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James Ralph Scales: A case study of sixteen years of university leadership

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JAMES RALPH SCALES: A CASE STUDY OF SIXTEEN YEARS OF UNIVERSITY LEADERSHIP

by

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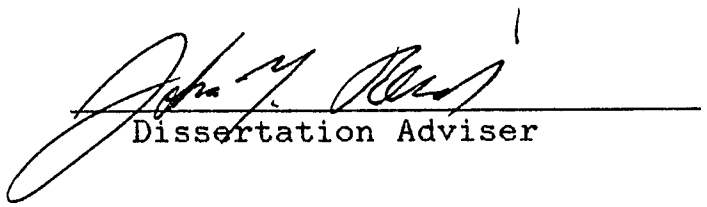

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The purpose of this research was to identify factors in the leadership of James Ralph Scales during his presidency at Wake Forest University, 1967-1983. The identification of these factors was made through a historical and biographical case study. A second purpose was to compare Scales' leadership factors with those of five selected leadership frameworks.

The case study analysis identified Scales' leadership factors as (1) constancy of "fit" between his style, values, and personal history and the style, values, and history of the institution; (2) an unmistakable commitment to the faculty as central to academic excellence; (3) a persistent articulation of the core values of an intellectual community; (4) a tolerance for situations requiring the management of ambiguity; (5) a spirit of magnanimity; (6) an active promotion of a climate of "possibility" through debate and personal initiative; (7) a sense of humor and an attractive physical presence; (8) a habit of person centered communication; and (9) a willingness to take risks because of a trust in the institution's resources.

The comparision of these factors with those identified in Hersey and Blanchard's and in Fiedler's frameworks revealed no similarities; some similarities

were revealed between Scales' factors and those identified by Sarason, Bennis, and Keller.

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These individuals have assisted the researcher and brought forth from him the abilities to contribute to the field of higher education. For their time, commitment, and energy, the author thanks these individuals for their efforts.

The author also wishes to note the valuable contribution of the late Dwight Clark who supported the author's entrance into doctoral study and whose initial guidance set the author on a course, which is by no means finished with the completion of this study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: SUBJECT, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHOD AND SELECTED LEADERSHIP FRAMEWORKS

James Ralph Scales spent most of his adult life, with the exception of a period of military service during World War II and service as a newspaper writer, working in higher education. First as a professor of history, then as dean and president of Oklahoma Baptist College, Scales learned the requirements of running a department and a college. At the age of forty-seven, he was offered the position of president of Wake Forest University, on April 28, 1967. He served Wake Forest for sixteen years, until his retirement to the Worrell Professor of Anglo-American History in 1983. As an historian, a professor, and a politician, Scales exhibited the behaviors necessary to allow for his appointment to leadership positions in higher education. A noted leader's actions, in the context of the environment in which he or she works, merit study, and James Ralph Scales did become such a leader.

Scales initially worked at an institution close to his Oklahoma roots, until he accepted the presidency of a small, Baptist related, newly named university in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. His move from familiar

Western surroundings to the East would prove to be long lasting and significant. Accepting the leadership of an institution caught in a long term battle for control between conservative and liberal Baptists, Scales immediately had to contend with the fact that Wake Forest was in the unusual position of being the smallest Division I school in the NCAA; being an institution with a remarkable collection of professional schools -- graduate, medical, law, and business; and having a total enrollment of fewer than three thousand students. The university to which he came needed a leader who had the energy to tackle sticky problems both on and off the campus.

In 1956, Wake Forest College moved to Winston-Salem, 100 miles from its original site outside of Raleigh, North Carolina. Although a decision to move was actually made in 1942, the entire insitution packed up books, furniture, and staff in the summer of 1956 and opened that fall in its new Winston-Salem home. The time between 1942 and 1956 was filled with money raising campaigns and planning sessions for Wake Forest. The new campus had housing for more than twice the number of students who moved from Raleigh in 1956. The move, itself, was precipitated by a generous gift from the Reynolds and Babcock families in Forsyth County, North Carolina. The gift was of land and money. The money was tied through contract to annual funding from the North Carolina Baptist Convention. According to the

arrangement, the money was to be in perpetuity. The land for the college was an outright gift. When first mentioned in Baptist circles, the idea of moving the most prestigious Baptist college in North Carolina brought charges of playing with the devil. The money behind the move would corrupt the administration and destroy the Baptist "nature" of the institution. Further worries were that the institution would demand more and more money from the convention, which would sap resources that should be used to save the world from sin. To fully understand the dramatic nature of this concern, it must be noted that the university had asked the convention to pay debts for the institution during the Depression. In exchange for the money, the institution gave the convention authority to appoint and approve trustees. Many Baptist people in North Carolina believed that Wake Forest owed them a great deal; it was "their" college, and they resisted promoting its growth through a move to an urban setting.

The central issue that was born as a result of the move from old Wake Forest would be left to Scales to manage: namely, questions involving the governance and financial arrangements among the institution's benefactors were to be solved. The governance arrangements which had evolved during the institution's history provided for Baptist Convention control over the appointment of trustees by an annual vote on trustee nominees. This

arrangement was underlined by an agreement made with the Reynolds Foundation, which required the convention to make an annual contribution to Wake Forest. The governance issue affected the institution's core values, trustee selection, funding, administrative procedures, curriculum decisions, and faculty appointments. The new funding arrangement with the college's benefactors dramatically increased the endowment which promoted the growth of the college into a university by 1967. The university would move from state to regional stature. This growth brought pressures to change the old governance arrangements. It is ironic that the Reynolds' gift that the Baptists were pleased to receive, in time, would contribute to the ending of historical denominational ties. This irony would reveal itself during the presidency of James Ralph Scales. Scales' presidency occurred during a period of profound institutional transformation.

Scales' presidency, in the context of a small, private, church related institution, which under his stewardship became an important southeastern university, is a unique case of leadership, which reveals specific leadership factors that can be compared fruitfully to factors suggested by proponents of established leadership frameworks. In this regard, there are two major multifaceted questions that merit careful study: (1) What factors in Scales' leadership can be identified through

examining his behavior while he served as president of Wake Forest University? (2) Are these factors the same as those leadership factors identified by the authors of selected current frameworks?

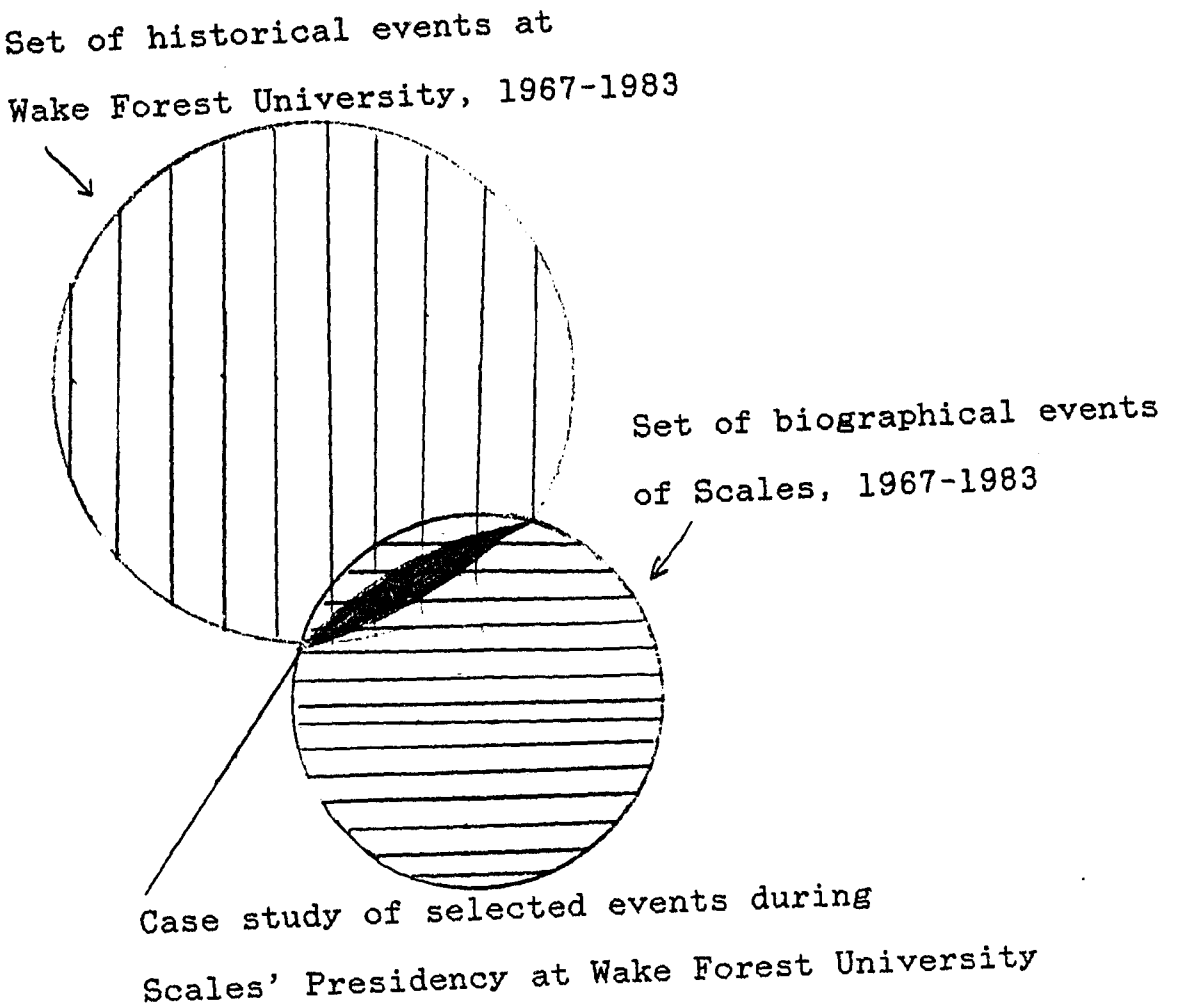
Case study, biographical, and historical methods can be combined to help frame such research questions. In my case study of James Ralph Scales' presidency at Wake Forest University, I used historical and biographical research methods and standards for collecting, analyzing, and synthesizing information. Historical research methods insured a full accounting of the events at Wake Forest during Scales' tenure. Biographical research methods enabled me to better understand Scales' involvement with and affect on these events. The use of these complementary methods contributed to the completion of the case study (see Diagram 1).

This case study of presidential leadership involved the description and analysis of Scales' behavior in a particular context. Data were collected and analyzed to identify critical factors in Scales' leadership. The analysis of Scales' behavior, which is necessary to identify these factors in particular situations during his presidency, included an examination of multiple information sources, such as interview transcripts and institutional records. The analysis also involved a description of Scales' activities, the circumstances and contingencies

Diagram 1

Research Design Model

James Ralph Scales: A Case Study of Sixteen Years of University Leadership



surrounding the events, and changes in either Scales' behavior or in the institution.

This procedure suggested answers to the study's two research questions. These questions, which involve ascertaining leadership factors in Scales' presidency and comparing these factors with those of selected leadership frameworks, promoted an in depth view of the interrelatedness of Scales' behavior and institutional phenomena.

The specific procedures began with a review of documents written by Scales and about Scales during his presidency. From this review, a chronological outline of important events at Wake Forest between 1967 and 1983 was prepared. This outline and a schedule of proposed interview dates were sent to Scales. I anticipated the outline would stimulate his recollection of details of the events.

I interviewed Scales regarding each event noted in the outline. Following these interviews, I cross examined and cross referenced Scales' presidential and personal papers and compared those findings with the content of the interview transcriptions.

The presidential and personal papers are filed in the Crittenden Baptist Collection of the Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University, in alphabetical order by person,

department, or event. There are thirty archival boxes, which contain an estimated 125,000 documents. Press reports from newspapers from across the country were collected during his presidency and are kept in chronological order in the Office of Public Relations in Reynolda Hall, Wake Forest University.

A second series of interviews was conducted to collect information when documentation was absent or when there were inconsistencies between details in Scales' recollection of events and documents pertinent to these events.

The reliability of the data in this study, and in case studies in general, is important for establishing and maintaining the integrity of the research. By cross checking personal files, institutional documents, and interview transcriptions, the collected data could be judged for reliability. When such cross checking was impossible, the limitation was noted. Future researchers can examine the reliability of the data by completing the same procedures: cross checking the documents with the interview transcripts, which are in the Crittenden Collection at Wake Forest University.

Traditional reliability standards in historical and biographical research include ascertaining the trustworthiness of eye witness accounts, the authorship of documents, and genuineness of both documents and the

accounts of events through cross referencing. In this research, Scales' presidency, especially his reporting of it, was assessed in terms of the standards of research noted above.

Historical and biographical standards of research include a process of establishing the problem to be studied, collecting information from appropriate sources, applying internal and external criticisms to the documents collected, and synthesizing the information into a report (Shelston, 1977; Higham, 1973). Each step in this process is important. Particularly critical to historical and biographical research are the methods applied to criticism of document content to determine the meaning of the documents, and to external criticism to establish the exact source, date, and place of the document or relic. Within each of these forms of criticism are processes that have been established over time to insure data reliability and study validity.

The interpretations of the various data directly affect the validity of such research. In a general sense, validity refers to an analysis well grounded in logic and evidence. The historian's research procedures for collecting evidence provide a solid ground for examining data for patterns of meaning. Further, the cogency of the researcher's analysis is part of the process of determining the validity of a study (Yin, 1984).

A second issue concerning validity in this study is the "genuineness" of the documents used. The documents were evaluated in terms of authenticity of authorship, accuracy of content, and meaningfulness -- truthfulness -- regarding events and behaviors. For example, letters and official reports were studied for unintentional errors or deliberate deceptions. The combination of research traditions used in this study provides an understanding of events quite different from that which might result from studies structured as experimental designs or empirical descriptions. The research methods were selected because they are best suited to answer the questions under consideration. Further, researchers in higher education increasingly are being asked to consider that educational research is "really closer to the research in history or anthropology in that it seeks to describe how people involved in a microculture, at a particular point in history, have chosen to act, and to surmise why they act as they do, and with what implications for society" (Keller, 1986, p.8). Also, these methods avoid the shortcomings of techniques that habitually isolate variables from contextual influences. Understandably, there were several important delimitations and limitations to this study.

The form of the questions I presented to Scales constitutes a delimitation. The questions had a particular format that was followed in each interview:

"Please describe[an event or situation]. What was your role? What did you do? What were the outcomes?" When appropriate, more information was solicited to clarify a response.

My previous knowledge of Scales' presidency, and the potential for that knowledge to contaminate the assessment of his presidency, constitutes a limitation of this study. I am a former student of Scales and am currently a university employee. More specifically, prior to this study I worked as a director of residence life during Scales' presidency and had frequent contact with him. However, the method I have used -- the comparision of Scales' responses with the documented record -- provides a safeguard against the potential contamination of personal bias.

A final, related potential limitation of this study is that my assumptions regarding either Scales or leadership frameworks could affect the collection and analysis of information. While it is typically the case that all research, quantitatively or qualitatively based, is influenced by researcher assumptions, it is desirable to reduce and control such influences. Prior to this study, I thought of Scales as an enigmatic professor and was curious as to how and what he accomplished as a university president. My assumptions regarding Scales were that he was charismatic, that he was a capable

scholar, and that he was a friendly individual.

Regarding leadership frameworks, I began this study with a thorough review of leadership literature and selected the leadership frameworks most frequently cited. I assumed that they would present the factors which best account for successful leadership and whose validity would not be an issue when they were compared with Scales' leadership factors. With the questions, methods, delimitations, and limitations outlined above in mind, it is appropriate to specify leadership factors presented in selected current frameworks.

Leadership has been theorized in the contexts of business, government, and education, among others. In fact, the issues related to who becomes a leader and what makes a leader effective surfaced early in ancient literature.

Socrates is reported by Plato to have provided a plan for developing and assessing leadership nearly 2500 years ago. Socrates' assumptions were that the guardian, or leader, must be born of the proper "metal," which is gold and which ensures potential ability. The guardian must pass tests of physical and intellectual development and must be a person who is just (The Republic, Book V). Socrates believed that some people were born with the potential to be leaders; however, having the potential did not automatically qualify a person to lead the state. The

innate potential had to be developed and had to be of both a physical and intellectual nature. Even after meeting the established standards, an individual had to show an understanding of justice and its application in society to be able to assume leadership in the state. Socrates' leadership theory has elements of chance and of intention. On the one hand, there was no guarantee as to who would be born with the soul of "gold"; on the other hand, the soul's true strength was to be developed through intentional activity. Also, in this theory, there is a tight, inextricable relationship between the individual and the context, or community, in which one would lead (Hamilton, et al., 1961).

The Socratic formula for leadership is still interesting today. That leadership remains a significant topic of concern can be measured by the number of recent publications and books concerned with some aspect of leadership. Whether thousands of years ago, or today, the importance of a leader, of leader development, and of effective leadership are worthy of attention.

It is fashionable, and easy, to argue that the qualities which make a leader effective in business would not necessarily do so in education, and visa versa. Such an argument leaves the researcher with the possibility of being limited to environmentally specific theories of leadership. On the surface, however, this contention begs

the general question of what is an effective leader. Each area of human activity claims that it has certain unique qualities which render transference of a set of ideas or procedures from it to another area invalid. To approach a broader understanding of leadership, however, it is necessary to review recent constructs and frameworks of leadership developed with reference to a variety of contexts. While the focus of this study is on the leadership of one individual through sixteen years at a higher education institution, a subordinate concern will be the comparison of leadership factors from frameworks structured in different contexts with the leadership factors evident in Scales' behavior as president.

In a recent major study of cross cultural leadership and managerial research, Hosking (1984) concluded that leadership studies are increasing an emphasis on choice in human conduct, emphasizing processural characteristics of human action, and approaching more idiographic methods (p.417). Hurt (1984) suggests that while one may see general trends in leadership research, there can never be integration of leadership and managerial theories as a whole (p. 423). Besides the common elements reported in the research literature, and the difficulty of integrating disparate models, it is apparent that leadership in most environments has been conceptualized in functional terms. "Functionalism," according to Raush (1984), means that the

model assumes there are specific social structures in an organization that can be manipulated to affect specific outcomes and performances (p. 61). Two conceptual frameworks clearly in the functional tradition are the Hersey-Blanchard situational leader model and Fiedler's contingency model.

Hersey and Blanchard (1977) propose that leadership is the process of matching an appropriate combination of leader tasks, such as giving instruction or information, and relational behaviors which provide social and emotional support to motiviate the follower in undertaking a given task. This model assumes differential behavioral outcomes depending on actions of the leader. The assumptions which underlie this model include relational concepts; task orientation; follower motivation; and contingences among stimuli, behavior, and consequences (pp. 34-36).

According to Hersey and Blanchard, an effective leader is flexible in selecting behaviors that influence followers. The follower is to be assessed for previous experience, interest level, commitment level, and acceptance of responsibility, in order to determine which combination of behaviors the leader should use.

Fiedler's (1971) contingency model depends on three criteria: leader-member relations, task structure, and position power. Evaluating the strength of these criteria as "good, high, and low" yields eight possible arrangments

of the variables. Depending on the outcome of the assessment of these qualities, a leader should be either passive and considerate or active and controlling (pp. 128-148).

Social psychologist Seymour Sarason (1972) suggests a rather different view of leaderhip. He writes that the conventional view of leadership is that the leaders are "astute, knowledgeable, rational individuals who strive selflessly for the general welfare and who make decisions in ways and on bases uncontaminated by personal foibles..." (p. 185). The functionalist models described above assume these attributes of leaders. Further, the models make little or no room for contextual variables. Sarason writes that a leader brings a vision that is an "expression of him, a fulfillment of his ideas and dreams" into the leadership context (p. 191). This projection of the leader's vision into the situation provides the motivation for selecting a core group of individuals to support leader ideas and to reinforce those who support leader ideas. Consequently, leaders are usually kept from the awful truth that their vision may be flawed or that people they inherit in the organization may feel quite differently about the leader's preferred ends. Leaders must be concerned about the history and dynamics specific to the context.

Sarason suggests that the following variables affect

leadership: forces in organizational history, dynamics of the core group, utilization of organizational resources, leader problems of control, and leader socialization. These variables are powerful forces within an organization and hinge on Sarason's fundamental concept of "setting."

Settings are "those instances in which two or more people come together in new relationships over a sustained period of time in order to achieve certain goals "(p.1). The setting is the relationship between individuals in which intention, motivation, and direction are involved. The leader's task is to develop settings which promote the matrix of factors and aims that exist at a given time and which fulfill the leader's vision.

Leadership in this model involves the study of people in context. The people in the context is the "setting." The leader may change over time and from setting to setting. These settings are organic in that the variables involved are dynamic and cyclic. Sarason's work implies that leadership is not engineered in the way functionalists' models of leadership suggest. Leadership is a process involving social change. The achievement of the task is not the most important measure of effectiveness in this model, as it is with functional models.

Some current researchers suggest that much recent leadership literature simply adds to old models rather than extending into new leadership frameworks (Strong, 1984, p.

204). Sarason's work, on the other hand, is a welcome attempt at a new conceptualization. The need for a new conceptualization is noted by Warren Bennis (1973), a reknowned university leader, who said that "after only a month or so [as leader of a university], I reluctantly decided that written organizational theories, even those I had devised myself, had very little relationship to what I was actually doing" (p. 12).

Other university leaders and researchers in higher education have asserted that models of leadership which result from studies of non-university organizations provide few insights for the university leader. They have indicated that models which have emerged from higher education are more concept than structure centered. Consequently, higher education models tend to suggest principles of action to guide leaders. An example is the following conception of leadership suggested by one writer: "If we allow ourselves to think of presidential power or influence as being at the center rather than the top, then perhaps the concept of involvement can be made more clear" (Knox, 1973, p. 115). Embedded in this idea is the principle that power in higher education radiates from the center of the organization, rather than being imposed from the top down.

Leader "involvement," such as that suggested by being at the center of the action, is a regular theme in higher

education literature. In this regard, it is important to note that in higher education organizations the faculty generally constitutes a center of power of a magnitude that severely proscribes the power of administrators suggested by organizational charts. Unlike a business, in which the quality production of an item or an efficient schedule is valued, higher education seeks to promote outcomes such as "wholeness," intellectual capability, and mature citizens, even though these are difficult, if not impossbile, to measure. The mechanisms to accomplish these outcomes are just as difficult to pinpoint. Thus, a higher education leader must tolerate a great deal of ambiguity and must harness resources for accomplishing the mission of an institution which is unique to a given setting. The leader must "operate on the emotional and spiritual resources of the organization, on its values, commitment, and aspirations" (Bennis,et al 1985, p. 188).

The procedures recommended by Bennis in leading a university involve pulling rather than pushing, promoting development and learning, creating community, and encouraging enjoyment of one's achievements and work (p. 83). This model of leadership purports that leadership involves making transactions which focus attention on a specific vision (p. 33). It is the vision which serves as "the commodity of leaders and power is their currency" (p. 18). Bennis' idea of leadership vision is that the

leader brings to an institution a particular set of ideas which are intended to chart the course for the organization, and that set of ideas constitutes the basis of the vision. This contrasts with Sarason's notion that while a vision is brought to an organization by the leader, that vision evolves in the setting over time, due to the interaction of people.

Higher education leadership in this framework includes developing and communicating a vision of a preferred future, transforming the "social architecture into a participative and trusting setting," and having the energy to initiate and sustain action which "transforms intention into reality" (p. 15). It is important to note that this view of the leader in higher education is a recent development. An earlier writer suggested that the president should be a healthy, trustworty, public speaker, who is happily married with children. He should also be "a man with respect for religious ideas" (Prator, 1963, p. 86). These qualities used to be thought to be the necessary and sufficient conditions for effective leadership. The contrast between these two notions is both dramatic and insightful. The differences between these two are noted by the depth, complexity, and intention of the concept of leadership.

The development of more depth and complexity in the conceptualization of leadership in higher education was

brought about by the educational crises during the 1960's and 1970's which occurred in higher education institutions. One example was the protest on college campuses over national and local issues, which received a great deal of attention by the press. Such events initiated a focus on the kinds of people who were and should be leading institutions. Leadership studies suggested that leaders varied widely from campus to campus, depending on institutional variables, such as size, tradition, and control (Carbone, 1981, p. 79). Presidents were often noted as "external agents" who served the Board of Trustees. This meant that leadership frequently was defined as the ability to fulfill the often esoteric needs of board members. A corollary to these studies was the assertion that "a measure of the president's leadership ability will be the board's active concern with the vital issues facing the institution and its well being" (Kauffman, 1980, p. 61). In effect, to identify and to measure leadership, one could study trustee decisions and activities. This was not to deny, however, that presidents are at the "center of a vastly complex and fragile human organization." This latter statement asserts that presidential leadership must be understood as a centering process rather than the mere filling of a position which is hierarchical and well defined (p. 14).

Current views of presidential leadership focus on

the abilities to persuade, encourage, and create certain environments, as well as to reward values which affect the learning outcomes of an institution (p. 49). Kauffman and others do not specify behaviors, be they "task" or "relational." Often higher education writers subsume these skills under the more general idea of leader style. These writers point out that it matters little that one may know how to give specific instructions or to provide social supports if the leader does not represent the values of the organization and does not present a compelling vision of the future.

Bennis and Nanus (1985) offers this summary assertion regarding leadership research: "Today we are a little closer to understanding how and who people lead. Decades of academic analysis have given us more than 350 definitions of leadership but no clear unequivocal understanding exists as to what distinguishes leaders from non-leaders, and perhaps, more importantly what distinguishes leaders from ineffective leaders" (p. 4). This is also the sentiment of empirical researchers of leadership who suggest that a new paradigm of leadership is needed (Hosking, Hunt, Schresheim, 1984).

Finally, in traditional leadership research, the main set of assumptions relies on the hypothesis that there are, in fact, social structures and systems that can be studied by the researcher (Hosking, 1984, p. 418). An important

concern of these theorists is the issue of values. In these leadership paradigms, values are structural components to be manipulated. It should be noted that value questions lead to epistemological and ontological debates, which are rarely resolved in a common view of social reality. Given these problems in understanding and researching leadership in any given context, and the problems specific to higher education, the importance of ideas which suggest ways to lead institutions in the coming days is clear. George Keller offers some such ideas.

Keller (1983) has summarized some of the major problems facing higher education in a time dominated by a specter of decline and bankruptcy. This specter requires " a more active and decisive campus leadership" (p. 7). Higher education problems demand more thorough planning and strategic decision-making, as well as more directed change (p. 27). The increase in competition among institutions; the decrease in traditional, residential students; and the loss of credibility and federal financial support are critical variables which will affect higher education institutions through the 1990's. To combat these external forces and to harness the energy of internal institutional forces, a leader in higher education should see authorizing, initiating, planning, managing, monitoring, and punishing as leadership imperatives (p. 35). Today, higher education

leaders must assume risk and decide and act even when the traditional decision-making routes have produced stalemates regarding a plan. Passive is "out" and active is "in" as a descriptor of the type of leader needed in higher education.

Descriptors of the new, future oriented academic leader include demanding action, motivating others, taking risks, pursuing large objectives, being outspoken, and possessing an entrepreneurial attitude. This contrasts with the old image of a cautious, passive, neutral leader, who also had a preference for the routine (p. 68). The new higher education leader must consciously seek to understand and to utilize the external and internal environmental factors affecting a particular institution. Perhaps more than in other times, by their choices, style, and personality, academic leaders will affect the future of higher education and students who might attend particular institutions.

Keller's conception of leadership depends heavily on the qualities of personality. One might know how to strategically plan but fail, due to a lack of willful insistence on pursuing a plan and the processes necessary for its achievement. Keller views leaders as qualitatively different from administrators. The administrator focuses on the details, routines, and specifics of a plan. A leader creates and promotes a vision and then evaluates

the unfolding reality of the vision.

In this conception, conflict is seen as productive. The leader should see conflicts that emerge in terms of his or her vision and use the conflict as an avenue to excite others to evaluate the vision (Bennis, 1976, p.172). Keller's concept of leadership is supported by Bennis' research effort, which involved observing and interviewing 90 leaders. Bennis (1976) concluded, "They [the leaders] did not talk about charisma, dress, or time-management; they talked about persistence and self-knowledge; about willingness to take risks and accept losses; about commitment, consistency, and challenge. But, above all, they talked about learning" (p. 188).

Emerging from these various constructs of leadership are a range of factors which one could suggest should be evident in a leader of a successful organization. A summary of these characteristics is provided in Table 1, which outlines central aspects of these five important conceptions of leadership. The subordinate purpose of this study is to compare the factors suggested by these conceptions with the factors which emerge from the study of a specific case: James Ralph Scales as president of Wake Forest University. The central purpose of this study is to identify leadership factors through an examination of the history of Scales' presidency.

This study of President Scales' tenure at Wake

Table 1

Factors and Assumptions of Selected Leadership Frameworks

Framework: Factors	Assumptions
Hersey-Blanchard's Framework:	
task behavior relational behavior follower motivation situational tasks	(1) task focus is an appropriate leadership measure (2) relationships can be engineered
Fiedler's Framework:	
leader-member relations task structure position power autocratic style democratic style	(1) vary style by situation (2) effectiveness improved by using appropriate style
Sarason's Framework:	
setting history of setting core group cycles	(1) context is as important as an individual (2) relationships develop over time
Bennis' Framework	
transactions vision values social architecture	(1) principles promote better leadership than a behavorial prescription (2) phenomenology as critical as tasks

Table 1 (Continued)

Factors and Assumptions of Selected Leadership Frameworks

Framework: Factors	Assumptions
Keller's Framework:	
personality entreprenurial attitude strategic planner persistence action oriented	(1) individual must affect change (2) market values important

Forest will focus on the documents, records, reports and interviews of Scales concerning the significant events during his sixteen year term of office. Major events during his tenure which involved institutional governance, student life management, faculty and curriculum development, administrative initiative, and personal characteristics and habits will be studied.

Factors of Scales' leadership that are identified from the analysis of his presidency will be compared with those in the five concepts of leadership discussed above. The comparing and contrasting of these factors will provide insight into general leadership theory and practice, as well as promote further understanding of leadership in a higher education context. The careful attention to Dr. Scales' presidency may also reveal new dimensions of leadership which heretofore have gone unnoticed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: RESEARCH METHODS, HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, LEADERSHIP FRAMEWORKS, AND THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENCY

The review of the literature necessary for this study includes material on case study, historical, and biographical research methods; the personal and presidential writings of James Ralph Scales; documents illuminating the history of Wake Forest University; writings in which authors discuss selected leadership frameworks; and writings about the university presidency. Each of the following sections of this chapter provides material related to an aspect of this research project. The merits and problems associated with each aspect of this research are presented below. There has been an effort to provide a synthesis of the literature to facilitate a thorough understanding of the nature of this research.

The research method used in this study was a historically and biographically oriented case study. In the broadest sense, this research is qualitative. Qualitative researchers attempt to describe the picture of what "is" rather than what a quantitative researcher "imagines" might exist (Denizen, 1982, p. 18). Specifically, the

qualitative researcher provides a description of a situation without the use of tools such as surveys or standardized tests. Eisner (1984) suggests that qualitative methods "do not squeeze the life out" of the effort to seek full understandings (p. 451); and Keller (1984) suggests that researchers have come to recognize that phenomena are caught in an inextricably contextual world which demands multifaceted research methods. The methods used in this study share the above noted qualities of qualitative research, which can be restated as the following: (1) contextual analysis, (2) exploration of interrelationships, (3) description of events and particularization of life experiences, and (4) identification of factors over time. All of these qualities characterize case study methods, which are embedded in qualitative research (Merriam, 1985).

A review of the literature of qualitative research methods makes clear the importance of the above noted qualities. Of particular value in this examination is the review of literature concerning the specific aspects of case study, historical, and biographical research methods.

Case study research is an effective tool for examining human relationships, historical events, and contextual factors affecting phenomena, as well as for exploring in depth the affect of values, attitudes, and perceptions on human choice (Bromley, 1986; Yin, 1984; Patton, 1982; Curtis, 1982; Gaff, 1982; Kazdin, 1982; Kidder, 1981; Van

Dalen, 1962; Pigors, 1961). It is valuable to understand the advantages and disadvantages of case study research before exploring its steps, factors, and potential outcomes.

The advantages of case study research noted by most writers include providing "multiple perspectives on the truth," revealing "unintended consequences and side effects unnoticed by more formal methods of inquiry," providing "inside information," and being a "more comprehensive form of inquiry" (Bromley, 1986; Merriam, 1985; Yin, 1984; Mitchell, 1983; Gall, 1982; Van Dalen, 1962; Pigors, 1961). Such writers promote these advantages of case study research and suggest they allow the researcher to systematically uncover dynamics and influences which empirical social science methods cannot uncover. There is a sense one gathers from the literature that case study research explores not only the depth and breadth of a problem, but the interrelationships of elements as well.

The central aspect of a case study most readily identified in the literature is "context." Bromley (1986) suggests that "human behavior is a function of the interaction between personal characteristics and situational factors " (p. 33). Mitchell (1983) argues that the case study provides an "intimate knowledge of the connections linking the complex set of circumstances surrounding the events in the case..." (p. 206). Van Dalen (1962) writes

that case study researchers "endeavor to trace interrelationships between facts that will provide a deeper insight into phenomena" (p. 218). Another writer, Curtis (1982), suggests that context means "any thought or act is part of a web of experience..." (p. 57). Hurst (1981) contends that case study method is a mapping of the natural setting..." (p. 234). These writers argue that the study of behavior in context sets case study research apart from other methods of examining behavior.

Exploring the context of behavior in case study research requires a specific set of research procedures. The typical elements of case study research include (1) selecting the phenomenon to study, (2) identifying and selecting data sources, (3) sampling data sources, and (4) analyzing data (Merriam, 1985; Yin, 1984; Patton, 1982; Kidder, 1981). These steps are critical in designing a valid and reliable case study.

Validity and reliability are important issues that confront all researchers. In case study methods, validity of the study depends on the use of multiple sources of evidence and the use of appropriate reasoning in analyzing the data (Bromley, 1986; Merriam, 1985; Yin, 1984). The importance of case study analysis cannot be over-emphasized. Merriam (1985) argues that the analytical scheme used to organize the data will directly affect the "sense" that can be made of the information. Further, Merriam points out

that the researcher should look for "patterns among the data, patterns that give meaning to the case under study" (p. 207). Also, in a study of this type, an additional validity issue is the genuineness of the documents used. Historians place a great importance on methods used to determine the "genuineness" of documents. One researcher wrote that an outstanding case study "relies on many of the same techniques as the historian" (Yin, 1984, p. 19). Historical methods are important to case study researchers also according to Merriam (1985) and Mitchell (1983).

Case studies often rely on two sources of data often inaccessible to either historian or biographer, namely direct observation and systematic interviewing (Merriam, 1985; Yin, 1984). While it is true that historians and biographers use observing and interviewing with primary and secondary sources, it is the immediacy of contact with the subject in a case study which provides a richness of information. Observing and interviewing the subject promote the reliability of the data because the process can be effectively managed, in part, through the use of technological equipment, such as tape recorders or video cameras (Yin, 1984). These devices increase the chances that the data analyzed from interviews or observations will be accurate and complete. The reporting of the data needs to be reliable, and the sources of the data need to be stable, that is, consistent over time. This stability is

generally insured, since typical data sources include documents such as official records, personal correspondence, other physical artifacts, and interviews (Bromley, 1986; Yin, 1984).

Another important procedure for the case study researcher is the cross referencing of different types of information, or "triangulation" (Merriam, 1985). Cross referencing interview material with official and personal documentaion, and with observations of actual events when these are available, increases the credibility of the information in the study.

The establishment of case study validity and reliability are straightforward. Careful examination of the logic of the study will test the validity of the analysis. Its reliability is tested by determining the stability of the information, for instance by comparing interview tape transcripts and notes from the same interview.

Case study research is typically subject to two criticisms. The first criticism involves the potential for researcher bias in favor of the subject or setting (Bromley, 1986; Patton, 1982; Kidder, 1981). There is evidence that the case study researcher tends to develop an affection for a subject as the amount of time and effort increases face to face contact with a subject. For example, in a biography when the researcher spends many hours interviewing the individual under study, the frequent interactions can become

contaminated as the researcher's biases prevent the identification of valuable information. Through meticulious attention to data collection techniques and methods designed to ensure reliability, investigator bias can be controlled.

The second criticism of case study research concerns the potential for generalization from the study. The value of the research is arguably dependent on how representative the case under study is to the problem area in the research. Bromley (1986), Merriam, (1985), and Mitchell (1983) suggest that the question of representativeness assumes that this type of research needs to be representative to be valuable and that the type of analysis and explanation provided by case study research is not otherwise valuable. The point made by these writers in responding to such criticism is that case study research has meaning that is derived from the analysis in the study rather than primarily from its representativeness. The adequacy of the analysis and the management of researcher bias depend a great deal on the techniques and methods used to collect data. One set of techniques and methods is that of the historian.

The literature on historical research is consistent in reporting that the historian uses the following sequencing of activites in conducting research. First, define the problem to be researched. Second, gather all appropriate and, one hopes, relevant data on the problem. Third,

evaluate the data, by looking at external and internal document criticism. Fourth, synthesize the information into a report (Benjamin, 1987; Bromley, 1986; Cohen, 1986; Felt, 1976; Barzum, 1970; Wiersma, 1969; Craig, 1964; Borg, 1963; Van Dalen, 1962; Hockett, 1955; Garraghan, 1946).

While the development of a hypothesis or problem statement is important (Van Dalen, 1962), more is written about the second and third steps. The documents must be appropriate to the problem under study. Further, documents must be identified as either a primary or secondary source. Primary sources are eyewitness accounts of events or actual objects used in the event. Such objects include official records, personal correspondence, oral reports, or pictorial accounts of events. Secondary sources are reports of eyewitness accounts or background information indirectly related to the events under study.

The numerous tests for authenticity of documents by historians are the result of many years of development of historical methodology. The researcher must consider the competence of the document writer, the experience of the document writer, the relative closeness in time of the account to the event, and the author's attitudes toward the event or events (Bromley, 1986; Hexter, 1971; Fischer, 1970; Wiersma, 1969; Borg, 1963; Van Dalen, 1962; Gottschalk, 1951; Garraghan, 1946). In the process of criticizing the data and data sources, there are a number of sources of

potential error to which researchers must attend. These include the assumptions on the part of the researcher that a statement in a document is a "fact" of actual historical circumstance. The researcher must pay careful attention to the influence of author bias or bias introduced by theoretical frameworks on the reporting of events (Hockett, 1955, p. 13).

A second source of error in historical research is the "rigid adherence to detailed questions [during an interview] formulated at the beginning which is unwise since it may keep the subject from reporting all relevant aspects of phenomena being studied " (Gottschalk, 1951, p. 226). Interviews with eyewitnesses should have structure but also enough flexibility to allow for the development of relevant and appropriate follow-up questions during the interview.

A third important source of error in reporting facts is the use, in interviews, of questions that are either too simple or too complex. Such questions may fail to illicit a full, thorough response (Fischer, 1970). Though this may seem a difficult type of error to control, researchers may study their questions and subject responses after the interview to understand the influence of such errors on the information collected. Forethought and preparation prior to the interview promote balanced questioning.

Historical researchers, using appropriate methods and procedures, seek to provide a report that is a synthesis of

information which allows for "the historian's plain duty to give the facts" (Garraghan, 1946, p. 43). Benjamin (1987) suggests that the importance of the historian's work is highlighted by the recognition that everything that exists -- socially, culturally, or physically -- comes from the past, and that one can more fully understand the present through an accurate presentation of the past (p. 2). Others have suggested that "historical research concerns the critical evaluation and interpretation of a defined segment of the past" (Wiersma, 1969, p. 290). Van Dalen (1962) writes that historical methods are designed to provide "an exposition that will stand the test of critical examination" (p. 177). He further suggests that a historian must strive "in a manner that does no violence to the actual events and conditions" under study (p. 177).

Synthesizing the information is the final act of the research process. The synthesis is valuable for several reasons. One reason is that historical reporting, such as that found in biographical studies, provides a record by which individuals can guide their behavior. An accurate biography allows for comparison between individuals which is often instructive. Another reason that historical reporting is important is that is provides a "social memory" by which communities can understand the forces in the past to help guide the present (Garraaghan, 1946). As many modern historians suggest, the aim of historial research is, as

Thucyclides wrote long ago, to aid "in the interpretation of the future" (Van Dalen, 1962, p. 177).

Historical writing comes in a variety of forms. One common form of narrative history is biography (Benjamin, 1987, p. 10). As the historian seeks to provide an accurate report of events, the biographer seeks to provide "the dramatic unfolding of personality-in- action," by describing events in which a particular person acts (Kendall,1965, p. 147). Biography is a method of research designed to provide the truth about the life of an individual (Gittings, 1978; Kendall, 1965; Langness, 1965; Gottschalk, 1951; Garranghan, 1946).

In order to achieve a truthful report of an individual's life, biographers write that they must use historical research methods to maintain veracity and thoroughness in their efforts (Gittings, 1978; Van Dalen, 1962; Garraghan, 1946). Specifically, this means identifying, collecting, and evaluating source material in preparation for the writing of the biography. These historical research procedures have been reviewed above. Of additional importance are three research issues especially critical to biographers. First, the biographer writing about a person who is living and who is to be interviewed must establish rapport with the subject (Langness, 1965). Rapport is understood to mean that the interviewer and subject have a level of trust that promotes candid and

thorough conversation.

The second concern is closely related to the first in that rapport must not give way to researcher bias. Over prolonged periods of interviewing, the relationship between interviewer and subject may lead to the development of positive or negative emotional attachments that might affect the researcher's observations regarding the subject's behaviors (Bromley, 1986; Garraghan, 1946).

A final concern for the biographer is testing the accuracy of the subject's assertions regarding events (Bromley, 1986; Langness, 1965). The biographer must keep in mind that the transcripts from the interviews with the individual are as important as the verifying of sources regarding events under study. The transcript, itself, becomes an important part of the record because it may show proclivities to gloss over certain aspects of events, which may compromise the accuracy of the report of an event.

These concerns can be resolved through meticulous attention to research procedures. Garraghan (1946) noted "the same problems in the use of source material confront the historian and biographer alike. Each is bound by the same rules of rigorous criticism in testing the authenticity, and then the trustworthiness of the sources on which he draws" (p. 241). It is important for the biographer to remember that unlike historical reporting, which is "about events," the biography is to strive to be a

"simulation of a person's life in words"(Kendall, 1965, p. 147).

To create such a "simulation" requires the use of sources to get at issues that are uncommon in historical research. Such issues include an examination of the competency, prestige, biases, and values of the person under study (Van Dalen, 1962, p. 78). It is the effort to emphasize the personality of the subject who influenced events or is affected by circumstances which separates the biographer from the historian, who concentrates more on the totality of an event than on a single personality.

It should be noted that this study is not, strictly speaking, either a history of Wake Forest between 1967 and 1983 or a biography of James Ralph Scales. Historical and biographical methods were used in this case study of presidential leadership because both methods are well established and appropriate to the problem under consideration.

Central aspects of the methods used in this study have been explored above. The advantages and disadvantages of case studies, historical, and biographical procedures have been presented. Finally, this review has served to justify the eclectic method used in this historically and biographically oriented case study. The combination of procedures achieved a useful and important case study. Bromley (1986) has noted that a case study report should

include a full description of a person acting in a situation which has constraints, opportunities, and contingencies, in order to expose outcomes or change in the person or situation (p. 300). There are no better procedures for exploring a person in a case study than biographical methods or for exploring a particular situation than historical research methods. By combining these methods, it is possible to conduct a viable case study that identifies the factors of leadership of James Ralph Scales during his presidency of Wake Forest University.

This combination of procedures was used to explore the major problem of this study: to identify the factors of leadership present in the presidency of James Ralph Scales. It should be noted that there are no other biographies of Scales and no full accounts of the history of Wake Forest during his presidency. Extant biographical statements about James Ralph Scales are typically two or three page statements that briefly outline family, education, and past employment. There has been no effort to write about the man's personality, his behavior, or his own reflections on his career.

Scales' presidential tenure at Oklahoma Baptist University is given attention in The Official History of Oklahoma Baptist University (Yarbrough, 1985). A brief highlighting of the accomplishments of Scales at Oklahoma Baptist University from 1942-1965 and of the political

issues which precipitated his resignation are treated in this organizational history. An article by Russell Brantley in the Wake Forest Magazine(30,1, 1983, pp. 3-6), entitled "Having led Wake Forest to national prominence, he 'retires' to international teaching," provides a brief biographical sketch of Scales' presidency at Wake Forest.

Materials written by Scales include Oklahoma Politics, a well received book he co-authored with Danney Goble in 1983. The book is based on Scales' dissertation, A Political History of Oklahoma: 1907-1949, which became a standard reference source for "serious students of Oklahoma's history." The book is praised by the same critic as one which "makes Oklahoma's aberrations, anomalies, and oddballs comprehensible..." (Barnhill, 1985, p. 136). Thomas (1984) wrote that the book "is as explosive in parts as the firecracker on the front cover" (p. 27).

A number of Scales' speeches through the years have been published for limited distribution. These speeches are notable for the richness of allusions to history and literature, which strengthen philosophical statements about the virtues of a liberal arts education.

Scales' correspondence during his presidency was prolific. The collection of his letters, both personal and presidential, begins in 1933 and continues through 1984. The tone and substance of many of these letters suggest good-will, even toward critics. For example, Scales

responded to the criticism of the Rev. A. Brody, an Oklahoma Baptist Superintendent of Missions who complained that Oklahoma Baptist Univerity was having Wednesday night classes which conflicted with church prayer night in these terms: "I thank you for your kindness and understanding in discussing a matter of common interest to the University and our churches. You were the first person to bring to my attention the evening college schedule and I thank you for the courtesy. In the spring, classes will not meet on Wednesday" (1963, p. 1).

To the wife of a faculty member who had requested a reading list from Scales, he wrote a two page letter which provided a list of eighteen books. Scales (1979) suggested to her that "the desire to read is the conditioning of early life." Similiar care was shown in a personal letter to his father's oldest sister, who had written a letter of congratulations on his selection as president of Wake Forest. To Aunt Day, on May 25, 1967, Scales wrote:

> This is a solemn responsibility we have assumed, and I hope that I can discharge it faithfully... we go to the new work without illusions....I am the first with a western twang [Oklahoma] and some wise trustees laugh off the Indian background. That I have arrived here is no merit of mine, but mainly my parents who have made it possible for me to be the beneficiary of the confidence and special attention of men and women of great substance and character (p. 1).

These letters, one to a faculty member's wife and another to a relative, illustrate the interest he took in responding to others.

In official documents, such as annual reports, Scales would carefully craft closing statements that would summarize his concerns for campus matters. His 1970 annual report is particularly full of comments on student behavior, faculty curriculum concerns, and money problems. In the quotation from the 1972 report that follows, Scales provides some summary observations about students and budget concerns as they affect the curriculum. He wrote in his 1972 report:

> The college is committed in the best sense to the values of a liberal education. There is a popular, and too unattractive, national inclination to do away with mathematics and scientific requirements... if we toddle down this indifferent path, we will regret it....They [students] believe themselves committed to the absolute worth of every human being, to the rejection of the competitive spirit, to the affirmation of the idea of community, in which relationships are intense and deeply personal...We are required to balance the budget, and we have succeeded, at the cost of quality in the educational experience; some promising teachers needlessly lost, programs curtailed, patterns of living restricted....(p. 22).

These selected quotations from letters and documents illustrate the nature of Scales' correspondence. He seems to have responded to every letter he received. In all of these materials, there is a consistency in tone, quality, and substance. In contrast to the wealth of materials by Scales is the paucity of information about Wake Forest.

There is no recent comprehensive history of Wake Forest University, although Professor Bynum Shaw is updating to 1967 the History of Wake Forest, which was published in 1943. Shaw's book is currently in press. There is a transcript of James Dodding's "Visions and Dreams" (1983), which was a

dramatization celebrating the 150th anniversary of the founding Wake Forest. The only other materials about Wake Forest are brief statements on the "experience of Wake Forest" published in the Wake Forest Magazine, or reports in local newspapers or the Biblical Recorder. Such articles are often full of editorial comment, which compromises their usefulness as historical records.

The literature noted above presents material related to the central purpose of this case study, namely the identification of leadership factors in James Ralph Scales' presidency. The following material relates to the subordinate purpose of comparing leadership factors identified in Scales' presidency with those of selected leadership frameworks.

Reviewing literature on leadership leaves some researchers concluding that most frameworks are poorly conceived and promote little understanding of the phenomena of leadership (Hunt, et al., 1984; Bennis, 1973). It is important to review the selected leadership frameworks and to identify the significant leadership factors in these frameworks in order to be able to compare these factors to those identified in the study of Scales' presidency.

Regarding these frameworks, a number of introductory statements should be made. The frameworks come from very different fields and, therefore, approach the concept of leadership in very different ways. Though different in their explanation and measure of leadership, the frameworks

share, in relative terms, a common romantic assumption about leadership. This romantic assumption leads, as Meindl (1985) suggested, to a "faith in leadership" which projects on to leaders a "reality of control [over events] that are in fact uncontrollable" (p. 99). These frameworks share the assumption that leaders can learn, through training, ways of becoming better leaders. In this regard, there is a high value placed on rationality in leadership. Implied is a rejection of the historic notion that "leaders are born," a notion based in tradition, without empirical support. These frameworks attempt to provide empirical support for understanding leadership; however, they all share procedural and methodological flaws. Despite such shortcomings, they are the most cited and recognized in their respective fields.

The frameworks can be grouped as belonging to either "functional" or "phenomenological" schools of thought. Functionalism emerged from the effort to develop theories through the use of scientific methods in social analysis. According to Hunt, et al (1984) and Rauch, et al (1984), functionalism assumes that "variables" of leadership can be identified and quantified based on certain hypothesized constructs. For example, "functional" frameworks hypothesize that leaders use direction-giving or relationship-supporting behaviors in various ways to motivate followers. Functional leadership frameworks assume one can predict and control change. The Hersey-Blanchard Situational Leadership Model and

Fiedler's Contingency Model of Leadership are two examples of frameworks in the functional tradition.

Phenomenological leadership frameworks emphasize the dynamics of contexts and behaviors in context. Blake, et al(1982) and Hunt, et al (1984) suggest that these frameworks value the subjective realities involving leaders and followers as vital dynamics in leadership. In addition to subjective factors, Quinn (1984) suggests the importance of recognizing the organizational context of the leader and follower. The underlying assumption of this school of thought, in contrast to advocates of functional leadership frameworks, is that change is unpredictable and that all leader and follower actions have unintended consequences. There is a focus on leadership processes rather than "structures" in explaining behavior in phenomenological frameworks. In this category, the work by Sarason (1972), Bennis (1985), and Keller (1983) is worthy of examination.

In both the functional and phenomenological categories, the frameworks have emerged as the result of many years of effort to inquire about the nature, meaning, and value of leadership. Leadership frameworks have been put forth for thousands of years, but they took a dramatic directional shift from "leaders are born" to "leaders can be taught" as a result of the Ohio Leadership Studies of 1948.

The Ohio Leadership Studies (1948) in turn initiated the development of a series of new leadership frameworks, which

caught the imagination of social scientists. The analysis of the data collected in these studies suggested that leadership behavior falls into two broad areas. These were later called, by Hersey and Blanchard (1979), relational and task oriented behaviors. Leadership was to be understood as depending on the appropriate use of direction-giving behavior and emotional-social support behavior. Hersey and Blanchard (1981) connected these behaviors to the motivational level of the follower on a given task. The "Situational Leadership Model" assumes that the leader uses the reinforcement of relational behaviors to motivate followers to achieve tasks. The goal for the leader is to move the follower along a continuum of development which ends with simple delegation.

The leader in this model must be able to alter his or her style, depending on the follower's abilities on a given task. This model is concerned with engineering relationships that promote the "ends" of a leader at a specific time. The "situation" -- follower skill and task complexity -- dictates leader behavior. The leader must be able to assess follower ability and task complexity to provide the appropriate combination of leader behaviors. The Hersey-Blanchard leadership scheme reflects the functionalist idea that leaders can assess and control events and that leadership is a process that is fundamentally rational.

Tjosvold (1983), Ashour (1983), Knight (1985), Sorrention (1986), and McCelland (1982) provide support for the Hersey

and Blanchard leadership model. Tjosvold concluded, "Leaders perceived to be cooperative [defined as appropriately directive and supportive] had subordinates who felt satisfied with their supervisors, believed their leader contributed to their job performance and commitment, and were satisfied with their job" (p. 1119). Ashour (1983) suggested that research shows how the effective use of social reinforcement can assist in providing for operant conditioning of the work force. Through studying perceived effectiveness of university department chairpersons, Knight (1985) suggested that "the more effective department head was one who maintained high levels of both consideration and structure" (p. 687). Sorrention (1986) and McClelland (1982) suggest that leaders emerge from groups with high drives for success and affiliation, which are defined as the high frequency of task and relational behaviors.

The criticisms of the Hersey and Blanchard model, though few, are crippling to the theory. First, researchers point out that the statistical procedures used in studies to validate the framework are often incorrect (Strong, 1984; Hunt, et al, 1984; Slocum, 1984) and produce unreliable positive results. Schriesheim (1982) wrote that "the assertion of the superiority of the high consideration and high initiating structure leadership style is indeed an American myth" (p. 226). The criticism which penetrates the core of this framework is Blake's (1986) assertion that this

type of leadership model and research attempts to reduce leadership to small units of behavior. To reduce leadership to this level ignores the cognitive processes which precede and are concurrent with other behaviors. Separating out behaviors as unrelated actions destroys the phenomenon (p. 287). Another criticism is that this type of leadership framework suggests a degree of rationality and control which leaders simply do not have (Meindl, 1985).

Sims (1984) and Hunt, et al (1984) argue that a leader must pay attention to the context of behaviors, which involves values, perceptions, and environment. The argument of these critics is simply that a leadership framework should accommodate factors as valid and reasonable as group values or individual experience.

A final criticism, according to Blake (1982), concerns the lack of evidence that this, or any functional leadership framework, produces a more efficient or effective organization. Blake contends that there is no evidence that suggests that using functional leadership frameworks results in higher production or work quality. The functionalist school argues that by using the appropriate leadership behavior, which is rationally determined, a leader can produce better outcomes than if left to other leader behaviors.

Suffering from many of the same criticisms as the Hersey-Blanchard Model is the Fiedler Contingency Leadership

Model. Fiedler reports that his theory is valid according to exhaustive empirical studies completed both prior to and since publication of the theory. There are a number of factors central to Fiedler's framework which are different from factors central to Hersey's framework.

The role of power and influence is central to Fiedler's contingency framework. Also, factors defined by Fiedler (1981) include the match between "the leader's style of interacting with his or her subordinates and the degree to which the situation gives control and influence to the leader" (p. 119). Additional elements of the framework are the nature of the relationship between leader and follower, work complexity, and position power of the leader (the ability to punish).

Fiedler (1981, 1971) has published a number of studies which purport both a validation and an extension of applications of his model. Strube (1981) has completed a meta-analysis on the contingency leaderhip research and has concluded, like Fiedler, that in testing 145 hypotheses of the model which were based on the possible permutations of variable relationships, "The model as a whole was overwhelmingly supported" (p. 316).

Using the data provided in many previous studies, Wofford (1985) completed a series of new analyses, and he concluded that "the results of the laboratory simulations did not support some basic hypothesis from Fiedler's contingency

model" (p. 830). Wofford further suggested that using correlational studies was incorrect (p. 831). Slocum (1984) concluded that the model has two difficult problems. First, there was mathematical inexactness regarding variable interaction. Second, there was no attention given to non-linear relationships among the variables in the theory (p. 335).

Other criticisms involve serious questions regarding the applicability of conclusions reached in laboratory settings to field situations, questions which even Fiedler (1971) acknowledged. The efforts to apply Fiedler's framework to field situations led to this conclusion by Boswell (1985): "Even if one buys the typology, there still remains one key problem: people may not change very much but situations do.... This [model] would require constant leader reassignment" (p. 222). Such constant reassignment is inefficient and ultimately ineffective.

The contingency models, a subset of functionalist frameworks, fail to account for the contextual forces with which a leader must contend. While the contingency models attempt to focus on "leader-follower" relationships, they entirely ignore the follower as an active and willfull agent (Nolan, 1984), and they ignore environmental factors (Ferris, 1981). One such factor in an organization is the values which exist that influence decisions and behaviors. Schriesheim, et al (1984) write that leadership is "significantly affected by

managerial values that are embedded in different cultures" (p. 388). These authors contend that a leader behaves differently in different environments according to the values present in the environment. For example, the language used by a floor manager will be different when he is talking with line employees than when he is talking with other managers. Identifying the role of values and forces in an organizational culture is a complex challenge (Simpson, 1969).

Blake (1982) and Hosking, et al (1984) suggest that the contingency leadership model has a critical inherent flaw, which has resulted in a framework which cannot encompass organizational culture issues. The flaw is that both Fiedler and Hersey-Blanchard consider task, or "structure," and relational, or " consideration," behaviors as factors that are independent of each other in leadership. As independent factors, they cannot account for the interaction that may exist between them. To conceptualize these factors as interdependent is to view them as being aspects of an interacting and dynamic process, rather than descriptors of structural elements in leadership. It is as interdependent constructs that critics say they become important. And when one begins to appreciate how they work interdependently, one can further understand how such topics as cognitions and subjective reality become important considerations. Through reconceptualizing these factors as interdependent, leadership becomes multidimensional.

This multidimensional conception of leadership provides for an examination of the phenomenon of leadership rather than the engineering of behaviors into a "style" that assumes a progressive cycle which is both measurable and predictable. Sarason (1981) makes the point when he asserts that "...psychological mechanism and structure cannot be understood apart from social context" (p. 129). Sarason argues that leadership cannot be understood from the perspective of individual psychology apart from understanding the social context that socializes the leader and follower.

Sarason (1972) suggests that though a leader may bring a vision to an organization, the history of the organization will work against the innovation a leader might bring. To deal with historical forces, a leader needs to develop a core group of individuals with whom he or she hopes to achieve the realization of the leader's vision. Eventually, the leader, the core group, and others learn that attempting to transform intention into reality requires the cooperation of everyone in the organization. Leadership cannot be understood adequately as the behavior of a single individual; it must be recognized that individuals interact in a "social matrix in which everybody is part of everyone else's environment" (p. 258).

Sarason (1972) suggests that the appropriate way to look at leadership is to study the phenomenology of the group or organization. This requires an examination of group history, group "myths," group cycles of growth and decline, and the

group process of problem solving. Sarason argues for attention to the full dimensions of context and leader behavior in context.

Strong (1984), Hunt, et al (1984), and Blake (1982) point out that leadership studies and many leadership frameworks fail to account for the "context" of leadership. Whether explaining the role of organizational culture, group values, or organizational social structure, these writers suggest that, even if research methodologies have difficulty assessing these factors, taking into account contextual facors is important in approaching an understanding of leadership.

A phenomenologically based framework has two key aspects: (a) a lack of consensus among researchers regarding leadership, and (b) the adoption of a different set of assumptions from those of functionalism. This complex view of leadership is completely different from that of either Hersey-Blanchard or Fielder. Tsui (1984), Blake (1982), and Bennis (1973) point out that after hundreds of leadership studies, there are no adequate definitions of leadership. Bennis and Nanus (1985) came to the view that all the conceptions they once held about leadership and organizations simply had no relationship to the reality of leadership in organizations. Therefore, there is, in his mind, a need to reconceptualize both the nature of leadership and how to assess it.

Bennis and Nanus (1985) argue that there are some basic

leadership processes. They came to the following conclusions about leadership after interviewing 90 successful leaders. First, leaders have an intense focus on a vision for the organization. Second, leaders have a facility for articulating this vision. Third, leaders establish trust by showing involvement, commitment, and persistence. Finally, leaders know how to translate "intention" into reality. This translation requires a management of self and a management of the emotional and spiritual resources of the organization.

Coleman (1986) writes that Nanus and Bennis provide some stimulating guidelines for leaders. His objections to the research, however, include the issue of an unrepresentative sample of successful leaders and the unproven assertion that the competencies of leadership described in the book can be learned, developed, and improved. Another critic, Johnson (1985) concludes that whatever may be the flaws of the book, they do not diminish the provocative ideas for leaders that are in the text.

The current state of conceptualization in phenomenological approaches is such that writers rely on a rubric that is similar to that of functionalism. Blake and Mouton (1982) conclude, like Bennis, that the only useful way to approach leadership is to look at guidelines regarding group behavior from the social sciences. For example, Blake et al (1982) suggest that leadership principles include fulfillment through participation, trust, synergy, involvement

and commitment, shared responsibility, and change through development.

Hosking, et al (1984) concluded, after studying the literature on leadership and management, that the phenomenon of effective leadership was caught up in the factors of human choice, group process, and perceptual processes, as well as individual uniqueness in a given context.

Bennis (1985, 1976, 1973), Ciculla (1986), Bass (1984), Roberts (1985), Hunt, et al (1984) argue that leadership frameworks should include the factors of leader vision, action orientation, idiographic qualities, and the affect of leader on organizational climate. These writers see leadership as an interactive process involving levels of cognition, or subjective reality, and behavior, or observable reality. They suggest less of a "paint by number" understanding of leadership and more of an "art in process" quality to leadership.

The need for a leadership framework that promotes an action orientation, an entrepreneurial spirit, and a vision is called for by Keller (1983). Keller, reacting to major crises affecting higher education, writes that a new framework of leadership is needed if higher educational institutions are to survive. Leaders should be prepared to act, to plan, to adapt, and to persist. Keller would have leaders implementing and adjusting plans, while committees stall decisions due to unending philosophical debates. Keller's view of leadership

is that contextual factors and leader personality are unique and are in dynamic interaction. Keller does not see that engineering social relationships is necessarily constructive or reinforcing in an academic environment. The leader should be "intentional" as a planner and be flexible as change occurs.

Whetten (1984), in a similar vein to Keller's, suggests that leadership factors include a "catalytic" attitude and an "aggressive opportunism" (p. 41). McAninach (1986) writes that the key factors in leadership, in order of importance, are vision, goals, and action. Jennings (1960) suggested that for one to understand leadership he or she should examine the history of the word. Leadership derives from Greek and Latin verbs meaning "to act." Both Jennings and Keller, though writing twenty years apart, support the same contention about the nature of leadership.

Keller's recent work has received little attention from traditional critics, but his description of the problems facing higher education is widely accepted. His prescription for the problems is untestable for the moment. He makes his case by detailing selected stories of presidents or deans who transformed institutions from spiritual and fiscal bankruptcy into vibrant, financially sound organizations. The cases he presents are compelling.

Regarding those reviews which have been made of Keller's work, there is a recognition of his twenty-five year service

to higher education and an acknowledgement that a new leadership framework is needed in higher education. Eder (1983) writes, however, that "Keller overestimates the extent to which a managerial revolution is overtaking academe -- though by no means does he overestimate the need for this to happen" (p. 572). In a similar review, Mehlinger (1984) notes that Keller "sought mainly to draw attention to the need for a new kind of academic management..."(p. 81). He concludes that Keller is successful in sketching broad trends and in writing an interesting and valuable book.

Keller's notion of leader behavior is as compelling as the implication from his research that to understand leadership one must examine various contexts and forces with affect a particular organization. This is important in two respects. First is the implication that leadership becomes specific to a given setting, with some general underlying principles at work in all settings. Second is the strong conclusion that leadership research must be idiographic. In a similar vein, my case study of presidential leadership looks at the behavior of a specific university president, during a particular time, and at a particular place. To complete the review of literature relevant to my research, it is necessary to examine works about the university presidency and university presidents.

The literature on the college and university presidency from 1962 to the present highlights several factors regarding

the position. Most articles or books contain lists of necessary activities for a president, like consulting, planning, negotiating, organizing, and listening. These publications also describe the organizational complexity of higher education, within which the president has diverse constitutencies, from trustees to students on campus, and from business to community leaders off the campus. Finally, most publications suggest that the president has a significant affect on the institutional environment (Gilley, 1985; Ryan, 1984; Kauffman, 1984, 1980; Sharp, 1984; Riesman, 1982; Carbone, 1981; Astin, 1980; Blackwell, 1980; Bennis, 1973; Knox, 1973; Millett, 1968; Ingraham, 1968; Prator, 1963; Dodds, 1962).

Cohen and March (1974) wrote an exhaustive work on the university presidency which differs on a number of significant points from the above noted authors. One such difference is that Cohen and March believe that ultimately it really does not matter who is president. At best, the president serves a kind of ceremonial role in an institution that is analogous to a "garbage can" in the way that decisions are made. The garbage can concept suggests that decision makers must reach for a variety of solutions to problems that are rarely clean cut and well defined. But Cohen and March admit that research on this conception of presidential leadership is nearly impossible (p. 91). There is an implicit notion in Cohen and March, which is consistent with that of many of the

other researchers on the presidency, that the management of change, invited or otherwise, is very important.

The issue of change -- in the presidential role and in the institution -- is one which recurs in presidential literature. In an article on college presidents since World War II, Sharp (1984) wrote that the images of the president went from the suave, witty, thoughtful man to the "corporate man" (p. 11). This movement has come about, in part according to Sharp, due to drastic changes in higher education in the last forty years. Sharp concludes with the assertion that presidential leadership has emerged into a "highly individualized art form" (p. 16).

The change from an image of the president as professorial leader to one of the president as corporate executive has come to dominate the current literature. Further, the current characterization includes such labels as "path-finder" (Gilley, 1985), "transformer" (Kauffman, 1984), "catalytic administrator" (Whetten, 1984), "action oriented leader" (McAninch, 1986) and "academic strategist" (Keller, 1984). These authors are convinced that presidents should create a formidable presence on campus. In fact, they imply that without a president who exhibits the leader behavior they describe, without the president exhibiting a certain entreprenurial attitude, colleges will fail to survive the long term crisis in higher education, as described by Keller (1983).

Descriptions of individual presidents who exhibit the new action oriented, innovative qualities proposed by current writers are used as examples to support the contention that presidential leadership is particularly important today. However, too often discussions of individual presidents present them in prefabricated categories (Carbone, 1981; Knox, 1973). More thorough treatment of individual presidents typically occurs in dissertations written as biograhpies or histories (Barker, 1985; Gappa, 1985; Rosenstock, 1984; Ariosto, 1984). Some college and university histories briefly describe their presidents through various periods of time.

In the major studies of college and university presidents, researchers tend to group presidential responsibilities into these categories: the nature of the office, relationships with the board of trustees and faculty governing bodies, and fiscal and physical plant management (Kauffman, 1980; Prator, 1963; Thwing, 1926). In my study, there has been a modification of these categories to include presidential initiatives, personal characteristics, and student life issues. These three categories naturally evolved during the research and are important to the case study.

In this chapter, I have reviewed five broad categories of literature. The first includes literature related to my research method, an historically and biographically oriented case study, which involves historical, biographical, and case

study methods. The value of these methods used in concert is to strengthen the reliability of the information used in the analysis and to promote a fuller understanding of the problem under study.

A second category of literature involves material about and by Scales published prior to this research. Biographical pieces about Scales have been short and have been essentially without substantial discussion of the character or style of the man. His own writings during his presidency, 1967-1983, were prolific, though his only scholarly research of note occurred in 1983.

A third category of literature is related to the history of Wake Forest University. Three complete volumes of history by Paschal cover the college from 1833 through 1943. A soon to be published volume by Professor Bynum Shaw will update the history of the college from 1943 to 1967. A number of brief articles about Wake Forest have been published in the Wake Forest Magazine.

Literature concerning selected leadership frameworks comprises a fourth category. Studies and reviews that highlight the major leadership factors of selected frameworks have been presented. These frameworks include Hersey-Blanchard's "Situational Leadership Model," Fiedler's "Contingency Leadership Model," Sarason's social psychology framework, and Bennis' and Keller's general higher education frameworks.

A fifth category of literature concerns studies of the college and university presidency, and of particular university presidents. This literature typically describes the current or future roles of university presidents. Descriptions of individual presidents are often based on quick reviews of specific college presidents who conveniently illustrate the main ideas of a given author about the presidency.

Each category of literature illuminates a critical aspect of this research effort to explore university leadership through a case study of James Ralph Scales' presidency at Wake Forest University. The precise procedures for collecting and analyzing the data for this case study are described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD: SOURCES, PROCEDURES, AND ANALYSES

The research method used in this study was selected because the processes involved were appropriate for answering the two questions under examination; namely, what were the key factors in Scales' leadership during his presidency at Wake Forest, and what similarity exists between Scales' leadership factors and those suggested by selected leadership frameworks? The case study method, which involves data identification, collection, and analysis was deemed appropriate for two reasons. First, the review of literature on leadership suggested idiographic research as the best method for studying leadership. Second, there is no other method one can use both to examine the leadership of a specific presidency and to answer research questions such as the two under study. The subordinate question, which involves a comparison between the factors identified as keys to Scales' leadership and those identified in selected frameworks, is important as a check on the validity of the frameworks that dominate the literature for studying the university presidency. For the purposes of this research, the concept of leadership is understood as the

research, the concept of leadership is understood as the aggregrate of factors, or behavior, which direct organizational resources toward specific outcomes.

This case study had three categories of procedures: identifying, collecting, and analyzing data. As noted in the previous chapter, these procedures have been well established as the integral aspects of case study research. Further, by verifying documents and triangulating data, I was able to control the potential biases of self-report found in interviews and of researcher prejudice. In the discussion below, I will discuss the four sources used during the identification of data, the two procedures used for collecting data and the two types of analysis used in synthesizing the data.

The sources of data included interviews with President Scales, Scales' presidential documents, Scales' personal papers, and other documents related to Scales' presidency. The interviews were completed in two series: an initial series to record Scales' recollection of events, and a subsequent series which followed the thorough examination of documents and transcripts from the initial interview series.

There were eighteen interviews with President Scales. The first series of interviews had fourteen sessions, and the second series had four sessions. They took place in his office in the tower of Wait Chapel on

the Wake Forest University campus. Each interview lasted approximately sixty minutes. The interviews were taped on a Sony cassette recorder and were transcribed verbatim for later study. Under agreement with Scales, the tapes and the transcripts have been sealed for twenty years in the Crittenden Baptist Historical Collection of the Reynolds Library on the Wake Forest campus. Each transcript varies in length, from sixteen to twenty pages. The tapes and transcripts have been sealed due to the specificity of names noted in the interviews which would be unappropriate to have available as a public record.

A second source of data was Scales' presidential papers, which are catalogued in the Crittenden Baptist Historical Collection. Access to these and other papers was granted by Scales and John Woodard, Director of the Collection. These documents are organized by category, and the files in each category are ordered alphabetically. The four categories are trustee documents, faculty departments, financial reports, and personal letters and materials. The decision to put documents in this collection rested on the determination that a particular document had been written or prepared by Scales, or that a document written by others had direct bearing on the president's tenure.

A third source of data was Scales' personal

documents. For this research, the majority of personal documents that were used came from the Crittenden Baptist Historical Collection. Other personal documents made available by Scales included his appointment calendars, extraneous files of materials which he had collected, and personal scrap books. These personal papers were typically copies of letters to friends, family, and colleagues, or notes to himself regarding university or family events. The authenticity of these personal documents was easily established by examining the handwriting and prose style.

Finally, data were gathered from publications regarding Scales' professional activities or events related to his presidency. These publications included newspaper accounts, university magazine reports, and monographs. The newspaper accounts are kept in chronological order in the University Public Relations Office, which has by tradition surveyed North Carolina newspapers for articles referring to Wake Forest University or to university staff members. Also, articles from the Biblical Recorder are kept on file in the Public Relations Office, and complete copies of this Baptist weekly are on file in the Crittenden Baptist Historical Collection. In addition, copies of both university magazine publications and monographs are kept in the University Public Relations Office.

To use the data sources most effectively, I determined that a chronological outline of the public events of Scales' presidency, based on newspaper accounts and university reports, should be established. Given that this research used historical methodology in order to reconstruct events during Scales' presidency, a chronological outline was an appropriate device for the initial organization of data.

This outline constituted the basis for the initial interviews with Scales, which began in January 1986 and continued through August 1986. Following the interviews, I used the other three data sources to cross reference Scales' self-reporting of events. The purposes of this cross referencing were to verify Scales' reporting of events and to create a more fully accurate reconstruction of events. This was necessary because an accurate historical and biographical account of Scales' presidency was an essential aspect of the case study.

The specific procedure for following up on the interviews involved a review of pertinent official accounts of individual events, as reported in the newspapers, and the study of all appropriate files in the collection of presidential and personal papers. For example, Scales discussed an event which involved four trustees, two administrators, and an organization outside the university. All of the files pertaining to those

individuals and the organization were reviewed. Often, such a process would lead to pertinent, related information in other files or sources. Such an evolutionary process enabled all evidence that currently exists on a given event to be gathered. This process produced many facts which ultimately would prove to be irrelevant to this research. It was common to pursue leads through several different files, only to produce information unrelated to the research questions under study.

Document use, as noted in chapter two, demands attention to issues of authenticity and veracity. For example, while President Scales wrote major sections of the annual report during his presidency, his assistant Russell Brantley is more accurately described as the author of such reports. Also, there are certain letters which the president instructed staff members to respond to, which he later signed. These letters were not actually written by Scales, but they reflected his views on the matter at hand. Due to the numerous hand written instructions on the bottom of letters Scales received, it was possible to separate those which he delegated for a response and those for which he dictated a response with a high degree of confidence.

The four initial stages of collecting data, developing a chronology, conducting interviews, and

examining documents were followed by a final stage. This stage was a second series of interviews with Dr. Scales, which began in January 1987 and ended in June 1987. These interviews were based on questions designed to clarify inconsistencies which emerged from the triangulation of data. These interviews were followed by a further examination of presidential and personal files.

Following the collection of data, two types of analysis were undertaken. The first type of analysis involved categorizing and organizing the data in terms of confidence regarding assertions by Scales about his presidency. These categories moved from unsupported assertions by Scales, to assertions by Scales supported by a second source, to triangulated assertions. Triangulated assertions were those statements made by Scales which could be supported by two or more additional data sources. These categories, weighted in terms of confidence, were used in reconstructing and evaluating selected events during Scales' presidency at Wake Forest University.

Assertions by Scales about events during his presidency, or about his life prior to arriving at Wake Forest, were made during the eighteen interviews conducted between 1986 and 1987. Very few uncorroborated assertions remained at the end of the verification process. One example of an uncorroborated assertion is

Scales' claim that his father changed careers from judge to minister because the elder Scales preferred to "send men to heaven [rather] than the penitentiary." A more recent example is Scales' assertion that he was not consulted during the process of selecting his successor.

Assertions which could be supported by primary sources were classified as supported claims about events. These statements were treated as fact and as reliable indicators of actual events. For example, Scales indicated that he sought to make the transition between his presidency and his successor as smooth as possible. There was abundant evidence in personal and presidential files that Scales, indeed, did try to make the transition as smooth for the institution as possible.

In addition to unsupported assertions and assertions supported by other data, this first type of analysis included triangulated assertions. Triangulation is a process by which statements made by Scales were cross referenced with personal, presidential, and public data sources. Triangulated assertions which involved descriptions of events and probable motives of various individuals were viewed as more accurate than other categories of assertions in this research. These assertions provide for an accurate and verifiable account of the events during Scales' presidency. This process assured a greater liklihood that the discussion of

the events and Scales' role in the events would be accurate. Analyzing these data, in the procedure described below, enabled me to identify leadership factors and to be confident that those factors identified were important aspects of his leadership. Triangulated statements which involved the description of events and the probable motives of others are the most credible data.

Having sorted the data into categories which reflect levels of confidence, I then employed a second type of analysis to identify key factors in Scales' presidential leadership. This analysis involved the examination of events to discern patterns in Scales' behavior. Those patterns which had consistency across categories of events, such as university governance, student life management, and faculty development, were designated as factors of leadership. An example of such a behavorial pattern is Scales' persistent articulation of particular core values of an intellectual community. In this regard, Scales used every opportunity to support academic freedom and intellectual questioning. Specifically, Scales consistently articulated the importance of academic freedom and of openness to ideas and to debate.

As a final check on external validity, I requested of a senior administrator who had worked at Wake Forest University throughout Scales' presidency that she read

the completed draft of Chapters IV, V, and VI to ensure that there were no glaring factual errors. Because this procedure validated the reporting of events, it had the consequence of increasing the liklihood that the identification of patterns of Scales' behavior would be accurate.

The identification of key factors of Scales' leadership was followed by a comparison of these factors with factors identified in selected leadership frameworks. The selection of the leadership frameworks used in the comparison was determined by the frequency with which they are cited in the leadership literature. Leadership frameworks from business, social psychology, and higher education were used.

There are two broad categories into which these five leadership frameworks fall: functional and phenomenological. Functional frameworks of leadership emphasize quantifiable social constructs of behaviors. Phenomenological frameworks emphasize the contextual variables of the situation in which the leader acts. The purest form of each of these categories is Hersey and Blanchard's situational functional framework and Sarason's phenomenological, or "setting," framework, respectively.

The subordinate question, which involved the comparison of key factors in Scales' presidential

leadership with leadership factors which are identified in the selected frameworks, was pursued for three reasons. First, this research involved a unique case of leadership over time. Second, there was theoretical value in comparing Scales' factors with those of selected frameworks inasmuch as this comparison resulted in an implicit evaluation of the validity of the selected frameworks. Third, the comparison between Scales' factors of leadership and other factors of leadership had pragmatic value. It is important to know the basic elements of a specific leader's experience in that it promotes further understanding of the specifics of leadership.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES RALPH SCALES AT WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY

Five significant aspects of James Ralph Scales' presidency at Wake Forest University can be subsumed under the headings of university governance, faculty and curriculum development, student life management, administrative initiative, and personal characteristics and habits. The leadership factors identified in Scales' presidency were organized in terms of these four aspects. The leadership factors which emerged are the following: (1) constancy of "fit" between Scales' style, values, and personal history and the style, values, and history of the institution; (2) an unmistakable commitment to the belief that faculty are central to academic excellence; (3) a persistent articulation of the core values of the university as an intellectual community; (4) a tolerance for situations requiring the management of ambiguity; (5) a presentation of a spirit of magnanimity and openness; (6) an active promotion of a climate of possibility, through debate, personal initiative, and administrative policy; (7) a sense of humor and an attractive physical

presence; (8) a habit of person centered communication; and (9) a willingness to take risks because of a basic trust in the institution's resources.

The aspect of university life which demanded the most attention on the part of James Ralph Scales involved the nature of the relationship between Wake Forest University and the North Carolina Baptist State Convention. The relationship involved a fundamental issue of governance, due to the degree of control exerted by the convention. Problems in this relationship were pervasive throughout Scales' presidency. It is best to understand this aspect of Scales' presidency in terms of five specific events, which include those events that set the stage for a fundamental change in the relationship between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention, and for resolution of governance related issues.

The issues of governance and control, which are nearly as old as Wake Forest itself, are summarized by the following question: Who had the ultimate authority in matters of governance at the university? The resolution of the question of ultimate authority in university governance is important to this research because the answer which emerges during Scales' presidency illustrates certain leadership factors.

The first governance related event of note occurred a few months prior to Scales' selection as president of

Wake Forest College. On January 14, 1967, it was leaked to the press that the trustees of Wake Forest were working on a proposal to allow non-Baptists to serve on the board of trustees. This story was followed in two day by another story in which it was claimed by Marse Grant, editor of the Biblical Recorder, that Baptist leaders would see such a proposal as one which would require a split between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention ("Gradual Severing," 1967). Almost immediately, trustees announced that the proposal was "dead" because they would never agree to a separation between the two institutions. With this incident on the minds of trustees, the newly selected president, James Ralph Scales arrived on campus on July 1, 1967. He came with the knowledge that trustees desired to expand their membership but not at the cost of severing an old relationship between two institutions.

The change in trustee selection was important, according to Scales, for several reasons (1987d; 1986m). First, Baptist ministers and lay people had served the institution faithfully, but there were also many non-Baptists who had supported Wake Forest in financial and other ways. However, they were denied the privilege of serving on the highest board of the institution. To many, the exclusion of non-Baptists suggested an anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic bias. Others saw the exclusion

as very limiting to the fund raising activities of the university.

A second reason change in board composition was important was that the inclusion of only Baptists on the board led many trustees to feel as though their financial contribution to Wake Forest through their local church was satisfactory. This attitude was in stark contrast to that of boards at other institutions, where trustees led the way in giving to the institution they served (Scales, 1987b, p. 2).

Though the events of January 1967 were reported as a brief exchange between institutional leaders in the newspaper, the issue was crucial in terms of both the nature of the current relationship and the consequences of failing to change the relationship between Wake Forest University and the Baptist State Convention.

The complexity of the Wake Forest and Baptist State Convention arrangement was reflected in the fact that the relationship also involved the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation. This foundation had precipitated the move of the college to Winston-Salem (Shaw, 1987, p. 35). Further, the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation had been a major annual contributor to the college and had tied its continued support of Wake Forest to the Wake Forest and Baptist State Convention relationship (Shaw, 1987, p.53). In other words, a split between Wake Forest and the

Baptist State Convention would possibly lead to the loss of a major benefactor of the college.

Scales' response to the circumstances of Baptist control, the recent trustee designation of the insitution as a university, and the foundation tie was to establish a board of visitors, chaired by Arnold Palmer, to advise the trustees and to create an administrative position for denomination relations. The person in this new position had responsibility for fostering good relations between churches, Baptist leaders, and Wake Forest ("New Church Relations Position Created," 1969). The new board of visitors would be made up of the many Wake Forest supporters who might have served as a trustee had their religion and state of residence met the criteria for selection. The creation of a board of visitors, which was announced on October 12, 1969, was distant enough in time from the events just prior to Scales' arrival on campus to not offend Baptists and to provide enough time for Scales to meet and select appropriate alumni members for this board.

Scales' behavior in this situation was to find a solution which met the needs of various groups who claimed some control over the college. In so doing, Scales established an "open" spirit and climate of possibility in which new ideas could be developed to augment old ideas. Scales took the initiative in this

situation in acting in such a way as to promote the needs of the instituition through a tolerance for a considerable amount of ambiguity and through a refocusing of issues toward the larger mission of the university. The ambiguity of this initiative is illustrated by Scales' behavior to create a new board which had status but no real power, although the creation of this new board provided a unique opportunity for some to have a formal channel to communicate their concerns about Wake Forest.

The leadership factors which are present in Scales' behavior during the events early in his presidency concerning governance include the "fit" between Scales and the institution, a commitment to the core values of the institution, a tolerance for ambiguity, and the promotion of a climate of possibility. The presence of these leadership factors are discerned by noting that his actions were to affirm both university history and current needs, to communicate institutional commitments, and to show the possibilities available through innovation.

The board of visitors was important to Scales because it solved a long standing problem of the need to recognize alumni and friends of the college who had been supportive of the institution. However, this solution did not resolve the need to broaden the base of the

board of trustees. With this in mind, it came as no surprise when Scales took the opportunity to publicly raise the possibility that non-Baptists should be added to the Board of Trustees. He raised the possibility when the Baptist State Convention announced, on November 24, 1975, the creation of a committee to study the Wake Forest, Baptist State Convention, and Z. Smith Reynolds contract ("WFU May Get," 1975).

Scales' taking the initiative to raise specific questions and to promote the needs of the university are evidence of leadership. However, the complexity of the political problems associated with the change he promoted are made clear by the second significant event relating to governance during Scales' presidency.

The unilateral establishment of a committee, by Baptist leaders, to study the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation agreement with Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention was the second significant event in the Scales' presidency related to the issue of governance. The committee was charged with the responsibility of examining a relationship critical to Wake Forest's financial strength. Though this committee was created on the pretense of examining the thirty year old contract, it was Scales' view that there were two other motivations behind its creation, which reflected certain political developments within the Baptist State Convention.

The first motivation, which Scales believed was part of the development of the Z. Smith Reynolds contract committee, was related to the new, conservative convention leadership. This new leadership was at odds with Wake Forest policies on academic freedom, faculty selection, and student admissions. The new executive secretary of the Baptist State Convention, Cecil Ray, had been quoted as saying he would "solve the Wake Forest problem." Ray viewed Wake Forest as an embarrassment to Southern Baptists because of its perceived liberal faculty and its administrative tolerance of liberal student behavior (Scales, 1987c, p. 11).

The second underlying motivation involved the level of convention financial support, which had grown considerably under the Z. Smith Reynolds' contract. In 1975, the Baptist State Convention provided Wake Forest with $600,000, which was seventeen percent of the convention's budget. This support made up three percent of the Wake Forest budget. Ray viewed this level of support as unfair to the other six Baptist colleges in North Carolina and an unnecessary burden on the convention.

Despite what might have been Ray's primary intentions for the committee, it recommended that North Carolina Baptists should renew their commitment to Wake Forest because the Baptist Convention has a "moral and

legal obligation to fulfill its contract with the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation." The report also noted that there was an uneven distribution of church representation on the boards of trustees of the seven Baptist higher education institutions. The smaller churches throughout the state rarely had representatives on the boards (Scales, 1987c, p. 13; "Reynolds Contract," 1976).

The committee looking at the relationship of Wake Forest and the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation strongly recommended a broader representation of Baptist churches on governing boards. This committee's report provided, therefore, a basis for rejecting trustee nominations made by the Wake Forest trustee nominating committee. The rejection of nominees made by the Wake Forest trustee committee and the replacement with nominees who were not approved by the Wake Forest current trustees presented Scales and the trustee leadership with a situation in which individuals who, in terms of their personal and financial resources and by their political conservatism, could contribute very little to the institution. On the other hand, the new nominees could attempt, nevertheless, to move the board toward the adoption of more conservative policies.

Scales' handling of the second event of his presidency related to governance over Wake Forest

University, which was the establishment of a study committee by Baptists, revolved around his communication with Baptist leaders. It was through individual contacts with committee members that Scales was able to ascertain the committee's agenda. His hope was to influence the agenda through his relationships. But the pace of events was such that this study committee's work was barely over when another committee of the convention would take an action that would redirect Scales' energies.

With the issue of the rejection of specific nominations for trustees simmering, a third event precipitated concern over who ultimately controlled Wake Forest. The Wake Forest biology department received a $285,000 National Science Foundation Grant on July 4, 1976. A portion of the money, $85,000, was earmarked for a greenhouse. The funds earmarked for the greenhouse were objected to by the Baptist State Convention Services Rendered Committee, which claimed that the use of federal dollars for capital improvements violated long standing Baptist Convention policy. Consequently, the committee instructed Wake Forest administrators to return the National Science Foundation money ("Baptist Group Interferes," 1977).

The instruction to return the funds came during another controversy, which was concurrent with the trustee nomination dispute and the greenhouse

disagreement and which was more widely discussed than the other two: the visit to campus of Larry Flynt, the editor of Hustler and a convicted pornographer. Flynt's visit was arranged by the Men's Residence Council, an undergraduate residence hall organization, as part of a debate on free speech. Flynt's debating opponent was to be Coy Privette, president of the Baptist State Convention. Flynt's visit to campus on February 24th was condemned by many trustees, other Baptists, and various community leaders (Scales, 1986k, p. 15; "WFU Board Angered," 1977).

The offense to Baptists occasioned by Flynt's visit was evident in the four months of constant articles in the Biblical Recorder, following Flynt's visit. Many of the articles demanded the Baptist State Convention break with the university. Scales' view of this affair was that he underestimated the offense to Baptists Flynt's visit to campus represented, and he failed to grasp fully the affect of the visit on the unresolved issues of trustee nominations and the demand on the part of the convention to return National Science Foundation funds. Together, these three issues precipitated considerable debate on and off the campus regarding the future of the Wake Forest, Baptist State Convention, and Z. Smith Reynolds relationships.

In the debate between trustee and convention leaders

regarding the Wake Forest-Baptist State Convention relationship, Scales worked closely with various committees of the convention. Specifically, he met with the committees and communicated with particular committee members. Scales' communication with the committee centered on precedence, services rendered, and the significance of the issue in terms of institutional values.

Regarding the greenhouse grant, which had not been approved by the Baptists' Services Rendered Committee, Scales reminded the Baptists that many grants had been approved through the years which provided for the use of federal dollars for "bricks and mortar," particularly at the Bowman Gray School of Medicine. Scales also argued that Baptists were rendered many services from Wake Forest which more than compensated the convention for its contribution to the institution (Scales, 1987c, p. 14).

Scales' argument was twofold. First, he felt that an established precedent, evidenced by research grants at the Bowman Gray School of Medicine, existed for accepting the National Science Foundation funds. Scales' second point was that the convention's contribution to Wake Forest could not properly be construed to mean that convention leaders had control over curriculum matters.

The second part of Scales' argument, which concerned the assumption on the part of convention leaders that

they had the right to dictate policy to the university, became the central focus of debate. Scales reports that in meetings he reminded the committee studying the matter that the faculty, with the support of the administration, controlled grant matters which related to curriculum or research concerns. To tamper with this principle, Scales claimed, would severely compromise the historical value of academic freedom to pursue a question wherever it might lead. To raise Scales' argument concerning academic freedom to the level of policy, the university trustees voted to accept the National Science Foundation grant on December 10, 1977, one month after the messengers of the Baptist Convention voted to instruct Wake Forest to return the $85,000 ("Convention Votes," 1977). The trustees subsequently decided that no outside organization would give instructions to the university or set university policy. Thus, Scales and the trustees had dictated the parameters of convention influence over Wake Forest policies (Scales, 1980).

These parameters were questioned by convention leadership on the grounds that the trustee action of keeping the National Science Foundation Grant was illegal. But the Secretary of the State of North Carolina, Thad Eure, announced that he interpreted the university charter, rather than the convention's charter, to be the document which determined the legality

of the trustees' actions. Eure's conclusion was that it was legal and within the bounds of trustee responsibility to keep the funds ("Thad Eure says," 1978). Eure's judgment was welcomed, with enthusiasm, by President Scales (19861, p. 13.).

Scales' behavior regarding the issue of control over the greenhouse money illustrates specific leadership factors. Based on his reports and letters at the time, Scales was persistent in noting that the values of the academic community would be in jeopardy if Baptist leaders won the debate over National Science Foundation funds. He sought, through personal initiative and the practive of one-to-one communication, to resolve matters amicably, preferring an agreed upon framework over a simplistic policy statement which could be a constant source of debate and distraction. But there is evidence that some Baptist leaders and Wake Forest trustees desired to establish hard and fast lines of authority between Wake Forest and the convention.

In the face of Eure's public statement and the discontent among trustees and Baptist leaders regarding the recent events between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention, Scales continued to communicate with convention leaders regarding the greenhouse. Though the trustees had made their intentions clear, they did settle for a compromise which replaced the $85,000 of

government funds with university funds and transferred the $85,000 to fund another part of the grant. This compromise was widely publicized in the Biblical Recorder and seemed to settle the dispute ("Compromise Eases," 1978).

There was relative calm after the dispute over the National Science Foundation grant until yet another major event precipitated the altering of ties between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention. This event evolved out of the action of two convention committees and the presentation of a trustee proposal by Scales.

The convention committees established to review the Wake Forest-Convention relationships and a standing by-laws committee recommended that all of the institutions affiliated with the Baptist State Convention alter their charters to make such institutions agencies of the convention. This change would give the Convention legal control over the institutions.

The move to require all institutions affiliated with the Baptist State Convention to alter their charters meant that the seven affiliated higher education institutions would forfeit forever an independent status from the convention. This recommendation, along with the action to replace individuals on the Wake Forest nomination list for new trustees with individuals from smaller, more rural areas of the state, flew in the face

of Scales' proposal to broaden the base of trustees to include non-North Carolinians and non-Baptists. These three circumstances noted above, two created by the convention and one by Scales, provided the impetus for the trustee action of December 8, 1978, to delete from its charter any mention of the selection of trustees ("WF Board Alters," 1978).

Scales' specific role in leading the trustees to the charter decision is unclear. By his account, most of the communication during this period was by telephone, and he reports that he refused to write any public statements on the matter. Clearly, he attended meetings with Baptist leaders when invited, and he asked questions of trustee leaders regarding the implications of the actions taken. There is evidence that he communicated with the Z. Smith Reynolds board to keep them informed as events unfolded. These events revealed Scales' consistent articulation of university values, his habit of personal communication, and his tolerance for ambiguity regarding his role in the discussion.

The action altering the charter meant that trustees would select their own successors without any reference to approval from the Baptist State Convention. The dramatic nature of this event can be surmised by the risk taken in violating the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation contract and by the historical precedent it established,

which eliminated the last vestiges of control of the Baptist State Convention. The risk was very simply that Wake Forest had released the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation from any required future financial support. The support of the Foundation had been essential for the University to reach its financial goals. Now, a new relationship with the Foundation would have to be developed.

In response to the charter change, leaders of the Baptist State Convention's executive committee voted to put all convention funds allocated to Wake Forest in an escrow account until the issue was resolved. The action to escrow monies earmarked for Wake Forest was finalized by the General Board of the Baptist State Convention on February 1, 1979 ("Baptists Vote To Withold," 1979). The leadership of the two institutions had reached an impasse. This impasse was acknowledged by the trustees of the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation when they released a statement that there would be no effort on their part to influence negotiations between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention. The foundation announced it would continue its financial support to Wake Forest while discussions were ongoing (Reynolds, 1979).

The impasse was to be resolved through the work of a committee established by the Baptist State Convention commissioned to study the Convention-Wake Forest University relationship. That committee, chaired by

Frank Campbell, began its work March, 1979. A quick response to the committee's work was important to the chairman of the Wake Forest trustees, James Mason, because he feared that if a quick resolution was not achieved, the Reynolds Foundation trustees might turn their attention and priorities elsewhere, away from Wake Forest. Mason also felt that a quick resolution would make Wake Forest appear to be strong and willful (Mason, 1979).

President Scales (1979) also wrote that a quick response was important and that university leadership should provide their own plan rather than simply react to the plans of convention leaders. Scales said that the trustees should prepare a plan to present to the Baptists. Mason was more interested in reacting to the proposals by Baptists. This difference in approach to the Baptist committee became a point of disagreement between Scales and some of the trustees. This disagreement came into focus when Scales presented a proposal to the executive committee of the trustees. They resolutely rejected it and instructed Scales that it was inappropriate for him to carry on discussions with convention leaders, outside of the committee meetings. Scales (1979) wrote a letter, that was never, sent in which he expressed disappointment that they would so severely limit his role in the negotiations.

Scales' behavior during this period is evident through letters he wrote regarding this matter. Many letters were follow-up notes to telephone conversations; other letters were his efforts to respond to concerns about the negotiations. The correspondence was limited to a few members of the trustee executive committee; there were no "cc" copies to other administrators. Scales kept the details of the discussions between trustees and Baptist leaders to himself. Based on the letters, however, it is clear that Scales sought a more moderate position than one severing all ties with the convention and closing an avenue for Baptist contributions to university life. His personal communications with trustee leadership in which he expressed his view of a possible outcome of the discussions resulted in his censure.

The reasons for trustee concern over Scales' role in the negotiations require some conjecture. Some trustees may have feared that the long term personal relationships between Scales and many Baptist leaders which may have led to an incorrect understanding of trustees' positions, based on the mistaken belief that Scales' attitudes were shared by the trustees themselves. This conjecture has some basis in a letter from Mason to Scales "I fear our friends more than our enemies. In their desire to hold us close to the convention, our friends urge us to accept

compromise that will eventually dilute our academic strength" (Mason, 1979).

Mason's concern for the academic strength of the university was no less a concern of Scales. Scales was worried that the deliberations might unnecessarily create enemies for the university, which could weaken the institution. Scales' behavior during this time, as seen in the above noted correspondance, suggests that he sought an agreement which promoted the goals both of the trustees and of convention leaders. But he apparently could not persuade either trustees or convention leaders that a solution other than dissolution of historic ties was possible.

Negotiations between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention resulted in the development of a "covenant relationship." This covenant meant that the convention was no longer required to give a portion of its budget to Wake Forest. Churches would be provided an opportunity to contribute to Wake Forest, but no longer would convention funds automatically go to the university. Wake Forest, in turn, gained the blessing of Baptists to select one third of its trustees who were non-Baptist.

The covenant relationship proposal, which was developed by a special Baptist State Convention committee, was sent to the floor of the Baptist State

Convention, but it did not get the necessary votes for approval. Only after trustee leaders, M. O. Owens, a powerful and conservative Baptist leader from Gastonia, and Scales met in the hallway of the Winston-Salem Coliseum was a politically acceptable compromise reached. This compromise attached to the agreement the provision that the one third of the non-Baptists on the board of trustees had to be "evangelical Christians." On a third reading, the convention delegates approved the "covenant relationship" between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention (Scales, 1986, pp. 6-7).

Scales was bothered by the covenant relationship for three reasons. He felt the "evangelical Christian" qualification was anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. This qualification would greatly restrict the ambitions of the trustees to select freely their successors. A second objection Scales had to the agreement was the way the convention proposed to handle future convention contributions to the university. The contribution plan seemed to be deliberately awkward to discourage church giving to the university. Finally, the "covenant relationship" left no doubt about ending the thirty year old contract between Wake Forest, the Baptist State Convention, and the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation (Scales, 19861, p. 10).

Anticipating that the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation

contract with the Baptist State Convention and Wake Forest University would be broken, the development office at the university prepared a detailed plan to manage negotiations with Z. Smith Reynolds. This plan outlined the issues confronting President Scales (Joyner, 1979). The implementation of a plan from the development office concerning the Reynolds Foundation called upon Scales' skills in creating a climate of openness, demonstrating trust in university resources, and being effective in one-on-one interaction.

Warning Scales that the Z. Smith Reynolds-Wake Forest relationship should not "be left to chance," the development office reminded him that the foundation board had many long time friends of the university, who also liked Scales a great deal. The development office plan outlined a sequence of phone calls, visits, and conversational goals to be followed by Scales in interacting with each foundation board member. The overall goal of this plan was to get the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation to dedicate forty percent of its annual income to Wake Forest. Each step involved in the discussions with the board of the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation was seen as delicate. Even after an agreement was finalized, one administrator wrote to Scales that the contract between the foundation and Wake Forest was to be signed on January 14, 1981 at 10:00 a.m. and was to

receive very little publicity so as "to avoid any particular conflict with the convention..." (Corbett, 1980). The outcome of Scales' efforts was a commitment of sixteen percent of the foundation's income in perpetituity.

With the establishment of a new relationship with the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, on the heels of the new "covenant relationship" with the Baptist State Convention, the central issues of governance of the university were settled. The events which precipitated change in the relationships at the heart of governance matters included the repeated efforts to have non-Baptists on the board of trustees; the deliberate actions of trustees to set parameters of control; the unanticipated events related to student behavior, such as inviting Larry Flynt to campus; and finally, actions by various convention committees that would seek to change long standing procedures and create an avenue of control which had never been exercised in the history of the Wake Forest-Baptist relationship. The outcomes of these events, the resolution of complex governance issues, was the result, in part, of the behavior of President Scales.

Scales' behavior during the five events had two dominant aspects: first his role as spokesman calling for moderation, and second his role as pivotal negotiator. For example, Scales reacted to the initial failure to

achieve the goal of a broader base of trustee representation by establishing a board of visitors. Later, he used the unilateral establishment of a committee to study the tripartite relationship among Wake Forest, the Baptist State Convention, and the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation as an opportunity to again call for an expanded board of trustees.

Scales' public reaction to the instruction to return the National Science Foundation grant was shock and surprise. He purposely avoided making written statements to the press for fear that such comments would be edited for purposes other than those he might have intended. He preferred personal one-to-one communication with various officials.

The personal communication from Scales to others was not augmented by public reports. In fact, Scales declined interviews following the escalation of tension between Wake Forest and Baptists following the Flynt visit to campus and following the trustee action to accept the $85,000 of federal money for a greenhouse in contradiction to Baptist State Convention instructions. The absence of public comment on Scales' part was the result of both his desire to prevent any misstatements from becoming barriers to discussions and the concern of trustees that Scales take a quiet back seat.

Scales expressed the view that the office of the

presidency was "weak" within the university. This view is no more evident than in the matters outlined above. In a sense, Scales appears weak and ineffectual during the crucial events surrounding the Wake Forest and Baptist State Covention relationship. It is reasonable to assert that Scales' conception of the presidency as a position of little formal power and great influence guided his behavior. Also, one cannot underplay the role of Scales' personal desire for the university to maintain denominational ties with the Baptist State Convention during his presidency. His personal desire for continunity with the Baptist heritage of the school and his view of the presidency as weak provide an adequate explanation for Scales' behavior during the Baptist controversy. Though his behavior was not demonstrative, he did behave in predictable ways such that certain patterns of behavior can be identified. For example, his personal communication style, his focus on values, and his spirit of magnanimity and openness are present throughout this aspect of his presidency.

Scales' preference for personal communication over group or committee communication is quite evident in the cases outlined above. Committee meetings, however, never were a forum which Scales enjoyed. His private dealings during each of the incidents showed a president who sought to maintain positive relationships and to

influence outcomes through personal relationships. For example, Scales wrote numerous personal letters to Frank Campbell, chairperson of the Wake Forest Convention Committee, during the months of covenant negotations. Though Scales was careful to avoid intervening in matters which some trustees felt came under their purview, he addressed issues through reference to more philosophical concerns. For example, Scales (1986b) reports that he would remind committee members that a particular action which had been suggested actually have an adverse affect om the university's claim of intellectual independence from dogma.

Scales' efforts to influence the decision-making process related to the convention did not result, however, in an agreement which satisfied Scales' expectations, and, as a result, he did not actively support the covenant agreement. In a letter to Mason, Scales (1979) wrote, in all candor, that the agreement was unsatisfactory. It was unsatisfactory in Scales' view because it was mean spirited, particularly in terms of the requirement to select evangelical Christians as trustees, while releasing the convention from any real commitment to the university (Scales, 19861, p. 8).

It seems that President Scales was very disappointed in the covenant agreement for yet another, more profound reason. Scales believed that the tension between church

and school was necessary to produce a productive dialog on faith and reason in academic life. The evidence of his belief exists in a sermon Scales delivered several months after the covenant agreement took effect. On that occasion, he proclaimed that "we have shrunk from greatness..." because we have failed to affirm the differences between convention and institution. This represented a failure to maintain the tension between the dialog of faith and reason, which Scales' thought was essential to an excellent liberal arts education. Scales felt that the divisiveness between Wake Forest and the convention reflected a poverty of mind and spirit (Scales, 1981). What was needed, in Scales' view, was continued dialog among people of different beliefs and ideologies.

Scales had attempted to illustrate the value of dialog among people of different beliefs when he initiated the establishment of the Ecumenical Institute with Belmont Abby College in Charlotte, North Carolina ("An Ecumenical Decision," 1969). He desired to show the rich ideas which could emerge from creating an appropriate forum for bringing together diverse ideas in programs which the institute would provide. Also, he saw this institute as a model forum for the dialog useful for resolving conflict. The institute continued to function throughout his presidency; its primary function was to

bring together various religious leaders for dialog. Using a forum like the Ecumenical Institute to deal with different viewpoints would have been welcomed by Scales when he dealt with the various conflicts with Baptists.

The conflict between Wake Forest and the Baptists produced one moment of pleasure for Scales. The American Association of University Professors awarded Wake Forest the Meiklejohn Award for academic freedom. The Meiklejohn Award is rarely given and is symbolic of the most fundamental value of the academic community -- academic freedom. The award meant to Scales that the academic community knew that the Wake Forest leadership would not compromise on the most basic value of the academic endeavor.

Scales' judgment about the eventual resolution of governance issues between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention was that the covenant was disappointing. His role, generally, was to be a spokesman for the university's values and history. However, when he could have objected at the final hour to the covenant agreement qualification for evangelical Christians, Scales failed to express any view. He, by his own report, nodded his head in agreement, when in fact he felt it was a poor compromise to get convention approval.

Scales' failure to act on his convictions in this matter may have altered the outcome. It is debatable

whether he could have created a barrier to the covenant relationship. However, Scales certainly helped pave the road for its acceptance. This illustrates a lack of positive action and clearly illustrates his belief in a "weak" presidency, which left him only subtle but at times very strong forms of influence. The most effective form of his influence was the articulation of the core values of the institution to various university constituents, which in this case did not result in a personally acceptable solution for Scales. This situation, in contrast with others, also reflects dual aspects to Scales' behavior as president. In this case his behavior was consistent with his claim of a "weak" presidency; yet at other times he was a willful, decisive indivudal who made few compromises when his values were challenged.

One value Scales articulated was that academic freedom was essential to academic pursuits. This was a cornerstone argument in his expressing concern that whatever the eventual outcome of the Wake Forest problems with the Baptist State Convention, there would be no infringement on the freedom of faculty members or students to express their views. It is reasonable to suggest that by constantly reminding individuals and committee members of this central value in the academic community, Scales facilitated the understanding that Wake

Forest would never compromise on academic freedom, whatever the cost.

Scales believed that academic freedom concerned all members of the university community. Maintaining this freedom was a regular topic in his speeches (Scales, 1986n, 1977, 1972, 1969). He (1968) proclaimed in his inaugural address that he intended to keep "Wake Forest a fortress of independent thought" (p. 10). Developing opportunities for faculty members and students to freely study in new and varied environments was an important adjunct to this belief and was at the core of his actions in the areas of faculty and curriculum development.

The development of faculty and of curricula during Scales' administration was the result of a combination of his political astuteness, of circumstances he inherited, and of personal initiative. The development of faculty and curriculum was characterized by expanding opportunities for travel, by building physical structures appropriate to departmental needs, and by focusing on the individual strengths of faculty members. Both the causes and characteristics of faculty and curriculum development were consistent throughout Scales' dealing with graduate and undergraduate schools. Faculty and curriculum development is best explored by examining Scales' behavior in events related to the graduate programs, the art and music department, the overseas houses, and the

processes of faculty appointment.

President Scales believed that the trustees had created a mandate to develop the graduate schools when they changed the name from Wake Forest College to Wake Forest University one month prior to his assumption of presidential duties (Scales, 1986h, p. 4). Wake Forest previously had law and medical schools, as well as a modest master's degree program in arts and sciences. In addition, plans were underway to establish a school of management and business prior to Scales' selection as president.

Given that the law and medical schools were well developed, Scales focused his energies on the development of the Babcock School of Business (Scales, 1978h, p. 6). He saw to the completion of the plans he inherited to develop the school. By design, Scales believed the business program would be unique in two respects. First, it would be directed toward experienced business men and women, rather than recent college graduates. Second, the curriculum of the business school was to be based on the case study method.

The cornerstone of the Babcock School of Business building was dedicated on September 25, 1968 ("Babcock Cornerstone," 1968). This dedication demonstrated Scales' ability to implement plans initiated before his arrival and suggested that the change in presidential leadership

had been a fluid, smooth process. It also suggested Scales' ability to become friends with influential people quickly, since he had to raise a considerable sum of money to implement the Babcock School of Business plan.

During the period from July 1967 to September 1968, in which Scales was transforming the Babcock school plans into reality, he learned that there was little sentiment on the part of faculty members to develop a full graduate program in the arts and sciences. Scales (1986h, p. 7) acknowledged that while the trustees may have signaled the need for developing a full fledged graduate program, the faculty was reluctant to pursue the idea.

In his considerations regarding graduate study at Wake Forest, Scales observed the institution could not compete with the well established and much less expensive graduate programs of the public universities in North Carolina. Based on an informal assessment, Scales' view was that the university did not have the resources or the commitment from the faculty to warrant spending a great deal of his time and energy on this matter (Scales, 1986h p. 6).

Scales believed, based on his conversations with the faculty, that they desired an enhancement of the undergraduate college. Though the vision on the part of faculty of this enhancement was not articulated in any fashion which survives today, Scales did follow through

on a four year old recommendation of the faculty to explore the development of an art department (Wilson, 1962, n.p.).

The establishment of an art department at Wake Forest became a reality on December 2, 1967, six months after Scales became president. For his part, Scales had managed to get a $6,000 grant for the initial costs of establishing a department ("WFU to Add Art," 1967).

In time, the art department developed from the appointment of a single professor and the creation of a small studio to the building of a truly impressive collegiate arts center and a four member faculty that would offer classes that met graduation requirements. The development of the arts at Wake Forest continued to expand through Scales' tenure as president and was the focus of many of the significant events of his presidency. For example, the building of the fine arts center was the only major structure built during his presidency which was the result of his initiative, perseverance, and guidance.

Following the establishment of the arts department in 1967, a relationship between the theatre, speech and communications, and music areas developed. This collaboration took its own course as each of these areas became departments and offered a curriculum that satisfied some divisional requirements for the bachelor's

degree.

The significant events which affected this general development in the arts, and which were initiated by Scales, included the creation of an arts commission, a harnessing of energies to build an arts center, and a major fund drive to implement building plans. The importance of Scales' role in the development of the arts is evidenced by the trustees designating the arts center as the James Ralph Scales Fine Arts Center.

Through the fostering of personal relationships with university benefactors, Scales was able to create a fine arts commission on February 27, 1972. He told the commission that the building they were to plan was to be more than a location for the practice of music, the painting on canvas, or the performance on a stage. The fine arts building was to be a "symbol for the hopes of men in all walks of life for a brighter world" ("Forty Three Member Fine Arts," 1972).

Developing the plans for a "symbol for the hopes of men" required a commission made up of extraordinary citizens and community leaders. Of special importance was the involvement of members of the Babcock, Gray, and Forsyth families. Scales personally invited Nancy S. Reynolds to join the commission. Though she declined the committee role, she wrote the following to Scales:

> My purpose in writing is just to let you know that as a member of the Foundation, and as one who may have partially influenced Wake Forest's style of architecture, I would not oppose its changing. I do however think that the architect should be one who excells in his field.... If one could achieve beauty and convenience and if it were not in too close proximity to the main quadrangle, I would be in favor of supporting Barbara's [Lasiter] viewpoint [for a contemporary building]. (Reynolds, 1972)

The newly established arts commission would take the advice of Mrs. Reynolds and the initiative of President Scales in preparing plans for a modern, fully comprehensive fine arts center. The commission hired Caudill Rowett Scott of Houston, Texas, as the architect and implemented a fund raising campaign. These efforts resulted in construction of the fine arts center, beginning on September 1, 1972. Initially, building involved the construction of two-thirds of the center; the last wing, the music wing, was built several years after the initial dedication of the fine arts center on October 20, 1976 ("Fine Arts Center Opens," 1976).

A development which Scales and a small cadre of faculty members closely nurtured, the fine arts building became a center for music, theatre, and art on campus. The building won several national architectural awards and became noted for the considerable contrast between the Georgian architecture of nearly all of the campus and its contemporary angular structure. This building provided for the expansion of curricular offerings in

the fine arts departments.

The factors of Scales' leadership that are illustrated in the events outlined above include his commitment to the faculty, tolerance for ambiguity, person centered communication, and a trust in university resources. For example, Scales' commitment to faculty meant that he would not pursue a course of action with regard to the curriculum, such as develop a full scale graduate program, which had very little faculty support. In the same vein, Scales was caught in the curious position of knowing the desires of the trustees and the faculty which were at cross purposes. Rather than force the issue of graduate education, Scales was content to allow the issue to take a life of its own. This ambiguity, however, did not prevent Scales from seeking avenues for curriculum development.

These events and issues also illustrate another of Scales' leadership factors, person centered communication. He wrote personal letters to individuals to get them involved with the fine arts center. Using the information provided through his personal exchanges with others he was able to ascertain the readiness of the faculty for a graduate program and the readiness of the institution to build a fine arts center -- during an international recession. The drive to build the expensive fine arts center was a risk that Scales

was prepared to take because he had confidence in university resources, both fiscal and human.

Scales sought out faculty opinion and was guided by those opinions. His method for dealing with the faculty, which primarily involved personal conferences and discussions, created to a considerable degree a climate of autonomy and openness. For example, Scales did not seek a formal faculty decision regarding future graduate school development. Though some of the trustees had communicated the desire to develop a full graduate program, Scales simply let the matter rest in committee, judging that it would be premature to push for graduate programs. Scales was content to have various forces pushing for different "ends" and in constant flux. By the absence of a clearly defined direction, there was an affirmation for what already existed in the curriculum.

The time allotted to faculty members by Scales for the sharing of concerns and the soliciting of information was considerable. He suggests that this tied up his schedule but that he thought such personal contact with faculty members was essential. This informal network provided support for pursuing the arts department, overseas programs, and other similar programs. In his view, Scales solicited faculty opinion because it was his job, and the view of faculty members was central to his

decisions related to the graduate school.

When there was evidence that curriculum enhancement was welcomed, Scales took risks, but risks based on a trust in the capacities of the institution to manage a failure. For example, the risks involved in establishing an arts program and an arts center were considerable. Scales, in following through with the long time wishes of administrators and faculty members, initiated a fund raising campaign to find the resources necessary to build the fine arts center. Scales sought support from major community benefactors regarding the arts needs at Wake Forest and gained enough backing to build the first two of three sections of the fine arts center.

Another significant contribution to the curriculum of the undergraduate college by Scales occurred through the establishment of two overseas houses during his presidency. The first house, Casa Artom in Venice, and the second house, Worrell House in London, were natural extensions of Scales' interest in international studies. More importantly, their establishment involved risk-taking on the part of the president, given the very informal nature of his assessment of student and faculty interest in such overseas locations. Both houses were informally selected; no faculty committee set out to create an overseas center or select a site. Scales' vision was that students, as part of their liberal

education, should have an opportunity to learn in and about European culture. He wanted students who were studying the literature of ancient Europe to also examine first hand the art, the buildings, and other remnants of history. Once he gained a consensus among selected faculty and administrators, Scales set out to plan the most effective and inexpensive way to translate his vision of overseas study centers into reality. This procedure illustrates his personal initiative, communication style, and promotion of a climate of innovation or possibility. The translation of Scales' vision into reality began with a conversation between Scales and Provost Edwin G. Wilson.

According to Scales (1987c), he and Provost Wilson briefly discussed the possibility of exploring sites in Europe for the purpose of establishing an overseas learning center. Through contact in Europe with Italian Ambassador Graham Martin, a Wake Forest graduate, Scales and Wilson arranged to visit Europe to explore property possibilities. The first property, in northern Italy and complete with castle, farm, and museum, was unsuitable. But the second site, the former United States consulate house on the Grand Canal, was available for residency.

The house was rented for one dollar a year until 1976, when it was purchased for $250,000 and designated

as Casa Artom. The renting and eventual purchase of the house was a Scales' initiative. In this case, he was a decisive and active president. His initiative was well received, given the consistency of student and faculty interest in study overseas. Since the first semester in the fall of 1971, three hundred and sixty students and faculty members have enjoyed a semester abroad at Casa Artom, the Venice house (Wilson, 1987; Foreign Study Programs, 1982).

The overseas program in Venice was popular and set the stage for the selection of the second overseas study house, in London. On March 13, 1977, Scales announced the purchase of a house, which was designated the Worrell House, since it was purchased with funds donated by Eugene Worrell, an alumnus from Bristol, Virginia ("Worrell House," 1977).

The Worrell House, Casa Artom, and the building of the Fine Arts Center are the physical representations of Scales' curriculum initiatives. While Scales did not alter the courses required for graduation, he did pursue alternative cultural settings and opportunities, which were arguably significant developments in the undergraduate program. Scales, in effect, established curriculum offerings by expanding the campus location and by introducing students to faculty mentors who would otherwise be unavailable on the Winston-Salem campus.

Scales' interest in international study had been evident in each of his previous leadership roles, at Oklahoma Baptist University and at the University of Oklahoma (Yarbrough, 1985, p. 143). But his most significant effort in this regard occurred at Wake Forest. There his initiatives would leave concrete testaments to his desire to promote the liberal arts and to make overseas study exciting.

His promotion of the liberal arts through developing international houses of study and by seeing to the fulfillment of a long term dream to develop an arts center at Wake Forest was a result of Scales' view of his role as president in curriculum and faculty development. A second aspect of this role was the view that as president he should provide ways to facilitate the hiring of extraordinary scholars and excellent teachers.

One way that he sought to insure a high quality faculty was to interview future faculty members and attempt to read all their current publications. These habits were part of Scales' effort to maintain a collegial climate between himself and the faculty, while at the same time influencing faculty appointments (Scales, 1986i, p. 6).

Scales' policy toward faculty appointments, especially the appointment of deans and department chairs, was to seek a consensus among the faculty of a

particular school or department on a candidate. One example which illustrates this policy and its potential political liability involved the selection and eventual resignation of Law School Dean Pasco Bowman.

Bowman had a public disagreement with Scales regarding the use of some funds related to the law school (Scales, 1986j, 1986n; "Scales Wants Bowman Out," 1978). This disagreement precipitated an announcement by a group of law school alumni that a petition seeking Scales' resignation would be forwarded to the trustees ("Wake Alumni," 1978). This episode ended with the other deans and administrative officers of the university publishing a statement which said, in part,

> ...the administration of James Ralph Scales is acknowledged by its openness and devotion to academic freedom.... We believe that the university is soundly administered and that the direction, tone, and style provided by Dr. Scales are fundamental to Wake Forest's growing reputation...(Wilson, et al, 1978).

Pasco Bowman resigned on August 12, 1978. Bowman's resignation was seen by some as evidence of Scales abuse of presidential power to impose his liberal political views on the law school. Scales (1986) reports that the issue arose over a matter of economics. The law school dean wanted the school to have its own endowment and fund raising activities independent of the general college fund activities. Bowman sought funds from law

school friends in spite of Scales instructions. Further, Bowman used law school funds to support the "Labor Policy Institute," which was not directly related to the mission of the law school. The institute was managed by a law school faculty member, Sylvester Petro.

During the unfolding of this event, Scales refused to allow university funds to be spent on Petro's institute, which was completely independent from the law school but directly related to Petro's political interests. And it was Scales' decision regarding funds for the institute which caused serious disagreement.

The Bowman episode illustrates Scales' commitment to his priorities and his unwillingness to allow a disagreement to affect either his attitudes regarding faculty control over appointments or his commitment to the primary endeavors of Wake Forest. Scales' believed that faculty members in their respective departments or schools had the right to select chairpersons. In terms of his priorities, Scales wanted no fund raising activities which might interfere with the fund raising for the undergraduate college. He felt that fund raising for the entire university improved contributions, as opposed to allowing separate schools to create their own development offices. Also, Scales did not alter his behavior toward faculty appointments following the Bowman affair. He remained consistent regarding the rights of

the faculty in making faculty appointments.

Influencing the appointments of interesting candidates for faculty positions was a task Scales enjoyed. Scales believed that an interview was an easy way to get a "sense" of the kind of scholars being considered for employment. He reports that he often read papers of current faculty members to enable him to ask questions of potential faculty members regarding their knowledge of Wake Forest faculty contributions to a given field (Scales, 1986i, p. 8). Such knowledge on the part of a potential faculty member would reflect, in Scales' mind, an interest in Wake Forest as a community of learners as opposed to its being just another place of employment. By his account, Scales (1986i) spent a great deal of time meeting and interviewing faculty members, often to the detriment of other activities (p. 5). For example, Scales reports that the time spent with faculty members may have prevented him from attending to administrative matters, such as preparing documents or planning for meetings. Though Scales saw the time spent with faculty members as a very important and appropriate activity, he acknowledged that it took a great deal of presidential time. This behavior reflected Scales' belief in the value of faculty as central to the institution. Scales' commitment to faculty was a value that was integral to his presidency and which directed

his behavior.

The president's interviewing of faculty candidates did not prevent him, however, from finding time to seek the resources needed to establish endowed professorial chairs. The first such appointment came with the support of the Kenan Charitable Trust, in the form of a $500,000 grant. Germaine Bree, an international authority on twentieth century French literature, was the first Kenan Professor at Wake Forest ("Germaine Bree," 1971).

The establishment of four additional endowed chairs came in 1980, with a special $4.5 million dollar gift from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation for the Reynolds Professorships as part of the sesquicentennial campaign ("Z. Smith Reynolds Gives," 1980). The appointees were Maya Angelou, an award winning writer; Dudley Shapere, a professor of philosophy and science; Richard Williams, Reynolds professor of physics; and John H. Wood, a Reynolds professor of economics. The creation of these endowed chairs was significant in Scales' view in terms of improving the quality of the university experience. These reknowned scholars would bring prestige to the university, but more importantly to Scales, they would provide an opportunity for unusual interchanges between students and faculty.

While there were other curriculum developments

during Scales' presidency, such as the establishment of a Women's Studies Program and the implementation of a 4-1-4 calendar, these developments were not the result of Scales' initiative. There are no records or documents which tie the president to the development or support of these programs.

Scales (1986i, 1973, 1972) believed that the faculty members of the university were central to the university's prestige, to the achievement of the university mission, and to the creation of an appropriate university environment. This valuing of the centrality of the faculty is evident in Scales' attention to increasing faculty salaries and insuring faculty autonomy by delegating a great deal of authority over curriculum and staff decisions to departments. Increased funds for the faculty were intended to attract more accomplished scholars, thereby improving the educational experience of the students. Further, in Scales' behavior toward faculty members, such as reading their publications or attending to requests for meetings with them, he maintained a certain climate within the university community. Scales (1986i) asserts that commitment to faculty development was a central priority of his presidency (p. 8). This commitment to faculty is one element in the climate Scales created at Wake Forest. The climate he created had at its center a focus on the

ideal of an intellectual community: the freedom to pursue questions and ideas. A key aspect of this ideal is a sense of possibility or potential innovation.

Scales' desire to promote a climate of openness and debate was demonstrated by his behavior toward faculty, his communication style, his tolerance for ambiguity, and his actions, such as creating overseas houses, to open new avenues of learning. These factors evident in Scales' behavior toward faculty include his great respect for the rights of faculty members. Another constant leadership factor was his use of personal, one-to-one communication with faculty members. Scales sought through this behavior to create a climate of openness, of possibility, and of innovation. This climate enabled the president to move freely among and be comfortable with faculty groups.

The factors of Scales' leadership evident in the area of faculty development are easy enough to identify. Much more problematic is the identification of leadership factors related to student life. Given the definition of leadership as the aggregate of factors which direct institutional resources toward a particular goal, the factors which do emerge from his management of student life are his (1) articulation of institutional values, such as freedom of speech, (2) tolerance for ambiguity in student life, and (3) an openness toward

student protests and requests for change.

Scales' assessment of the quality of student life and its importance to the college varied greatly from his views regarding faculty life. He considered student life during his presidency mediocre at best. Scales, however, felt that there was very little he could have done to affect the conditions influencing student life (1987c; 1986i). Many issues related to student life during Scales' presidency certainly reflected the student unrest of the times; but there is little evidence of Scales working to find alternative avenues for constructive student growth. Instead, there is evidence of a preference for maintaining the status quo.

During Scales presidency, no student was physically injured during protests; students had regular access to the president; and there was no disruption of the daily operation of the university. These facts are important considerations when one judges Scales' performance as a leader regarding student life. However, whatever the final criteria may be used to judge the outcomes of Scales' presidency relative to student life, there were two categories of events which reveal his attitudes toward student life: his responses to student protest and his attention to residential buildings.

Student protest during Scales' presidency involved discontent with campus policies and with national

politics. As was true on many American campuses during the late 1960's and early 1970's, protests with these two foci were concurrent at Wake Forest. In all events connected to student protest, a general theme emerging from Scales' behavior was that student debate should be open and constructive. This belief was presented by Scales (1969) in a speech on social unrest in which he argued that the college campus should be a place of concern where ideas are debated and that students of all races and creeds are supported in seeking solutions to social problems (p. 5).

The first, most notable, student protest during Scales' presidency occurred at the end of the fall semester of 1968. Several students protested racism by burning the confederate flag on the main plaza of the campus. The purpose of the protest was to get student leaders and administrators to ban all symbols of the old south ("Confederate Flags Burned," 1968). Scales' response to this event was to talk personally with students and with minority faculty members who advised minority groups about the problems. Other than his role in calming tensions, there is no evidence that Scales had any significant affect on student behavior toward minorities, particularly groups such as the Kappa Alpha fraternity, whose symbols were exclusively from the Civil War.

Another protest, and the kind of protest which occurred repeatedly throughout Scales' presidency, resulted from a residence hall policy prohibiting men from visiting women's rooms and visa versa. Heterosexual interaction was to occur in public areas, in either the residence halls lounges or other campus buildings. Through the student government, a policy proposal to allow visitation was forwarded to, and rejected by Scales. However, Scales did forward the proposal to the Executive Committee of the trustees, which also rejected it, on January 7, 1970 ("Executive Committee Rejects," 1970).

It was Scales' personal view that the proposed visitation created two problems. First, such visitation might create inconveniences for the roommates of those having visitors. Scales felt that the institution had an obligation to protect those students who could not or would not assert themselves regarding such inconveniences. Second, visitation would ignore a basic moral understanding which all Baptist institutions upheld: there should be no encouragement of premarital sexual intercourse (Scales, 1975).

Scales' view of visitation was supported by trustee action; however, the faculty voted to recommend a change in the visitation policy. This division between Scales and the faculty encouraged the students to pursue their

efforts to change university policy. Immediately following the faculty vote, the student government held a campus forum concerning campus life. The forum allowed student leaders to discuss their views on visitation with administrators. Scales had attended two such forums in the Spring of 1970 in which he had stated the administrative and trustee rationale for the campus visitation policy. Scales would later write to the students and parents that "Each university has the right and duty to define its own philosophy and to maintain its own identity.... On this issue the standard has been raised for all to see. It may not be uniformly respected, but young people will respect us less if we do not stand by our convictions" (Scales, 1975, p. 3).

In the way described above, Scales articulated to the entire community the core values of the administration. Scales' letter was a deliberate effort on his part to delineate the limits of student behavior. The paternalistic flavor of the letter served only to detract from its purpose. Nevertheless, the letter apparently had no effect on the attitudes of the students, since their demands for visitation only increased.

The visitation policy was only part of the student protest during the spring of 1970. Students reacted with angry claims of discrimination against blacks when a

student was dismissed by the honor council for a violation which appeared to be similar to a violation of a white student athlete who was given probation ("Student Protest Ousting, 1970). The honor council, which was student controlled and managed, provided no statement regarding the case, which led some student leaders to charge that Scales had interferred with the proceedings. In fact, Scales had a policy that he would never review a case unless it was appealed to the trustees. This had never happened. There is no evidence to support the charge by student leaders. There was only the suspicion that the administration had played favorites. It is also true, however, that Scales did nothing to intervene or to persuade others to attend to the case.

The visitation and judicial protests only set the stage for a massive student demonstration on May 20, 1970, during exams. An estimated four hundred students marched to the president's home to protest the Kent State killings, the Vietnam War, and campus oppression. The students demanded that Scales cancel exams, close classes, remove the ROTC from campus, and evict Western Electric from university property. According to the Winston-Salem Journal ("Students Issue Demands," 1970), students called out profanities toward Scales as he stood on the front stoop of his house, in coat and tie, to listen to student leader Kirk Fuller read

demands.

Scales responded to the student leader by first stating that this moment was one in which he was not proud of Wake Forest students. Further, he reminded the students that only faculty members had the right to cancel a class or an exam. He also announced to the students that there must not be any intimidation of those students who wished to go to class. Finally, Scales invited a representative group of student leaders into his home to discuss matters at length. Scales (1987c, 19861), according to his report, encouraged students to find another avenue to express their views concerning national issues.

The episode of students protesting at the president's house illustrates four leadership factors. First, Scales responded to the students in a personal and open manner. He neither ignored students nor sought to use force to silence them. Second, Scales was quick to note to the students that he would not interfere with faculty prerogrative to hold class. Third, Scales left no doubt regarding his commitments and values regarding the student protest. Fourth, by inviting student leaders into his home, Scales was able to communicate directly with student leaders, and in doing so he diffused the large rally and insured that students would have their moment before the president. These factors are also

consistent with Scales' typical responses to students throughout his administration. Having described the incidents and Scales' responses, it is interesting to follow the various reactions to his behavior.

Students found another way to make a demonstrative anti-war statement by constructing and placing hundreds of small white crosses on the plaza behind Wait Chapel. On these crosses were the names of American servicemen killed or still missing in Vietnam ("Wake Students Plant," 1970). Scales viewed this response by students as constructive.

Scales' reaction to the students marching on his home was also viewed as constructive by faculty members and by community leaders, ("WF Body Censures Protest, 1970), who made numerous phone calls and sent many letters of support. While this would be the only active protest at his front door during his presidency, and the last protest regarding national policy, there would be other protests dealing with campus social policy.

In 1975, student protest took two very different forms. First, students passed out leaflets at spring graduation. The leaflets claimed Scales was suppressing "social freedoms" by preventing a change in social policy on the campus. The social policy which was so offensive to students involved visitation rights. Second, during late spring of 1975, a group of students broke into

Scales' office, stealing the presidential medallion and the university mace. Though these items were returned to the university, Scales was deeply bothered by the incident.

Scales has little to say today about the break-in incident, but immediately following it, he contacted the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees seeking a policy statement on violent student behavior. A plan was developed to deal with student protests, should they become violent, and to drastically improve the security of the president's office. However, the plan of action for violent protests was never engaged, and the president's office was never broken into again.

Student protests against social policy took a different, more sophisticated turn in the late 1970's, as students began to argue that the administration's campus social policy diminished student rights. Students eventually gained visitation rights on selected nights and on Sunday afternoons. But there were a number of regulations regarding visiting, such as the necessity of a social event running concurrently with visiting hours (Gillette, 1973, p. 22). These gains, however, did not prevent students from continually seeking unrestricted visitation rights. The issue of visitation became a struggle over the nature of student rights, for students conceived of this issue as one directly related to

student self-governance. Student self-governance was not a concept within Scales' view of student life at Wake Forest. This difference between student and administrative version of the nature of student life would remain an issue unresolved during Scales' presidency.

As a reaction to Scales' view of social life and as a half-hearted effort to take up his challenge to students to "question their faculty and course ideas, and to seek answers to intellectual dilemmas" (Scales, 1975), the Men's Residence Council invited convicted pornographer Larry Flynt to debate free speech with Baptist State Convention president Coy Privette, on February 24, 1977. Privette accepted the invitation on the condition that Flynt was to speak on a separate night. The Men's Residence Council gave Flynt the "Man of the Year Award" and Privette the "Alumnus of the Year Award."

As stated above, Flynt's visit to Wake Forest received national attention in the press. Flynt spoke on freedom of the press before a crowd of students, and he gave a recitation of the troubles of Hustler magazine. Two days later, Coy Privette's talk on freedom of the press was heard by a handful of students. Scales was absent at both presentations, although he did call Privette to be sure that the students had treated him

well.

Reaction to the Flynt visit on the Wake Forest campus was immediate and damning. Trustees, Baptist leaders, and community leaders called Scales in disbelief (Scales, 1986k). Letters were published in the Biblical Recorder for five months denouncing the visit, and many of the letters demanded a split between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention. Scales (1986k) suggests that upon reflection he realizes he misjudged the significance of this event. To the students and to the public, Scales made it clear that the Wake Forest tradition of the "Open Platform" must be respected because in most colleges and universities, the value of academic freedom is considered central to the academic tradition. Though the Flynt visit was offensive to Scales and to many people, the president ("Scales Accepts Rebuke," 1977) argued that even if he had known of the plan for Flynt to visit he would not have pressured students to change their plans.

Scales' behavior through this matter is difficult to understand given his level of sophistication and the concurrent crises with Baptist committees at the time. He claims to have had no forewarning of the visit and that he was surprised by the public reaction. Scales took the whole affair as a college student prank and behaved as though it was nothing more than a slight

embarrassment. The event represented those ideas which were anathema to basic Baptist beliefs. In many ways, the event symbolized to Baptists a realization of the long held fears that Wake Forest University did not represent the Baptist faith. However, Scales' behavior toward the students was to call to his office the student responsible for arranging the event. Scales reports that he told the student, Angelo Monaco, that Flynt's visit was inappropriate. As a result of his conversation with Monaco, Scales concluded that the event was a "prank." Scales was not able to convince the public that the event was insignificant. Regardless of the significance of the event, Scales never compromised on the idea that students had a right to invite Flynt as the campus prided itself on the idea of there always being an "open platform" at Wake Forest.

The attitude that students have the right to "speak their minds" in forums and through the student newspaper, the Old Gold and Black, never changed throughout Scales' presidency. Social policies changed ever so slightly, but the opportunity to voice opinions, however at odds with the administration, was always present. Scales' reaction to student protests was that such demonstrations were to be expected, as part of the times. But he never took the protests seriously enough to invoke any major change. These protests were, as

Scales put it, "a practice of freedom"(1986i, p.11).

Scales' attitude toward the residence halls and student activities was similar to that which he had toward student protests. This attitude was, essentially, that student behavior was a result of the student culture over which Scales had little control. In a similar fashion, Scales saw the residence halls as an implacable circumstance which, even with a great deal of money, could only slightly be improved. Built during his presidency were three residence halls and two major lounges. Basic renovation of some of the existing residence halls was also completed. These efforts to improve the quality of residential life were the responsibilities of the dean of men and dean of women. Scales entrusted these matters to the deans, which meant that such concerns were at "arms length" from his regular attention.

The building of the "new dorm" in 1969 was significant in that it was the first arrangement whereby men and women could live in the same residence hall. This building represented a considerable change in campus life when one considers that students had been pressing for increased social options for visitation during the late sixties. "New dorm" did not assuage student protests for social policy changes for the entire campus throughout the seventies. The building was designed so

that the men would live in the basement and have individual entrances. The women would live in the three floors above ground level and have a common entrance which could be controlled. The purpose of the building was threefold. First, it allowed for increasing the enrollment. Second, it provided for the admission of an additional number of women. Third, it provided for a dramatic improvement in the quality of housing for some men. Specifically, this new building allowed the men to live in an air conditioned building with more private areas than in any other residence hall, and it provided opportunities for interaction with upperclass women in a residence hall setting.

Scales (1986i) thought that the new building was attractive and that it was a step in the direction of improving the quality of residence life. He felt that the old main plaza buildings were never going to be suitable for a quality residence life experience; the institution was "stuck" with a poor design, from Scales' point of view. However, a few slight improvements to these buildings occurred when two new lounges were built and the rooms were carpeted in the late 1970's.

The efforts noted above to improve the general quality of the student life environment reflect Scales' general concern for students. The fact that student life received modest attention from Scales is important

for two reasons. One reason was precedent; the other was that Scales' priorities were in other areas than in student life. Scales' leadership and its primary contribution to student life revolved around his openness to student debate about issues, his support for the "open platform," and his tolerance for the ambiguity inherent in dealing with a wide range of student interests. Other than his interest in maintaining a certain social "climate," as reflected in his values and those characteristics noted above and in the ordinary improvement in the student environment, Scales did not exert leadership to make major changes in the student setting. However, there were a number of changes he initiated or approved, such as selecting a student trustee and eliminating required chapel. There were also changes in student life which resulted from inaction on Scales' part. In fact, one such change, the building of athletic residence halls, was a decision, according to Scales, made without his overt consent. On the other hand, those responsible for the decision did not receive any instructions to reverse their plans.

The building of athletic residence halls produced several consequences regarding student life. When the athletes vacated the plaza residence halls (Kitchin and Huffman Residence Halls), more single rooms and private space were made available to the general student

population. But the significance of this development in student life was the way in which the building of the residence halls was decided.

The director of athletics, Gene Hooks, announced without prior approval from the president or faculty grounds committee that Wake Forest would build two new athletic residence halls in honor of two of Wake Forest's greatest athletes, Arnold Palmer and Brian Piccolo. The Piccolo and Palmer residence halls, at a total cost of 1.2 million dollars, were planned by Hooks prior to the official approval of this project. On October 1, 1981, the trustees approved the buildings with the stipulation that no general operating funds would be used to pay for their construction. Hooks purported that monies to fund the buildings was forthcoming, but donors never came through; instead, the buildings were paid for by athletic revenues (Scales, 1987a, 1986c;"WFU Executive Committee Approves," 1981). In the case of the athletic residence halls, circumstances in the lives of students were neither controlled nor promoted by the direct action of Scales.

Evidence exists that Hooks had received tacit approval by senior administrators for the project. Hooks had offered to build the residence halls as one way to handle a significant over-population problem on the campus which had resulted from a building fire (which

will be examined later)(Leake, 1988). In any case, Scales clearly felt that the decision was made without his official approval or endorsement (Scales, 1987a).

Scales explains his behavior in the matter of the athletic residence halls as the result of a desire to keep priorities in balance. Scales' rationale for failing to act regarding the event was that the building of the residence halls was as important as other issues in the scheme of things at Wake Forest. He believed that to reverse the decision or to take action against the athletic director would create unncessary trouble for the development office, for athletic recruitment, and for public relations.

Actions taken by Scales that reflected his attitudes toward student life included the selection of the first student trustee, Jim Cross, on November 12, 1969, and his support for the "experimental college," a program in which students were to take non-credit courses of their interest. For example, in the experimental college, a student might take a photography course taught by a chemistry professor or a course on the history of the Beatles taught by an administrator. Scales' view was that one way to improve student life was through human contact which the experimential college would provide.

Regarding the first initiative, Scales (1986k) felt that the request from the student government for student

representation on the board was reasonable and provided a civil way for students to have a voice in the greater affairs of the university. The "experimental college", for its part, provided a way for students to explore new hobbies, to get to know professors on a more informal basis, and to constructively explore a variety of non-academic subjects.

The behavior of Scales in response to these two initiatives reflects his spirit of openness, his attitude of creating a climate of possibility, and his reliance on traditional symbols of the university. For example, approving of the selection of a student trustee was a way to use an old structure of power to innovate.

Both the decision to have a student trustee and to establish the experimental college were initiated by students but required the support of Scales to succeed. In many ways, Scales was comfortable with endorsing others' plans regarding student life. What emerges during his presidency with regard to student life is his usual satisfaction with the status quo and, at the same time, his openness to the discussion of ideas which threatened that very status quo. The exceptions to Scales' support of the status quo in student life included his approval of dancing on the campus, the removal of a requirement to have faculty chaperones at all social events, and the elimination of compulsory

chapel.

It was Scales' observation that the students danced in Reynolda Hall during the first fall of his presidency (Scales, 19861, p. 2). He reported that his attendance at a campus party as a chaperone convinced him that such a role for a faculty member created more problems than solutions (Scales, 19861, p. 3). Without much fanfare, Scales eliminated almost all restrictions on dancing, and he rid the faculty of the onus of social supervision.

During Scales' presidency, student life changed in some evolutionary ways. The evolutionary changes are seen in slow alterations of social policy and of gradual improvement of the residence halls. It is a paradox that while student life was slowly changing under Scales, student behavior precipitated significant change for the institution during Scales' presidency with the visit of Larry Flynt. There can be little doubt that the Flynt visit to the Wake Forest campus caused considerable trouble for Scales, trouble exacerbated by the crisis which already existed between convention and university authorities. Flynt's visit to Wake Forest created a great public relations problem for Scales within the convention, if one considers the volume of material published in the Biblical Recorder on the affair.

Students had to take the initiative for much of the

improvement of their social and personal lives on the campus, which was, in Scales' view, entirely appropriate. Open and available for student discussion, Scales waited to react to student behavior rather than to seek to alter it. Scales' attitude toward student life, as illustrated above, was somewhat psychologically distant from the issues. However, it should be noted that his leadership involved the use of traditional forms of change in order to give students a formal voice, to promote the open discussion of issues, and to promote innovation, such as the experimental college.

Though there seems to be only modest initiative from Scales in the area of student life, there were a number of events during his presidency which reflected that he was a man of initiative and a president whose priorities were apparent to everyone in the community. His initiatives in the arts, overseas studies, and faculty appointments have been discussed above. In addition, his initiatives in raising funds, in commissioning a long term study of the university, and in managing the crises surrounding the Graylyn Mansion fire and the selection of his successor are worthy of note.

Raising funds for Wake Forest was a priority throughout Scales' presidency. When he arrived on the campus in 1967, he had to fulfill the wish of the trustees to build a school of business, and he raised

the funds necessary to achieve this goal. The achievement of this goal required the use of both traditional and innovative methods.

One traditional way for a university president to raise funds is to press the board of trustees for support. Scales' strategy was to remind the trustees of the consequences of insufficient funding. In Scales' (1968) first annual report to the trustees, he wrote,

> We are required to show a balanced budget and we have succeeded, at the cost of quality in the educational experience; some promising teachers needlessly lost, programs curtailed, patterns of living restricted.... (Scales, 1968, p. 22).

This quotation spells out the problems associated with the level of budgeting established by the board. Scales wanted the board to note the implications of their limited financial commitment to the university. He consistently encouraged the board to be more ambitious in fund raising.

In his 1971 annual report, Scales wrote about the need to increase financial support for the university and about the special need for an arts complex. He included an assertion that the college environment was made up of faculty members, students, and bricks and mortar. He concluded that "until this task [building a fine arts center] is accomplished, our claim to

excellence is faced with the counterclaim of fraudulence" (p. 4).

In a similar tone of directness, Scales (1968) wrote to William Lybrook, executive director of the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, stating the need for funds to increase faculty salaries. In his letter, he compared two sets of data. One category compared Wake Forest faculty salaries to those of Duke and Davidson, which were, respectively, two and three thousand dollars higher. A second set of data pointed out that while the foundation had increased its giving to Wake Forest each year, the actual percentage of the foundation's available funds which the annual contribution to Wake Forest represented was decreasing annually. For example, Scales pointed out that 91% of the foundation's contributions went to Wake Forest in 1952, while 17.1% of its funds were given to Wake Forest in 1966. Following Scales' letter on November 12, 1968, the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation adjusted its annual contribution to Wake Forest from $500,000 to $620,000 and provided $750,000 for the enhancement of faculty salaries (Lybrook, 1968). Scales' leadership, motivated by his concern for the faculty, was expressed in articulating the pressing needs of the university. His presentation was apparently effective, given the results of his press for funds.

Using standard fund raising strategies, such as

appealing to traditional benefactors, Scales was able to raise funds; however, he followed a more innovative strategy through the appointment of the Board of Visitors. The establishment of this board was directly related to raising funds in that by gaining the personal commitment of potential benefactors as advisors, there was the possibility of a gift. Using the Board of Visitors and standard fund raising techniques, there were two particular fund drives of note, one for the building of the fine arts center, the other the sesquicentennial campaign.

The fine arts drive was initiated by the selection of the fine arts commission, whose members had the resources to solicit funding commitments. In a short period, several million dollars were raised to build the center. Scales enlisted the efforts of the most significant community leaders, persons who would make known the desire of the university to build an arts center. A drive which began in March of 1972 had a goal of 3.9 million dollars. The drive was initially so successful that construction on the fine arts center began in September of that year.

By 1981, Scales was spending a great deal of time on the major financial campaign of his presidency, the celebration of the 150th operating year of the institution. The fund drive had a goal of 17.5 million

dollars, which was surpassed in 1982 ("WFU Goes Over 17.5," 1982). A celebration was planned for 1983 to commemorate the history of the university and to end the sesquicentennial campaign. The Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation provided a gift of 4.5 million dollars, which led to the establishment of the Reynolds Scholarships and the Reynolds Professorships (Lambeth, 1980). The Reynolds Scholarships would become the most prestigious, fully encompassing scholarship at Wake Forest. The Reynolds Professorships would allow for the selection of outstanding scholars such as author Maya Angelou.

Based on the extant documents, Scales' role in these two fund drives was to present the case for the needs of the university to various benefactors. Most of his contacts were of a personal nature, with the result that there is no way to reconstruct the details of his actual behavior during those drives, except through a few specifics found in a series of thank you letters.

By his own account, Scales visited those people who were identified by the development office as potential benefactors, as well as those benefactors whom he had befriended as president. Scales supervised these drives and contributed his presence on those occasions when benefactors would have an opportunity to discuss their wishes for Wake Forest (Scales, 1987a, 1986h).

The personal nature of his relationships with

benefactors is evidenced by exchanges between the president and others of books, recommendations for art exhibitions, and criticisms of plays. Such exchanges fill his personal letters. For example, to the director of a foundation in New York City, Scales wrote to acknowledge the director's agreement with Scales about an art show in New York. A subsequent correspondence between the two men is a letter announcing a gift of $6,000 to Wake Forest. This illustrates Scales' personal manner, and it seems reasonable to assume that the same behavior existed during the large fund drives initiated during his administration. Scales' warmth and informal style, along with his insistence on personal, one-to-one communication, provided for the development of relationships which were genuine efforts on his part to establish personal connections with others. The relationship also had the consequence of being profitable for the university. For example, the personal hand written letters from Nancy Reynolds to Scales are noteworthy for their informality. While informing Scales of some reaction to a book, Nancy Reynolds would also note the transfer of several hundred thousand dollars of Reynolds stock to Wake Forest. The full effect of Scales' personal style cannot be accurately determined. However, one should note that Scales and the development

office surpassed their financial goals during his presidency.

There is difficulty measuring the full effect of Scales' personal style on benefactors, faculty members, and others. A causal relationship between Scales' style and benefactor attention to Wake Forest seems to exist; yet, this is a relationship that is difficult to prove. The significance of this behavior exhibits a leadership factor properly labeled "a very personal style." This very personal style was used by Scales whenever he took the initiative on a project. For example, as noted above, Scales' search for funds seems to have been less like that of a salesman for the university and more like that of an old friend calling on another for financial support for a favorite charity.

Another instance of Scales' providing initiative during his presidency was his calling on the institutional constituencies to plan for the future. The Wake Forest 2000 Study, which was initiated on January 18, 1981, was to be a document which spelled out the needs and aspirations of all divisions of the university ("President Calls WF 2000," 1981). Scales (1986n) initiated the study with the hope of planning the future development of Wake Forest into the twenty-first century.

Scales had initiated the 2000 Study with great enthusiasm, for it promised to allow the various

departments and schools to develop a consensus about the future of Wake Forest. But his enthusiasm soon turned to disappointment because the committee did not share this view of its purpose, as was clear its workings and its final report. In one pithy note to provost Edwin Wilson, Scales wrote (1982) that he was "dismayed by some of the conclusions now in print...[for example] perish all thoughts for students to develop their own synthesis among numerous fields...." He found that the committee members were more interested in furthering the goals of their individual departments than in looking at the larger picture of the needs of the university. For example, the law school dean advocated the dedication of endowment funds from the university for needs specific to the law school. For his part, the athletic director sought new status through the creation of a vice-president for athletics. In Scales' view, such issues severely limited the usefulness of the report (Scales, 1986n).

Scales suggested during the committee's work alterations in its direction. He reports that on numerous occasions he would speak to individuals regarding their comments during committee discussions. In retrospect, Scales saw the activities of some committee members as sabatoging the intended work of the committee. In particular, Scales felt that many

tangential issues detracted from the committee's appropriate focus on curriculum concerns (Scales, 1986n).

The 2000 Study report was presented at a trustee meeting at Kiawah Island, South Carolina, on February 19 and 20, 1983. In addition to providing an overview of the report, Scales took the opportunity to outline a specific agenda for future administrations and to identify the achievements of his administration. Scales (1983) opened his address saying, "I need to say some things that could never be published in annual reports..."(p. 1). He warned the trustees of the long term consequences of the haphazard selection of trustees, of accepting any limitations or qualifications on trustees, of too many trustee committees, of the financial error in making the Graylyn mansion a conference center, and of being too timid in fund raising activities.

Scales' concern in his remarks was that the 2000 Study report was too narrow and that broader issues needed to be raised. Scales' view was that there were too many untapped resources and too many temptations to keep away from controversial issues like trustee selection. These observations suggest Scales' desire to maintain a climate of possibility and to promote the values of the institution. As Scales viewed institutional values, he would define them as a

commitments to the liberal arts tradition, to academic excellence, to religious heritage, to academic freedom, and to university traditions. Both of his interests, in the university climate and in the values of the institution, are evident in that Scales wanted new ideas brought to the board of trustees and to have these new ideas grounded in university values. These two habits of behavior, promoting a specific climate and a set of values, are elemental factors in Scales' leadership.

Scales' oral report to the trustees allowed him to express his views of the long term needs of Wake Forest, in addition to the needs expressed in the 2000 Study report. The report, itself, was published and accepted as a set of guidelines for the future; however, Scales (1987b, 1986n) remarked that the document should not be relied upon as a guide for future decisions. This view regarding the importance of the report is the result of Scales' judgment that the document did not reflect the larger vision of concern for the university. However, this report did result in debate among various departments regarding their educational goals and fiscal needs, which Scales saw as useful.

Scales final two initiatives of note resulted from two crises which had considerable implications for the university. The first crisis was the burning of the Graylyn mansion; the second was the public uproar over

the process of selecting his successor.

The Graylyn mansion, a magnificant home which was given to the university many years before Scales' presidency, was severely damaged by fire and water on June 23, 1980 ("Graylyn Burns," 1980). The estate, which includes the mansion and grounds, was named Graylyn by the builders, Mr. and Mrs. Bowman Gray. The Grays moved into Graylyn as their home in 1932; it was the second largest privately built home in the southeast (Gray, 1974). Each room of the mansion was elaborately decorated with furniture and artifacts from the Gray's world travels. For example, the basement had a large Arabian tent, fully set up with appropriate desert furnishing. The estate had been given to the Bowman Gray School of Medicine in 1946, and it was used as a psychiatric ward for several years, before it was converted into a satellite residence hall

The 1980 arson's fire rendered the main house of the estate uninhabitable, since the third floor and attic were destroyed by fire, and the first and second floors were severely damaged by water. The damage to the house would require more resources than the 2.6 million dollar insurance on the estate would cover.

With the fire blazing hundreds of feet into the sky, Scales announced to the press that "My commitment to its restoration is total" ("Graylyn Burns," 1980). This

declaration was seen as a promise to the university community, the Winston-Salem community, and the Gray family to restore the elegant and elaborate estate. To help him follow through on this promise, Scales appointed a committee of Gray family members and others to study the ways and means of restoration, as well as the future purposes of the estate.

The Gray family, through Colin Stokes of the R. J. Reynolds Company, who was chairman of the Wake Forest Board of Trustees, expressed concern that the house be used for more important purposes than to house students. The family felt that it would be more appropriate to use the estate as a conference center that provided special accomodations for corporate executives (Scales, 1986o). The wish of the family would shape itself into reality when the board of trustees designated the restoration be directed toward the creation of a conference center ("Graylyn to Conference Center," 1980).

The plan to make Graylyn a conference center created a controversy on campus. Some faculty members argued that the mansion should be used by faculty members and students and that conference centers across the country, in more exciting places than Winston-Salem, were failing. Students who had planned to return to Graylyn following its restoration felt evicted and closed out of the decision making process. Scales was personally concerned

about the drain of a conference center on the university budget (Scales, 1986o, p. 8).

Through special gifts and the selling of some of the estate land to developers, the Graylyn committee was able to raise the funds necessary for the four million dollar restoration. The restoration of Graylyn lasted two years. Scales' initiative to restore the mansion resulted in a remarkable remaking of the estate, though the decision regarding its use was not necessarily as Scales had desired. He thought that Graylyn should be for the exclusive use of faculty members and students.

The Graylyn fire occurred during the initial stages of the 17.5 million dollar sesquicentennial campaign, a part of which was directed toward the music wing of the fine arts center. The unanticipated fiscal responsibility of restoring Graylyn did not prove detrimental to Scales' efforts to rebuild the Graylyn estate and reach the sesquicentinnial goals.

The Graylyn mansion fire created a crisis in Scales' presidency for three reasons. First, the history of the mansion's usage by the university meant that due to the fire students would have to be relocated and resettled on campus, which had almost no empty rooms. Second, the financial commitment to restore Graylyn was considerable, especially in the context of the major funding campaign already under way. Third, the Gray family used the need

for restoration as an opportunity to assert their displeasure at using the estate as a residence hall and their desire to have the estate used for more "appropriate" purposes. A very important family to Wake Forest, the Grays had to be made to feel comfortable about decisions regarding the estate. Scales' had to insure the happiness of the Gray family, keep the restoration from interfering with the financial campaign goals, and deal with pressing student relocation needs.

The president's behavior throughout the Graylyn affair is straight forward. Scales appointed a committee to develop funds for the restoration and to develop recommendations regarding the use of the restored building. Also, a Gray family member served on the commmittee, which allowed the family's concerns to be expressed. In establishing this committee, Scales noted the importance of using institutional resources for educational purposes. This idea served as part of the committee's charge and reflected Scales' intent that decisions about Graylyn reflect the larger purpose of the university.

The Graylyn crisis would not be Scales' last major crisis as president of Wake Forest. Just as his handling of the Graylyn incident reflected the leadership factors of openness, a focus on core values, and a basic confidence in institutional resources, his behavior

during the final crisis of his presidency demonstrated skills in the areas of personal communication, the articulation of core values, and a promotion of a certain climate at the university.

The stage for the final crisis was set when Scales announced his retirement. The president surprised many people with his resignation announcement in December of 1982. He was 63 years old and was in the midst of the largest financial campaign in the university's history. Further, the university was gearing up to celebrate its 150th year with special programs and activities. It was expected that Scales would be presiding over this celebration.

Reflecting on his resignation, Scales (1987b) felt that there were three considerations. First, he had grown tired of the push by some trustees to reorganize the administration into a more "business-like structure." Scales had declared early in his administration that he had a dislike of efficiency experts and organizational charts. Second, though he had successfully recovered from open heart surgery in November of 1979, Scales had developed other health problems, which were an irritation to him. Finally, he felt that a change in presidents during the sesquicentennial celebration would keep the focus properly on the institution.

It is also true that on the day before Scales' resignation, the board of trustees voted to dedicate a portion of the university's endowment exclusively to the law school. As Scales had worked against any similiar action in the past, the resolution on the part of the trustees to create a special fund for the law school must have diasppointed him. The action must have also symbolized for him a loss of his influence on the board.

With Scales' resignation announced, the search for his successor was initiated by C. C. Hope, a former bank executive and long time university trustee. A trustee committee established, implemented, and completed the search for a new president in the span of six months. During the process of selecting a new president, there was a growing unhappiness among other trustees, alumni, and faculty members that they were not being consulted. Scales reported that he was not invited to state any opinion regarding potential candidates until the selection was over (Scales, 1987b).

In a personal note on February 23, 1983, Scales had expressed his ideas of the needed qualifications of his successor:

> ...the new president will be an analgam of Mark Hopkins, George Truett, Paul Newman, William Phelps, St. Paul, John the Beloved Disciple, and J. Paul Getty....He will be sternly conservative to suit trustees; he will be righteous beyond

> belief; he will be liberal enough to suit faculty; and out-rageously permissive to gratify the fantasies of students who have no intention of carrying them out.... (Scales, 1983)

But these opinions about the next president or suggestions regarding possible candidates were ignored. Scales reports that he never got an opportunity to promote the selection of any candidate.

Scales, however, did not ignore the growing public relations problem occasioned by the selection of Thomas K. Hearn, Jr. as his successor. Hearn's appointment was announced on June 22, 1983, and four days later an article in the Winston-Salem Journal headlined "New President Welcomed But Process Draws Fire." The article outlined the complaints of many who felt ignored in the selection process. Dr. Scales had received many letters and calls from individuals wanting to know how to express their dismay.

In a particularly poignant note to Scales, one trustee expressed the desire to have a public "war" on the matter of Hearn's selection. But with this note and with many letters like it, Scales (1983b) cautioned that for the benefit of the university any protests should be avoided. Scales wrote glowing reports regarding Hearn, suggesting that even though the process may have been unacceptable, the selection was superb. To long time friends, Scales (1983a) wrote of his own exclusion

from the selection process, but of his great satisfaction with his successor. Scales' behavior in dealing with what could have been an unattractive affair certainly made the transition for Hearn easier.

This episode illustrated a particular personal quality, Scales' desire for harmony and mutual understanding among individuals. But desiring harmony did not prevent him from his own assessment of what had created the problem (Scales, 1983b). He wrote that there seemed to be a trustee or some trustees involved with the selection process who were "overzealous, ambitious, and looking for his place in history..."(p. 2). This assessment, however, did not alter his view that the outcome of the process had been to select an outstanding candidate.

Scales' public and private focus through this crisis was on the wellbeing of the institution. Though his own resignation seemed premature, given his age, and though he chose to deal with the problems associated with the process used to select his successor, he maintained a positive attitude and calm disposition. As indicated, Scales used personal communication to respond to critics of the selection process, and in his responses he articulated that public debate over the selection matter would not do any good and would likely do much more harm to the institution. This crisis reflected thoroughly the

personal habits of Scales.

There are three habits of personal conduct which are consistent throughout Scales' presidency and which, in a sense, provide the measure of the man. First, it is evident in his personal interactions that Scales was truly a personable president. Second, Scales consistently communicated a few central ideas about the liberal arts university life to students, faculty, and staff. Third, his behavior usually reflected his belief that the presidency was "structurally weak," and he liked to view himself as first among equals and, therefore, a president who was to provide leadership based on persuation and preservation. However, there were incidents in which Scales' behavior was decidedly "presidential." In these cases he acted decisively on a matter and brought the full authority of the presidency to the situation. For example, Scales' decision to establish study centers overseas was a presidential act.

In addition to these habits of personal conduct, Scales had the advantage of physical attractiveness. His smile was broad and warm. His voice was deep, solid, and masculine; it was a "round" baritone voice. His body frame held a physically well toned muscle structure which was covered with a skin complextion that reflected his Indian heritage. These qualities caused some to suggest that he was charismatic. Another view of Scales' physical

characteristics was that he tried to present to the public a "self" which was calm, happy, and tolerant. The combination of his physical and personal characteristics fits the image of a well seasoned diplomat. For greeting all individuals, regardless of status within the university community, with a warm hello, Scales is remembered as a pleasant, calm gentleman. These qualities are indicated in the following excerpts from two letters Scales received following his resignation announcement. The first is a handwritten statement from Nancy Reynolds:

> I have enjoyed our association through the years and have seen Wake Forest grow under your guidance until we are proud of it and your leadership.... As chief executive you have been inspiring to those who carry out the daily work of the university. For your inspiration and humility, I thank you. (Reynolds, 1983)

The Rev. Warren Carr wrote:

> At no time did you pull rank or deem yourself to belong to some special category.... You have been as gracious to your detractors, unusually small in number and expectedly in character, as you have been to ardent supporters and devoted friends. You have managed difficulty without cant of bitterness. You [Scales and his wife] are people of good will and humor. There is a Scales' mystique.... You are caustic without being casual, considerate without being calculating, carefree but never careless.... (Carr, 1983)

Scales had a consistency about his personal style,

whether with the rich and powerful or with the minister of Wake Forest Baptist Church. This consistency of character -- the warmth, calmness, and humor -- seemed to be pervasive. The press referred to him as the "great diplomat," "the calm in the eye of the storm," or "peacemaker" (Winston-Salem Journal,1983, n.p.; Raleigh News and Observer, 1983, n.p.; The Dispatch, 1983, n.p.).

There is consistency in terms of Scales' personal characteristics and style of communicating his ideas about the presidency and about the liberal arts college experience. Evidence for this observation is found in interviews with the press and in his speeches.

For example, Scales was interviewed just days following his selection as president of Wake Forest and was asked to describe what changes he intended to make. His response was, "I'm not a great organizer. I like to take people as they are. I take the situation as I find it, but I like to see it a little better when I leave it ("Look for Integrity in Personnel," 1968). Eighteen years later, Scales (1986n) suggested that the staffing patterns and administrative staff, itself, were essentially unchanged since his arrival. This reflected a "stable administration...not stagnation" (p. 1). In the area of administrative structure, Scales had initiated very little change. By contrast, he had

overseen considerable change in university governance and in curriculum and faculty development.

He conceived of the presidency as a position which had the responsibility of reminding the community of certain central values, of maintaining a balance between change and continuity, and of providing avenues for the development of consensus concerning campus issues. In a more elaborate way, these observations about Scales were confirmed in a speech given by Professor Elizabeth Phillips of the English department, who had served three Wake Forest presidents:

> He [Scales] has been described as a leader who soothed the wounded from Tribble's battles.... Departmental autonomy was strengthened, and faculty tended to think of him as a relaxed colleague who enjoyed speculating about whatever he had recently read and was interested in what we wrote. He would, I believe, have found it unthinkable to make faculty appointments without the consent of the tenured staff of the department concerned.... The door of Scales' office was often open for rambling conversations when he was in town.... Most of us felt genuine affection for him and his regard for the nuances of language, the complexities of humane learning, or tensions between constituencies....
> (Phillips, 1987, p. 4)

As noted earlier, Scales' habits of interpersonal warmth; of arguing for free, open, and civil debate especially between scholars of faith and of liberal learning; and of promoting an eqalitarian relationship between the administration and faculty reflected Scales'

view that a president should be no more than a presider, protector of values, and scholar. These personal qualities were expressed in his presidential behavior and established the self-made parameters of his presidential power. But these qualities are part of a larger set of leadership factors which determined the nature of his presidential leadership.

The leadership factors which have been identified include the (1) constancy of "fit" between Scales and the institution; (2) a commitment to the faculty as central to academic excellence; (3) a persistent articulation of core values; (4) a tolerance for situations requiring the management of ambiguity; (5) the presentation of a spirit of magnanimity and openness; (6) an attitude for promoting a climate of "possibility" or innovation; (7) an attractive physical presence; (8) a habit of person centered communication; and (9) a willingness to take risks because of a basic trust in the institution's resources.

Because organizational "fit" was a crucial factor in Scales' leadership, and because such fit is a product of personal and institutional history, it is instructive to examine briefly the life of Scales prior to his arrival at Wake Forest University and to examine selected critical events in the history of Wake Forest. By this reviewing the man's and the institution's

parallel histories, Scales' leadership can be more fully understood, and the key concept of institutional fit highlighted by Warren Bennis and Seymour Sarason can be dramatically illustrated.

CHAPTER V

PARALLEL HISTORIES

The histories of James Ralph Scales and of Wake Forest University moved along parallel thematic paths until the beginning of his Wake Forest presidency in 1967. Scales was raised in the tradition of the Baptist church and with high expectations of intellectual achievement. Wake Forest trustees, administrators, and faculty members fought to establish and maintain Baptist connections and to promote intellectual challenge. Scales, like the university he would lead, grew in stature because of an ability to combine and promote the discussion of faith and reason. It was this ability that led to the selection of James Ralph Scales as Wake Forest president; ironically, the tension between those who supported the primacy of faith and those who supported the primacy of reason would lead to the dissolution of historic institutional ties and to presidential disappointment. Besides the observation that the parallel histories of Scales and Wake Forest provide a basis to understand his selection as president, these histories merit attention as they relat to the research questions of this study. First, this examination

clarifies some of the leadership factors already identified in this research. Second, through the initial comparison of leadership frameworks it was discovered that Bennis and Sarason, argue that a true understanding of leadership requires a review of personal and organizational history.

The significance of these parallel histories to Scales' presidency at Wake Forest is found in understanding the development of the following leadership factors: institutional "fit," value commitments, and language usage. To understand the exact nature of Scales' "fit" with Wake Forest, an exploration of the critical events in the life of the institution will be undertaken. Studying the value commitments Scales developed through challenges at home and at school enables one to understand an important aspect of his personality; and these value commitments were a motivating factor in his presidential behavior. Finally, Scales' love for language as a tool for persuasion will be examined.

Scales' facility with language developed as a result of his personal proclivities and as a result of the encouragement of teachers. It would be through his facility of language that Scales would communicate his values and attitudes which were similar with the characteristics of the institution he would serve. The

path which brought James Ralph Scales to Wake Forest and which provided for the development of behaviors that would eventually be identified as leadership factors began in the town of Jay, in Delaware County, Oklahoma.

On May 27, 1918, James Ralph Scales was born to Kate Whitby Scales and John Grover Scales (Yarbrough, 1985, p.141). The Scales family was politically active, with John Grover Scales serving as a judge and eventually as a local minister. John Scales achieved recognition in Cherokee country because he was bilingual and was able to solve disputes between Delaware County locals and the Indians (Scales, 1986b, p.1). John Scales also had the respect of the Cherokee leaders, due to his having some Cherokee family blood. James Ralph Scales' father served the community as teacher, judge, and minister, and as he functioned in these roles, it is reasonable to surmise that John Scales impressed upon his young son the value of scholarship and religion, as well as the possibilities which emerge from political action (Scales, 1986b, pp16-17).

Because of the career of John Grover Scales and its possible effect on James Ralph Scales, it is important to note some facts of family history. Apparently John Grover Scales was a popular man in his community, in part because his was the only bilingual court room. But he tired of the problems of the court in 1925, saying, "I'd

rather send men to heaven than to the penitiary" (Scales, 1986b). This decision would mean significant changes for the family in terms of social status and financial stability. Thus, at an early age the future president would have an opportunity to learn about public service and religion.

Following his decision to go into the ministry, John Grover had major surgery, during which a tumor was removed from his large intestine. Also, during the Depression John Grover had to support two families, the immediate Scales family and his wife's family. These pressures became too much in 1935, when he witnessed the death by automobile of a child who rushed across the street to greet him. John Grover had a nervous breakdown, which required his son to leave college for eighteen months to work at home (Scales, 1986c, p.6).

James Ralph Scales was hired as a bookkeeper at a local bank and made $85.00 per month, which enabled the Scales family to live comfortably until his father could return to work, which he did in 1937. His son was able then to return to college. Through each of his professions, and in his home life, John Grover Scales left his son with the "greatest impression of the importance of truth, integrity, and authority" (Scales, 1986c, p.6).

The rules of intellectual rigor seem to have been

given to James Ralph Scales during his early school years. He reports that Ms. Kathy Motiff, who taught him the rudiments of language, continues even today to play a part in his scholarship, through his memories of her teaching. So powerful was this teacher's influence on young Scales that today he still will pronounce, spell, and define words during a discussion to be sure that the word used was clear to the listener (Scales, 1986b, pp. 13-14). On his desk while serving as president of Wake Forest, Scales had three or four dictionaries to insure that the words he selected for speeches and letters would be precise.

Reflecting on teachers who were significant to him during his teenage years, Scales (1986c) noted Miss Andromeda Pickens, a Latin teacher "who gave me a firm grasp of the structure of language, and I must say that going with her through Cicero was a significant experience" (p. 2). Miss Julia O'Dannon was, according to Scales, "the best history teacher [I] ever had in high school, college, or graduate school." Miss O'Dannon was also the debate coach. She produced state debate champions. The National Forensic League chose her teams as national champions for half a century (p.3).

There was a coalescence of Scales' interests in language, history, and debate which began in his early schooling and continued through his professional career.

These interests of Scales would prove to be useful when Scales would be required to find the right word, and the stronger argument, as well as to demonstrate the ability to manage the multiple roles of a college president. But before his interests in language, history, and debate could be useful, these interests needed further development through experience.

Scales' love of language was evidenced in a number of ways in his high school years. His teachers certainly promoted his interests, including his active involvement in formal debating. The future president became a debating champion in the state of Oklahoma and also excelled in his academic work. At seventeen, Scales entered Oklahoma Baptist University, from which he graduated magna cum laude with a bachelor of arts in 1939 (Yarbrough, 1985, p. 142). Scales (1986b) reports that during these undergraduate years, he came in contact with scholars of unusual caliber due to the Depression, which "captured" professors at institutions all over the country. This is to say that professors who could have expected to have some mobility and gain promotions through experience simply had to stay where they were when the economy failed. A particular impression was made on Scales by professors E.E. Folk and Tom Snuggs, in English literature, and Dr. Clifford Patton, in history. Professors Folk and Snuggs were

especially important over the long term, since both men were Wake Forest College graduates and shared many stories of their east coast school with young Scales.

Folk and Snuggs would provide a link with Scales and Wake Forest which no one could have forseen. Scales reports that Dr. Folk "cultivated and encouraged my interest in words, word selection...he always had an underlying concern for language and its importance, the sound of it, the cadence of your writing as well as speaking" (Scales, 1986b, p.3). Scales recalls that Dr. Snuggs "influenced me more to go into scholarship and graduate study" (p.7).

For his part, Dr. Clifford Patton, a Harvard graduate, who made James Ralph Scales focus on history and government. Noting that Patton was a strong scholar, Scales suggests that he also was a demanding and ambitious professor (Scales, 1986b, p.8).

On the advice of these three professors, Scales began graduate work at the University of Oklahoma. He completed his master's degree in 1941. During his work on his M.A., he served as an instructor at Oklahoma Baptist University (Yarbrough, 1985, p.142).

This brief overview of the first twenty-two years of Scales' life provide evidence of his ambitions to be a scholar and to be a competent user of language, both written and oral. The development of those

characteristics was spurred my his parental role models, teachers, and undergraduate experiences.

As discussed above, Scales developed an interest in the life of the mind. This commitment would include a fierce belief in academic freedom and openness in intellectual pursuits. Also, the theme of language usage is present from grade school through college. As has already been stated, these two characteristics--language use and a value commitment to academic freedom--persisted throughout his life and culminated in a career choice which would move him down the path toward Wake Forest. Importantly, these two characteristics became factors in his presidential leadership and became important aspects of a third factor identified as leader and institutional "fit". But before Scales arrived on the Wake Forest campus, the behaviors associated with the characteristics described above became consistent and permanent aspects of his personality through a variety of his adult challenges.

On December 8, 1941, Scales enlisted in the United States Navy. Even with the enlistment, he began doctoral work at the University of Chicago as a recipient of a Wallgreen Scholarship. From the University of Chicago, Scales traveled sixty miles each day to participate in Naval training at South Bend, Indiana. Following World War II, Chicago renewed the Wallgreen Scholarship to

Scales so he could finish his doctoral work. His long time friend Dr. John W. Raley, president of Oklahoma Baptist University, asked Scales to consider teaching and completing his doctoral degree at the University of Oklahoma (Scales, 1986b, p.18). The completion of the doctoral degree had to wait, however, until Scales' discharge from Naval service in 1946. Even in the Navy, Scales found his personal interests of service to the nation.

In the Navy, Scales was the signal officer on the USS Saratoga. He says his service on the Saratoga was one of the "happiest times of my life" (Scales, 1986c, p.10). The enjoyment was in part derived from his role: manipulating the language between officers. He says that "for the better part of two years on the ship, I edited copy.... They [the officers] relied heavily on me in that I would frame the message and get it out" (Scales, 1986d, p.1).

Another source of pleasure for Scales during his military service was observing the leadership of the officers on the ship. Reflecting on what he admired about these men, Scales said he was impressed by their efficiency: "They could be just as relaxed as anyone, but their discipline showed through. They could give three and a half minutes of relaxed conversation, and then the moment they were to make a decision they were

all business. They had the immediate habit of command, the very prompt habit of making decisions" (Scales, 1986d, p.3).

Scales returned to Oklahoma Baptist University as an associate professor in 1947, following his service on the USS Saratoga. He also transferred his doctoral course work to the University of Oklahoma from the University of Chicago (Scales, 1986d, p.5; Yarbrough, 1985, p.142). This was done in part because he had married Elizabeth Ann Randel just before leaving for his war service and upon his return felt it proper to have a job and start a family.

While serving as an associate professor, Scales was appointed dean of men. In 1950, a year after he was granted the Ph.D. from the University of Oklahoma, he was promoted to full professor and to the position of university vice president, which was to become the position of executive vice president in 1953. As vice president and later as executive vice president, Scales was responsible for supervising faculty and non-faculty members of the community. In 1953, James Ralph Scales was made president of Oklahoma Baptist University (Scales, 1986b, 1986c; Yarbrough, 1985, pp. 143-144).

Early in his presidential career at Oklahoma Baptist University, perhaps as a reflection on his interest in international history, Scales initiated a fine arts

program, an overseas study program, and a summer academy for high school juniors. These activities were important to the new president because he planned to focus on the academic stature of university programs. He saw these activities as avenues for recruiting students and faculty members. These interests were evident again, years later, as president of Wake Forest University. Specifically, Scales would see to the development of the arts and of overseas study programs during his presidency at Wake Forest. However, Scales' initial interest in these areas while serving Oklahoma Baptist University generated considerable trouble for him.

While serving as president of Okalahoma Baptist University, Scales' initiatives would create considerable distress for the "old guard" of the university. In particular, the retired, very popular, former president of Oklahoma Baptist University, John W. Raley took offense at Scales' efforts to change the institution. Raley's irritation at Scales was significant in that the trustees had moved Raley to the newly created position of chancellor upon his retirement. His primary responsibility as chancellor was to raise funds for two projects initiated during his presidency: building both a president's house and a new chapel.

Raley was well liked by the Baptists of Oklahoma. His view of Christian higher education had prevailed for

nearly three decades. By contrast, Scales was more interested in developing an institution with high academic standards. Scales said that his aim was to make Oklahoma Baptist University an outstanding liberal arts institution and to promote scholarship in the liberal arts tradition (Scales, 1986b; Yarbrough, 1985, p. 147). These differences set the stage for a conflict in which Scales' showed the firmness of his convictions regarding academic excellence.

To achieve his stated aims, Scales based his search for scholars more on academic credentials than on religious affiliation. The heart of his admissions policy was the determination to recruit the most capable students, regardless of religious affiliation. Scales believed that a strong religious faith was consistent with intellectual rigor but that such rigor should not be subordinate to religious concerns.

Scales' differences with Raley included philosophical and pragmatic concerns. Scales believed that Raley should have used money spent for the new chapel and president's house for faculty development. Whereas Raley was concerned more about the role of Oklahoma Baptists at the institution, Scales was more concerned about the quality of education at the institution (Scales, 1986c, pp. 8-10). This concern for quality over dogma was unacceptable to many Oklahoma Baptists.

Scales, the first lay president of Oklahoma Baptist University, instituted a selective admissions program and a policy of hiring scholars regardless of religious affiliation. These matters were brought before the deliberative body of Oklahoma Baptists in the form of a resolution, which was brought to the floor, claiming that Scales' "presidency [was] neglecting spiritual values, ignoring the hiring of Baptist faculty...." By 1965, after twelve years as president, Scales was unhappy with the isolation that was occurring as a result of his philosophical stance and the increasing demands from Baptist leaders that he change (Scales, 1986e, p. 14). He resigned from the presidency on July 1, 1965, and in his resignation letter wrote,

> ...in a time of upheaval and disruption of old values in society, a division has grown within our convention. It is not my wish to divide this beloved fellowship. Some of our problems remain unsolved as the university faces the sharply rising educational expectations of our era. (Yarbrough, 1985, p. 146)

The letter continued, with suggestions regarding the need to make faculty salaries and curriculum related expenditures top priorities of the next administration. Above all, he called for a new leadership that would unite the convention constitutency, while aggressively attending to the problems of Oklahoma Baptist University

(Yarbrough, 1985, p. 147).

Scales' overall educational vision was to make a strong institutional commitment to the liberal arts in order to produce extraordinary citizens and leaders (Scales, 1986e; Yarbrough, 1985, p. 147). This vision was a product of Scales' view of the highest Christian calling. It was this vision of higher education that created problems for others who were more concerned about Baptist religious views than about the pursuit of intellectual truth.

This fragment of Scales' history at Oklahoma Baptist University provides a basis for understanding his unmistakable commitment to liberal learning, to intellectual challenge, and to academic freedom. Further, it shows that he would not compromise these values in the face of intense political pressure. This consistency of attention to the central values in the academic community became a cornerstone of his leadership during his Wake Forest presidency. And it was this factor of his leadership that would make his presidency at Wake Forest University enduring.

After leaving Oklahoma Baptist University because "things got uncomfortable," Scales became the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the Oklahoma State University, on August 1, 1965. This position was the first, and last, position Scales held in a public

university. As dean, he found mountainous paperwork and tedious forms that had to be completed for every decision. Through restructuring his routine and staff responsibilities, Scales was able to significantly alter the role of the position.

The elements of this job restructuring included delegating paperwork, seeking opportunities to speak about higher education, and increasing the amount of time he spent with faculty members. For example, his predecessor had spent a great deal of time signing student schedules and drop-add forms. There were numerous routine forms related to departmental grants which seemed to require his signature. Scales investigated the necessity of his signature on this paperwork. He discovered that no one knew why the dean was given all these forms to sign; it just always had been done a certain way. Further, he learned that if these matters were delegated, the processing of the information was more efficient (Scales, 1986f, p.12).

Scales thought the proper role of dean was to provide "intellectual leadership." To this end, he increased the number of speeches he made about the role of the university in society, and he reduced office routine to allow for more time with faculty members. The university administration was pleased with Scales' activity, as evidenced by the publication of a brochure

on Scales entitled "The Eloquent Spokesman" (Almuni Publication of Oklahoma State University, Fall, 1965).

Emerging during this period of Scales' professional life is an emphasis on the importance of the use of language in articulating ideas about intellectual life. He actually sought to alter his job to enable himself to spend energy on his efforts to persuade others about the nature of a college education. The period of his deanship also indicates Scales' firm belief in his ability to cogently argue for a point of view. The use of language and his articulation of ideas were traits which became firmly established behaviors.

The actions Scales had taken to restructure the dean's role increased his participation in programs outside the university. He became a spokesperson for the view that excellent academic work promoted good Christian living and the well being of the community. His emerging and growing role of spokesman led Scales to two fortuitous meetings on the east coast that would introduce him to Wake Forest trustees. He would later reflect on his time as dean and note that he was pleased with the reduction of paperwork, his exposure to federal grant writing, and the opportunities he created for himself (Scales, 1986f, p.11).

The meetings which would prove significant for Scales on the east coast occurred in June of 1966 and

January of 1967. On the first occasion, Scales was asked to speak in Charlottesville, Virginia to a denominational board on Christian life. On the second occasion, he gave the keynote address to the newly elected trustees of the seven North Carolina Baptist colleges. These speeches would be heard by many Wake Forest College trustees, who would promote Scales' candidancy for president when Harold Wayland Tribble announced his resignation (Scales, 1986f, p. 13).

Scales (1986f) noted that his candidacy came late in the presidential search at Wake Forest. He was being considered at several other institutions prior to his being contacted by those promoting his election at Wake Forest. Scales was seen as an experienced Baptist college administrator who had strong academic credentials. Those who met Scales and who had heard him speak recognized that he could articulate a sound position concerning Christian higher education.

Scales' early professional history, which reflected his leadership in the struggle to maintain academic integrity in the face of narrow religious concerns, provided the type of experiences that seemed likely to enable him to manage the problems at Wake Forest. These problems primarily concerned the relationship between Wake Forest and the Baptist State Convention. As discussed above, the difficulties between

Wake Forest and the Baptist Convention covered disagreements on funding, trustee selection, governance, admissions, and student life policies.

Prior to Scales' arrival in Winston-Salem, in July 1967, the president of Wake Forest had asked the North Carolina Baptist Convention leadership to allow a change in the requirements for board membership. The proposal would allow for the selection of non-North Carolinians and non-Baptists to the board. A similar proposal in 1963, which was submitted to all appropriate Baptist State Convention committees and to the annual meeting of the Baptist State Convention provided a historical precedent (Shaw, 1987, p.199).

This 1963 proposal to change the requirements for board membership had failed to gain the two-thirds vote necessary under convention rules. (There were 2736 votes cast at the 1963 convention, and the proposal failed by 194 votes.) A new proposal was presented the following year to the annual meeting of the Baptist State Convention. It was roundly defeated, 2,247 to 1,566 (Shaw, 1988, pp.199-205). Students reacted with angry public protests, which offended many Baptists across the state. Many Baptists felt that the convention had put to rest the issue of trustee appointment at the Baptist colleges in North Carolina. These feelings regarding trustee selection were very strong. The

student protest on the Wake Forest campus had only served to strengthen the resolve of many Baptists to never allow any one other than a Baptist serve on the board of trustees. Therefore, when a new discussion of a similar proposal began in early 1967, the editor of the Biblical Recorder, Marse Grant, was quoted as saying that the time had come for all parties to consider a separation ("Gradual Severing of WFC, Baptist," 1967).

Marse Grant's suggestion renewed a controversy regarding the issue of Baptist control over Wake Forest and, more fundamentally, the issue of the nature of a Baptist related institution. This controversy was not new to either Scales or to Wake Forest College, and it is precisely this controversy which frames the fundamental character of the institution. It is this controversy which highlights important characteristics of Wake Forest which match those of Scales, and, therefore, suggest the appropriateness of Scales' becoming president of Wake Forest. The following brief review of institutional history illustrates the thematic similarites between the personal history of Scales and that of Wake Forest.

Before the charter for Wake Forest Institute was established in 1833 by the North Carolina legislature, a controversy among Baptists developed over the proposed purposes of the institute. The struggle among North

Carolina residents, Baptist and non-Baptists alike, centered on defining the nature of education in general and Baptist higher education in particular. Some Baptists argued that the study of theology was deleterious to Baptist creeds. As a result, the school, by definition could never fulfill its stated mission and, therefore, its establishment should not be attempted (Paschal, 1943, p. 27). Many circulars were distributed to Baptist churches in North Carolina suggesting that the effort to establish any institution ran contrary to the Baptist belief in "free thought." That argument was essentially that ministers who go to school cannot think freely about God's revelation (Paschal, 1943, p. 62).

To combat those who were against the school, early convention organizers charged Samuel Wait with the responsibility for travelling throughout the state to explain the mission of the school. In Wait's first year, 1830, as the convention's "agent" he gave 243 sermons. Wait gave 268 sermons in his second year, and his travels to collect money for both the convention and the institute raised enough resources to initiate concrete plans for its development.

Samuel Wait, a product of New York schools, believed strongly in the need to establish a school in North Carolina. His wife also took up the cause, and in their trips she collected articles of furniture, linen, and

kitchenware for the institute. Like her husband, she was devoted to the establishment of the school. Their efforts would be rewarded with the purchase of the Calvin Jones farm on August 28, 1832, which would become the site of the institute.

Wake Forest Manual Labor Institute was born in controversy on December 12, 1833. By one vote, which was cast by the speaker of the state senate, it was granted a charter. The newly chartered institute was given permission to begin a program of schooling in Wake County, just outside of the state capitol of Raleigh. The institute was to train boys to be ministers and was to pay for its operation through tuition and farming (Paschal, 1943, p. 210).

Formed as a manual labor institute to train ministers, Wake Forest had trustees who were ambitious. The institute became a college on December 28, 1838. Thereafter, the trustees started an elaborate building program by using the personal property of trustees as collateral for building loans. The trustees believed that the way to strengthen the college was to increase its physical endowment. It should be noted that the growth of the institute, and later the college, was reflected in the enrollment, which exceeded capacity each fall after its opening. For example, during its first term of operation the institute was set up for fifty boys

but enrolled seventy-two (Paschal, 1943, p.71).

The effort to recharter the institute as a college afforded an opportunity to debate its merits. It was revealed during this debate that two professors were from the north. Feeling that a former resident of the north could neither encourage nor promote North Carolina Baptists' ideas and attitudes, a debate among Baptist leaders was initiated by ministers throughout the state. Throughout this debate, the trustees and president Wait held to a vision of an outstanding institution dedicated to disciplined scholarship and religious stewardship. This dedication led to the pursuit of scholars, regardless of efforts to discredit such individuals because of their previous education, area of residence, or religious affiliation (Paschal, 1943, p. 175).

The debate on the merits of the college received a great deal of attention in the Baptists' Biblical Recorder. Wake Forest College administrators deftly used this communication organ to change the focus from the merits of the college to the issue of the need for Baptist associations to start schools which would refer students to Wake Forest. This effort would ensure both the enrollment of Baptist students in the college and the strengthening of the associations (Paschal, 1943, p. 313).

In the years following the rechartering of the institute as a college in 1838, Wake Forest College received many gifts that enabled it to enjoy modest growth. A law school was established in 1873, followed by a medical school in 1903. The medical school was moved in June, 1941 to Winston-Salem, North Carolina as part of the North Carolina Baptist Hospital, another institution set up by the Baptist State Convention.

As has been shown, the development of an institution for higher education in North Carolina by Baptists was an enterprise frought with controversy. The essence of controversy involved the nature of the relationship between religion and reason. Though the college grew regardless of, or in spite of this controversy, the issues about college policies always seemed to be based on the question of whether such policies were mindful of Baptist tradition. When considering future presidents, it would be unthinkable to select a leader who neither understood the importance of these matters nor had the ability to deal with them effectively. The tension between faith and reason, which was at the heart of institutional policy issues, would take another twist that would later complicate the life of the institution. The twist which would develop many years later involved the movement toward a relationship of presumed control and ownership between the Convention

and the institution.

The college grew annually in enrollment and resources. During the period of growth following the Civil War, articles appeared from time to time in the Biblical Recorder which suggested disapproval of student or faculty behavior. Writers of these articles tended to identify events which illustrated their view that the college was inhabited by immoral people who promoted immoral ideas. However, there was a dramatic increase in the numbers of unhappy letters in the Biblical Recorder when the Rev. T.T. Martin, in 1922, published a pamphlet calling for college president William Poteat's resignation for teaching evolution (Paschal, 1943, p. 124).

President Poteat had been teaching evolution in his classes. Many of his former students had become ministers, and they, like Poteat, argued that evolution and Christianity were not in conflict. To calm the storm brewing as a result of the teaching of evolution, Poteat spoke at the 1922 Baptist State Convention, which was held in Winston- Salem. His sermon before the Baptist convention silenced opponents because Poteat mentioned nothing about biology or evolution. Rather, he gave a "confession of faith," in which he said that he had been commanded by God to seek the truth. He was given a resounding vote of confidence at the convention's annual

meeting (Paschal, 1943, pp.119-126).

Poteat argued that tenets central to the Baptist faith were those of free thought and personal revelation. He also argued that such free thought, if pursued genuinely in the name of God, would lead to God's truth, whatever the setting. Poteat concluded by suggesting that just as religious freedom was necessary for revelation, academic freedom was necessary for finding truth. And, the pursuit of truth should promote no less an understanding of God's world than did the freedom of the church (Paschal, 1943, p. 111).

Riding on the confidence in his presidency following the evolution matter, Poteat quietly negotiated an agreement which would guarantee that the convention would pay Wake Forest's debt, which had accrued over a number of years, in exchange for the right of the convention to have total approval over the selection of the board of trustees. This agreement would secure the financial condition of the college. Poteat apparently did not forsee any danger that the convention would impose restrictions on the college. However, the danger of restrictions would present itself in the 1950's and continue until 1979 (Scales, 1987b, p. 3).

The Poteat controversy had three implications which affected Scales' presidency. First, Poteat's stance on academic freedom became a standard which Wake Forest

representives were proud to uphold. Second, Poteat's presentation to the convention was apparently so stunning that the issue of faith being informed by reason was resolved for many Baptists. They were willing to allow a professor of evolution to remain as president of a Baptist college. Finally, Poteat's actions established a precedent for a closer relationship between Wake Forest University and the Baptist State Convention.

Poteat's behavior established a climate at Wake Forest College which would be inherited by Scales. That climate involved a special mix of academic freedom, institutional autonomy, and a constant tension between the church and school. The trustees who were part of the history of the college would seek a president who would maintain the climate Poteat had created and who would show an allegiance to certain beliefs of Christian higher education.

Poteat's arrangement with the Baptist State Convention leadership took on legal dimensions on March 25, 1946, when the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation offered Wake Forest College $350,000 in perpetuity if the college would move to Winston-Salem, keep its Baptist ties, and not change its name. Mr. and Mrs Charles H. Babcock offered 300 acres of the Reynolda estate to the college, land valued at $900,000 (Shaw, 1988, p. 53).

The negotiations that were necessary to plan to

move an entire college began immediately. There was general agreement that the offer of money was just too important for the long term health of the institution to be refused. The trustees provided a long list of good reasons for the move. They argued that the western part of the state needed a four year Baptist institution; that there were more Baptists in the western part of North Carolina than in the eastern part; that the University of North Carolina system was heavily endowed in the east; and finally, that the institution's financial future would be secure if the institution moved (Shaw, 1988, p. 38). The opportunity to move the college renewed arguments regarding whether the college was "more" or "less" a Baptist institution as a result of the Reynolds money.

A new generation of college opponents emerged when the college prepared to move to its new location, and they used many of the same arguments used by the original institute's opponents in the 1830's. Such arguments included the fear that the move would cause the college to become more secularized because its endowment would be partially from secular sources. Another argument was that the move would create a greater burden on the convention and, thus, would hurt its mission programs. These concerns aside, Baptist and college officials set about examining the possibility of the college's move to

Winston-Salem. The arrangement of funding with the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation included provisions requiring the Baptist State Convention to contribute to the college. At a special meeting in Greensboro on July 30, 1942, the Baptist Convention agreed to the move of Wake Forest College to Winston-Salem. The convention also took advantage of the old campus to establish a seminary, which purchased the old campus from the college in 1956 (Shaw, 1988, p. 62).

The move to the new campus required a president of unusual ability to maneuver among the often hostile constituencies of the college. Harold Wayland Tribble, the president of Wake Forest from 1950 to 1967, implemented the decision to move the institution to the new site. To achieve the goal of moving the college, Tribble had to dramatically increase funds, student admissions, and faculty size; and he had to manage the political issues within the Baptist convention. However, as Shaw (1988) wrote, "Nearly every group found something wrong with what he had done: the students, the faculty, the alumni, the preachers, and the laymen" (p. 175).

Tribble would have the tasks of relocating a college and reestablishing a certain climate on the new campus. The importance of this move and of Tribble's presidency to James Ralph Scales' leadership was twofold. First, Scales would have to maintain relationships with various

groups legally linked by the funding agreements. Second, besides the funding arrangements, the legacy of the Tribble years insured that the trustees would necessarily seek a more diplomatic personality, who had no history of association with the old campus. Scales' personal political history, his articulate presentation of ideas, and his personal warmth would provide the kind of change needed following the troubled years of Tribble's presidency.

Tribble's woes were many. For example, he had to endure an ad hoc committee of the trustees investigating an alleged lack of faculty confidence in his presidency. Also, when the trustees approved of student dancing on the new campus in April 1957, Tribble had refused to obey the convention's order to stop it. This issue led to a critical statement by the trustees that their will must prevail in college matters (Shaw, 1988, p. 123).

In 1960, Tribble had to defend a staff member, Russell Brantley, and the student publication The Student, whose writings caused Baptist leaders to demand that the administration exercise more control over publications on the campus (Shaw, 1988, p. 177). Finally, with student protests over the failure of the convention to approve non-Baptist and non-North Carolinian trustees, Baptists began to write in the Biblical Recorder that the convention should

withhold funds until a "more Christian climate is established at the college" (Shaw, 1988, p. 154).

Tribble's overall success, despite such serious problems as those noted above, can be measured by the increase in endowment, which rose from 10.5 million to 91 million during his presidency. Also, the student body doubled in size, and the faculty grew in numbers and stature. The annual budget grew from 1.5 million to 13 million dollars (Wake Forest Magazine, 33(1), p. 2).

Like so many of his predecessors, and like the president who would follow, Tribble constantly had to defend the college against the charge of hersey and ungodliness. Upon his retirement, newspapers across the state had headlines duch as "Tribble's Stormy Years are Over At WFC" (Raleigh Observer, 1966, n.p.). In brief, Tribble was able to move a college half way across the state, to endure many political battles, and to establish policies which promoted heterogeneity among students and faculty members who came from major metropolitian and rural areas across the southeast. But Tribble's policies and actions had created a hypersensitivity regarding Wake Forest and its relationship to the Baptist State Convention.

In an environment in which feelings about Wake Forest and its proper relationship to the Baptist State

Convention were volitale, at a time when competition for funds among the seven Baptist colleges founded by the North Carolina Baptist State Convention was fierce, and when state Baptist leaders were openly wondering about severing ties with Wake Forest, James Ralph Scales was selected as its eleventh president. In retrospect, it seems that Scales was selected to be president because his experience suggested that he understood and could deal with issues facing the college at the time. He had shown a commitment to both scholarship and to his Baptist roots. Further, he presented himself as a sophisticated, cultured, and attractive individual, whose deep, unwavering voice connoted stability and an air of importance.

It seems reasonable to suggest that Scales' personal and professional work history made him an attractive candidate for the Wake Forest presidency. As noted above, he had shown an understanding of the issues relevant to a Baptist institution. He had shown there were certain values which would not be sacrificed for religious dogma, as evidenced by his Oklahoma Baptist University experience. Using his ability with language to communicate the values he felt central to a college environment, such as academic freedom, Scales was able to provide a platform with a vision for higher education.

To work toward achieving his vision for a Baptist

institution, Scales brought the qualities of communication effectiveness, and value commitments to Wake Forest. These qualities would enable him to deal with two very different worlds. One was the world of faith and the other was the world of reason.

Scales' commitment to liberal learning, to scholarship, and to promoting the debate between faith and reason regarding the best way to live, parallels the historical trends in the development of Wake Forest College. Founded as an institute dedicated to a faithful daily life and to the challenge of seeking the truth in human affairs, Wake Forest developed as a college dedicated to scholarship and intellectual challenge. While life at the college often reflected the times, the college was committed to the idea of open, free discussion, whatever the issue. Scales, himself, was strongly committed to what he called the "open platform" in college life (Scales, 1968, p. 10). The values reflected in the history of the college were the same as those espoused by its new president in 1967. This reflection of ideas between institution and leader led to propitious times for both Scales and college.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The factors of leadership which emerge from a study of selected categories of events during the presidency of James Ralph Scales' tenure at Wake Forest University are (1) constancy of "fit" between Scales' style, values, and personal history and the style, values, and history of the institution; (2) an unmistakable commitment to the faculty as central to academic excellence; (3) a persistent articulation of the core values of an intellectual community through the manipulation of language; (4) a tolerance for situations requiring the management of ambiguity; (5) a presentation of a spirit of magnanimity and openness; (6) an active promotion of a climate of "possibility" through debate, personal initiative, and administrative policy; (7) a sense of humor and an attractive physical presence; (8) a habit of person centered rather than group centered communication; and (9) a willingness to take risks because of a basic trust ir the institution's resources. For the purposes of this study, it was necessary to compare these factors with those from selected leadership frameworks. This comparison reveals similarity with the frameworks of

Sarason, Bennis, and Keller, which will be explored in depth later in this discussion.

The factors central to Scales' leadership became evident through an examination of his behavior in selected situations. The situations studied were categorized into governance matters, faculty and curriculum development, student life management, administrative initiative, and personal habits and characteristics.

As has been explored above, the central question of governance during Scales' presidency was the degree of control the Baptist State Convention would exert over Wake Forest University. This was an issue which had been constant in the school's history. The problems between Wake Forest and the Baptist Convention largely stemmed from an assumption on the part of most North Carolina Baptists that the convention owned Wake Forest.

The issue of control reached a state of crisis following the trustees' refusal to return National Science Foundation funds and the visit of pornograher Larry Flynt. President Scales had to deal with the most crisis of his career; namely, the mounting pressure for the dissolution of historic ties between Wake Forest and the Baptist Convention of North Carolina.

There was an apparently unresolvable conflict between trustees and Baptist leaders, and due to

pressures from some trustees, Scales' role in dealing with the conflict was limited. However, his behavior in working to resolve this particular issue, as well as in dealing with related, difficult events, was to articulate the need to uphold academic freedom and academic integrity, to tolerate considerable pressure from others to initiate change in certain directions, to encourage civil discussion, and to remind all concerned that the institution was strong. These behaviors on the part of Scales were an effort to provide a language for debate and to use his role to remind others of the special nature of university life.

Both in his letters and public addresses during the years of greatest conflict with Baptist leaders, Scales' message was consistent. This message was that the institution would not compromise basic values and commitments. Scales articulated the centrality of academic freedom to the academic endeavor. He reminded various constituencies that no rule which had detrimental effects on the natural inquiry of students and faculty would be tolerated. Scales argued with Baptist leaders regarding the long term consequences of the appearance of the loss of academic freedom. Of most importance to Scales in this regard was that Wake Forest remain attractive to new, capable scholars. This would affect the quality of teaching and the stature of the

institution. Importantly, Scales sought to affirm the Baptist heritage and desired an avenue which celebrated the relationship between the the Convention and the University.

Scales (1987d) reports that his role was to facilitate the discussion which led to the opinion that Baptists did not own Wake Forest but that Wake Forest owed the Baptists a great deal. The "covenant relationship" between Wake Forest and the Baptists emerged because Scales was consistent in outlining the position of the university, while remaining open to an arrangement that served both the Baptists and Wake Forest.

This role of promoting the discussion of ideas was played out in the style with which Scales was most comfortable: personal, one-to-one communication. But even this role was be limited in the final hours of the Baptist - Wake Forest leaders' discussions, as key trustees instructed Scales to take no initiative or to communicate with Baptist leaders.

The role which Scales played during the Convention-Wake Forest relationship crisis indicates that Scales consistently sought to affirm insitutional values. This affirmation came through his articulation of the effects of possible actions on the academic environment. In the midst of this affirmation, Scales was ambiguous about his

choices regarding how to affect a given outcome; yet, he was quite certain about his desire for the discussions to yield the best possible results for the institution.

Despite the considerable ambiguity present during the ongoing debate between Baptists and trustees thoroughout Scales' presidency, particularly in the late 1970's, Scales did not suffer a paralysis that prevented him from undertaking initiatives in other areas. Scales established faculty and curriculum development as important priorities. For example, the new president was barely in office when he presented the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation with a proposal to increase faculty salaries, and he initiated discussions concerning the development of a fine arts center at Wake Forest. Also, early in his presidency, Scales initiated discussions regarding long term financial goals, which would take the shape of a major campaign to celebrate the 150th year of the institution.

Scales' initiatives reflected his commitment to faculty and to the liberal arts. These commitments guided his behavior as president, in that he sought to improve on what existed when he arrived. Further, these commitments were basic elements of his leadership, as he directed energies toward increasing faculty salaries and curricula options.

The selected events under faculty and curriculum

development included the development of the Babcock School of Business, endowed professorships, overseas study centers, and the fine arts center. In each situation, Scales initiated a discussion regarding the program at hand. Though he never insisted on a particular course of action, he was present to remind the faculty of the connection between a given program and the larger mission of the university.

Scales' leadership in curriculum development began when he inherited the Babcock School as it was forming. He encouraged the development of the case study curriculum and the recruitment of experienced executives as students for the program. The Babcock School of Management became a graduate program for students seeking a master's of business administration. Scales promoted the Babcock School through articulating its mission to the community and acting with a basic trust in its strength to develop and grow as a new school.

Scales repeatedly announced that outstanding faculty members were central to intellectual challenge. He invited the establishment of the endowed Kenan Professor of the Humanities and Reynolds Scholars chairs. In addition, he interviewed as many new staff members and potential staff members as his calendar would allow. This gave a sense of importance to faculty appointments and allowed him the opportunity to determine faculty

strength. Another measure of his commitment to the faculty is evidenced by the fact that whenever the annual fund raising campaign was initiated, he saw that a portion of the funds were earmarked for improved faculty salaries.

In words and deeds, Scales sought to improve conditions for faculty members. His actions resulted from the assumption that the curriculum and educational experience were only as strong as the faculty who developed and implemented curricular opportunities. Scales acted as if a strong connection existed between faculty research and teaching excellence. For Scales, the connection between research and teaching was in improving the general knowledge of faculty and, more importantly, in improving faculty critical thinking abilities. Both outcomes of research, improved knowledge and critical thinking abilities, promoted good teaching in his view. Excellent teaching also needed good facilities, in Scales' view of the academic setting.

The leadership factors reflected in his concerns about faculty and curriculum development illustrate Scales' commitment to faculty and to basic institutional values. Scales' expressed these commitments to faculty and expressed these values through his one-to-one communication with faculty members. Also, Scales' initiatives regarding funding for faculty and

curriculum reflect his leadership.

Within the first few months of his arrival on campus, Scales initiated discussions on the need for an art department at a liberal arts university, and he then acted to establish such a department. An arts commission was appointed by Scales to examine the needs of the fine arts at Wake Forest. As in other efforts in the area of curriculum development, Scales initiated and facilitated the discussion of possibilities, leaving the details to others to resolve. He promoted the larger connection between the mission of the university and the action of a department or program.

Scales' leadership brought about curriculum enhancements through the creation of two overseas facilities. He initiated discussions, mostly informal, about the possibility of overseas study centers for Wake Forest. The Casa Artom on the Grande Canal in Venice and the Worrell House in London are two thriving centers for students and faculty members all year round. To achieve the establishment of both overseas houses, Scales used various connections among government officials and alumni to locate funding and to create special opportunities for students and faculty members that were otherwise unavailable. The success of these ventures testifies to Scales' political astuteness.

Scales' behavior regarding the major events of his

presidency related to curriculum and faculty development indicate his personal concern for these matters. His personal initiatives, which were certainly in keeping with the nature of the institution, sought to improve opportunities for the academic community by using the strengths of the institution found among the alumni and faculty. The successes of the fine arts center and the overseas study centers, and the ideas they represented, were part of the Scales' effort to create a certain climate of "possibility" and to affirm the central values of the institution.

It was a difference of values among Scales, the faculty, and students that created trouble concerning student life during Scales' presidency. And it was Scales' behavior through these difficulities which illustrates a number of factors of his leadership. While student unrest was in part a result of the difficulties related to the Vietnam war, the Kent State shootings, and other national events, students had their own conflict with Scales over their belief that they should determine appropriate rules of social life. Scales exhibited an openness to listen to student protests and a tolerance for the airing of views very different from his own. There is little question that his concern over visitation rights was related to his attitude that pre-martial sexual intercourse was wrong.

He felt it wrong for Wake Forest administrators to endorse any policy which might be construed as supporting improper sexual behavior. But even concerning this issue, Scales articulated the value of freedom of debate, maintained a sense of humor, and sought avenues to increase student freedom in other areas.

Scales made himself available to students who were protesting and to students simply seeking explanations of administrative decisions. Critical events illuminating Scales' leadership in dealing with students include the protests against the Vietnam War, protests against campus social policy, and student demands to be part of the governance structure of the university. When students held an open forum to protest the campus visitation policy, Scales attended the discussion to provide a rationale for his policies and a direction for future discussions. When students demanded that Scales close the university on May 20, 1970, he listened and invited a group into his home to discuss their grievances. There he provided a rationale for not giving them what they wanted. However, Scales did promote the selection of a student trustee, which would give students a voice at the highest level of power.

A traditional avenue of power was afforded students when a student trustee was elected to the board. This trustee had the same rights as other trustees, to vote

and to discuss issues before the board. Scales challenged students to become involved and to speak their minds because he believed in an open forum on ideas. Paradoxically, Scales support of the open forum policy gave rise to one of the most significant historical events related to university governance during his presidency: a student sponsored debate between Larry Flynt and the president of the Baptist State Convention, Coy Privette, on the topic of freedom of speech.

Scales quietly liberalized social policy by opening residence hall lounges to opposite sex visitors, made chapel voluntary, and eliminated faculty chaperones at campus parties. Ever mindful of Baptist railings against Wake Forest student morality, Scales attempted a moderate balance between student demands for freedom and the maintenance of a heritage Scales believed important. Though he made important changes in student life, Scales considered this area of his presidency a relative disappointment.

Regardless of his evaluation of student life, Scales' openness, responsiveness, articulation of mission, and challenge to debate issues in civil ways certainly could be said to have moderated a climate which could have interrupted the academic life of the undergraduate college, even if just for a short time.

The same characteristics of openness,

responsiveness, personal communication; articulation of mission, and promotion of a specific campus climate were evident in many of Scales' administrative actions. He eliminated administrative group meetings with the president, preferring individual conferences to discuss problems. He referred to the presidency as "weak," in that he felt that the president should promote ideas, articulate a set of ideals, open his door to discussion, and respond to issues at hand. He did not believe that the president should control the faculty, assert his or her will over staff or faculty discussion, or impose a plan for the future.

Scales' attitude toward administration of the college was made clear upon his arrival, when he said that one should hire competent staff and leave them alone to do their jobs. It was Scales' belief that the president should promote administrative decisions by carefully delegating and avoiding the unnecessary meddling of the president in other people's jobs. But this attitude did not preclude his effort to be innovative and to take the initiative in dealing with problems. Examples of his initiating ideas in the administrative area include the establishment of the Ecumenical Institute with Belmont Abbey College in Charlotte, North Carolina, and the Board of Visitors; the rebuilding of Graylyn; and the management of the

problems related to the selection of his successor. By his own admission, Scales believed the details of such activities were to be worked out by others. He sought the avenues to transform initiatives into working realities.

The administrative attitudes and the events discussed above reveal Scales' personal characteristics which are intimately related to the leadership factors identified in this study. Noteworthy personal characteristics include his physical attractiveness, his articulate and responsive behaviors, and his warmth and openness.

Scales' behavior related to selected situations has been examined throughout this research in order to identify leadership factors present during his presidency at Wake Forest University between 1967 and 1983. Having identified these leadership factors, it is possible to address the second question of this research: Are these factors the same as those leadership factors identified by authors of selected leadership frameworks?

A comparison of Scales' factors with the leadership factors identified by Hersey-Blanchard, Fiedler, Sarason, Bennis, and Keller leads to the following conclusions. First, there are at best a few superficial similarities between the leadership factors identified in the Hersey-Blanchard and Fielder frameworks and those factors

identified in the Scales' presidency. Second, the comparison between Scales' leadership factors and those of the Sarason, Bennis, and Keller frameworks illuminates several commonalities and possible interrelatedness.

Factors from the Hersey-Blanchard Situational Leadership Model (1981) include leader task and relational behavior, follower motivation, and situational needs. In terms of the leadership factors suggested by this model, Scales' behaviors make him a "delegator," a leader with low task and low relational behavior. There is very little evidence that Scales attempted to direct the specific tasks of his immediate subordinates. He framed a situation by providing a vision of what could be. But by his own preference, he was a "hands off president."

Another set of leadership factors from the Hersey-Blanchard framework.involve the flexibility shown between relational and task behaviors, and follower motivation. Flexibility in this framework implies an ability on the part of the leader to lead in a variety of situations. While it is true that Scales used his position to lend importance to events and to individual's roles, his behavior cannot be said to be either relational or task oriented, or to be dependent on follower maturation or follower competency.

Similar conclusions can be drawn by comparing

factors in Scales' presidency to the Fiedler Contingency Theory. Fiedler (1972) identified factors such as leader-mentor relations, task structure, position power, and either autocratic or democratic style as being critical to effective leadership. These factors identified by Fiedler have little similarity to those factors identified during Scales' presidency.

Fiedler contends that the situation in which a leader and follower find themselves affects leader and follower behavior. This situation is defined by the characteristics of job responsibilities and leader use of a balance between supportive and power oriented behavior. Missing from this definition of situation are variables of worker and leader values, situation history, and overall leader-situation fit. There is less of a concern in this framework for engineering behaviors than in the Hersey-Blanchard framework; there is more of an emphasis on the selecting the leader with the appropriate style to the situation for a short term relationship between a leader and follower. Comparing the Fiedler leadership factors to Scales' behavior, however, poses an interesting contrast. Scales certainly had an open door policy, and he certainly sought the views of others. In this sense it could be said that he was "democratic" in terms of leadership style. It must be remembered that he valued the open forum as the crucible of idea

development, but such debate did not mean he would change his mind. In other words, Scales could act quite forcefully, like an authoritarian, when his values were challenged. It is, therefore, difficult to find much similarity between Scales' factors and those defined by Fiedler and to find any relationship between Fiedler's overall framework and the factors identified in Scales' presidency. There are no real, meaningful similarities in terms of factors when one makes a comparison between Fiedler's leadership factors and Scales' leadership factors.

A similarity of leadership factors does exist in Sarason's framework and Scales' presidency. Sarason identified factors of leadership as "settings," organizational history, core group, and organizational cycles. In a variety of ways, these factors are similar to those evident in Scales' behavior.

A setting is defined by Sarason as the working together of two or more people toward a common goal. This concept compares favorably to Scales' preference for one-to-one meetings with his subordinates. He understood that many of the people for whom he was now responsible had a history with the organization prior to his presidency and would have following his presidency. The ability of Scales to affect campus life and organizational health was related to the quality of the

relationship he had with all the constituents of the university, given their knowledge of the institution and their probable longevity.

Scales' proclamation, within months of his appointment, that there would be no changes in the organizational structure at Wake Forest meant stability for many individuals. It is difficult to prove that this promise of stability "bought" Scales a certain power base. The clear message to the institution was that he intended to work with whomever he had on staff. This attitude, along with his preference for individual sessions with staff, meant that they had his attention and he had theirs. Sarason's framework suggests that settings in organizations are important. Comparing this factor with Scales' factors of person centered communication and fit within the organization enables one to see the similarity between Scales' practice and Sarason's idea of setting.

A second factor, according to Sarason is the role of organizational history. Scales affirmed the history of the institution and of the individuals' whose roles had produced the particular qualities of the Wake Forest experience. For example, Scales declared at his inauguration that he intended to keep Wake Forest a "fortress of independent thought." Learning both the people and the place enabled Scales to facilitate his

own vision. For example, by connecting the mission of Wake Forest to the need for a fine arts center, Scales used a language which promoted the transformation of his vision for the arts into reality. Scales understanding of the history of place enabled him to ascertain the merit of promoting a graduate program in the late 1960's and early 1970's. This factor is also reflected in Scales' articulation of values, in his promoting a particular climate among staff and faculty, and in his trust of organizational strength.

Sarason identified a third factor, developing a core group who would support the leader. Scales' ability to form a "core group" at Wake Forest seems connected to the common values held among top administrators. Scales valued the open forum, the Baptist heritage of the school, a certain moral code of student behavior, a commitment to faculty as central to education, and a persistent articulation of the mission of liberal education. Scales believed that there was a common set of values among those closest to him. This common set of values established basic assumptions from which university officers could predict future behavior. The predictability of behavior and commonality of values meant that a real team could develop among a few top administrators.

An issue which Sarason felt significant in

leadership was recognizing organizational cycles. Scales viewed consistency and persistence over time as important. Though he never stated that he felt that institutions have a "cycle" of growth and decay, he certainly sensed that the period of time when his presence and his leadership benefited the institution had been completed. Regarding his early retirement from the presidency, he reflects, "It was time, that's all." There is evidence that some trustees had grown tired of his style. His call to students to challenge fundamentalism was falling on deaf ears. These elements suggested that is was "time" for a new voice.

Scales' leadership behavior can be understood in part by comparing Sarason's leadership factors with those of Scales' presidency. Sarason claims that social forces are elemental to influencing leader behavior, and he concludes that leadership cannot be engineered nor understood without exploring leader context.

Sarason's concern for context and setting provide interesting and useful descriptions of leadership factors. Implied in Sarason's framework of leadership is the notion that leadership is a fluid process, rich with interconnected and interrelated variables. However, there are a number of variables not explored by Sarason which have been identified in the examination of Scales' presidency. For example, Sarason does not address the

factor of a leader's physical presence or a leader's facility with language. Other similarities are found between Scales' and Bennis' leadership factors.

Bennis (1985), based on his experience in higher education, suggests leadership factors similar to those of Sarason. Bennis discusses the value of leader vision, values, social architecture, and communication transactions. Bennis believes that a leader can create a setting that dramatically alters the organization. Bennis' leadership factors have several similarities with Scales' leadership factors. Of particular note are the importance of creating a certain climate, articulating values, and communicating in a personally meaningful way.

Social architecture involves the climate created by a leader that either promotes a particular vision or blocks the transformation of a vision into a reality. That transformation depends on a well articulated vision and on transactions between leader and follower that compel action and create an investment in community. Central to all these factors identified by Bennis is the leader's intention toward achieving particular goals. This intention is revealed in his articulating a preferred future, focusing quality relationships on this preferred future, and promoting the values on which this preferred future is to be developed.

The future which Scales envisioned consisted of

the enhancement of what already existed at Wake Forest. Scales did not seek to radically change the curriculum; rather, he wanted to maintain high academic requirements. He, in fact, added depth to the curriculum through overseas study and the fine arts center. The vision which Scales promoted was that Wake Forest would be a place where students would confront the difficult questions of Western civilization under the tutelage of the best, most qualified faculty members.

As illustrated above, Scales' leadership promoted a certain vision and climate at Wake Forest. Bennis suggests that the promotion of a vision also requires creating a climate that allows for the translation of the vision into the work-day reality of the institution. Such a translation requires effective communication between leader and follower, which motivates individuals to work toward a common vision.

Scales personal biases for the arts, for international study, and for faculty research shaped his actions in creating and enhancing the growth of ideas. But in no sense did Scales enter Wake Forest with a "plan," a coherent vision of a future, or the intention to impose a blueprint for the future. But Scales did intend to create a certain climate at Wake Forest.

The climate created at Wake Forest by Scales was one that focused on openness, collegiality, responsiveness,

and community. Bennis defines this as controlling the social architecture. In this sense, the climate determines what can grow, mature, and find fertile ground in the institution.

Inadvertently, Scales' leadership created a climate that allowed for a somewhat entrepreneurial spirit among the staff. Scales hands off attitude allowed others to innovate. Other administrators had the freedom to effect improvements or change without the concern that the president would want to know the details. The president's concern would be expressed if new endeavors conflicted with larger mission concerns. For example, Scales would never support the law dean's efforts to raise funds that might detract from the undergraduate college.

An entrepreneurial spirit is one factor identified by George Keller as important in higher education leadership. Keller also suggested that leaders should be aware of the affect of their personality on the organization, should be strategic planners, and should be persistent in promoting the mission of the institution. Of particular concern to Keller is that a leader has a personality that allows for difficult discussion and aggressiveness if necessary.

Keller's view that higher education should be seen as a marketplace, with economic and political forces,

requires a leader who is comfortable being autocratic, who can harness time rather than letting time harness the organization, and who is open to risk taking through innovation. Keller is convinced that to survive in the higher education marketplace, a leader must be able to respond and act quickly to forces which will control a leader's future if these forces are not controlled by the leader.

There is in Keller's framework an interest in presenting leaders as powerful figures who set the pace for the institution. Keller suggests that the leader should be eager to cut through philosophical debates in committee and act according to the strategic planning process that is ongoing.

By contrast, Scales' leadership behaviors do not include detailed planning or autocratic decision-making. He was a risk taker regarding the institution's assets, though he was cautious about institutional risk taking. For example, he did not take a risk to develop an extensive graduate program but did take a risk to develop an overseas program. But the profile recommended by Keller is largely different from Scales' behavior.

Keller provides a prescription for future higher education leaders. The factors evident in that prescription do not serve as comprehensive descriptors of those factors evident in Scales' presidency. Two aspects

of Kellers's work may explain their inadequacy. First, Keller was writing about leaders who are needed to save marginal institutions and to enhance other institutions in a time when higher education may suffer major enrollment setbacks. Scales certainly was not president during such a time. Second, Keller's descriptions are not necessarily as useful to institutions that are well endowed like Wake Forest, which need to consider possible negative consequences of the type of leadership described by Keller for the 1980's. Wake Forest needed a president who acted as first among equals in order to reduce the residue of tension and distraction from the Tribble administration. A leader of Keller's profile for Wake Forest in the 1970's would likely have exacerbated tensions. Ironically, the possibility that different leader profiles may be appropriate for different times reveals something about leadership; namely, that leadership may be more than a function of leader factors, situational dynamics, and follower ability. Leadership may be connected to larger societal dynamics, which is an issue that extends beyond the scope of this research.

The identification of leadership factors from Scales' presidency and the comparison of these factors with those of selected leadership frameworks results in the following conclusions about the most popular and frequently cited leadership frameworks. First, there are

certain qualities of leadership, such as communicating effectively and committing to a set of values, which seem common to the different frameworks. Second, leadership is a complex phenomenon which requires an understanding of both leader and organizational history. Third, leader biases operate on the role the leader established in the organization; in other words, leader personality affects the leader's ability to achieve certain ends. And fourth, leadership should be studied as a phenomenon that has multidimensional, interrelated, and interdependent factors.

Scales' attitude toward leadership was that it is too romanticized in American culture. Scales' view was that crediting leaders for institutional accomplishments necessarily excludes many others whose work was essential to reach a goal. Leaders must rely on many individuals to reach any objective. However, the tendency is to present a leader as having accomplished a great many things which were not in his or her full power to achieve. There is also a tendency to validate leadership theories and to quantify cause-effect relationship in order to prove either leadership framework vitality or the vitality of a particular leader.

Much effort has been put into empirical validation of frameworks and into debate on the merits of particular theories. The assumption of these empirical measures of

leadership is that the phenomenon can be quantified. While this may be of some intellectual value, the revelation from this research is that leadership cannot be accurately measured, due to the phenomenological dimension of the leadership process.

This leadership study has not explored the attitudes of others toward James Ralph Scales or been concerned with the affect of personality as described by a particular theory on leadership effectiveness. Instead, this case study has used historical and biographical research methods to study selected events in the presidency of James Ralph Scales at Wake Forest University. Using a process of cross checking oral report with institutional, presidential, and personal records, a reconstruction of the past was possible. The purpose of this reconstruction was to facilitate the identification of leadership factors in Scales's presidency and to compare those factors with those identified in frequently cited leadership frameworks.

Future efforts to research leadership factors should use a multiple case study approach to ascertain commonalities and differences in factors that emerge in various settings. This would increase understanding of the role of settings in leader behavior and the effects of leader behavior on the setting. In addition to a multiple case study, future researchers should be

encouraged to use video and audio tape procedures, to more accurately study leader features and leader behavior during an interview. These multiple recording measures will improve the examination of the specificity of behaviors. A multiple case study across similar institutions and periods of time would add to our understanding of leadership. Another recommendation is to contrast leader behavior based on comparing events in the histories of similar institutions. Finally, this type of study can be strengthened by expanding the data sources to include interviews with individuals who worked with a leader in a particular setting.

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