance, it may become nothing more than a sentimental nod to a traditional past that has no real future.

I believe that as long as the definition of the liberal arts has meaning within higher education, primarily as a certain body of courses, its real and potential contribution to the culture will continue to be trivialized. A renewal of interest in the liberal arts within higher education which only considers the reintroduction of required courses as an answer to educational illiteracy may do very little in the long run for the preservation of the values that have traditionally defined the purpose of higher education and given integrity to its institutions. I believe that a meaningful argument for the importance of the liberal arts must go further and address the question of what particular contribution they can make to our culture as it is and as it can be projected into the future. For this it may be necessary to make a concerted effort to break the connection in our minds between the liberal arts as a whole, and specific, finite courses, (English 101, Biology 302), and to think instead of the liberating arts, a definition that more clearly connects with the underlying reasons for study within this body of knowledge, and with the traditional ideological base of higher education.

In this context, the purpose behind a liberal arts curriculum can be seen as the liberation of self, the transformation of the individual by the internalization of values and cultural elements having to do with cognitive rationality. This is a liberation that comes with the ability to make intellectual and

personal connections: to perceive choices, to identify responsibility, to be broadly literate, to know and understand the past within the context of the present, to speculate about the future from the past and present, to enjoy the life of the mind, to understand the existence of aesthetic and moral choice, to think, to know, to understand, to connect, to feel, to act within the context of the human condition. It is a liberation of self from the parochial and prejudicial circumstances of our individual histories, an incorporation within the self of a means whereby we may continue to grow in understanding of the most difficult and enduring of human questions. It is a basis for choice and judgment.

When the liberal arts are spoken of in these terms, as a vehicle for personal and cultural transformation, the reasons for continuing and strengthening their existence takes on importance for the individual, for higher education, and for society. The stiffening of requirements in the liberal arts without a basic reconnection to the purposes behind this study and to the value base of the institution as a whole may give us new generations of students who are more adept and facile with the facts presented within these disciplines, but who have not incorporated their value or been transformed in any important way by their inclusion. Furthermore, because the pressures against educational outcomes and goals that are not easily verifiable or utilitarian are immense within the culture, this rekindled interest in the liberal arts may well be a passing phenomenon without the strength lent by these value connections.

The AAC's report on the Purpose and Meaning of the Baccalaureate urges a rethinking and re-presentation of the liberal arts curriculum within a context that emphasizes methods and processes, and modes of access and understanding within intellectual, aesthetic and philosophical experiences. While the committee calls for a minimum required program for all students, they do not

believe that a coherent and meaningful undergraduate education can be formed by the simple addition of disconnected and fragmented courses. They illustrate and argue for, in some depth, nine experiences that they believe must form the basis for any real renewal within higher education: (1) inquiry, abstract, logical thinking, and critical analysis, (2) literacy in writing, reading, speaking, and listening, (3) an understanding of the use and limits of numerical data, (4) historical consciousness, (5) an understanding of the use and implications of science, (6) values, (7) an appreciation of the arts, (8) multicultural and international experiences, and (9) study in depth.[46] In its discussion of these nine categories, the committee makes it very clear that their focus goes beyond a concern for the coverage of factual knowledge to a concern for the processes and experiences that can lead to a liberalizing and transforming education for the individual and, by extension, for the culture as a whole.

The difficulties that higher education faces in implementing the kind of renewal in undergraduate education that this report emphasizes should not be underestimated. The training of most academics has not encouraged an inclination or aptitude for meaningful dwelling beyond their disciplinary houses or specialties. The emphasis on specialized research in graduate schools is echoed in undergraduate education by a reward system that denigrates the importance of teaching. Curriculum committees on many campuses suffer from "chronic paralysis" caused, in part, by a real loss of power and, in part, by a felt lack of importance.[47] Administrators, caught between the minutiae of management and the financial considerations of institutional survival, have largely lost the ability to encourage and lead in matters of philosophical importance. The increasingly heavy bureaucratization and structural complexity of much of higher education contributes to institutional inertia, making funda-

mental change much more difficult. Furthermore, on many campuses a heavy investment in vocational training and the possibilities for short-term payback in its continuing emphasis, may well preclude any meaningful renewal of the less utilitarian aspects of higher education.

Beyond this, the incursion of the primary values of the culture as expressed in the technological-educational ethos is a major problem that will have to be dealt with before renewal can take place. As early as 1934, Louis Mumford wrote:

> The brute fact of the matter is that our civilization is now weighed in favor of the use of mechanical instruments, because the opportunities for commercial production and the exercise of power lie there; while all the direct human reactions or the personal arts which require a minimum of mechanical paraphenalia are treated as negligible.[48]

He went on to warn of needless production, pervasive instrumentation, the importance of physical goods as symbols, purposeless materialism, and the resulting diminution of whole areas of human personality.

It does not take a great stretch of the imagination to see the connection between Mumford's words, what has happened in our culture, and what is happening increasingly within higher education. The movement of masses of students through units of production, the increasing use of standardized testing and procedures, the emphasis on commercial end results, and the diminuition of methods, modes, and whole areas of study that cannot be "efficiently operationalized" are a fact of life on many campuses today. A liberalizing education requires personal transformation and stresses effectiveness over efficiency, value choice over objectification, and universalistic goals over short-term pay back: a whole constellation of processes and understandings that are not easily quantifiable or directly related to vocational outcomes.

Difficult as it may be within institutions of higher education to formulate and implement a strong and liberating educational experience, the most difficult step lies without. Within many colleges and universities there is a felt need for reemphasizing a liberating education and, at least, a potentially strong advocacy for its importance. In American society as a whole there appears to be no felt need, certainly none that is articulated or that can claim a constituency of believers. The recent concern for the state of higher education has come primarily, and very understandably, from individuals and groups that have or have had direct connection to institutions of higher learning. While the first step in any renewal of a liberal education probably must come from within the institution, there will be a concurrent or eventual need to make a convincing case and to find advocates and support in the general culture.

There is, I believe, a real need within our culture for the kind of contribution a liberalizing education can make. Imbedded within the idea of the liberalizing arts and, indeed, within the traditional ideological foundation of higher education is a concept of education that stresses wholeness and connection over linearity, objectification, and fragmentation, long-term intellectual and personal growth over short-term economic payback, choice and possible dissent over obedient service to the existing economy and state. As opposed to this, linearity within the technological/educational paradigm can be seen as leading to an inability to deal with ambiguity and paradox, and a belief that simple answers are available to all problems. Objectification negates conflict among individuals and within society and denies the legitimacy of differing points of view. Further, and perhaps most damaging, it denies the reality of emotion and intuition, and separates the "real" from the

realm of moral and ethical decision making. Fragmentation leads to an inability to make connections, be they purely rational or otherwise. It is accompanied by the loss of a sense of history, as well as the inability to plan a coherent and positive future.

We live in difficult and complex times, in a country whose techology appears to have outstripped our ability to deal with it. What may be most needed in our culture today are those qualities that are most encouraged by a liberalizing education. The push from our society, manifested more and more within higher education, is for the trained specialist, but what may be most needed today is the broadly educated and well-rounded generalist. We can build the bomb, we can construct elaborate life-support systems, we can devise immense and complex institutional structures, but we do not appear to know how to handle the results or consequences of our technological efficiency. That technological efficiency now has the ability to destroy not only the "good life" that it appeared to serve so well in the past, but all the life on this planet. There is an even bigger argument now for the need to temper, to correct the imbalance of technological pace and complexity, specialization, and fragmentation with the ability and will to understand and deal with the larger questions and paradoxes of our shared human existence.

Higher education will never have the ability to solve all the problems and complexities of our modern world, but it does have, I believe, the ability to make a real difference in our future direction.

> Over the next 15 years and into the next century our Nation will require
> citizens who have learned how to learn - who can identify, organize,
> and use all the learning resources at their disposal. It will depend on
> creative people who can synthesize and reshape information and who
> can analyze problems from many different perspectives. And it will

require people who will share their knowledge and intellectual abilities in family, community, and national life.[49]

This will require, according to the AAC's report, "a vital transformation in the way our colleges and universities go about their business," a reemphasis within higher education on the knowledge, processes, and understandings that will lead to a liberalizing education.[50]

George W. S. Trowe has written of Americans as living with a history of no-history in a culture of no-context. Our history has become the history of the individual lifespan; often it seems our collective memories reach no further back than yesterday, for without a contextual surrounding to give meaning to the happenings in our lives, we can make no connections beyond the flicker of the evening news. Trowe speaks of a culture that features a grid of 200 million and a grid of one, the mass or the anomic individual, increasingly adrift without the mediating influences that provide history and context. Within all the mediating professions and institutions (law, medicine, religion, and education); there has been an erosion of function, a tendency to move along the line of least resistance to the polar ends of the cultural grid.[51]

Higher education appears to be suffering from just such an erosion of function. Without what Warren Bryan Martin calls a "coherent, morally compelling, widely accepted theology of higher education,"[52] its contributions to the individual and the culture as one of the primary mediating institutions may well end. The traditional ideological base of higher education, primarily expressed within the liberal arts and sciences, can be seen as forming the core of this theology. It is a question of values; it must be argued in these terms and it must be lived in these terms if higher education is to survive the value onslaught from the larger culture and contribute something of importance to society.

Values, Governance and the Liberal Arts College

For the small liberal arts colleges, a coherent and compelling argument for these values is of primary importance. Their existence as special entities within higher education will probably depend upon it. However, while their more direct ties to the traditional value base of higher education, through their reliance upon the liberal arts and sciences, makes them more vulnerable, it also offers the possibility of their becoming once again centers of educational thought and practice. Their relative size, simplicity of organization, and isolation from many direct forms of governmental, corporate, and political interferences, retains for them the opportunity to reformulate and reemphasize their particular mission, to become what Martin calls "colleges of character."[53]

It should be remembered that while discussions of any renewal or reemphasis of the importance of a liberalizing education may take place and have consequences for all of higher education on a generalized level, it is within actual and particular institutions that any real difference will be made. William Bryan Martin, for one, believes that it is the small, liberal arts college that offers the best hope for this renewal. Many of these colleges still retain strong connections with the traditional value base of higher education through their emphasis on the liberal arts; they are able to offer a workable, living community, a center, in which these values can be expressed and have meaning on many different levels for their students. Institutional fragmentation, which has led to a loss of overall institutional purpose and direction within many large universities and systems, is not a major problem for them. Their unitary structure, and relatively high faculty commitment to the institution as

a whole, can be seen as having real benefits for a strong and coherent institutional expression of mission.

The problem of survival of these small colleges is of particular urgency and will, I believe, require a particularly strong commitment to, and articulation of, the fundamental values that make up their *raison d'être*. It is quite clear that this type of institution cannot compete in the vocationalizing of American higher education, although many are trying by a constant shifting of offerings to meet what consumers appear to be demanding. In the end, they will fail. For it will not be by defining their role as that of lesser handmaiden to the demands of the larger culture that will save their place within higher education, it will be by redefining and reemphasizing their special contribution.

As higher education in the United States moves through the 1980s, the heightened interest in the value of a liberal education should give these colleges a good opportunity to reclaim their place as important contributors within higher education. However, it will not be by curriculum alone that that place will be reclaimed, but by providing a coherent environment of learning, rooted firmly in institutional identity and purpose. There is evidence that those colleges that are surviving well in this period of retrenchment are those that have made it clear to themselves and others what their particular identity, their specific function, and their underlying values are. "In a successful college there is an awareness of what the institution is trying to do which acts as a unifying principle."[54] That awareness is not only manifested in a particular curriculum, but also in the daily functioning of the institution; it is an awareness that recognizes the interrelatedness of all the aspects of a particular educational community--its values, its structure and governance, its atmosphere and community life.

The importance of governance in this context should not be underestimated, for it is governance within a compatible structure that is the operational expression of institutional values, the functioning system that expresses to those within the organization and to those without the purpose and reason for the organization's existence.

Webster's New International Dictionary, second edition, has defined governance as follows:

1. Act, manner, office, or power of governing: government.
2. State of being governed.
3. Method or system of government or regulation.
4. Conduct, management, or behavior; manner of life.[55]

The Educational Administration Glossary defines it as "control and authority over decision-making processes".[56] The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education defines it as "the exercise of authority to operate colleges and universities, delegated by constitution, charter, or statute to a person, body or government agency."[57]

Except for the fourth definition of Webster's, these definitions primarily express their legalistic underpinnings and a certain disembodiment from the life of the institution within which this governance takes place. Although colleges and universities are mentioned specifically in the Encyclopedia of Higher Education, this definition could also be applied to many organizations and is both too broad in application and too specific in definition to have any real connection to what actually constitutes governance in higher education.

Robert Nisbet offers a different interpretation to governance in higher education:

> What the university in America had to offer was not unique manufac-
> ture of knowledge, but a unique structure of authority resident in a

unique intellectual community. . . . Potent though this structure of authority was, it was yet so finely drawn, and so much a part of the atmosphere as to be nearly invisible. Thus the essential character of the academic community, thus the special nature of academic freedom.[58]

Nisbet's statement on the governance of universities goes far beyond legalistic definitions to emphasize something very different--atmosphere, community, and a strong connection with the underlying values of the institution. He reminds us that governance does not exist in a vacuum, but is an integral part of the underlying purpose of the institution, a "manner of life."

Peter Drucker agrees.

Organization is not mechanical. It is not "assembly." It cannot be "prefabricated." Organization is organic and unique to each . . . institution. Structure is the means for attaining the objectives and goals of an institution. Any work on structure must therefore start with objectives and strategy . . . i.e., the answers to the questions "What is our business, what should it be, what will it be?", determine the purpose of structure.[59]

Within this context, it can be said that the structure and governance patterns of any particular organization are the daily expressions of the reason for that organization's existence. As such, they have a direct connection with the organization's purpose, and through that purpose to the values that underlie it. Values, purpose, structure, and governance are all part of the fabric of an organization, inextricably bound to each other, part and parcel of what the organization is.

While Drucker mentions the organic nature of organization, he also stresses the importance of rational understanding of its purpose (as it is, as it should be, as it will become) in its connections to operational structure and form. Structure and governance do not necessarily and organically proceed from the

values and purpose of the organization, but all are involved in a living relationship within the organization. As O'Kane reminds us: "While it is useful to follow the dictum that form follows function when one is designing a structure or organization, it is also useful to presume that form often shapes function."[60] Structural forms and governance patterns that are not consistent with and supportive of the value base and purpose of the organization are also determinants of what it is and what it will become. Furthermore, serious disjuncture between an organization's operational modes and its *raison d'être* may put its health and well-being at risk, by either making its values and purpose meaningless and/or its operations ineffectual.

Within higher education, there is evidence of increasing use of structural and operational forms that may be inimicable to the healthy expression of its value base. What Arthur E. Wise has called the "hyper-rationalization of education,"[61] with its increasing centralization of policy and decision-making housed within increasingly bureaucratic structures, its stress on narrow measures of accountability, on instrumental goals, "scientific" management, and economic rationality can be seen as making serious inroads within the functional lives of these institutions. All of these are operational modes that have come to higher education organizations from very different kinds of organizations (primarily business, military, and governmental agencies) whose primary purposes are also very different. That "unique structure of authority resident in a unique intellectual community" may well be changed beyond measure as form shapes function and purpose within higher education. The grafting of operational forms from other types of organizations, often as a response to institutional stress and confusion of purpose, may well increase the chances of further stress and confusion. Hyper-rationalization in Wise's terms is very

different from the rational analysis called for by Drucker. The latter emphasizes direct connection to the specific purpose of an organization, the former an alienation of connection to the value base in higher education.

Structure and governance are the means by which values and purpose are expressed within the organization. They are also the means by which an organization protects its boundaries from alien incursions that can threaten its purpose, its functional differentiation within the culture from other institutions and organizations. The importance of compatibility between the value base of a college and its mode of governance should not be underestimated, for governance patterns are the operational expression of institutional values, the functioning system that expresses to those within the organization and to those without, the purpose and reason for the organization's existence.

While scholars disagree on what is the prevailing pattern of governance within universities and colleges in the United States, there is little disagreement about what, in general, are the most efficacious governance modes in terms of support for the traditional value base within higher education. These governance modes are grounded in the need for high faculty control over those areas that relate directly to their functioning as specialized professionals concerned with the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. They are also grounded in the need for the protection of this function within the organization, and so can be seen as important for areas not directly related to teaching and research, but to broader, more comprehensive, organizational needs and goals. The "collegial" governance patterns encouraged by the principles and protections of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), [62] the "process democracy of Sykes,"[63] and the "federated professionalism" of Clark[64] are all expressions of a governance pattern and operational mode that

is thought to have positive benefits for the functional health of the college or university. The Blau[65] and Baldridge[66] studies give evidence of a direct connection between strong collegial governance, satisfaction of the faculty with the organization, and high institutional prestige.

For the small and endangered liberal arts college, a rededication to the values of community and purpose as embodied in the liberating arts must also mean a rededication to forms of operational expression that support and sustain those values. Martin believes that at this particular time, more than ever, colleges and universities require a reconciliation of mission and management, whereby actual practice, procedures, arrangements, settings, and appearances are always measured against institutional mission and ideals. It is the well understood and articulated mission that informs behavior and helps the community decide when to say no and when to say yes, an idealized intention that affects practice and lends strength and coherence to the institution.[67]

The multiple and ambiguous goals and complex and problematic technology which characterizes, according to many scholars, organizations of higher education in the United States make the formation of a clear and understood mission of particular importance to the individual liberal arts college. Their countinuing existence as important contributors within an increasingly complex and competitive field, will depend upon their ability to articulate and define their unique contributions as educational institutions, centered in the value of a liberal education as "idealized intention" and the value of their particular community as expression of that intention. The ability of a college's community to sustain and nourish its expressed mission is dependent upon the understanding and commitment of its members, particularly members of the faculty and administration. That understanding and commitment is, in turn,

dependent upon operational modes and governance structures that allow and encourage open communication and informed behavior and decision-making within the organization.

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CHAPTER III

A LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE: A CASE STUDY IN

VALUES, PURPOSE, AND GOVERNANCE

In <u>The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore</u>, sociologist

Burton R. CLark began to develop the idea of the organizational saga as an

explanation of the abiltiy of some small liberal arts colleges to survive and

flourish as distinct and acclaimed institutions. Clark defines an organization-

al saga as "a collective understanding of unique accomplishment in a formally

established group."[1] It is a unifying theme, historically based, which high-

lights nonstructural and nonrational dimensions of organizational life and

achievement. It is the story of organizational character, especially distinc-

tive character, that forms and shapes what an organization is, what its mem-

bers feel about it, and how those outside the organization view it. It empha-

sizes the normative dimensions, the shared beliefs, attitudes, and values of

personnel and other participants about the nature of the enterprise. According

to Clark, it is these ideational elements of complex organizations that deter-

mine their sense of unity and feeling of community and that call forth comit-

ment and loyalty from its members.[2]

Clark developed the concept of organizational saga in the process of his ex-

amination of why three small liberal arts colleges were able to build and sus-

tain fine reputations and stability under the problematic conditions that beset

this type of academic institution. Coming from a position of concern for the

liberal arts and those institutions that have traditionally devoted themselves

to a broad, liberal education, Clark came to believe that effective performance

of these organizations depended upon effective incorporation of purpose stemming from ideals, philosophy, and values.

While all organizations have roles or ways of behaving that are associated with their defined place and position in the social system, only some have been able to seize upon their role in such a purposive way that it becomes transformed into a mission. It is this sense of mission, successfully developed over the years, that becomes an organizational saga capable of capturing the emotions and allegiance of its participating members, turning them into believers and the organization into community. In their "rythym of organizational development," Clark saw in these colleges a common thread, a strong institutional saga arising out of purposive direction built upon their ideational base.[3]

While the concept of organizational saga emphasizes the nonstructural and nonrational aspects of organizational life on the college campus, Clark, in a paper titled "Belief and Loyalty in College Organizations," goes on to link the normative belief system as embodied in the organizational saga to structure and governance, maintaining that the ideational elements of complex organizations "exist as basic sentiments that help determine the structures of governance and how they work."[4] A strong saga becomes the means whereby links are forged across internal divisions, binding together the participants and their work in a feeling of unity with the organization as a whole. The common institutional definition embodied in the saga, expressed in clear identity, and successful as mission, becomes a foundation for communication, cooperation, and trust. Given a high level of belief and trust in the organization, the need for bureaucratic procedures, the elaboration of rules and regulations required for linking of disparate parts and the resolution of conflict, is lessened.

Belief, structure, and governance become elements of a whole, inseparable parts of the organizational saga.

Because the maintainance of common values and beliefs about an organization is dependent to a large extent on high interaction between its constituent groups, Clark also believes that the size of the organization may be crucial to developing a strong saga. The small college has a distinct advantage in this respect, with a stronger possibility of developing a unitary mission, a widely held belief system, and supportive and complementary governance procedures.

According to Clark, the strong organizational saga becomes a most valuable resource to a college. The bonding the participants feel with the organization through the common belief system leads to enlarged effort, increased morale, and a competitive edge in recruiting and maintaining personnel. Students and alumni, as well as faculty, become proselytizers for what they view as a unique and valuable educational enterprise. The boundaries that protect the institution from outside intrusions of alien belief systems become less permeable. Change that threatens the saga is resisted internally and the integration of all the elements and enterprises of the community into the belief system is a goal that is both valued and pursued.[5]

In this chapter, I will use Clark's concept of the saga as a basis for organizing an examination into the values and organizational life of one particular liberal arts college. I have chosen a form of the historical, narrative case study, because I believe, as does Clark, that it offers one of the better means of looking at the part that values and beliefs play in the life of the organization. The organizational saga is "a mission made total across a system of space and time. It embraces the participants of a given day and links together successive waves of participants over major periods of time."[6] Within the

process of its development lie the clues that link purpose, mission, and values, eventually forming an organization that appears distinctive to participants and observers alike. Part of that distinctiveness can be seen in the structure of the organization, but much of it is expressed through a belief system that is only partially visible as structure, a normative reality that potently affects not only the rational but the nonrational elements of the organization. The case study provides a vehicle for the incorporation of these differing elements, for it offers the possibility of blending research based upon written, factual accounts (the rational element) with that based upon personal feelings, reactions, and observations (the nonrational element). This chapter will attempt just such a blend by the use of historical and contemporary documents, interviews with participants, and personal observations as a way of exploring the many dimensions of a college.

The college to be discussed in this chapter was chosen for several reasons. It is a school that defines itself as dedicated to a liberal arts education and the values that this dedication implies.[7] Beyond that, it appears to have successfully incorporated its own unique tradition and value system, that of the Quakers, into the ongoing life of the institution. It is small in size, it is not comfortably endowed, and its reputation, while growing, is nowhere near those of the renowned and familiar liberal arts colleges that Clark studied or that Baldridge included in his category of "Elite Liberal Arts Colleges."[8] In many ways it is representative of hundreds of liberal arts colleges across the nation; in other ways it is not, for it appears to be thriving in its own distinct way, during a time when many other schools, similar in general orientation, size, and funding, are in a state of disarray and collapse. It is a success story in a time of failure for many small liberal arts colleges.

Several years ago, while working for a master's degree in educational ad-
ministration, I spent some time visiting several local campuses, all small in
size, with a liberal arts general orientation. Through interviews with admin-
istrators, faculty, and students, attendance at standing committee meetings,
perusal of documents, and general observations, I was attempting to gain fur-
ther understanding of the characteristics, goals, structure, and governance of
these academic organizations. All of these colleges faced similar difficulties:
a shrinking pool of potential undergraduates, rising costs, lowered government
funding, and a general denigration of a liberal arts education within the cul-
ture. Their ways of trying to cope with these problems varied, but were pri-
marily reactive, ranging from panic to complacency. Their ability to cope ap-
peared to be in doubt, threatened variously by poorly thought-out purpose and
goals, floundering direction, rigid governance structures and a general feeling
of disarray and disheartenment. One of these schools, however, appeared to be
dealing with this time of stress in a very different way. Interestingly, this
college, at that time, was going through an additional stressful situation with
the recent controversial resignation of its president of fifteen years and the
attendant process of picking a successor and, with him or her, the future di-
rection of the school. Yet, this particular college seemed more centered than
the others. The faculty, while engaged heavily in debating and questioning the
future direction of the school, also seemed less divisive, less threatened,
more concerned with the welfare of the school as a whole. There was a defi-
nite expression of feeling of high morale, a strong sense of community, and an
agreed upon purpose that was missing in the other colleges. The college ap-
peared to be healthfully adaptive to changing conditions, not precipitously or
blindly reactive. Its governance mode appeared to have the support, even

enthusiasm, of the faculty although administrative leadership was, to a large extent, in temporary suspension. On the whole, this educational enterprise exhibited a high degree of self-awareness and knowledge, and a feeling of self-worth that gave spirit and vitality to the campus.

During my doctoral studies, my interest in higher education began to focus more strongly on the connection between values and governance and their roles in the strengthening of higher education institutions, particularly the liberal arts colleges. My curiosity and interest had been aroused at this particular school. Here, it seemed to me, was a living laboratory where the questions involved with values, purpose and direction, viability and strength, were being decided and lived. I had continued some of my connections with the college, intermittently keeping track of what was going on; now I returned for further observation and interviews. A new president and a new dean had been appointed, some rearranging of administrative staff and structure had taken place, and the college as a whole had settle down a bit from the days when there was high concern over who the next president would be and what future direction the school would take.

What follows is a discussion of Clark's conceptualization of the saga within the history and life of that particular small liberal arts college which had so intrigued and fascinated me for several years. The interconnectedness of the many elements that form the basis of life within the college, particularly the interweaving of values and governance patterns, belief and structure, become evident, I believe, as the saga unfolds.

The Development of the Saga at Guilford College

The Setting

Guilford College's three hundred acre campus is located in the medium-sized city of Greensboro, North Carolina, in the rapidly growing center section of the state known as the Piedmont area. The city houses two other colleges besides Guilford: Greensboro College, affiliated with the Methodist Church, and Bennett College which primarily serves black women. Two branches of the state university are also in town: North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University, which has a largely black student body, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. In the surrounding area, within a radius of less than one hundred miles, are the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke University, Wake Forest University, North Carolina State University, Winston-Salem State University, and numerous small, primarily liberal arts colleges of varying reputations.

Guilford's campus is lovely, consisting in its main part of a tree-lined drive leading to a beautifully landscaped and wooded quad. Lining the drive and the quad are buildings of Carolina brick, primarily neo-Georgian in design, that give the campus a sense of architectural wholeness and serenity. Beyond the quad is the domed and strikingly modern, solar heated physical education center, the playing fields, the tennis courts, the campus pond, and acres of woods that are largely untouched except for hiking and bike trails. On the whole, the campus brings to mind that cultural stereotype of the "halls of ivy" imprinted from movies of the 1940s and 1950s. The atmosphere appears friendly, re-laxed, and almost tranquil.

According to the Guilford College "Self-Study Report" for the school year 1984-85, 1,461 students attend Guilford; 1,119 are residential students, primarily eighteen to twenty-two years of age; the remaining 342 are enrolled in the Continuing Education Center and are usually older, local, and often part-time. About 40 percent of the college's students are from North Carolina, a percentage that has been dropping in recent years; the majority of the rest are from other states, often areas of the North where a Quaker presence is felt in the community through secondary schools or other means. Fifty-four percent of the student body is male; 46 percent is female. Ten and six-tenths percent are classified minority or foreign. While only sixty-nine foreign students are enrolled full-time, larger groups of foreign students pass through the Inter-Link Language and Training Center which is located on campus and prepares foreign students for entrance into American schools. As of 1985, room, board, tuition, and standard fees for fulltime residential students came to $7,710.

The faculty at Guilford consists of eighty-nine full-time members, with a supplementary part-time faculty that varies in size: 28 percent are female, two are members of a recognized minority group. The average age is somewhere in the forties. Approximately 85 percent have received doctoral or equivalent terminal degrees in this country or abroad. Over 50 percent are from areas outside the southwestern region of the United States. Twenty-one and seven-tenths percent are tenured. The average compensation within rank is $20,800 for assistant professor, $26,400 for associate professor, and $32,200 for full professor. Paid study leaves are available to six judged faculty members who have been with the college at least six years. Unpaid leaves of absence are also available, as are limited amounts of funding for faculty travel, research, and teaching development.[9]

Guilford defines itself as a liberal arts institution and its catalogue bears that out. The college requires for graduation one course each in history, intercultural studies, foreign language, and the creative arts and two courses each in English, the humanities, science and mathematics, and the social studies. Twenty-eight academic majors are offered; thirty-two credits in the chosen field are required. All freshmen and seniors must take one semester each in a specially designed interdisciplinary course. Interdisciplinary concentrations and courses are also available in several areas. Semesters abroad under the aegis of the college are offered in London, Paris, Tokyo, Mexico, and elsewhere, depending on the availability of staff and interested students. Dual degrees in several fields, such as engineering, medical technology, and forestry/environmental science, are available in conjunction with several universities in the southeast. The college belongs to a consortium with several other schools in the immediate area, providing further diversity of course work for its students. Independent study and internships are other options offered its students.[10]

What distinguishes Guilford College in a meaningful way from the many other small liberal arts colleges across the United States is not to be found in the particularities mentioned above, but in its history and development, in the beliefs and practices that have formed its past and present and are determining its future. These beliefs and practices have roots not only in its commitment to a liberal arts education, but also in a growing and strengthening commitment to its particular historical value base—that of a Quaker educational institution.

Guilford College began in 1889, growing out of the New Garden Boarding School which was founded by the Society of Friends in 1837 as the first

coeducational school in the South. Its stated purpose was the training of responsible and enlightened leaders through its emphasis on the Quaker value system and the liberal arts as a stimulus to intellectual and spiritual growth. Quakerism has traditionally stressed simplicity, tolerance, regard for the individual, social justice, and world peace. It has also stressed community, governance by consensus (the "sense of the meeting"), and a mode of inquiry that emphasized the search for truth by the individual "sustained by the whole community of seekers."[11] It is in these last three elements that a close connection with the liberal arts tradition can be found: a particular compatibility with the possibilities of a college as community, dedicated to a search for knowledge, and run by collegial governance. For Guilford, this compatibility of particular historical tradition with the value base of the liberal arts tradition can be seen today as a positive element in the life of the college. Not withstanding the Quaker beginnings of the college, however, this positive element has not been preordained. Neither has it been delivered by chance or deliberately planned in a wholly conscious or strategic way. Rather its evolvement has been the result of the many choices, decisions, beliefs, and feelings that make up the saga of Guilford College.

Clark believes that the making of an institutional saga that is capable of determining and guiding the formation of a distinctive college is a complicated interaction "between what appears possible, what is thought desirable, and what is done."[12] Environmental and institutional constraints force a gradual evolvement of meaningful theme as direction and purpose are formed from the many elements that make up the life of the organization testing the tolerance of its specific context. The organization cannot ignore the expectations and restrictions of society as a whole, its particular history and

location, its traditional clientele, its funding, personnel, and reputation. The possibilities and constraints of the academic organization as genre and as specific determine to a great extent the interplay of purpose, structure, and setting that become transformed into the powerful and determining saga. Beyond this, Clark believes that there are certain identifiable stages that mark the development of the saga. The stages are "Initiation," where conditions are ripe for the possibility of the initiation of change and choices and decisions are made that lay the groundwork for the full development of a saga, and "Fulfillment," where beliefs and feelings have coalesced within the organization to such an extend that the saga becomes self-perpetuating, a definition of distinctiveness and worth to its participants.[13]

Initiation

According to Clark, the initiation of institutional innovation leading to distinctiveness in a college may be attempted under three conditions, each with different forms of structural permissiveness and conduciveness to change. The conditions are: the "New Context" or the newly formed organization, the "Revolutionary Context" or the established organization in a crisis of decay or failure, and the "Evolutionary Context" or the established organization that is ready, for various reasons, for evolutionary change. This last context is the most difficult to predict, for the colleges that fall into this category are established and at least, in some part, reasonably or marginally successful. Ideology and structure play important roles in an institution's openness to change. Relatively flexible conditions that are more conducive to evolutionary change appear to be present in colleges with a somewhat liberal ideological component based upon church affiliation, educational tradition, or social

component based upon church affiliation, educational tradition, or social setting. A college with a tradition of presidential power is more open to change than one where professors or trustees have exerted control over the president. Of particular promise, according to Clark, is the college with a self-defined need for educational leadership and where routine structures and ways of operating have continued in the absence of alternatives. These conditions set the stage for one leader or a small cadre of reformers to move in and initiate a transformation which, if successful, will over a period of a decade or two, become a saga that defines a unique educational institution.[14]

By the early 1960s, Guilford College appeared to meet many of the conditions that can lead to the initiation of an organizational saga in the "Evolutionary Context." As an institution, it had continued to state its connection with broad Quaker principles in its bulletins and statements of purpose, although by this time there were no direct legal or financial ties with the Society of Friends. All of its board members were required to be Quakers; its president was a Quaker (as had been all those who preceded him); and a certain percentage of faculty and students were of Quaker background or choice.[15] However, in many other ways its Quaker background lacked a certain substantive reality and the college had come to increasingly reflect a Southern parochial point of view.

Over the years, the Quakers of the South had grown to resemble more closely the general population of which they were a part. Many meetings in North Carolina and other southern states now had paid ministers; their congregations and their general social expression of religious intent within their communities were often indistinguishable from some of the more liberal elements within the protestant churches that are the spiritual homes of the majority of

Southerners.[16] This was reflected in the college by a conservative social
posture and operational modes. While the Quakers of New Garden Meeting had
devoted themselves to the manumission of slaves and the establishment of an
underground railway in the 1800s, the college as late as the 1950s had taken
no stand on the segregation of the races. The board of trustees had become
entirely local in composition, so much so that certain seats on the board went
automatically, without discussion, to members of certain local families. A
Quakerly "sense of the meeting," a form of consensual governance, was not in
evidence on campus. The prevailing form of governance more closely resem-
bled the authoritarian patriarchial model which was fairly prevalent in many
colleges during the last century, and is still in evidence in some church relat-
ed colleges of the South. The president ran the faculty meeting with a heavy,
authoritarian hand; there was no faculty consultation on hiring, firing, or sala-
ries, no definition of membership in the faculty, and no statement of the du-
ties, responsibilities, and privileges of the faculty in either governance or
academic matters. For students, the religious aspect of the college had come
to be increasingly expressed in puritanical rules and regulations concerning
social relations between the sexes, proper conduct on campus and within the
community, and the prohibition of alcohol and frivolous or questionable enter-
tainment. Prohibitions were carred to such an extreme that women students
were forbidden the use of the sidewalk in front of the men's dorm, apparently
as a means of controlling any possibility of incitement to improper conduct.[17]

Nevertheless, while the reality of Quaker principles translated into action
appeared questionable in many aspects of campus life at this time, the fact
that the college still defined itself as a Quaker institution and had a solid
minority of Quakers on campus meant that, at least on some level, the liberal

ideological element of Quakerism still retained some meaning for the institution, if only historically or emotionally.

In 1964, several very important things were happening in conjunction at the college. In retrospect, while largely highlighting the deficiencies of the college, they gave opportunity, impetus, and support for change. First was the resignation of the college's president of thirty years, Clyde A. Milner, effective in the fall of 1965. This left the most important post in the college's administration empty and ready to be filled. Beyond that, because of the nature of Milner's administration, its long tenure, and the control it exercised on all but one aspect of campus life, the vacuum about to be created by his departure was extremely large.

On June 16, 1964, the Board of Trustees met together with a management consultant from the firm of Cresap, McCormick, and Paget of New York City, for a presentation of a summary of the firm's findings on the business management and organization of Guilford College. Among its findings was that the college was operated more economically than any other institution studied. This finding was offset by recommendations that pointed out structural and organizational problems that existed in the operations of the college. Their recommendations included the opening of the Board to non-Quakers elected by the Alumni Association, a rewriting of the bylaws to reflect current practice, a writing in detail showing the lines of authority and responsibility within the college, a strengthening of the role of dean as functional director of the entire academic program, departmental budgets controlled by the chairmen, fixed salary schedules for faculty, a repositioning of the business manager to administrative officer under the president, and a plan of organization and stated procedure for electing officers to the Advisory Board of the Greensboro Division.[18]

The picture of the college that emerges from a study of these recommendations is one with a closed board, ineffectual or nonexistent organizational regulations, a dean and chairmen without much power or authority, and a faculty subject to fluctuating salaries. The problem concerning the office and operations of the business manager had widespread consequences for the college. The financial balance sheet of the college was one of its bright spots and, by all accounts, its business manager had done an excellent job in this area. However, according to the bylaws of the college, the business manager reported directly to the board; in practice this meant bypassing presidential authority and the existence of two power loci in the operations of the school. Control and complete knowledge of financial matters in any organization means tremendous power; Guilford was not an exception. A continuation of this arrangement could have major consequences for any future change being implemented on campus.

The Greensboro Division of the college presented other organizational problems. It was originally founded in 1948 as an independent, adult-oriented education center by the Greenboro Chamber of Commerce. In 1953, it became a branch of Guilford and, with the support of money from a local philanthropist, was expanded and renovated so that by 1964 the Downtown Division was accountable for approximately 34 percent of the FTEs in the college as a whole and offered a wide ranging variety of credit and non-credit courses.[19] The problem of the organization and procedures of the Advisory Board were just one small part of the problem that faced the college in regards to the Downtown Division: problems that centered on philosophical incompatibilities, lower standards, lack of integration with the parent campus, administrative effectiveness, and faculty utilization. The position of the trustees to the Division was likened to having a "bear by the tail."[20]

No doubt the most important spur toward the acceptance of the need for change at the college during this time in its history was the 1964 report of the Visiting Committee of the Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Based upon an institutional self-study and periodic visitations by the comittee, this study detailed a large number of dificiencies within the college and projected future difficulties ahead if substantive changes were not instituted. The Southern Association's representative, in a meeting with the board in November of 1964, reported that Guilford was now operating as a "sub-standard institution,"[21] a shocking statement about a school with Guilford's background and pride.

In regards to the faculty, the percentage of Ph.D.s had reached its lowest point in the history of the college and, at 29 percent, had fallen below the minimum required for accreditation. The faculty was considered underpaid, in many cases overworked, under-utilized and under-consulted in decision-making processes, and lacking the safety of criteria for salaries, promotion, and tenure. Although the college had "very substantial operating surpluses" since 1961, educational expenditures had been minimal for faculty salaries and the improvement of the library. This report echoed, in many respects, the findings and recommendations of the management study team particularly in regards to the makeup of the board, the independence of the business manager, the lack of integration and lower standards of the Downtown Division, and lack of clear administrative responsibilities. However, its scope was much broader, touching on a curriculum that had remained essentially unchanged since 1941, the connection of the college operations with its stated purpose, standards of admissions and matriculation, the condition of the faculty and the campus, and the overall atmosphere within the college.

While the problems of the college appeared to be immense at this time, it was not facing imminent collapse. Its financial affairs, through prudent management, were in very good condition for a school that received 80-85 percent of its operating budget from fees and tuition. In the mid-sixties, the pool of potential undergraduates was large and the Vietnam War and the draft added others who probably would not ordinarily choose to go to college. The morale of the faculty was "surprisingly high" considering its working conditions and there was a central core of well qualified, mature faculty that provided a degree of stability and *esprit de corps.* The informality of relationships among the fifty member faculty and between the students and their teachers lent a positive atmosphere to the campus and were thought to be definite pluses by the accreditation team.[22]

The negative evaluations given the college by important outsiders gave impetus to a growing self-defined need for change. The organizational structure and operational modes within the college appeared to be more the result of institutional drifting and the absence of alternatives brought about, in part, by the very long tenure of a president who controlled most decisions made on campus. While there was "more Quaker tradition at Guilford than a living Quaker philosophy," that tradition was still capable of connecting the weak links on campus with a remembered belief system.[23] Most of the conditions that Clark posits for the initiation of evolutionary change were present; what remained was the introduction of a leader to begin the process. This depended largely on the board, its willingness and ability to face the difficulties that appeared to lie ahead for the college, to define a direction for its future development, and to hire the right person. It was certainly possible at this time to largely ignore the negatives and look for short-term answers to

accreditation and other problems. With a surplus of funds and potential stu-
dents, the college was not in danger of immediate collapse; its problems were
the more difficult ones of belief, purpose, direction, structure, and gover-
nance.

In the November 6, 1964 meeting of the board, the chairman suggested that
the board give thought to four important questions:

(1) What is the purpose of the trust I have accepted? (2) What is the
authority I have under this trust? (3) What is my moral responsibility
in carrying out the trust according to the purposes designated by those
who established the trust? (4) What is my legal responsibility in
carrying out the trust?[24]

He went on to suggest that the board consider anew whether its purpose was
to operate a small Quaker college of the highest grade or to operate a larger
independent, nonsectarian college.

Several months later, the future direction of the college appeared to have
been largely settled with the hiring of Grimsley Taylor Hobbs as fifth presi-
dent of Guilford College. Dr. Hobbs was a birthright Quaker, a graduate of Guil-
ford, the grandson of the college's first president, and a philosophy professor
at Earlham College, a small, highly regarded, Quaker liberal arts college in
Indiana. His connections with the college and with North Carolina, the state of
his birth and childhood, were strong; his Quaker background was solid, and his
academic qualifications were excellent.

The board had decided to continue to operate a small liberal arts college
and with the hiring of Hobbs had reiterated and stressed the trust it felt as
governors of a Quaker institution. What was less clear at this time was
whether the board realized the seriousness of the conditions within the

college and their implications for its future health. There are indications that they did not. While Dr. Hobbs' qualifications as a Quaker and an academic were known, his administrative and leadership abilities were largely untried. The reactions of members of the board to changes that were later instituted were not always positive and the chairman expressed grave reservations and "disappointment" over the direction the school was to take under the leadership of Hobbs.[25]

Dr. Hobbs' motivations for taking the job were perhaps more complex. He was satisfied and successful as an academic and had no ambitions to become an admistrator, per se. However, he cared deeply about the college, was very concerned about its condition and fading reputation, and felt that he could make a difference.[26] During the next fifteen years, the difference he was to make would be substantial, encompassing all areas of the functioning college and changing the direction and the promise of the institution. Along with changes in form and substance, those years would also mark the development of an ideology, a shared belief system that would shape a unique academic community.

During the first years of Hobbs' administration, several changes in emphasis were evidenced. Many years before, Guilford had housed the highest percentage of doctorates of any small college in the area; in 1965, its accreditation was in danger because it had failed to meet the minimum standards set by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Faculty salaries were low and a policy of hiring non-doctorates for faculty positions had been in effect for years. Part of the problem was the allocation of existing funds with a lack of funding earmarked specifically for faculty development and raises; another part was the tight budget caused by the very low tuition the

college charged its students. Guilford's low tuition was based upon the premise that the college could only draw students by competing directly in terms of fees with the publicly supported institutions of higher education in the state. A lack of clear direction and purpose accompanied by a low self-image formed the basis for this premise. Hobbs did not agree and felt that Guilford was not and could not be in direct competition with the state institutions, that its reputation suffered because of extremely low tuition, and that a good faculty, adequately trained and funded, was the base upon which the college rested.[27] Tuition raises were instituted, faculty salaries were raised immediately, and continue to rise, and federal and private funding was provided for endowed professorships, doctoral and post-doctoral studies, and general faculty development.[28]

Along with raises in tuition, admission standards were also raised, so that during the 1960s and 1970s, the lower quartile of previously admitted students was no longer acceptable to the school. The admissions staff was greatly expanded and new procedures were instituted with an emphasis on continuing the college's appeal to its traditional clientele (students from the area or Quaker backgrounds), while making a concerted effort to increase the variety of the student body socially, ethnically, and geographically. While enrollment was expanded in scope, the college made a decision to maintain a firm policy of keeping overall enrollments at the stable level of approximately 1,000 residential students.[29] This meant that at a time when there was a large pool of potential students, the college could concentrate on upgrading the quality of its student population, its educational standards and offerings, its faculty and staff, and its existing plant without dilution of its purpose or threatening its future fiscal health. The boom years that led many other

schools into lowered standards and ill-considered expansion, became for Guilford a time of defining and regaining its direction as a small liberal arts college with climbing standards and accomplishments.

In the late 1920s, Guilford's then president Raymond Binford had instituted what was to become known as the "Core Curriculum." This course of study, interesting and innovative for its time, had continued in recognizable form until the beginning of Hobbs' tenure. While some revisions had been made over the years, the 1941 and 1965 catalogues show that the basic curriculum of the college remained almost completely unchanged in structure during those years.[30] The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools had urged that "the core curriculum be subjected to continuing faculty study to insure that it is contemporary and that new knowledge is incorporated without undue delay," citing lack of flexibility and choice, lack of student challenge and interest, and the need for seminars and discussion groups for beginning students.[31] Under the leadership of Hobbs, a transformation of the curriculum was instituted which attempted to combine flexibility for the student with a strong, coherent, and required liberal arts program. Innovative possibilities for the student and the school became available through options offered by the consortium and other curricular connections with nearby schools, internships and independent study, semesters abroad, interdisciplinary majors, concentrations, and courses, and other previously unavailable offerings.[32] Guilford College had decided to remain, in essence and actuality, a liberal arts college with a required course of study, but one in which choice and variety would also play an important part. The connections the college forged with other schools not only enhanced the choices of the students, but placed the college at a competitive advantage with other small schools and allowed it to concentrate its

resources within the finite curricular offerings that could easily be offered on campus.

Guilford's rededication to a liberal arts curriculum had implications for the Downtown Campus that was to change its form and substance drastically. This section of the college, while adding to its financial stability, was separated from it not only by geographical distance, but by administration, curriculum offerings, staff, and type of student. Perhaps most important, its purpose and philosophical base were very different from the parent college.[33] In many respects it most closely resembled the extension divisions that have been parts of large urban university systems, with their emphasis on serving the community through a very wide variety of credit and noncredit courses, many of them vocational. The lack of coordination with the parent campus on academic and fiscal policy, standards, staffing, and administrative practices had led to this being of specific negative mention in both of the 1964 reports to the board. By 1973, after many changes and much deliberation, a decision was made to dispose of the Downtown Campus, rename it the Urban Center, and house it on campus. Its programs in accounting, management, and criminal justice were continued as were special offerings to the community in credit and noncredit courses. However, closer integration with the aims and purposes of the residential college has been the strong and continuing direction for the Center. The decision to move, but continue this part of the college's operations, has not been without the engendering of strong controversy on campus, where the vocational orientation of some of its offerings continues to be seen by many faculty as directly contrary to a liberal education.[34] The practical benefits to the school have no doubt been a major consideration for some sort of continuance of the Urban Center: the fees engendered, the

increased use of facilities without further building, the favorable public rela-
tions with the larger community, and the existence of an organizational means
of integrating older students into the college community. Today the Urban
Center (now renamed the Center for Continuing Education) continues its some-
times fitful integration with the purposes of the college as a whole, while
retaining a separate functional definition on campus.

The Hobbs years saw other structural changes within the school. In 1968,
the board of trustees was increased from eighteen to twenty-four members,
with six positions open to non-Quakers. With the resignation of the chairman
and the attrition of others who had served with President Milner, others less
tied to the practices of the past and more open to change were appointed. A
policy was implemented that opened the meetings to non-voting, elected rep-
resentatives of the alumni, faculty, and students.[35] The position of the busi-
ness manager was placed under the administrative direction of the president
in 1968 and, with the 1973 death of the able but controlling manager of thirty
years, the college's financial operations became increasingly open to scrutiny,
input, and control of others on campus, including faculty.[36]

While these changes were important, perhaps the most important changes
that took place during the Hobbs administration had to do with the direct gov-
ernance of the operating college. In the beginning, President Hobbs had consid-
erable creative leeway in terms of governance structures and administrative
practice. Other administrators, aside from the business manager, had little
control or power within the previous administration and the faculty not only
lacked structurally designed input, but had almost no voice on campus outside
the classrooms. In effect, campus governance operations outside the office of
the president had been virtually nonexistent.[37] For Hobbs this meant that he

had an opportunity to shape the school in terms of personnel and practices which is not possible in most colleges and universities where on-going structure and multiple power foci limit presidential decisions.

Because of his background as an academic and a Quaker, and his belief that a strong college grows out of the cooperative and balanced endeavor of both administrators and faculty, changes in governance were instituted that gave both administrative staff and faculty more power and control over various aspects of college operations. Over the years, the administrative staff would change to more clearly reflect a growing consensus within the college of the direction in which it was headed under President Hobbs. To a large extent, administrative teamwork and consensual agreement replaced the one man rule of the past.[38] Faculty committee structure was designed and revamped to give the faculty greater control over the curriculum and faculty affairs and to increase faculty participation in the budget, admissions, and many other operational areas. In 1967, procedures for screening candidates through faculty and administrative committees were instituted. Standing faculty committees replaced a system of *ad hoc* committees in 1971, giving the faculty continual input into five major areas of college operations. Standards and procedures for tenure, promotion, and salaries were implemented where none had been before. An elected "Clerk of the Faculty" replaced the president as presider at the faculty meetings.[39] These and other changes in governance procedures instituted during the Hobbs years brought the college more directly into line with the standards of governance encouraged by the AAUP and practiced by reputable liberal arts colleges in the nation.

Many structural and organizational changes were instituted during the administration of Grimsley Hobbs, but while these changes defined purpose, set

the direction of the college, and laid a steady base for its future, they do not constitute a saga in Clark's terms. The saga speaks of "distinctive character," of shared beliefs, attitudes, and values, of a sense of unity and community. It is the emotional and ideational component within the organization, the other dimension that lives among the structures, procedures and operations of organizational life. It is the "meaningful theme" that develops along with organizational structure, purpose, and direction, guiding that purpose and direction toward the formation of a distinctive college.[40] The changes that Guilford College underwent in the fifteen years of the Hobbs administration that can be documented by minutes, bulletins, self-studies, and the like, show a college in transition from a "sub-standard" institution toward one of increasingly higher standards, academic achievements, and organizational coherence. However, it is the changes that cannot be documented in this manner that give further meaning and further dimension to that transition. The documentation for these changes comes through the expressions of beliefs about the college by the participants of that community, their interactions with each other and the organization, and the way the organization is shaped and formed in an on-going process that came from a growing awarness that it is special and unique.

For Guilford College, the "meaningful theme" that developed came out of its growing commitment to its particular history as a Quaker college. Along with the structural and organizational changes that signaled its successful efforts to upgrade itself as a small, liberal arts college, an ideological belief about the uniqueness of its educational endeavor was coalescing around the expression of the Quaker tradition within the life of the organization.[40] It was this growing Quaker dimension that probably, more than anything else, captured the commitment of its participants to the life of the college and gave impetus to the development of a saga, with its special sense of unity and community.

In 1980, when I first visited Guilford College, it was in the process of choosing a new president during a time of environmental stress. Grimsley Hobbs had been president for fifteen years, an incredibly long term of office for today's college presidents, particularly one who, through the exercise of personal leadership, has instituted a great deal of organizational change. The leadership qualities that shape change and make possible its incorporation into organizational life are often viewed as unnecessary or even disruptive in an organization that is entering a period of consolidation. The very elements that a change agent has introduced into the organization, in personnel, structure, governance patterns, and the like, tend to become antagonistic to further change as they become the pillars that support the organization as it is. Situational and environmental factors impact in different ways upon a changed organization, the needs of the organization change, and the capacity of the individual leaders to effect further change is diminished. Furthermore, the leader who deliberately attempts to challenge and change an organization has chosen a stimulating but eventually exhausting course, exhausting not only personally, but also in the social and institutional resources that formed the support system for his or her leadership.[42] Added to the general problems of continuing a change leadership, Guilford's requirements for the presidency can be seen as potentially exhausting in and of themselves: the president must live on campus, be highly visible and involved in all aspects of campus life, must be part of a far-reaching consensual governance system and must deal with all the problems of a small college with limited financial resources.

With the resignation of Hobbs, the college was faced with a choice that had great implications for its future direction. The years of the Hobbs administration had left a college that was very different from the one he took over in

1965. According to the Guilford College "Self-Study Report" published in March of 1975, the financial picture, always fairly good but limited, had improved; the campus was refurbished and certainly adequate for the size of the student body; the students were of higher quality and more heterogeneous; the curriculum had been revamped and recharged; the faculty were better trained and benefited from improved salary conditions; a faculty governance system was in place and functioning; and administrative departments and organizational structures were performing in a manner that benefited the college as a whole.[43] The past fifteen years had seen Guilford shape itself into an organization with a growing national reputation whose future appeared positive. To this observer, there was no question that the college wanted to continue pretty much along the road it had mapped for itself during the Hobbs administration. The question that was being asked on campus at this time was whether it was important that the new president be a Quaker, or minimally, very conversant with Quaker procedures and philosophy.[44] The answer to that question had vital importance for the college in terms of its growing uniqueness based upon the incorporation of Quaker values into virtually every aspect of campus life.

Several candidates for the presidency had been interviewed and rejected primarily, it appeared, because they did not express an understanding of the dimension that had become the underlying theme of the college. Fund-raising ability, dedication to a liberal arts education, and administrative ability were not enough for the college, where a belief system based within a unique way of operating had become of prime importance. After initial rejection of candidates who did not appear to share that belief system, the presidential search at Guilford had begun to concentrate its efforts toward finding a candidate

who did. While a Quaker background was not a necessary prerequisite for the job, an intellectual and tempermental affinity was. As the search went on, opinion coalesced among key members of the board, the majority of the faculty, and significant others, that this affinity must be a necessary component of any new president. An ideology and self-image about the special quality that was Guilford had become a determining factor for choosing a new president.[45]

Fulfillment

Clark's second identifiable stage in the development of an institutional saga is that of "fulfillment." It is at this stage that certain elements common to the building and maintenance of an organizational legend can be observed. In many ways, this stage marks that point in a continuous process that begins with the initiation stage and continues to where the possibility of a saga becomes the reality of a saga, a recognizable element within the organization. For a saga to live beyond the moment and to have profound effect within the organization, several essential carrying mechanisms must be present. It is these mechanisms that, once in place, allow the organizational saga to continue to grow and maintain its integrity through changes in leadership, environmental stress, and all the vicissitudes that may beset the organization.[46]

According to Clark, the elements necessary for the continuance of a saga are as follows:

> First, believers collect in the faculty and gain the power to protect their cherished ideals and practices. Second, features of the curriculum, determining everyday behavior, reflect and express the saga. Third, a social base of external believers provides resources, including moral support, and interests a certain kind of student in the

college. Fourth, the students develop a strong subculture that significantly incorporates the central idea of the college. Fifth, the saga itself - as ideology, self-image, and public image - has forceful momentum.[47]

During the Hobbs years, the Quaker dimension on campus at Guilford had strengthened appreciably. The influx of faculty and administrators from outside the geographical area, a least some of them Quakers, had brought an element to the campus that was sympathetic to and experienced with the values in academic life that would give support to the Quaker dimension. These, along with others who had been on the faculty during the previous administration, became strong supporters of the developing integration of the liberal academic tradition with a liberal Quaker tradition.[48] This was manifested most concretely with the introduction of the "sense of the meeting" into the developing collegial governance patters on campus.

The Quaker "sense of the meeting" is a form of consensual decision-making, but with an important difference. That difference lies in what may be considered an extreme and profound respect for individual opinions or "truth," to the extent that one individual, convinced and convincing in opposition to a proposed action or proposition, may cause further study and revision, or block it entirely. The basic premises upon which this is based and the conditions that are necessary for this to work are a belief that the majority is not always right and that one individual may harbor the "truth," that the needs and common good of the community are the primary consideration of its members, and that a decision reached with the consent of all members, no matter how long it takes, will be the better one, capable of marshalling energy and commitment from a united community. The fact that there are no winners or losers and no parliamentary machinations makes it very different from a decision process

conducted under Robert's Rules of Order. Neither is it really a decision by compromise, for the Quaker "sense of the meeting" does not mean a trade-off among individuals for closure, but a working together for the best possible decision for the community. As a mode of governance, it requires a great deal of trust and is based within a specific belief system.[49]

It was this belief system of respect for the individual, for differences of opinion, and for the college as community, that appeared to have, in Clark's sense, "captured the allegiance" of many faculty. Its success as a governance mode within the general faculty meeting was echoed throughout the campus in departmental meetings, committees, and other decision-making gatherings, as time and experience showed that this was a viable means of conducting much of the business of the college while contributing to the sense of unity and community endeavor. By 1980, this was established as a procedure and well on its way toward becoming a "cherished practice" for a strong majority of the faculty, one that was defining for them the uniqueness of the college.[50] Concomitantly, the power and prestige of the faculty had also grown, as higher selection standards, procedural safeguards, and a general opening of decision-making processes raised the expectations and confirmed the reality of a strong faculty voice in the governance of the college. Many of the elements that Clark posits as necessary for the continuance of a saga appeared to be in place within the faculty as believers collected, gained power, and defined in important ways their "cherished ideals and practices."

The curriculum also showed aspects of the incorporation of general Quaker beliefs within the study of the liberal arts. The introduction of courses and opportunities in international studies and concerns, begun in 1966, was a conscious effort to incorporate Quaker concerns for peace and international

understanding into the curriculum. Interdisciplinary studies 101 and 401, the required freshmen and senior courses taught by a changing group of faculty from various disciplines, show a consistent thread of Quaker idealism interwoven within a single major theme designed to explore the interrelationship of all knowledge.[51] In many ways, these courses have become a way of exploring the values of our society while encouraging students to further explore their own values and judgments.

While the international and interdisciplinary aspects of Guilford curriculum can be fairly easily identified as directly tied to the developing value base of the college, there were other, more subtle, aspects of curriculum and teaching at Guilford that also appeared to support an organizational legend grounded in the Quaker way. The style of student-faculty relationships and the beliefs of the faculty and administration as expressed in extracurricular activities and course content can be viewed as some of the more subtle ways in which an academic organization expresses a developing saga. While Guilford has always been proud of its close faculty-student relationships, by 1980, these relationships could be seen as more than a function of size and ratios or particular personalities. They had become, in the minds of both students and faculty, an expression of value commitment to tolerance and regard for the individual within a "community of seekers." An easy and respectful attitude toward each other permeated the campus and had become "the way we act," an integral part of what the college meant to its participants. Extracurricular offerings and activities, sponsored by the college on campus and within the larger community, show a high percentage concerned with peace, justice, concern for others and the environment. While other colleges and universities were also places for such concerns during the 1960s and 1970s, Guilford's

emphasis was consciously framed within the Quaker value system and tied to an historical concern that transcended momentary interest.[52] Many courses, and much of course content, also reflected the value system that had been gathering strength and coherence during the Hobbs years. Concentrations in "Peace and Justice" and "Women's Studies" were obvious examples of course work tied to the expression of certain values; not so obvious, but nevertheless there was the interweaving of Quaker values and concerns with the liberal arts within many other courses on campus.[53] The liberal arts curriculum at Guilford had become, in many respects, the vehicle that transported complementary values from the Quaker tradition.

At this time, students were also aware of differences in their experience at Guilford, of a certain uniqueness of atmosphere and ways of operation. Throughout the nation, the 1960s and 1970s had seen a great change in the regulations governing student life. At Guilford, student pressures and a changed administrative attitude had opened the campus to most of the privileges of modern student life: smoking, drinking, rock concerts, co-ed dorms, no curfews, et cetera. For the students *in loco parentis* at Guilford was over and in its place was a form of student government that had many of the characteristics of that of the faculty and administration. Student senate meetings, opened with a moment of silence, were presided over by an elected "clerk," and consensual agreement in the manner of the Quaker meeting was sought. Student members were welcomed on many of the committees that made important decisions for the college, and their opinions and particular viewpoints were sought and respected on campus issues.[54] Guilford had replaced strict, even puritanical, rules and regulations with an honor code, greater involvement of students in the running of the college and, most of all,

with the example of adults on campus working daily within an ethical frame-
work of tolerance, concern for others, civility, and greater moral concerns. In
1980, the student senate, in the aftermath of a punk rock concert, considered
the possibility of banning from campus like forms of entertainment on the
grounds that they were violent, inhumane, and "unquakerly." The meeting was
attended by over forty students and was noteworthy for its respect for differ-
ing viewpoints and its discussion of the issues in terms of the ethical dimen-
sion understood to be a part of what the college was about.[55] In interviews,
students spoke of diversity, concern for the individual, honesty, encourage-
ment toward growth and involvement and, most of all, of an atmosphere per-
meated with Quakerly affirmations of respect and responsibility toward the
rights of others within the college community and beyond.[56]

For the developing saga, outside support is also necessary, for it is the
source from which the college draws money, moral support, personnel, and
students. While necessary for the survival of all small colleges in today's
market, it is of particular necessity for a college in the process of change. A
relatively monolithic base of financial and moral support and a narrow, local
student base can leave a college vulnerable to pressures from a few powerful
sources and make change impossible in the face of conservative reaction.
Traditional clientele and financing cannot be ignored, but the resources and
autonomy necessary for deep and lasting change within this type of academic
organization must often be formed out of a base that has been broadened to
allow flexibility and support for change.

By 1980, Guilford's student body and financial base appeared to have
broadened sufficiently to give needed support to the changes that had been
instituted. Its admissions and development offices had been appreciably

strengthened, systematic searches for both students and funds had been instituted, and there had been slow but steady progress in this direction.[57] A "Board of Visitors" of over eighty members, formed in 1968, gave broadened moral and financial support within the local community and beyond, strengthening interest in the changing college and offering expertise and enthusiasm. The Board of Visitors also contributed, over time, five trustees to the college, evidence of an involvement and interaction with school affairs that was more than superficial.[58] The changes that the college had accomplished would also bring national attention when Guilford was "discovered" by the education editor of the New York Times,[59] Kiplinger Magazine,[60] and Sylvia Porter[61] as an effective, low cost, high quality liberal arts college that had been heretofore hidden somewhere in the southeast. The success of Guilford's transformation had gathered outside support for that transformation, a needed component for its continuance. This and its internal support system were no doubt large factors that led to the hiring of its new president and the continuance of the saga that had begun fifteen years before.

In 1980, a new president was chosen to lead the further development of Guilford College, William R. Rogers, formerly Parkman Professor of Psychology and Religion at Harvard University, and a Convinced (converted) Quaker. The new president was welcomed on campus as an administrator who affirmed the college's rising reputation and gave promise of continuing its organizational ideology.[62] As an academic in his forties who had already obtained prominence at Harvard, his interest in and acceptance of the presidency was testimony to the drawing power of the college. His convictions as a Convinced Quaker were matched by his intellectual ability to express these convictions within an organizational context both within the college and to a wider

audience.[63] Furthermore, his personality seemed compatible with the style of consensual interaction that had become part of the governance structure and community expression at Guilford. At this juncture, a positive fit of president and college, in terms of commitment to a belief system that was already fairly well developed, can be seen as vital to the continuance of the course toward distinctiveness that the college had set for itself.

According to Clark, a threatened organization ideology is liable to marshall forces within the community that will reject those who do share the belief system.[64] There was evidence that this was a real possibility at Guilford, since community rejection had already recently taken place in the case of a previous, newly hired dean who was perceived as inimical in style, operations, and beliefs to its valued identity.[65] Because of the power of the presidency, there was also the possibility of a strong but ideologically noncommitted leader weakening previous organizational change toward distinctiveness by introducing incompatible personnel, operational modes, structure, and direction. At Guilford, organizational chaos or, at the very least, disrupture was avoided by the introduction of a new president who seems compatible with its saga and appears committed to its consolidation.

Fulfillment of the organizational saga requires consolidation and refinement of both ideology and performance. The leadership necessary for this stage in organizational history can be viewed as optimally quite different from that of the change leader whose purpose is to deliberately and drastically challenge and change an existing organization or to form a new one where none had been before. Robert M. O'Kane divides the functions of the executive into three functional aspects: that of the manager, the administrator, and the leader.[66] Consolidation requires that the administrative function be most

prevalent, for it is this function that balances, coordinates, and enables all elements within the organization to carry out its already agreed-upon purpose and mission for the social good. To administer means "to serve," in this case, to serve the ideology and operational reality that defines the saga at Guilford College. The new administration appears to be doing this with a commitment to a continuance of those beliefs and practices that define the value base of the college.

Continued incorporation of the belief system into the goals, structures, and governance patterns of the college has lent coherence and strength to the organization. For Guilford, its "unique structure of authority resident in a unique intellectual community,"[67] its mixture of ideology and performance, has enabled the college to marshall its resources in pursuit of common purpose. To this observer, Guilford app. 'ars to be clearer and more united today in common belief and institutional expression. The latest "Self-Study Report" for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, released in November of 1985, devotes many pages to describing and analyzing consensual governance practices, as well as the broader integration of the Quaker belief system into the curriculum and community of the college. The section on "Organization and Administration," in particular, emphasizes the Quaker perspective as it explores the workings of consensual governance at the college and makes recommendations for its future further integration within the organization, stating:

> Quaker business procedure is a distinctive and pervasive characteristic of Guilford College, coordinated with important liberal arts values, such as individual and communal creativity and responsibility within a collaborative rather than a hierarchical model of governance.[68]

Today Guilford appears to have reached a certain level of organizational maturity. The questions of what the college is and will be, its institutional purpose and direction, appear to have been largely settled. Institutional adjustments continue, but they appear to be less an indication of major change than a fine tuning of an organization that has already defined its values and found its direction. In 1984, the "Statement of Purpose" for the college was revised by a student/faculty/administration/trustee committee and was ratified by consensus of the entire campus community. It is interesting to note that the only differences between this document and the "Statement of Purpose" from 1974 are in minor sentence reconstructions.[69] Guilford takes its "Statement of Purpose" very seriously as an expression of its value base, of what the college is and strives to be, and as a specific guide to present behavior and future direction. In 1973 and 1974, many people on campus were involved in this document's first major revision since 1963, resulting in a statement that differs quite markedly from its predecessors in its clarity and comprehensiveness, and its specific connection between the values of a liberating education based within the Quaker tradition.[70] If these documents can be taken as important indications of purpose and direction, it appears that Guilford had, by 1973-4, found the organizational value base that continues to this day as a standard for the college community.

Guilford has continued to slowly improve its fiscal position and, for a college of its size, history and national position, appears to be financially fairly solid. Since 1975, the percentage of income derived from students for the educational and general budgets has been reduced slightly, making the college less dependent on fees; endowment income, while remaining low, has doubled, and unrestricted gifts have increased by approximately one-third.[71]

Faculty salary increases for the last ten years have been approximately the same as the national average for institutions of higher learning. While this has meant that Guilford has been able to hold on to its position in this respect, the faculty, along with their national counterparts, have experienced an actual loss of purchasing power of around 30 percent. Some positive signs for Guilford's faculty have been that three of the last five years have shown salary increases higher than the Consumer Price Index, financial fringe benefits have improved at a rate better than salaries, and institutional benefits, such as leaves and grants, have grown. Nevertheless, while Guilford's salaries are high in comparison with other local colleges, they remain low when compared nationally with colleges of like quality.[72] The college continues to show a surplus each year and an area of contention between faculty, administration, and the board has been the amount of that surplus designated for instructional purposes and salaries.[71]

There are indications that the college is continuing in a positive direction as far as its ability to attract and keep a more diverse and higher quality student body: Guilford's entering students show considerable improvements since 1975 in preparation for college as measured by rank in quintiles of high school graduating classes; the proportion of non-Quaker students from states other than North Carolina has risen significantly in the last ten years; there has been a large improvement in the retention rates of those already at the college.[74] Nationally, these are all considered indices of a successful higher education enterprise, one that is growing in status and prestige. Guilford's problem will be to continue in this positive direction during difficult times, as its reputation is still in the process of growing and is not yet secure enough or at a high enough level to afford the college the luxury of relaxing its

Guilford will continue to face the problems that are inherent in being a small, liberal arts college in a difficult time and place. However, the commitment and loyalty to its members and its strong sense of community that have grown out of its belief system will no doubt give the college an advantage in adversity it would not have otherwise. Guilford is fortunate that its purpose as a liberal arts college so closely connects with its incorporation of Quaker beliefs. The compatibility of the values that have historically defined the liberal arts tradition and the Quaker tradition happily found coincidence within this academic organization, enabling it to meld both traditions with little strain into a plausible and sustaining value structure. Nevertheless, however happy this coincidence, it is not a necessary one for the development saga. Reed and Antioch had no such tradition and Swarthmore's Quaker background is much less an important component of its institutional saga. These colleges were able to build strong sagas out of beliefs that were primarily programmatic in origin. What was important in all the colleges was that they were all able to capture the intellectual and emotional support of their part..cipants and to structure their campus communities in support of their value systems.

While Guilford College started as a Quaker institution, by 1965 its Quaker tradition was weak in positive expression on campus. It was really through gradual reintroduction of Quaker emphasis, starting with the early Hobbs years and continuing to this day , that the college began to define this aspect as part of its saga. It should be noted that in many ways Guilford is not really a sectarian college. The Quaker aspects that Guilford incorporated into its belief structure and opertions were those that were most compatible with its purposes as a college devoted to a liberal arts education. It is not necessary for anyone on campus to believe in the Quaker religion to believe in the efficacy of

Quakerly modes and methods that have become part of campus life. In fact, some of the most ardent supporters on campus of the ways of operation and governance that have stemmed from its organizational saga are men and women whose religious beliefs have no connection to that of the Quakers. For them the atmosphere and governance modes generated out of the Quaker tradition are an expression of the values and philosophy that have defined the meaning of higher education.[75]

Guilford was not predestined to the direction it has followed in the last two decades. Faced with all the difficulties that a small, liberal arts college must deal with, as well as its own particular problems, it made a definite commitment to remain small and dedicated to a liberal arts education. By defining its purpose as an institution and by continuing examination and reiteration of that purpose in light of changing conditions and circumstances, the college was able to focus its energy and resources toward the improvement of what it had decided to be. Not the least of the resources the college has been able to build and draw upon has been the dedication, loyalty and beliefs of its participants that their common endeavor has value and worth. These participants became the carriers of the organizational saga as Guilford began to express a clearer identity and a successful mission through its own particular blend of belief, structure, and governance.

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CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FOR FURTHER STUDY

This dissertation presented three main sections that examined, in differing ways, some aspects of higher education in the United States: a review of the literature defining the academic organization, an exploration of some of the problems facing these institutions, and the recent organizational saga of a particular college as it dealt with organizational values and operational realities. This chapter will present a summary and interpretation of previous chapters in terms of the underlying rationale that formed the basis for their organization and presentation within this dissertation. Some conclusions and recommendations for further study will also be presented.

> But dogma and faith unsupported by the bonds of structure are, as comparative religion teaches us, notoriously fragile. And structure not served by some system of persisting authority is notoriously weak. And authority not undergirded by the sense of recognized function is notoriously tenuous. These are the lessons derived not from sociology, but from the wisdom of our grandmothers.
>
> Robert Nisbet: The Academic Dogma[1]

The beginning chapter of this dissertation attempted to bring focus and direction to some of the material that is available in organizational literature and in literature dealing with the characteristics of the university as an organization. Its focus was the nature of the university as an organization: its place within American society, the philosophy and values that determine that

place, the organizational characteristics that set it apart from other organizations, and the internal workings of the organization that attempt to express the values and characteristics that determine what it is. Its direction was toward attempting a connection between the many elements that determine the peculiarity of the academic organization as it functions for and within the culture. This peculiarity is shaped, I believe, by the interrelatedness of values with organizational goals and characteristics, and with structure and governance.

In modern, technologically advanced America, the "wisdom of our grandmothers" will no longer suffice to explain phenomena, to convince others, or to guide the direction of our society and its institutions. For that we need a different kind of knowledge, one that will, hopefully, incorporate the "wisdom of our grandmothers" into an acceptable framework that will help illuminate the examined phenomena. It is interesting to note that in his strong statement for connection between the many elements that form the university, Nisbet combines philosophical beliefs and values with sociological terms and analysis. Sociology is, after all, "the study of the history, development, organization, and problems of people living together as social groups";[2] and in examining the organizational life of the university, Nisbet is of necessity working within a sociological framework. There is nothing in that framework per se that precludes values and beliefs as important, even determining factors, in the way society and its members organize and live. The crux of his message lies not in its seeming denigration of the lessons of sociology, but in its reconnection of these lessons with values and beliefs. This connection is reiterated in the work of Parsons and others who work within the sociological framework.

In Chapter I, I attempted to make that connection by the use of a model that incorporates values and beliefs, as well as organizational and operational realities when looking at the phenomena of the university. If the university is, as Parsons and Platt,[3] Hills,[4] Etzioni,[5] and others believe, an organization whose very reason for being is based upon moral authority, integrity, and consistency of action with its belief base, it is of particular importance, I believe, to incorporate that belief system in any broad look at the organization. Furthermore, the university, like any other organization, exists within and is part of a particular cultural social system. To ignore this is to ignore the impact the larger society has on the organization, the function of the organization within the culture, and the interplay of society and organization as an ongoing reality for both.

To my mind, the objectives, goals, and characteristics of the academic organization occupy a mid-ground between the broad scope of its cultural place and institutional values and its more contained functional aspects, represented in this dissertation by Category III (Organizational Structure and Governance). Goals and characteristics define what the organization is in contrast to other organizations and they place the organization within certain finite boundaries as a particular entity which can be examined and discussed as an organizational reality. They also offer clues as to how an organizational entity reflects its values, expresses societal expectations, and performs operationally.

In this dissertation, the literature on the functioning system within the academic organization dealt almost exclusively with governance for several reasons. Within the field of study that concerns itself with the academic organization, a great deal of attention has been focused on governance; there is

probably more written on governance than any other functional aspect of the university. The reasons for this are, I believe, two-fold: it is an area that particularly interests academic researchers because it directly affects them personally as members of the university, and there is an intuitive, if not necessarily universally expressed, intellectual understanding that the peculiar governance patterns of the university are strongly connected to the underlying purpose of the institution and its characteristics as an organization. My emphasis on governance was based, in part, upon the "wisdom of our grandmothers," that combination of historical connection, intuition, and experience that informs us when something may be of importance; but it was also based upon a strong thread that appears with some consistency in many of the sources I have used. That thread is expressed most clearly by Nisbet,[6] Drucker,[7] Martin,[8] and O'Kane[9] (see Chapter II), but it also appears in less obvious ways in much of the literature on organizations in general and the academic institution in particular. It is a belief that the functional operations of an organization express its value base and shape its direction. For the academic organization, governance patterns are of particular importance in this regard, for they appear to be directly tied to the ability to perform adequately in service to the needs of its value pattern of cognitive rationality.

The model used in this section was devised out of a real need to bring some order out of chaos. As mentioned earlier, the literature pertaining to the academic organization is scattered throughout several disciplines and remains largely unconnected in terms of any overall explorations. As far as I am able to determine, it has not been previously combined in this manner; in fact, there appears to be little research recognition of the scope of the literature applicable to the academic organization. Part of this can be attributed to the

reluctance of many researchers to look beyond their own academic disciplines. Another part, I believe, is connected to methodological disputes whereby empirical and non-empirical methods of research are deemed incompatible, even exclusionary. Because my interests involved the values as well as the operational aspects of the university, it was necessary to look at all kinds of research material available, qualitative and quantitative. Within this context, the model seems to have served its purpose as an organizer of sometimes disparate material and as a connector for a literature that covers many aspects of the university.

While the model presented within this section has been useful as an organizing scheme for the literature, its primary purpose for the overall aim of this dissertation was to serve as a reminder of the interrelatedness of the university's "dogma" or values and its bonds of structure and governance. Throughout the university as organization, the complexity of its values is echoed within its goals, its characteristics, and finally its structure and governance patterns. It is my belief that this complexity, while defining and forming what this organization is, brings with it particular problems, not the least of which is maintaining connection and coherence between the many elements that shape the academic organization. This difficulty, along with the stresses engendered by its particular function within a society whose value nexus is very different from that of the university's may have negative consequences for the integrity of the institution.

The pictorial representation of my model was a deliberate attempt on my part to try to emphasize what I believe to be the interrelatedness and interdependence of all the factors that make up the academic organization. If the value base of the university defines the institution within the culture (as both

Parsons[10] and Nisbet[11] seem to believe), it is in the actual operations and ongoing life of the organization that these values are expressed. While the structure and governance patterns of the organization appear to be farthest removed from its value base in my representation, they are also encompassed by it. This and the permeability of the boundaries between the elements that define the university in the model are meant to emphasize their connection with and dependence upon each other.

>Turning and turning in the widening gyre
>The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
>Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold...
>>William Butler Yeats, "The Second Coming"[12]

The next section of this dissertation was an exploratory essay into the problems and possibilities of the academic organization within modern American society from a point of view that stresses the importance of values. The small liberal arts college was selected for special emphasis, as an institution whose vulnerability to negative market forces has been particularly acute, but whose organizational characteristics and historical traditions offer hope for a renewal and a strengthening of the basic values that have traditionally defined higher education. This essay dealt with four distinct issues: (1) the problem of institutional survival in terms of the practical exigencies arising from lower enrollments, higher costs, funding difficulties, past policies, and societal expectations; (2) the possibility that the primary crisis within higher education is a crisis of values brought about by intrusions and expectations from the larger culture, stemming from a value nexus radically different from that of the university; (3) the particular survival problems of the liberal arts

college, the connection between the liberal arts and the academic value base, and the problems concerned with a renewal of a liberating education; and (4) the possibilities of the small liberal arts college reclaiming its place as an important contributor within higher education by a strong commitment to its traditional value base, and the importance of structure and governance in supporting and sustaining that base.

In this chapter, I attempted an analysis of what I believe to be the primary crisis facing American higher education. Much attention has been given to the financial and demographic problems affecting the survival of academic organizations during this period of time. As institutions they are generally thought to be in a state of crisis brought about by dwindling resources of various kinds. I have included evidence of some of these practical problems, not because I believe they are the major difficulties these institutions face, but because they have set the stage for a reexamination of institutional purpose. What I prefer to call the mini-crises of this decade will pass and they will leave behind them an institution that will be changed either for good or bad, depending on our understanding of what the academic organization has been, is, and can be.

It is my strong belief that the major crisis facing higher education is rooted in the problem it has as an institution in expressing and protecting its values within a society whose values are very different. The protection of those values that form the traditional core of higher education has become particularly difficult, because in many ways the institution has become much more open and vulnerable. The late expansionary period, with its democratization of higher education and its massive growth of funding from governmental and corporate sources, not only encouraged incursions from other elements

within the culture, but encouraged growth and direction without thought on the part of the institution itself. Many sections within higher education became extremely dependent upon outside sources and responded to that dependency by incorporating outside values into the organization.

On the observable level, problems of state control, corporate involvement, and so forth, are fairly readily discernible and have been discussed elsewhere in journals and articles. What I find of greater interest are the implications for higher education of incursions from the larger culture into the academic organization of the primary belief system and its functional attendants. The technological ethos as representative of a world view (DuBois[13]), an educational mind-set, and an operational and organizational principle (Marcuse[14]) has, I believe, grave consequences for an institution whose *raison d'être* is based upon integrity, moral authority, consistency of action with values, and "uncompromising adherence to the values ascribed."[15] As far as I am able to determine, this has not been previously explored within the field. Yeats speaks of the "widening gyre" and the center that cannot hold. To me, this section of his poem, "The Second Coming," describes with accuracy the state of much of higher education in America today, where there has been a loss of connection within the institution with its center or value base and a loss of control over direction and function. It is here, I believe, that "things fall apart" for institutions of higher education.

This chapter introduced the small liberal arts college as an important element. I felt it necessary to begin to focus my analysis by more clearly defining a particular kind of higher educational institution as the primary organizational subject of this dissertation. As Blau[16] and Baldridge et al.[17] have noted, higher educational organizations are not all the same. Furthermore, my

experience and research have led me to believe that this particular type of academic institution, while more vulnerable to economic problems in today's market, still retains the possibility of important connection with the traditional value base of higher education through its reliance on the liberal arts and its particular characteristics as an organization. Their small size and relative simplicity of structure make them more amenable to change from within and offer the possibility of the formation of a coherent intellectual community. Unlike many other academic institutions, they have tended to remain on the periphery of the massive change that has transformed much of higher education within recent decades. This means that as organizations they have less commitment to maintaining the status quo in terms of recently instituted changes in direction and function that can be viewed as threatening to traditional institutional values.

A discussion on the liberal arts was included because I believe that it is this curriculum that forms the important core of traditional higher education and connects in a more direct way with the values that have defined the institution. It is also this curriculum that appears most endangered by the encroachment of the technological ethos. Because it is the *raison d'être* of the liberal arts college, the continuing existence of these organizations, in recognizable form, is dependent upon the continuing existence of the liberal arts curriculum as a vital component of higher education in the United States. I believe that this will require a rededication to the importance of the liberating arts by those elements within the culture, individuals and organizations, that have the most at stake in its continuance.

The governance section was included in this chapter because, as an operational expression of the values and characteristics of the organization, it

seems to have particular potency in the case of higher education. Millett speaks of an "environment of learning" organized around the "principle of the community authority," of a "community of power rather than a hierarchy of power" as the organizational basis of the academic community.[18] To my mind, the problem of organizational coherence of values, characteristics, and operations is the primary task facing the individual college. If it is achieved with enough degree of sufficiency to garner the support of the permanent members of the community (primarily the faculty), the organization will have strength and power as a community and a living expression of purpose. A coherent intellectual community is probably the best argument the liberal arts college can give in support of what it has to offer the society at large. The enthusiasm and support of students, former students, their families and friends, will be crucial for the continuance of these schools and the curriculum and values they espouse. I believe this can only come about through the practical realization of a living, working community that is able to communicate on an experiential basis the importance of what it stands for.

While the model in Chapter I was not used as an organizer for this chapter, elements of it surfaced as a recurrent theme. As a representation of the academic organization's distinctive nature, and the interrelatedness and interdependence of all those factors that make up that nature, the model was employed throughout this chapter as the base upon which much of this analysis rests—a useful, if silent, companion.

This chapter attempted to encompass several themes within a major concern. That concern has to do with the survival of the academic organization as an embodiment of a constellation of values that I believe to be of extreme importance for human beings, this culture, and the world we live in. While this

entire dissertation is an expression of my value orientation, this chapter in particular has been used as a vehicle to explore the problems and possibilities of the academic organization in terms of what I value. There is much direct evidence that many academic organizations are in trouble financially. Evidence for a trouble that goes deeper, to the very meaning of the institution, must be inferred from a variety of sources, many of them indirect. It was my concern for higher education and the organizations that house it that gave impetus for the collection of those sources, for an examination of all the aspects that make up the academic organization, and for the attempt to connect the source material in some meaningful way.

> The beat and the pulse, the loose web and the growing center--these
> are representations of essentials that, in a college of character, define
> the arena within which creativity and criticism function. Deviations
> from the theme are possible only after the theme has been stated;
> playing before or after the beat is possible only when the beat is
> steady; the circumference can be explored only after the center has
> been located. The circle is described by the radius.
>   William Bryan Martin, A College of Character[19]

The third chapter of this dissertation was a case study that traced the development of a small liberal arts college over a period of approximately two decades. Burton Clark's concept of the "organizational saga"[20] was used as a way of analyzing this development in terms of the normative and ideational components that form the basis for a linkage within the organization of values and governance. Using Clark's stages of "Initiation" and "Fulfillment," the progression of Guilford college from "substandard" institution to one of growing reputation was explored as an example of an academic community that has gained strength through its development of a distinctive character based upon

effective incorporation of values and purpose within a supportive operational framework. An organizational belief system, based upon an effective blending of traditional academic values and Quaker values, was presented as the medium through which ideational elements "determine the structures of governance and how they work."[21]

The idea of using Burton Clark's "organizational saga" as the basis for organizing this chapter came after the great majority of data had been collected about Guilford College. As I began to look for a way of presenting the material, Clark's concept came to mind as a remembered reading which, on reexamination, seemed eminently suitable for the telling of the story of the college's struggle toward coherence of values, purpose, and operations. Because the idea of the saga was so applicable to the story of Guilford, I have felt more comfortable as a researcher having discovered that applicability late in the process of my examinations. In a sense, the material I had gathered found the organizing concept and any specific search for, or readjustment of, material to fit a preconceived notion of what was happening at the college was largely avoided.

Guilford College was a beneficial choice for this chapter for several reasons. It turned out to be a very good example of a school that has made a concerted effort to incorporate values with organizational goals, characteristics, and governance. Within a short period of time, it has gone from confusion over direction and incompatibility of purpose with operations to clearly understood mission within a coherent organizational framework. The college community and its members were particularly open and welcoming to my research interests. The administration, faculty, and students were notable for their willingness to include me as an observer within meetings and gatherings that

were not generally open to the public; as individuals during interviews, their honesty and forthrightness were important factors in my ability to gather information about the beliefs and operations of the school. I was continually amazed at the amount of information people were willing to share, at their ability to relate to the larger needs of the organization, and their understanding of the problems and possibilities the college faced. The relative sophistication of community members about the organization they were part of was an important bonus for this researcher. My time at Guilford as investigator was the most enjoyable part of researching for this dissertation. It was a time of gathering of much information, but also a time of peeling back the opinions, impressions, beliefs, and realities of the college to arrive at, what I believe to be, the core of what was happening to the college as an organization.

The model from Chapter I and the literature that formed its basis was an underlying consideration in my case study. The many aspects of organizations of higher education, as revealed within the literature, gave direction to many of the questions I asked and further depth to many of the answers I found on campus. Certainly, the judgments I reached on the importance of coherent connection between values and operations (governance) were based in an awareness of the interrelatedness of these aspects for the academic organization. Nevertheless, the model was not used in any direct way within this chapter or in any direct way as an organizer for my field research. I have come to believe that it would be a fruitful organizer for future field research, an interesting way of systematically looking at the different aspects of an academic organization and revealing coherence or disjuncture within a college or university.

The problems and possibilities of the academic organization and, in particular, the liberal arts college was the emphasis of Chapter II. This chapter attempted to look at a particular college in terms of that emphasis. Guilford was chosen as a subject, in part, because it seemed to me to be a fairly typical, small liberal arts college in terms of its size, its financial base, its reliance on the liberal arts as primary curriculum, its competitive status within higher education (both locally and nationally), and its vulnerability to all the outside forces that beset these institutions. It is also an institution that is doing well under these circumstances because, I believe, it has become quite clear about what it offers as an education organization; it values what it offers, and it presents a coherent community that stands as a living example of both. It is one thing to present problems and to analyze difficulties facing a whole institution or a group of organizations, quite another to show the possibilities for dealing with these problems in terms of a fairly typical example. I have attempted to do this within this chapter.

Guilford has not escaped from the pressures of outside cultural expectations for a more vocational or "useful" curriculum and a more "efficient" operational system. What is of particular interest to me is that as its values have become increasingly clarified within the organization, both as a belief system and an operational reality, its vulnerability to the siren call of vocational education and "efficient" management has lessened and its strength as an organization and its survival possibilities have grown. Guilford today is less vocational than it was in the past and more concerned with and committed to community consensual governance. I believe this college can stand as a good example of how this kind of school can survive, perhaps even prosper, given the pressures it is subject to within American society.

If Guilford College's use of its Quaker background is specific to this institution, it too can be seen as an example of how a small college can incorporate, with care, its own history as a means of furthering institutional values and offering something special within an increasingly homogenized field. William Bryan Martin, for one, believes that it will be the ability of small liberal arts colleges to incorporate specific characteristics within the broader academic values framework that will determine the survival of these colleges and the renaissance or failure of higher education as a mediating institution within the culture.[22]

Unlike the colleges that Clark studied, Guilford is still in the process of working toward a solid national reputation and long-term success as a living institution. However, it should be remembered that the examples which Clark used had many more years to build upon their sagas. As an organization, Guilford appears to have just entered the stage of "Fulfillment," where the unifying theme of the organization has become clear as a belief system and a principle of operations. The carrying mechanisms for the continuance of the saga appear to be in place; there is a "cherished" ideology and image about the realities and possibilities of the school that is held increasingly by members of the faculty, students, and outsiders. This ideology is rooted, I believe, within a clear institutional mission that has defined the school as dedicated to a liberalizing education within the specific heritage of a Quaker institutuion. For Guilford, it appears that the "theme has been stated" and the "center has been located." It will probably take several more decades of concerted effort, building upon this center, before Guilford reaches a secure place within American higher education; but the school is, I believe, in a good position to present itself as an academic community that has much to offer.

This dissertation attempted an examination of the problems facing American higher education, in general, and the liberal arts college, in particular, within the context of the importance of institutional values and operational modes. Through the process of researching this paper, I am more convinced than ever that the place to start that examination is with the many aspects that define the institution's place within the culture, the purpose it was created to fill, the particular characteristics and governance patterns that support the institution in its mission. The importance of certain values as the base upon which this institution rests is attested to repeatedly within the literature and forms the often unstated arena in which many of the questions and controversies concerning the direction of American higher education are located. Nevertheless, markedly little has been done to examine the meaning of these values for the institution, its purpose and direction, or to logically connect them with the many decisions that are being made daily within academic organizations. As stated elsewhere, higher education as a field of study is in its beginning stages. Amazingly, while academic organizations house most of the scholars in this country, the institutions themselves have had little scholarly examination until recently. Even now, while more attention is being paid the academic organization, much of it is directed toward the discussion of current, practical problems (the mini-crises) and managerial solutions to technical difficulties and little appears to be done in the formation of theoretical constructs that could form the basis for a more complete understanding of the institution.

It is within the theoretical area that I believe the most important work within the field remains to be done. As an adjunct to this work, I believe that it will be necessary, if the institution is to survive in some recognizably

traditional form, to find a way of broadly sharing constructs and research findings with colleagues from other disciplines within the institution. Shared beliefs and knowledge about the academic organization, its values and operations, may well determine whether the institution will be able to protect itself from negative incursions from the broader culture. I believe that much of current faculty negativism about the state of higher education stems from a felt disjuncture between the academic values most academics believe in and the realities of the organizations that house them. It is within the governance aspects of the academic organization, with their implications for the institution as a whole, that faculty interest and action have the best chance of being joined.

Within the broad field of education, the impact and implications of societal values and operational modes stemming from the technological ethos on elementary and secondary schools has been a matter of study and concern among some scholars for quite some period of time. This has not been true of higher education, where little attention has been paid to changes within the institution caused by increasingly intrusive values, purposes, and operations arising out of adaptive elements within the broader society. This is an area of study where some basic constructs do exist, primarily in sociology and education, that could be used as a way of approaching the problem in terms of its meaning for higher educaiton. I believe this is an important area that needs to be explored further if academic organizations are going to be more than merely reactive to outside pressures and expectations.

The survival of many academic organizations is one problem of great concern. I believe that research which continues the delineation of differences between academic organizations (like that of Blau and Baldridge, et al.) and

research that explores the individual stories of colleges and universities could be very helpful to academic organizations as they struggle with important decisions about their future direction. There is, however, a proviso attached. I believe that this kind of research will be helpful to individual institutions in terms of direction only if the philosophical and ideological bias of the researcher is clearly stated. I expect this to be an increasing problem in the field since proponents of "efficient" operations and management, based within the dominant technological ethos, tend to present their arguments as essentially value free. My bias is clear; I would hope that Guilford's story would inspire a like direction within other colleges.

The field of higher education is in need of research of many kinds. At this point, every bit of information helps and clues from one bit of research help in the formulation of another. Certainly studies in depth of one institution and studies that involve many schools will benefit greatly from each other as the field matures. The kind of field research that I did at Guilford is, I believe, needed. Eventually it should be formulated in such a way as to be applicable to the investigation of larger groups of schools. Research that has only dealt with the examination of large groups must eventually subject itself to the deeper examinations possible within single institutions.

I end this dissertation more fully convinced than ever that higher education is in trouble and that this trouble stems from a crisis of values brought about by a lack of understanding within the institution itself and the culture at large of the values, characteristics, and operational patterns that define its institutional character. I am not completely pessimistic about the outcome of this crisis for at least one area of higher education, the small liberal arts college. The example of Guilford, as a college that has refined its mission and reached

coherence of values, purpose, and governance, is one that offers clues to the possible revival of a meaningful and liberalizing higher edcuation within a purposive academic community.

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APPENDIX A

The interviews that were used as informational background for Chapter III were conducted on the campus of Guilford College within two main periods of time. The first interviews took place in the spring of 1980 when the college was undergoing a search for a new president after fifteen years of an administration headed by President Hobbs. At that time, I interviewed ten present and former administrators, nineteen faculty members, and twenty students. The second group of interviews was spread over a longer period of time, starting in January of 1984, with the majority of interviewing conducted in the spring of that year, but some continuing intermittently until the fall of 1985. These interviews included President Rogers, former President Hobbs, seven acting administrators, three former and acting Clerks of the Faculty, twenty-one faculty members, and approximately thirty students.

The interviews were conducted in an informal manner. No prescribed set of questions was asked all interviewees; however, discussion took place within a broad and flexible framework that attempted to elicit responses covering certain designated areas. I was interested not only in information that could be checked through other kinds of sources, but in personal impressions, remembrances, beliefs, and feelings about the organization and how it worked. Privacy was guaranteed and no recordings were made, although notes were taken. Interviews with administrators and faculty were primarily by appointment, but tended to be very flexible in terms of time. Original interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to two hours, but I often returned to people I had previously interviewed for more information as different avenues of

investigation opened up. Approximately one-third of the administrators and faculty interviewed in 1980 were again interviewed formally in 1984-85. I was able to talk to others informally, on campus and elsewhere, as a way of gathering continuing impressions as circumstances changed on campus and my inquiry broadened.

Interviewees were chosen in several different ways for several different reasons. I tried to interview all available administrators in order to get an overall view of administrative backgrounds, responsibilities, attitudes, philosophies, and so forth. Initial faculty interviews were with prominent and/or active faculty members suggested by the administrative sources or by personal connections on campus. Every person interviewed was asked at the time of the session to suggest others for interviewing. Usually this was accompanied by an unsolicited explanation of why the person was being suggested; if not, I asked. I tried to achieve some sort of general balance among those being interviewed in terms of age, gender, area of expertise, rank, and tenure at Guilford. As interviews went on, I began to include religion, geographic origin, and experience at other academic institutions. I made it a point to try to interview those who names appeared frequently as respected, informal leaders or as dissidents. Faculty that had served or were serving on major committees were contacted for the specific information and insight they could give on particular structural and operational aspects of the college, in addition to more general impressions and information.

Students were interviewed primarily in small groups of two to five persons. These groups tended to be very informal, sometimes impromptu, gatherings in dormitories, at various places on campus, and at student hangouts in the campus area. The Student Senate presidents and vice-presidents of 1980

and 1984 were interviewed not only as students, but as sources of further information about student involvement on important college committees. While less attention was paid to balancing the student interview population, class designation, gender, campus activity level, and general background were taken into consideration.

Administrator and faculty interviews generally covered two main areas. The first was the area of operations and structure, in which I attempted to discover how the school was organized and how it worked, how decisions were made and who made them. The second area had to do with feelings, impressions, and beliefs about the school, its direction, and its internal functioning. My original interviews in 1980 were concentrated primarily in gathering information on how the school operated, the "realities" of organizational life at a small liberal arts college. However, it was not long before I realized that one of the main "realities" I was hearing about had to do with the primary considerations of purpose and direction couched in terms that made clear their direct connection to personal and institutional values. Because the interviews were not formally prescribed, I was able to follow this important thread and many of the questions I asked in following interviews (in 1980, as well as 1984-85) had to do with values concerning the liberal arts and Quakerism and with the connection between beliefs and operations at the college. My interviews with the faculty and administration were such that they allowed me to search for answers within a widening sphere that included not only the history and operational development of the school, but the underlying reasons and beliefs that formed the basis for the school's purpose, direction, and governance.

Some of the general questions asked faculty and administrators were: What is the purpose of this college? What is the direction you would like to

see it follow? Do you think the Quaker dimension is important to Guilford? If so, why? How would you characterize governance on this campus? Examples? Do you think this college community has any unique qualities or ways of operating? Do you feel positive or negative about the future of this college? Why?

Student interviews tended to be more specifically directed than those with faculty and administration. This was not only because of the age and experience of the interviewees, but also because I wanted to find out, as a means of testing previous information and impressions from older adults in the college community, the extent of student awareness of and involvement in an institutional value system. Areas of investigation included personal background (Quaker or non-Quaker, area of origin, personal and academic interests), reasons for choosing Guilford, impressions of the school, and relationships with faculty, administration, and fellow students. Areas of focus were the atmosphere on campus, governance as it affects students, and the perceived expression of values centering in the liberal arts and Quaker tradition.

Some of the questions asked students were: Why did you choose a small liberal arts college? Why did you choose Guilford? Do you feel these were good choices or bad choices? Why? How are you treated as students by the faculty? The administration? Are you listened to and do you have enough input in how things are run on campus? Do you feel this school stands for something? If so, what? How are you made aware of it?

While the interviews I conducted on campus formed the bulk of the general information that served as a basis for this Chapter III, written materials and personal observations were also important sources for my investigation of the college. Whenever possible, I tried to supplement, substantiate, or corroborate information obtained initially through one kind of source by information

from at least one other kind of source. While this was neither possible or even necessary for some of the information I gathered, certainly in many areas under investigation it was indispensable. In matters of governance or the translation of values to operations, written documentation, interviews, and personal observations were all necessary and desirable. As further examples of this process, information on the college's historical background was obtained through a combination of interviews and written sources, information on campus atmosphere through personal observations and interviews.

Guilford College was made very accessible to this investigator, not only for interviews but also for needed written materials and personal observations. I was given access to any written material I asked for and was often directed to or given materials others thought would be helpful or appropriate for my research. Some of the written materials examined for this chapter were: "Self-Study Reports" for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools for 1964-74 and 1974-85, organizational charts and documents, budget materials, historical documents, Quaker materials, minutes from meetings of the Board of Trustees, and various student, faculty, and administrative committees, college handbooks, newsletters, and bulletins. While a great deal of important information came through observing casual interactions on campus, in offices, and at social gatherings, I was offered further opportunities for observations through invitations to attend a variety of more formal meetings on campus. These included: Administrative Council (advisory committee to the president), Faculty Meeting, Community Senate (student), and various faculty and student working committees. The combination of written materials, personal observations, and interviews as sources for Chapter III allowed a depth, breadth, and flexibility that would not have been possible under other methodological circumstances.