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A Political Analysis of Collegiate Governance

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A POLITICAL ANALYSIS
OF COLLEGIATE GOVERNANCE

by

Leo Andre Zabinski

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Few individuals can sustain the effort needed to complete a dissertation without the support and assistance of others. I am indebted to a number of persons:

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My parents whose encouragement through the trials of three degrees has been constant, despite times when it appeared extremely bleak . . .

But foremost, to my wife, Mary Jane, without whose assistance, support, and love this document would have never existed.

<div align="center">Leo Andre Zabinski</div>

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

iii

---

                            iv

v

LIST OF FIGURES

vi

.

PART I

GOVERNANCE: A FRAMEWORK

1

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO COLLEGIATE GOVERNANCE

> On the one hand, the relation of the university
> to society is changing; on the other hand, the inter-
> nal constitution, the character of the university, is
> also changing (Kruytbosch & Messinger, 1970a, p. 9).

Faced with external pressures, internal dissension,

and unaccustomed public scrutiny, American colleges and

universities are in the process of a painful reassessment.

Nothing is sacred--tenure, teaching methods, curriculum,

building programs, indeed, even the role, the function,

and the structure of the college itself. Faced with mul-

tiple, and often competing forces, higher education has

taken what Grambsch (1970) calls "its nineteenth century

model and has driven it with high speed (p. 101)." He

goes on to suggest that "the old model is showing signs

of wear and tear" and that "it is time for some repairs."

Higher education has had no shortage of mechanics suggest-

ing what form the repairs should take; student involvement

(McGrath, 1970), joint faculty participation (Keeton, 1971),

collective bargaining (Howe, 1971), and even the demise of

formalized educational institutions as we know them (Dan-

iels & Kahn-Hut, 1970) are among the alternatives suggest-

ed.

The two commonly accepted models of governance in

higher education are as either a bureaucracy or a commun-

2

ity of scholars. The bureaucratic model emphasizes the downward flow of authority from a board of directors to the president and in turn to other administrative officials. Although this concept appears to serve American business and many aspects of governmental activity, it is difficult to provide for meaningful participation by faculty and students in university governance. As a result of this limitation, the bureaucratic model is increasingly rejected by those in academe. The collegial or community of scholars model emphasizes participation of the members of the academic community, especially faculty, in its management. It assumes that a unitary, or at least cooperative, atmosphere emerges because of faculty professionalism. However, increased militancy by both faculty and students, the emergence of faculty collective bargaining units on many campuses, and a general breakdown in the "ivory tower" detachment of academe from society at large, have left the community of scholars concept damaged, possibly beyond repair.

No permanent solutions to many of the current, multifaceted problems of higher education would appear to be effective until the basic structure of our colleges and universities, their governing/decision making processes, are altered. These alterations, however, must be preceded by a new method of conceptualizing exactly what transpires during the governing/decision making processes. It is the

breakdown of an effective governing process, with its accepted patterns of authority, that lies at the root of many of the disturbing phenomena in American higher education starting with the Berkeley disturbances in 1964.

A search has already begun for alternative conceptual models of university governance which might adequately reflect the pressures faced by higher education today. One such model is the "political model" developed by J. Victor Baldridge (1971 a & b) and tested or expanded by Richardson (1970) and Stam (1970). This multi-staged model centers around the policy making processes of the university. Social conditions are seen as promoting the formation of divergent values and interest groups; the interest groups articulate their views and attempt to bring their influence to bear. The multiple pressures that arise within the institution are reconciled into official policy; a definite commitment is made to this policy and execution begins. (A simplified version of Baldridge's Political Model is presented in Figure 1.) The model is "political" because of its focus on a "persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule, and authority (Dahl, 1963, p. 6)."

Needed: Further Governance Research

Despite the extensive published efforts of the last decade, the President's Task Force on Higher Education

(1970) continued to recommend that "serious attention be given to problems of governance (p. 17)." Specifically, the Task Force stated:

> We recognize as a high priority need of American higher education a carefully considered clarification of the functions of the constituent parts of the academic community. American society is changing and with it there are new interests and attitudes. These new interests and attitudes do not diminish but increase the necessity for effective and responsible methods of policy formulation and administration (p. 17).

In recent months, both the American Association of Higher Education and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators have echoed the concern for continued study of the governance process. In commenting on the studies to date, the latter association suggested that in spite of the gargantuan production in the last decade to clarify, or hopefully resolve, the problems of governance in higher education remain paramount (Appleton, 1971, p. 94).

The political model of academic governance is, as stated earlier, a new model. Whenever a new model is proposed, it must go through a period of amplification, application, and testing. To date, only a very few studies have been conducted utilizing the political model. As with many of the other studies on the governing/decision making processes in higher education, all of the research using the political model has focused on the problems of the entire institution. No one has attempted to apply this model to help explain the governing/decision making process

below the all-university level. In reviewing the political
model for The Journal of Higher Education, Corwin (1971)
saw the need for research on this problem when he discussed
the need to apply the model to concrete cases. We know
that the modern multiversity, because of its size and com-
plexity, operates in such a way that many important deci-
sions and policies are made within the individual academic
units of the institution. The current cry for further de-
centralization of the governance function within higher ed-
ucation promises to increase further the importance of
these sub-units in academe. This study will attempt to
illuminate this issue by specifically addressing itself to
the problems of whether Baldridge's political model concep-
tually explains the governing/decision making processes of
an individual college within a university. This study,
taken in conjunction with existing and future research on
the political model, hopefully will provide a new concep-
tual framework for governance in academe.

The Research Setting

A professionally oriented, undergraduate college at
a large, developing midwestern university served as the
research setting for the case studies which appear in Part
II of this paper. They are referred to simply as "the Col-
lege" and "the University" in this study. The case studies
illustrate the governing processes of the College; once il-

lustrated, these processes are analyzed in light of the political model developed by J. Victor Baldridge. The Dean, Associate Dean, and the Policy Council of the College authorized the development of this study and fully cooperated in its development.

Objectives of the Study

This study was concerned with the development of a conceptual framework or model to explain the governing/decision making processes of a collegiate unit within a university. Specifically, it addressed itself to the following question:

> Does the political model developed by Baldridge conceptually explain the governing/decision making processes of an individual college within a university?

In the course of addressing this question, (a) an overview of the governing/decision making processes within the College was presented; (b) several concepts of academic governance were reviewed and the development of the political model was traced; (c) the governing/decision making processes of the College were analyzed in terms of the political model; and (d) the implications of this research for academic governance were discussed.

The Case Study as a Methodology

The problem of determining whether the political model

can conceptually explain the governing/decision making processes of an individual college within a university was addressed by using a depth case study method. Although usually thought of in connection with an individual, the case study method has been used successfully in the past to study groups as large as entire communities (Seeley, Sim, & Loosley, 1963; Havighhurst, 1962). Underlying the case study method is the basic assumption that many of the organization's policies and actions have developed from its attempts to deal with important events and forces that were significant as "turning points" for the organization. The case study is a Gestaltist, or holistic, approach to understanding an organization rather than a segmented means of analyzing isolated aspects of organizational life.

The case study method has both advantages and disadvantages when compared to other research methods. The major disadvantage is the inability to generalize results to other "similar" organizations because no assurance can be given that the institution under study is representative. Because this study is the first attempt to analyze the governing/decision making process of an individual collegiate unit in terms of the political model and one of the few completed studies to utilize this model, the ability to contrast and/or to compare even generalized findings are limited at best. The final disadvantage results from the fact that portions of the case study are developed

from retrospective data which, for various reasons, may suffer from distortion. However, distortion can be minimized by obtaining several independent viewpoints of a single event.

A major advantage of the case study method is that data is collected over a period of time and thus permits an investigation of the dynamics of change. This is especially beneficial in the current study because a major advantage claimed for the political model is its dynamic character. A second advantage of the case study method is that it preserves the integrity of the unit under study. Thirdly, because of the de-emphasis on large samples, the case study method permits the researcher time to obtain detailed data on the organization under study. This is particularly appropriate when the problem under investigation is in an embryonic or exploratory stage. The fact that the case study method is usually dependent on several data gathering techniques utilized in combination is yet another advantage. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the case study method is carried out in the field where the researcher can gain a "feel" for the situation by actually "living among the natives." Given the nature of the political model, the advantages inherent in the case study method outweigh the disadvantages and make it a highly appropriate research method for this study.

Design of the Study

In constructing the case study in this study, several individual data gathering techniques were employed. Participant observation of regular committee and council meetings during the 1971-72 academic year were utilized. The major committees and councils of the College (the Policy Council, Graduate Council, Curriculum Committee, and Building Committee) met approximately seventy-five times during the observation period. Observation data is not empirically analyzed, but rather, contributes to the background and narrative data for the case study. Documents relevant to policy making in the College were examined to obtain further case study documentation. (See Appendix A for a list of the documents examined.)

A series of fourteen open-ended interviews were conducted with administrators and faculty of the College using an interview schedule based upon the one originally developed by Baldridge (1971a). Persons interviewed included all members of the College Policy Council, the chairmen of College committees, and other persons who were named by previous interviewees as significant in College decision making and governance. Interviewees received, in advance, the interview schedule to be followed, and interviews averaged approximately two hours in length. The interview schedule (see Appendix C) was developed by modifying the

Baldridge schedule to accommodate the collegiate focus of this study and differences in terminology appropriate to the University and the College under study. Additionally, some attempt was made to eliminate or modify questions found in Baldridge's interview schedule which appeared to be biased and/or leading within the current context. In order to further refine the interview schedule and to provide the interviewer with experience using the instrument, a series of pilot interviews were conducted with members of another professionally oriented, undergraduate college in the same university, who occupy similar positions to those found on the Policy Council of the College. Even with these modifications, the interview schedule remained essentially the one used originally by Baldridge. Data from the interviews was utilized in developing the narrative of the case study. Because of the open-ended nature of the data, no statistical analysis was employed.

Finally, each member of the faculty and professional staff within the College received a questionnaire concerning their views on the governing/decision making processes within the College. The instrument used (see Appendix G) was essentially the one developed by Baldridge (1971a) in his initial formulation of the political model. Minor changes were made in the instrument to make it more congruent with the collegiate emphasis of this study and to conform to terminology commonly used within the College.

No pre-test of the instrument was conducted within the framework of this study because the instrument remained essentially the one developed by Baldridge. The data obtained was utilized in the construction of the case study and in the subsequent "political" analysis of the decision making process described. Supporting data from the questionnaires was presented in percentiles, and chi-square tests were utilized in some instances to indicate whether the frequency of responses in subcategories varied significantly from the frequency of responses for all respondents. This was the method of data presentation found in Baldridge's study and facilitated some comparative observations where relevant.

The questionnaire utilized in this study was mailed directly to the homes of all faculty and administrative personnel of the College in late April of 1972. (See Appendix D.) A second, follow-up mailing of the questionnaire was made in May of 1972. (See Appendix E.) The official faculty mailing list of the College was utilized. Finally, a simple reminder letter was mailed to all faculty members which stated the deadline for returning the questionnaires. (See Appendix F.) Of the eighty-two questionnaires mailed, fifty-eight persons replied, six of whom requested that they be disqualified from the survey and fifty-two of whom completed the questionnaire for a 65% return of those eligible. This compared favorably

with the return rate for similar studies and exceeded the forty percent return Baldridge received when the instrument was first utilized. Data yielded by the questionnaire was analyzed by electronic data processing and incorporated in the case study as empirical verification.

Definition of Terms

Although Baldridge (1971a) attempted to focus on the major decisions made by the university and informally defined this as "governance," the distinction appeared forced and artificial at best. Therefore, although the present study focused on major decisions, as did Baldridge's, no attempt was made to operationally distinguish between governance and decision making. The terms "governing/decision making process," "governing process," and "decision making process" are used interchangeably. When used in this study, the term "policy" is defined in the commonly accepted manner: "a defined course of action (Stein, 1966, p. 1113) . . . ." The definition of any terms which are utilized in a specialized sense appears as appropriate in the text of this study. In the absence of a clarifying definition, the reader may assume terms were used in the standard manner.

Organization of the Study

In this chapter, the need for further governance research, specifically the application of the political model to collegiate level governance, was discussed. The case study methodology used in this study was discussed generally and then its application to the College was reviewed.

In order to fully understand the political model of governance in higher education, a knowledge of traditional governance models is necessary. Chapter II discusses the bureaucratic tradition in academic governance and Chapter III explores the community tradition in academe. Chapter IV details the recognition of conflict in higher education, the development of political thinking about academic governance, and the political model of J. Victor Baldridge.

Chapter V provides a brief historical profile of the College and the University that serves as its immediate environment. The following two chapters are case studies drawn from the College to illustrate the political processes of the College. One chapter centers on the alienation of the College from the University and the other focuses on the problems generated by one department in the College which attempted to achieve national recognition. Chapter VIII analyzes the political dynamics present in the College. The final chapter states the conclusions and impli-

cations of this study. The entire study is divided into two major parts: Chapters I through IV develop a framework for the study of governance, specifically the current study; Chapters V through IX, taken as a whole, constitute a depth case study in collegiate governance utilizing the political model.

THE BUREAUCRATIC TRADITION

The bureaucratic tradition in the governance of American higher education is neither an American innovation nor a copy of the later American business corporation as often thought; but rather, like so much of our educational heritage, the bureaucratic tradition has its roots in European history. Brubacher and Rudy (1968) pointed out that the bureaucratic pattern developed when the faculty guilds of the Middle Ages surrendered their autonomy to the Crown in exchange for royal charters. This acceptance of central authority was followed by the development of a lay board of control that delegated authority to an administrative head, as first seen in Calvin's Geneva academy. It was this model that quickly spread to Leyden in Holland, Edinburgh and Aberdeen in Scotland, and Trinity College in Dublin. By the time Harvard was established as the first American college in 1636, it was clear that the "correct" pattern of academic governance would include a legal authority exercised by a separate board of control and with power delegated downward through a president and in turn to others. This was not merely a theoretical power. Rauh (1969) pointed out that from the conception of American boards of trustees, "the enabling charter or legislation

16

gives the board of trustees full power to manage the institution (p. 13)." Henderson (1967) emphasized not only the absolute nature of trustee authority, but its legal basis when he stated that "governing boards of colleges and universities derive their authority from the law, and legally, the full and final control for an institution lies with the board (p. iii)." Rudolph (1962) and Brubacher (1971) have both pointed out that trustees have continually survived court challenges to both their legal basis and absolute control. This pattern of absolute control by the trustees with power delegated downward in colleges and universities resulted in what Howe (1971) characterized as a "recognizable bureaucratic hierarchy of administration, which can be represented by a diagram in the form of a triangle, more isosceles than equilateral (p. 128)." The basis of a bureaucratic pattern of governance had been firmly established in American higher education causing one critic to refer to American universities as a "simon-pure example of authoritarian government (Burns, 1962, p. 80)."

Delineation of the Bureaucratic Concept

The "legal rationality" and hierarchical nature of American academic governance are two of the cornerstones of bureaucracy according to Max Weber (1947). Other characteristics which Weber ascribed to bureaucracies included

concern for efficiency, formal chains of command and sys-
tems of communication, tenure, appointment to office, sal-
aries as a rational form of payment, and competency as the
basis of promotion. Blau and Scott (1962) enumerated the
distinctive characteristics of bureaucracies even more
clearly in their work on formal organizations:

> (1) Organizational tasks are distributed among the
> various positions as official duties . . . . A clear
> cut division of labor makes possible a high degree of
> specialization . . . (which) promotes expertness.
>
> (2) The positions or offices are organized into a
> hierarchical authority structure . . . . (But) the
> scope of authority of superiors over subordinates is
> clearly circumscribed.
>
> (3) A formally established system of rules and regu-
> lations governs official decisions and actions . . . .
>
> (4) Officials are expected to assume an impersonal
> orientation in their contacts with clients and other
> officials . . . .
>
> (5) Employment by the organization constitutes a ca-
> reer . . . . Employment is based on technical qual-
> ifications . . . . Remuneration is in the form of
> salary (pp. 32-36) . . . .

It certainly appears on the surface that colleges and uni-
versities fit the commonly accepted characteristics of a
bureaucracy and many authorities have made this argument.

Anderson (1963) argued that clearly the service units
of a university are bureaucratic organizations. He pointed
specifically to the business affairs of the university, the
admissions office, the student personnel offices, the li-
brary, and the public relations area as being bureaucratic
in nature. Anderson went on to analyze the research mis-

sion of the university and to conclude that bureaucracy is
well established in this segment of the university. Finally,
Anderson argued eloquently that even the instructional pro-
gram of higher education has succumbed to bureaucratic
methods. His predictable conclusion was that "the prevail-
ing basic organizational pattern of higher education is
bureaucratic (Anderson, 1963, p. 17)." Even that respected
observer of higher education, Algo Henderson (1960), has
recognized the bureaucratic factors involved in university
administration. Earlier, Selznick (1948), while not using
the word "bureaucracy," pointed to the university as the
"structural expression of rational action (p. 25)," and
then proceeded to delineate its operations in terms of
bureaucratic characteristics.

Etzioni (1961) analyzed various types of complex organ-
izations such as business corporations, military installa-
tions, prisons, and universities and concluded that these
diverse organizations shared much in common including a
bureaucratic orientation. In a more recent analysis Her-
bert Stroup (1966) compared university and governmental
operations, concluding that both represented forms of bu-
reaucracy. But, perhaps, Litchfield (1956) concurred with
this analysis when he stated that "administration and the
administrative process occur in substantially the same
generalized form in industrial, commerical, civil, educa-
tional, military, and hospital organizations (p. 28)."

The belief that universities can best be conceptualized as bureaucracies has clearly persisted in the decade of the 1970's. A staff report on governance submitted by the University of Indiana's Bureau of Institutional Research in 1970 concluded simply that "university organization is essentially bureaucratic (Sceiford & Wheeler, 1970, p. 3)." Ridgeway (1968) was moved to refer to the entire university enterprise as "the closed corporation."

Accountability and Efficiency

To many in our society the term "bureaucratic" has a negative connotation; however, Anderson (1963) pointed out that to professionals engaged in the study of complex organizations the term is "neutral." The eminent organizational psychologists, Katz and Kahn (1966), themselves no advocates of bureaucracy, stated that "bureaucracy is a rational social device for dealing with problems by legitimizing a role system (p. 103)." To Katz and Kahn (1966), "some structures of authority, some criteria for allocating it, and some rules for its exercise are among the common characteristics of all human organizations (p. 47)." Indeed, to some, bureaucracy is not just a neutral classification of complex organizations, but a highly efficient operational model that facilitates accountability.

A loss of public confidence in education generally, the fiscal crisis in most institutions of higher education,

and the sight of thousands of jobless college graduates
have combined to create a strong current sentiment for in-
creased efficiency and accountability in higher education.
Books with titles such as Efficient College Management
(Jellema, 1972), Emerging Patterns of Administrative Ac-
countability (Browder, 1971), and Return to Responsibility
(Dressel & Faricy, 1972) indicate that academe takes ser-
iously the need to respond to these new pressures. Effi-
ciency and accountability are quickly equated in many cases
with strong management and the bureaucratic tradition.

From whom does the cry for accountability emanate?
The loudest cry appears to be coming from the public, or
at least their elected representatives, and is in obvious
opposition to governance models that emphasize control by
the university's internal constituencies. McConnell (1971a),
in commenting on the relationship of accountability and in-
stitutional autonomy, stated that the "public will press
us even more insistently to justify what we do, to show re-
sults, and to use resources efficiently (p. 463)." As
public funds, be they from the state or federal government,
become increasingly necessary to the financial future of
higher education, it seems reasonable to assume that the
public will demand accountability through the model with
which they are most familiar--bureaucracy.

Not all of those who advocate a bureaucratic structure
in higher education represent the public sphere. Many fac-

ulty members and administrators also advocate a bureaucratic model for academic governance. Both Randolph (1961) and Keenan (1961) argued that universities should conform more to the bureaucratic model because of its efficiency. Burns (1966) summarized this viewpoint when he said "an individual executive, not a committee or board, is the most effective instrument for final decision making (p. 146)." Even those who in theory favor other governance models for higher education recognized that the faculty committee requires too much time to reach a conclusion in many instances (Pfnister, 1970). Beach (1968) has argued that increased faculty participation in governance may be impossible in the modern multiversity given the development of highly specialized administrative roles. Patton (1963) pointed to faculty indifference as an impetus to bureaucratic structures in higher education. Steiner (1961) suggested that the sheer size of the multiversity makes a bureaucratic structure necessary. Demarth, Stephens, and Taylor (1967) admitted weaknesses in the bureaucratic administration of the university, but, far from abandoning the tradition, suggested improvements. Thus, it appears possible to explain the continuing bureaucratic tradition in higher education by the simple belief of many that bureaucracy is the best, or at least, most feasible method of university governance. However, Veblen (1935) provided an early warning against putting too heavy an emphasis on efficiency

when he said, "This concept of efficiency puts a premium on mediocrity and perfunctory work, and brings academic life to revolve about the office of the Keeper of the Tap and Sealing Wax (p. 57)."

Modifications and Weaknesses

Two alternative explanations exist for the continuing bureaucratic tradition in higher education. Burns (1962) asserted that the American higher educational system has been made workable by subverting the bureaucratic facade our universities maintain, that much of the real authority, especially over curricular concerns, has been delegated to the faculty. In some institutions the by-laws even give the faculty autonomous control of specific areas. Ruml (1959) agreed that much of the board of trustee's authority has been delegated to the faculty, but argued that this trend should be reversed. Buchanan and Devletogolu (1970) concurred that only a reassertion of authority in the bureaucratic tradition by the trustees can solve the immense problems facing higher education. Another perspective of the bureaucratic tradition in higher education is suggested by the writings of the late Chester Bernard, a business executive who later served as President of the Rockefeller Foundation. Bernard (1938) felt that the authority of one person over another in any organizational context had to be given freely by the subordinate. This belief that a person

has only that authority over another granted to him was termed "acceptance theory." We need only consider the following recent statement by Martin Trow (1970) to discover that many freely accept bureaucratic control in higher education.

> The assumption that the faculty wants even more opportunities to sit on committees than they now have, that they require a multiplication of forums, reflects not merely an ideology of communitarian fellowship but . . . a fantasy at great distance from reality. Whatever may be true of a small section of student activists and an even smaller group of faculty sympathizers, the bulk of faculty and students have other priorities, other concerns (p. 42).

Williams (1965) made the point explicit when he stated that "authority in academic circles rests largely upon the consent of the governed (p. 3)."

While fully recognizing that the modern American university has several elements of bureaucracy and can lay claim to an impressive bureaucratic tradition, it must also be recognized that many elements of university governance can not be adequately explained on the basis of bureaucratic theory. The last decade has seen an increasing use of power based on nonlegitimate threats, the force of mass movements, and appeals to emotion and sentiment. Bureaucratic theory does little to analyze these new types of power, or even to fully explain power based on expertise, which can certainly be expected to be a issue in university governance. Secondly, the bureaucratic model emphasizes a static formal structure, but fails to explain the

dynamic processes of any organization. Changes in the organization over time are not explained in bureaucratic analysis, only the organization as it exists at any one moment in time. Finally, and most importantly for university governance, the bureaucratic model explains policy execution, but not policy formulation. The role of interest groups and the struggle for reconciling differing viewpoints has no place in bureaucratic theory. Baldridge (1970a) summarized the argument against bureaucratic analysis of academic governance when he flatly said that "the bureaucratic paradigm falls far short of explaining decision making in the university (p. 11)."

THE COMMUNITY TRADITION

Although the bureaucratic tradition appears to permeate the governance of American higher education, one should remember that a second great governing tradition has co-existed, or more often, been in conflict with the bureaucratic tradition. Prior to the time guilds of scholars accepted royal charters, they were autonomous groups with complete control over their own affairs. This represents the basis of the community tradition in collegiate governance, a tradition which dominated European higher education, but faced an endless struggle in this country.

Paul Goodman (1962) pointed out that historically the communities of scholars started with a single great thinker who "professes a truth he knows and a fascinated youth latches onto him and asks What and Why (p. 10)." As other scholars are attracted by the initial great thinker, the community of scholars developed. The development of the University of Paris around Peter Abelard in the twelfth century is an example of this phenomenon. These "guilds of masters" were self-governing, owned whatever property they accrued, and were free to pick up and move, as they occasionally did. After all, it was the scholars who "were" the university. This tradition has continued down to the

26

present in European universities. Mortimer and McConnell (1970) recounted a recent conversation with a member of an Oxford College who pointed to a spot in one of the quadrangles and remarked, "This is where the Fellows meet to settle most of the affairs of the college (p. 111)." Lord Robbins (1966), in discussing the Oxford and Cambridge of today stated that "they are syndicalist organizations—pure examples of producers' democrary (p. 69)." Surely, this represents a distinct counterpoint to the hierarchical authority of the bureaucratic tradition discussed in the previous chapter.

The community tradition of governance had a difficult struggle in this country. Burns (1966) suggested that so few well-educated and experienced faculty members existed in seventeenth century America that a comparison with the European model for colleges would have been inappropriate. Early American colleges were not centers of learning as much as educational outposts to train members of the cloth. There were some exceptions. Brubacher and Rudy (1968) pointed out that the founders of William and Mary kept the European tradition of a self-governing faculty more clearly in view. But even at William and Mary, the founding trustees took thirty-six years (until 1729) to carry out this provision of the charter and then reasserted their control during the Revolutionary War, never to fully relinquish it again. Rudolph (1962) accurately portrayed early American

faculty members as employees who were hired to teach in small institutions dominated by the influence of religious denominations. Pentony, Smith, and Axen (1971) reflected the situation in the mid-nineteenth century, stating that "faculty controlled their classrooms, but had a minor voice in the determination of college policies (p. 177)."

Schenkel (1971) indicated that when the influence of religious denominations in higher education waned in the 1870's and the 1880's, faculty might have established community control, but they did not. Instead, it was the emerging corporate model in the bureaucratic tradition that became dominant. Large donors and businessmen-trustees were strong advocates of the corporate model, while faculty members, still with little exposure to European higher education, were lethargic in advancing community alternatives. According to Veysey (1965), a few faculty members were concerned about advancing a community model, most notably being Alexander Winchell who, in 1878, called for "the faculty to have the sole authority to expend the income of the university (p. 392)," and Joseph Jastrow who, in 1905, called for a national meeting of trustees to relinquish their powers in favor of the faculty. However, the majority of faculty remained apathetic about their participation in governance well into the twentieth century. A national poll conducted in 1912, which Veysey (1965) cited, revealed that approximately 85% of the faculty sur-

veyed favored a greater degree of participation in university affairs, but not control over the university.

However, a series of factors, as reported by Schenkel (1971), were already in motion which were to promote faculty desire for community governance in higher education. The late nineteenth century witnessed an increased number of American faculty with degrees from the great German universities with a corresponding German influence on American institutions. The development, in 1906, of the Carnegie retirement plan for professors and the founding of the American Association of University Professors in 1915, provided individual faculty members with a measure of security and support. By the end of World War I, American faculty members closely resembled their European counterparts and, as Pentony, Smith, and Axen (1971) reported, began to chip away at the prerogatives of administrators and trustees. Once faculty participation began in earnest, it was to increase quickly and gain adherents. By 1942, Logan Wilson (1942) would be suggesting "a persistent correlation between the democratic organizations of the major institutions in this country and their educational eminence (p. 79)." The increased participation in decision making by workers and lower levels of management in business enterprises and the growth of unions helped create a democratic environment which further promoted community models of university governance. Recent years have seen an increasingly

large role in governance for American faculty as evidenced by McConnell's (1971b) observation that "one of the most significant changes since World War II is the great growth of faculty power, coupled with rapid faculty professionalism (p. 99)." The community tradition had brought forth American fruit.

Delineation of the Community Concept

Parsons (1971), in the process of analyzing academic organizations, made the observation that "the university, with its faculty members as the structural core, has come to be a notably loose kind of social organization (p. 489)." Perhaps, it is this looseness that makes it difficult to agree on a clear definition for the community concept of academic governance. Parsons (1971) spoke of "collegial associationalism" and assured us that it was "antithetical to bureaucracy (p. 489)," while later in the same article discussed the "symbiotic complementarity of faculty collegiality and administrative bureaucracy (p. 491)." Baldridge (1971b), in a critical discussion of community models, referred to it as an "ambiguous concept (p. 5)" and identified three basic thrusts in the literature related to community models: (a) descriptions of a collegial university's management which emphasize full participation of the academic community, especially the faculty, in its management; (b) discussions of the faculty's professional author-

ity and relationships among professionals; and (c) what
Baldridge considered utopian prescriptions of how the edu-
cational process should work. All of these approaches to
community tend to reflect the observers' personal attitudes,
and thus, an exact and generally accepted definition of
what community entails proves elusive.

A few writers (Anderson, 1963; Sceiford & Wheeler,
1970) have attempted to differentiate collegial governance
models from community governance models. Both of these
writers envisioned "community" as described by Millett,
while reserving the term "collegial" for what is basically
a bureaucratic organization with a multi-locus of authority
instead of a single chief executive officer. However, this
distinction is not supported in other literature on govern-
ance. Rather, the terms "collegial" and "community" both
are used to designate the company of scholars. The terms
will be used interchangeably in this discussion.

One of the earliest advocates of a democratic commun-
ity of scholars in America was the German educated testing
expert Cattell (1913) who, early in this century, attacked
authoritarian university governance as inconsistent with
American tradition and goals. The most well known advocate
in more recent years is John D. Millett (1962) who expressed
the belief that "ideas drawn from business and public ad-
ministration have only a very limited applicability to col-
leges and universities (p. 4)." To Millett, hierarchy was

an unrealistic and undesirable representation of the inter-

personal relationships which exist in higher education.

Millett (1962) advocated the concept of community and said

> The concept of community presupposes an organization
> in which functions are differentiated and in which
> specialization must be brought together, or coordin-
> ation if you will, is achieved not through a structure
> of superordination and subordination of persons and
> groups but through a dynamic of consensus (p. 235).

Millett (1962) elaborated that the "company of scholars

(p. 257)" exhibits good will, shared respect, common needs,

common commitments, and common aspirations. The collective

responsibilities of the faculty were seen as the selection

of members of the faculty, the determination of course of-

ferings and instructional practices, the rank of faculty

members, and the establishment of degree requirements. In-

dividual faculty members and faculty committees were en-

visioned as responsible for the evaluation of student per-

formance and of student fulfillment of degree requirements.

Anderson (1963) recounted a description of a communal

organization drawing on the work of sociologists and anthro-

pologists:

> (1) The solidarity bond is in a feeling of belonging
> together,
>
> (2) The group is the focus of social life, i.e., life
> itself; it has no specified purpose,
>
> (3) Communication is intimate and informal,
>
> (4) The relationships are personal; people are intrin-
> sically important,
>
> (5) The bases of the relationships are affective, emo-

tional (this is not the extreme 'disoriented' sense), non-rational,

(6) The group is relatively small; the members can know each other well,

(7) The group operates as a unit (e.g., sanctions, or 'social pressures,' are applied by all members in concert),

(8) There is less extensive differentiation (a) of roles, (b) of labor,

(9) There is 'more' tradition,

(10) Members cannot be self-centered; they are group oriented en toto (p. 15).

However, like Millett, Anderson emphasized the role of consensus in arriving at decisions with regard to both policy and operations.

The implication underlying consensus is that strongly shared and well-understood values unite members of the academic community. Administrators in the community tradition are conceived as colleagues of faculty members who operate on the basis of the same value system and move interchangeably between teaching and administrative assignments. At least two studies of respected researchers supported this concept of commonality in values. The analysis of Gross and Grambsch (1968) "gives no support to the contention that administrators differ so much in outlook from faculty members that the goals they emphasize when they have power, run counter to faculty interest (p. 107)." They argued that even in universities where the administration may enjoy dominance over the faculty, no real threat was posed

to the community interest because of the underlying shared values. Parsons (1960) seemed to support this by his contention that in formal organizations the problem of goal attainment has primacy over all other problems. Selznick (1957) even suggested that the major function of organizational leadership is to mobilize a working consensus about a set of institutional goals. However, despite the importance of shared values and goals, Rourke and Brooks (1971) indicated the desire of some for a "purer" academic community:

> The perennial dream of many an academician is that of a university run entirely by professors—a citadel of learning undisturbed by the presence of registrars, business managers, or even perhaps deans and presidents (p. 171).

The comments of Paul Goodman (1962) seem clearly in this vein:

> I am proposing simply to take teaching and learning on its own terms, for the students and teachers to associate in the traditional way and according to their existing interest, but entirely dispensing with the external control, administration, bureaucratic machinery, and excrescences that have swamped our communities of scholars (p. 168).

Whether real or imagined, perceived differences in academic values between faculty and administration created a crack in the academic community concept which we shall see later grew to abyssal proportions.

In recent years, an impressive group of authors have favored collegial governance patterns and endowed them with a variety of magical qualities to cure the problems of

higher education. In the late 1950's, Litchfield (1959), in a series of articles, advocated a vast reorganization of universities into "organic communities (p. 353)" and suggested this reorganization would advance the quality of education offered in higher education. The economist John Galbraith (1967) argued that in order for the university to serve the social interests of society without becoming subservient to any of them, the university must maintain its autonomy and that this occurs only if the company of scholars governs the university. Laser (1967) advocated community governance to make the administration more responsible. Singer (1969) argued for confidence/no-confidence votes for administrators by the academic community and assured his readers that such community rule would reduce campus disruptions. In his most recent book, Henderson (1970) supported a collegial system of governance and depicted it as being in "The Innovative Spirit." Duryea (1971) depicted a return to a community of scholars concept as the best method to solve the multitudes of problems besetting higher education. These representative endorsements of community governance reflect the strength of the concept within higher education.

Shared Authority

An underlying principle in the governance of higher education for many was expressed by Williams (1965) when

he stated

> Authority in academic circles rests largely upon the
> consent of the governed. Effective administration
> cannot take place without the whole-hearted respect
> and admiration of the faculty, individually and as
> a group (p. 3).

In recent years, the almost missionary emergence of systems
for "shared authority" can be traced to the belief in this
principle. Starting with the American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) statement of 1966 (American
Association of University Professors, 1969), emphasis was
placed on internal governance systems built on joint efforts by trustees, administration, faculty, and, to some
extent, students.

The AAUP statement was quickly followed by a series
of reports sponsored by the American Association for Higher
Education (AAHE) which seemed to have as their central purpose the exploration of the shared authority concept. In
the first of these reports (American Association for Higher Education, 1967, pp. 14-16), shared authority was represented as the mid-point on an authority continuum which
ranges from administrative dominance to faculty dominance.
The key to shared authority as defined by the report is
the opportunity for both faculty and administration to have
"effective influence" in the decision making process. In
interpreting the report, Mortimer (1971) noted that

> the concept of effective influence involves faculty
> participation relatively early in the decision making
> process and a recognition that there are some issues,

such as grading, on which faculty views should pre-
vail, and other issues, such as business management,
on which administrative views should prevail (p. 468).

The most recent AAHE statement on shared authority
(Keeton, 1971, p. 148) advocated a dual system, whereby
some decisions are agreed upon by administration and fac-
ulty while, within predetermined bounds, some decisions
are made unilaterally. The idea of unilateral decision
making, but within limits and with possible checks, was
developed more fully by Shimmel (1972) under the title
"conditional decision-making." The Keeton report still
preferred an academic senate as the primary vehicle for
shared authority, but with a realistic look over the shoul-
der, did not rule out shared authority through a union
agreement. Perhaps, the greatest contribution of shared
authority has been as a stimulus for individual institu-
tions to rethink their governance structures. The studies
done at Berkeley (Foote, Mayer, & Associates, 1968), Tor-
onto (Commission on the Government of the University of
Toronto, 1970), and Fresno State College (Deegan, McCon-
nell, Mortimer, & Stull, 1970) are excellent examples of
the hundreds of institutional studies on governance done
in the late 1960's, most of which advocated more democratic
procedures and greater involvement by various campus con-
stituencies. After all, democratic concepts are rooted
deep in American culture, and their inclusion in the govern-
ance patterns of academe is only natural.

In the face of this democratic wave, Dykes (1968) was moved to warn the academic community that "the quixotic perceptions of university government as pure democracy, manifested by many faculty members, can only delay the necessary changes (p. 39)." Rourke and Brooks (1966) pragmatically asserted that "if a faculty is to be influential . . . it must be able to decide as well as deliberate (p. 129)." However, most observers agreed with Presthus (1965) that shared authority was preferrable to the mock recognition given to faculty participation under traditional consultative approaches. Mortimer and McConnell (1968) were even more explicit in their condemnation of consultative approaches when they asserted that

> . . . communal or consensual organization is no longer, if it ever was, an adequate response to the conditions of size, scale and diversity of values which confront contemporary multiversities (p. 129).

The more traditional view, represented by Dodds (1962), that "once the president feels that all elements have been adequately explored, his duty is to decide and make his decision known (p. 73)," was no longer acceptable to many in academe.

McGrath (1971) asked the rhetorical question, "Who should have the power?" and answered, "All the constituent groups in the academic community (p. 204)." The answer appears to have been heard on the campuses; Mortimer (1971) reported over three hundred institutions were experiment-

ing with some form of university senate which encompassed students, faculty, and administration. As Huitt (1971) observed on many campuses, these university senates were conceived as legislatures with the exclusive power to enact policy. The next step in a logical progression would be for the internal constituencies to replace the external board of control. McConnell (1971) has already proposed that "faculty representatives . . . constitute from a fourth to a third of the voting members (p. 121)" of the board of control. However, attempts to eliminate external trustees may prove a futile effort. Tead (1957) represented what appears to be the predominate belief when he stated

> Trustees are, in the last analysis, holding the operation of education in trust as a public service. Every college has now become in fact a public agency; and it is required to gain and hold public confidence (pp. 23-24).

In light of this view, the real danger, discussed later in this chapter, is that public pressures may infringe on the internal affairs of the academic community.

A second principle upon which shared authority, and indeed, any community model rests, is the professional status claimed by faculty members. Blau and Scott (1962) concluded their analysis of professionals by observing that

> A final characteristic of the professionals is their distinctive control structure, which is fundamentally different from the hierarchial control exercised in bureaucratic organizations. Professionals typically organize themselves into voluntary associations for purposes of self-control (pp. 63-64).

They asserted that "every member of the group, but nobody else, is assumed to be qualified to make professional judgments (p. 65)."

Ikenberry (1971) pointed out that "professionals are not merely 'employed' by the organization, they also help shape the organizations of which they are a part (p. 428)." He enumerated the qualities characteristic of the work environment in colleges and universities as (a) demands for openness of communication and a related structural looseness; (b) a high degree of personal security among professionals; and (c) a high degree of decentralized authority and responsibility, including jurisdiction over goals and over resources, both human and material. McConnell (1971a) emphasized the ability to select colleagues in higher education as the primary professional characteristic of faculty. All of these characteristics reinforce the professional image of faculty members. Blau and Scott (1962, p. 60) hypothesized that professionalism, based on expertise in their own field, created a halo effect with regard to the faculty's ability to participate in collegiate governance. Whether as a result of a halo effect or valid professionalism, the presumed professional status of faculty, combined with America's belief in democratic procedures, have been the basis of shared authority in academic governance.

Weaknesses of the Community Tradition

For all its theoretical appeal, the community tradition of campus governance has suffered a loss of creditability in recent years because of a failure to meet external challenges and a breakdown in some of the assumptions that provided its basis. Some communities degenerated into oligarchies. Rational dialogue was ineffective in the face of massive institutional disruptions. Disagreements were advanced on who comprised "the community." Legislatures and boards of control failed to respect the traditional perrogatives of the academic community. And perhaps most damaging, the professional status of the faculty was called into doubt by increasing unionization. The net effect of all these factors was a disillusioned company of scholars filled with doubt about the future of collegial governance forms.

A major weakness of community governance, and one for which the members of the community must bear responsibility, is the tendency for dominant oligarchies to emerge. This phenomenon was explained by Caplow and McGee (1963) who stated, "The system works, then, by distributing power in such a way that anyone who is able to exercise it may do so if he chooses (p. 178)." Under this system, prestige, either disciplinary or local, is converted into authority by enlisting supporters with the result being an oligarchy.

Howe (1971) reported that "faculty body after faculty body is finding it relatively, often amazingly easy to turn its back on the image of professionalism in favor of the reality of power (p. 135)." Foote, Mayer, and Associates (1968), in discussing governance at Berkely, concluded that "there is a marked tendency for a relatively small number of faculty members to monopolize the membership of the most powerful committees and to rotate the chairmanships among themselves (pp.32-33)." Deegan and Mortimer (1970) analyzed committee appointments at the University of Minnesota and discovered that over a thirteen year period, only twenty percent of those eligible to serve on a faculty senate committee actually did so. The results of other studies at Fresno State College (Deegan, McConnell, Mortimer, & Stull, 1969) and Berkeley (Mortimer, 1969) verified the Minnesota findings. McConnell (1970) concluded simply that oligarchies tend to run faculty senates.

The major problem with faculty oligarchies is that they are frequently casual about their accountability to the general body politic. In discussing the faculty senate at San Francisco State College, Pentony, Smith, and Axen (1971) stated

> Not only was the Senate out of step with the total
> faculty, but it had for so long dictated faculty pol-
> icy that it was unwilling to turn to its constituency
> for direction. Blithely it believed it had power in
> and of itself (p. 181).

The literature reveals little answer to the problems of

oligarchies. Michels (1948) developed the "Iron Law of Oligarchies" which maintained that power elites are always present and will tend to dominate. Clark (1963a) maintained that the structure of faculty participation in academic governance paralleled that of societies at large and thus Michels' Law held for academic communities. Some writers have ignored these theoretical arguments and have reasoned that the problem of oligarchies would be solved if faculty governing organizations would simply involve the full faculty in important decisions (Pentony, Smith, & Axen, 1971). However, Schimmel (1972) decried the waste of scarce resources in the form of faculty man hours and asserted that "the idea of participation has become an academic octopus which threatens to ensnare us in its ubiquitous tentacles (pp. 88-89)." Whether inevitable or accidental, the emergence of oligarchies in academe casts doubt on the concepts of community and consensus advocated by Millett and others.

Pentony, Smith, and Axen (1971) struck at the heart of another challenge to community governance when they pointed out that "the mechanism of faculty governance, developed for rational legislative debate on educational policy (p. 181)," proved inadequate to manage student confrontations in a hostile political climate. This inadequacy became painfully obvious in the turbulent sixties. The underlying concern in many student disruptions was for changes in the forms and distribution of authority in the

community, or, as Kruytbosch and Messinger (1970a) stated,

> One way of understanding much of the current turmoil within the university, as well as about it, is to see that constituent groups are seeking new bases of legitimacy, the old bases having seriously eroded (p. 12).

Platt and Parsons (1970) found that under high stress, a collegial, influence-oriented social system tends to regress to relationships of power and to bureaucratic organization and administration. The community tradition had proved highly fragile in the face of changing environmental pressures.

Not all segments of the academic community accept the position that all constituent groups on the campus should share the power. Keeton (1970) summarized the situation when he indicated that "there is a pervasive feeling of disenfranchisement on American campuses today (p. 113)." Although McGrath (1970) has written an eloquent essay advocating sharing "the power" with students and Henderson (1961) earlier argued the educative benefits of student involvement, others seem less enthusiastic about the role of students in governance. Perhaps, they fear the admonishment of Wise (1970) that "in the 'zero-sum' game of campus power—someone must lose power if others gain since there is not likely to be more power to be divided (p. 133)." Bowles (1968) saw increased student power coming at the expense of the faculty, not the administration. Kerlinger (1968) argued that students lacked the legitimacy, competence, and ac-

countability to participate in educational decision making.

Other groups on the campus have had their credentials for community membership also questioned. Although Millett (1962) perceived academic administrators as colleagues of the faculty, this view seems subject to periodic questioning. On several large campuses, the role of the research associate has proven thorny. Dubin and Beisse (1967) referred to the teaching assistant as an "academic subaltern" and traced his efforts for recognition by other campus groups. Ikenberry (1971) recognized the claims of clerical staff and non-academic personnel to participation in campus governance by virtue of their membership in the campus community and as employees. The professional associations' statements on campus governance (Keeton, 1971; American Association of University Professors, 1969) make only scant reference to constituencies other than faculty and administration and no impetus toward revising these statements is presently apparent. The resulting in-fighting over who legitimately belongs to the academic community has not enhanced the community tradition.

Howe (1971) stated that "faculty are, in sufficient instances to constitute a trend, rejecting the traditional patterns through which supposed involvement in collegiate decision making has been provided (p. 136)." What they are turning to is, of course, unionization and collective bargaining. And, although the American Association for Higher

Education assured academe that the community tradition was broad enough to encompass collective bargaining (Keeton, 1971), the feeling persists that the rise of collective bargaining marks the end of the community model of academic governance. McConnell (1971b), in distinguishing between the attitudes of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), indicated that

> the division is between the principle of shared deci-
> sion-making and shared authority in community with
> common interests, as espoused by the AAUP; and the
> assumption of permanent conflict of interests between
> faculty and administration requiring confrontation,
> collective bargaining, and coercive sanctions, as held
> by the AFT (p. 109).

However, more recently, while still paying lip service to shared authority, the AAUP voted to pursue collective bargaining as a major tactic of the association (Jacobson, 1972). The reality of collective bargaining appears clear from the San Francisco State experience: "When the Senate associated with AFT it became just another group attempting to give advice (Pentony, Smith, & Axen, 1971, p. 184)." Fears for the future of the community tradition in this environment seem justified.

Several authors maintained that the real threat to community governance comes from external sources. Gross and Grambsch (1968) typified this view when they stated that

> . . . with respect to the relation between power

> structure and goal emphases, the dichotomy is not
> between administrators and faculty members: It is
> between the 'outsiders' (legislators, the state
> government, regents—who though technically within
> the university actually share little in its day-to-
> day life) and the academicians (pp. 114-115).

Ikenberry (1971) observed that "legislative and governing

board intervention has increased in matters largely dele-

gated to faculty jurisdiction in the past such as faculty

appointments, teaching loads, and tenure (p. 422)." The

almost legendary battle between the University of Califor-

nia and its regents (who often appear politically motivated)

is a classic example of external challenges to internal gov-

ernance by the academic community. Pentony, Smith, and Axen

(1971, pp. 185-188) characterized the efforts of the Cali-

fornia State Trustees as trying to reduce faculty members

to the role of employees. The state universities of Mich-

igan and Wisconsin both experienced attempts at punitive

legislation for student disruptions in the late 1960's.

The University of Texas faced an exodus of leading faculty

members because of decisions by its regents which struck

at the heart of community governance (Seman, 1972). Each

of these acts by external constituencies is a blow to the

community tradition of governance.

Faced with this impressive catalog of challenges, the

community tradition has proved vulnerable. Lunsford (1968a)

commented that

> a major effect of these changes has been to erode the
> informal relationships between administrators and

faculty members, relationships which engendered and
sustained the trust necessary for an easy exercise of
administrative authority, and which muted the poten-
tial conflict between administrators and academics in
the university of an earlier day (p. 12).

This decrease in trust among members of the academic com-

munity led to what McConnell (1971b) called "profound

changes in patterns of authority and influence (p. 98)."

Another governance model which would explain these changes

appeared necessary.

CHAPTER IV

THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS
IN ACADEMIC GOVERNANCE

As suggested in the preceding two chapters, the col-
lege campus was typically a turbulent place in the 1960's.
Partisan groups, as never before, were questioning the role
and function of the university as an enterprise. Whether
this questioning on campus was reflective of the wider con-
flicts in national society (Aiken, 1970) or simply the nat-
ural evolution of campus life, the net effect was a massive
concern for power and authority not previously witnessed
in American academe. McConnell (1971b) expressed the be-
lief of many that, especially in large institutions, "there
are few evidences of academic community (p. 100)." The
"socially-integrating myths (Selznick, 1957, p. 152)" that
had held the loosely coordinated university together began
to wear thin. Keeton (1970) pointed to "the legitimation
of disparate perceptions and judgments (p. 115)" in higher
education. A consciousness emerged that, instead of a
well disciplined bureaucracy or consensus-oriented commun-
ity of scholars, the university was composed of sub-groups
often in conflict. Conflict, a word long an anathema in
academe, suddenly appeared central in discussing the deci-
sion making processes of colleges and universities.

At the same time, theory in several social science

49

areas emerged which appeared to have application to the new patterns of collegiate governance. The sociological tradition of conflict theory, the dynamic quality of community power theory, and the informal groups approach of organizational theorists all offered new perspectives for a new situation. References to the "political" nature of the university began to appear more frequently. In 1968, Baldridge (1971a) wed these theoretical perspectives together to form what he called a "political model" of university governance. Baldridge's model no longer equivocated the existence of conflict in the university, but assumed conflict was a natural phenomenon whose study might provide new insights into university governance. Thus, the political model stands in marked contrast to the human relations school with its suggestion that conflicts are behavioral consequences of individual tensions which can be resolved through small group action, or the semanticists school with its assertion that conflicts arise largely from misunderstanding and lack of communication which opportunities for participation and adequate communication can do much to alleviate.

This new focus on conflict, pressure groups, and political analysis is surely troubling for many in academe who preferred the days when bureaucratic authority or collegial fidelity were accepted as logical and desirable, if not totally true. However, the fact is indisputable that

higher education has changed in the last decade or two. Taken in this context, the true value of the political model, as a conceptual tool to understand the changing processes of higher education, emerges.

The Growing Awareness of the Political Process as Reflected in the Literature of Higher Education

At this point in time, the idea of higher education as a political enterprise has been recognized, but has failed to gain wide acceptance. In this respect, higher education stands in marked contrast to the public school system. Inquiries into the political processes inherent in public schools are numerous. Gross (1958) investigated the pressures on and beliefs of school board members and superintendents. Master, Salisbury, and Eliot (1964) saw conflicting pressures on governmental units for money, making education operate increasingly in an explicitly political context. Eliot (1959) even delineated the political nature of the public schools in a highly respected political science journal. All of these reports had been written by the end of 1964, and by that time the political nature of the public schools was both recognized and accepted. The literature of higher education in 1964 was just beginning to admit to the presence of some political factors in academe.

Both the bureaucratic and community models of govern-

ance recognize that external forces may be in conflict
with the institution; but both models are grounded upon
the belief that internally a cohesive, unified acceptance
of common goals is present. The presence of internal dis-
sension (more unthinkably termed "conflict") within aca-
deme has usually drawn quick denunciations; however, start-
ing in the late 1950's, and then only in isolated instances,
the literature of higher education began to admit to the
presence of more than one unified voice within the univer-
sity.

As reflected in the professional literature, even
such a major constituency as the faculty began to appear
increasingly fragmented. In 1959, Litchfield (1959) noted
that "on most of our large university campuses our individ-
ual faculties tend to live in isolated proximity" and that
"certain faculties are developed at the expense of others
(p. 354)." Sub-units that are isolated from each other,
but in competition for resources, certainly appear unlikely
to accept common goals in every instance. Clark (1963b,
p. 126) further shattered the illusion that the faculty
was a collegial association when he identified four fac-
ulty sub-cultures: the teacher in the Mr. Chips tradition
who is devoted to his students and general education; the
scholar-researcher, typically a chemist or biologist, who
is totally involved in his laboratory; the demonstrator,
the vocationally oriented faculty member who shows his stu-

dents how to acquire a specific set of vocational skills;
and finally, the consultant, holder of a national or even
international reputation, who spends his time in airplanes
rather than in residence on the campus. The tendency for
faculty senates to be dominated by oligarchies (which was
detailed in the previous chapter) provided further evidence
that cohesion within the university had, at least, limita-
tions.

In what for 1963 was an extremely strong statement,
Mooney (1963) declared, "With academic power and operational
responsibility sub-divided, again and again, the image of
the university as an integral community progressively dis-
sipates (p. 49)." Clark (1963a) expounded on Mooney's
comments while in the process of arguing that the univer-
sity should be considered a federation rather than a uni-
tary structure:

> The multiplication of sub-units stems in part from
> increased size. The large college cannot remain as
> unitary as the small one, since authority must be
> extensively delegated and subsidiary units formed
> around the many centers of authority. The sub-units
> also stem from plurality of purpose; we have moved
> from simple to multi-purpose colleges. Goals are not
> only more numerous, but also broadly defined and am-
> biguous (p. 39).

That same year at Harvard's prestigious Godkin lectures,
Clark Kerr (1964) defined the role of the university pres-
ident as "mostly a mediator" among "power centers (p. 37)."
This implied not only that varying viewpoints existed in
the university, but that at least the potential for conflict

was present.

Starting in the mid-sixties, the campus was increasingly marked by student disruptions, often ending in violence; increased faculty militancy in the form of unionization, and even occasional faculty strikes; angry alumni refusing to support the alma mater; and harried administrators struggling to keep some vestiges of their former authority, during what was becoming briefer and briefer terms of office. The presence of dissension and conflict within higher education could no longer be ignored. Williamson (1965) pointed out that such controversial matters of university policy as whether Communist speakers should be allowed on campus, or whether discipline should be meted out to student radicals who have openly flouted campus rules are obviously affected by pressures, not only from the outside community, but from students and faculty themselves. Presthus (1965) analyzed administratively oriented faculty members who specialize in acquiring political and administrative skills.

The presence of conflicting viewpoints between faculty members and administrators seemed logical and easy to accept. Mortimer and McConnell (1970) concluded that

> In academic organizations, as in industrial research laboratories, tension or even conflict between those who esteem professional or scholarly competence and those who exercise administrative authority is the normal expectation. This conflict is the product of such factors as disparate roles and values, different reference groups, and different personal orientations.

> While the myth of colleagueship persists in universities and in some other kinds of organizations, there is almost inevitable tension between professionals and administrators (p. 127).

Lunsford (1970a) indicated the potential for conflict resulting from some university administrators who "feel obligated to reassert their own non-negotiable authority as living symbols of the institution they serve (p. 102)." Kerr (1964) seems to have foreshadowed this recognition of the conflicting conceptions of the university:

> The multiversity is an inconsistent institution. It is not one community but several--the community of the undergraduate and the community of the graduate; the community of the humanist, the community of the social scientist, and the community of the scientist; the communities of the professional schools; the community of all the nonacademic personnel; the community of the administrators. Its edges are fuzzy--it reaches out to alumni, legislators, farmers, businessmen, who are all related to one or more of these internal communities. . . . A community, like the medieval communities of masters and students, should have common interests; in the multiversity, they are quite varied, even conflicting. A community should have a soul, a single animating principle; the multiversity has several (p. 18-19) . . . .

Attention seemed to shift from a mere recognition of conflict to a more detailed articulation of the sources of conflicts in higher education and a concern for how to deal with conflict. Trow (1970) saw "conflicts arising out of differing conceptions of the nature of the university within the faculty and the student body (p. 27)." Grambsch (1970) pointed to four basic conflicts in higher education from which more specific conflicts sprung: (a) "the elitist syndrome versus mass education," (b) "graduate-

professional versus undergraduate-liberal arts," (c)

"teaching emphasis versus research and publication," and

(d) "land-grant ideals versus the ivory tower (pp. 103-

105)." Even that advocate of community governance, John

Millett (1970) was moved to admit

> As I have reflected about the value patterns and power
> conflicts which are prevalent within a university to-
> day, I have identified four major areas of concern.
> . . . I label these areas of concern as: (1) the in-
> teraction of professions and of professional educa-
> tion, (2) the tradition of liberal education, or of
> humane learning, (3) the expectation of academic af-
> fluence, and (4) the doctrine of institutional neu-
> trality in social conflict. (pp. 3-4).

A general assumption in higher education appeared to be

that conflict was fueled by faculty unionization, but

McConnell (1971b) observed that "even in institutions that

escape unionism and collective bargaining for a time, the

spirit of confrontation will intensify (p. 112)."

By the start of the 1970's, Mortimer and McConnell

(1970) were asserting that "the model of democratic govern-

ment . . . assumes there will be conflict (p. 129)." Kee-

ton (1970), long an advocate of shared authority, suddenly

advocated the acceptance of conflict in academe and warned

that

> Using a collaborative style of authority-sharing does
> not mean putting an end to conflict. It means con-
> ducting the conflict within a frame of reference of
> determination to work together toward joint achieve-
> ment--even if it is achievement of different aims (p.
> 116).

Clark (1970) discussed the changed nature of academe more

explicitly

> The new university is a conflict-prone organization.
> Its many purposes push and pull in different direc-
> tions. Its multiple principles of authority and
> pluralistic power structures make coordination dif-
> ficult (p. 23).

Some methods of coping with conflict within the uni-

versity began to emerge in the literature. Lunsford (1970a)

indicated that "one classic response to conflict between

specialties is a separation of powers and jurisdiction (p.

89)." The clamor for decentralization in universities

seems to have risen in direct proportion to increased con-

flict and in fulfillment of Lunsford's observation. Clark

(1963b), in discussing faculty reaction to these new ele-

ments, remarked that "the organization and authority of

faculty accommodate to these trends in at least three ways:

by segmentation, by a federated professionalism, and by the

growth of individual power centers (p. 44)." Dykes (1968)

indicated that the faculty typically views governance as

having a finite power potential, a zero-sum power game,

and act accordingly. If faculty were quick to learn the

tactical uses of conflict, administrators adapted with re-

markable dexterity. Lunsford (1970a) illustrated this new

dexterity.

> As long as the end being sought is a way to make things
> serve the best interests of the institution, whose wel-
> fare the administrators feel that they represent in a
> unique way, both legalistic maneuvers and openly ad-
> versary strategies against expressions of faculty or
> student opinion are felt to be justified (p. 97).

Howe (1971) reported on the dubious advantages of an adversary strategy: "Those who will not share their power willingly are likely to share it unwillingly--across the bargaining table, and with a professional union (p. 131)." Student personnel administrators devoted their entire 1970 convention to how to cope with "Conflict and Change in the Academic Community (National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, 1970)." Any chronicle of the nineteen-sixties would certainly indicate that students learned, perhaps too well, the tactical uses of conflict. Warnings were heard that the presence of conflict on campus would result in a loss of support from the larger public and in a serious modification of academic freedom (Mayhew, 1970). Despite the possible truth of these warnings, the most logical approach to conflict seemed to be enumerated by Trow (1970):

> The problem is not to find ways of escaping these disputes, which may be endemic in great universities, but rather ways of preventing them from assuming forms that are profoundly disruptive to the university, and to its capacity to realize *any* of the many missions which it is assuming in the modern world (p. 28).

If conflict within academe was inescapable, and the only real alternative was to learn to live with it, then a new theoretical conception, or model, was needed to explain the governance processes of the university. Various authors began to suggest that university governance could best be explained in political terms. Seldon (1968) saw a definite

analogy between the checks and balances of government oper-
ations and the interactions within the university. McConnell
(1971a) discussed the elements of the university acting as
pressure groups and constituencies in the classical polit-
ical sense. Hallberg (1969) envisioned a university con-
gress or legislature with each party vying for power. The
Study Commission on University Governance impaneled at
Berkeley (Foote, Mayer, & Associates, 1968) called for a
university in which politics and political participation
would be much more central to the life of the university.
In two separate articles, (Lunsford (1968b) warned that
"we have entered a turbulent period of _explicit_ 'status
politics' in the university (p. 556)," and that the uni-
versity could now be conceived as "a complex political-
legal system" or as a "private government (Lunsford, 1970b,
p. 335)." Ikenberry (1971) reported that Clark Kerr had
advocated considering the university as "a quasi-public
utility (p. 424)" for governance purposes. Corson (1971)
said simply that "the college or university must be recog-
nized for what it is--a political community (p. 437)."

In the same year, 1968, three men working independently
developed models of university governance which emphasized
the political nature of the modern university. Working on
a grant from The Hazen Foundation, W. Max Wise (1968) ana-
lyzed the governance of six liberal arts colleges and pro-
duced a monograph which, although not in formal model form,

conceptualized, in political terms, the governance of private colleges. In introducing his work, Wise (1968) commented

> The process of clarifying purposes and of securing
> support from interested parties for them (private
> colleges) is essentially political, because it involves careful analysis of the motives and interests
> of persons connected with the college and exercise
> of leadership in ways which express the purposes of
> the college and strengthen the commitment to them (p.
> 10).

Wise (1968) noted the myth that the college is above politics and stated:

> The history of U. S. higher education, however,
> illustrates that academic institutions are political
> in most senses of the term. External influence controls the sources of funds and affects the student
> clientele of colleges. Special interests of faculty
> are represented in the curriculum, in admissions policies, and in decisions concerning growth and development of the institution. Student interests are
> represented in the proliferation of vocational and
> preprofessional programs at the expense of liberal
> studies, in the maintenance of special privileges for
> fraternities and other social groups, and in the resistance to enforcement of social regulations which
> would restrict the freedom of the students to manage
> their own affairs. Alumni groups have often played
> a controlling part with respect to athletic policies
> and have protected the fraternity system against modification and improvement.
>
> Thus, academic government, while maintaining the
> fiction of being apolitical, actually operates on a
> basis similar to that of other human organizations
> because it is subject to the influence of interested
> parties who struggle for power to implement their own
> purposes (pp. 18-19).

Wise placed special emphasis on the fact that the modern college was operating in a political climate which required that influence and power be exercised to take account

of newly developed cosmopolitan forces. These forces made uniqueness more difficult, and further required awareness of the fact that certain traditional forms of internal association and of external relations, while recently modified, were still important. The influence system of the college was an important element in the political dynamics of the college according to Wise. Underlying his analysis was the belief that today even the small liberal arts college was a fragmented institution. The primary importance of Wise's study is probably not in its development of a political model, but rather in his use of political analysis to investigate the governance of small colleges. Many people had assumed, often with a note of wishfulness, that political factors were limited to multiversities, while collegial patterns somehow survived in small colleges. Wise's monograph appeared effectively to shatter that myth.

Julian F. S. Foster (1968), a political science professor and former Academic Administration Fellow of the American Council on Education, proposed a political model for the university analogous to the British governmental structure. The Board of Trustees was equated with the Crown, the college president with the Prime Minister, the alumni with the House of Lords, and the faculty and students were endowed with the advise and consent power of the American Congress, rather than equated with the House of Commons. Foster (1968) hypothesized that

> The legislative branch, whether Congress or faculty, itself tends to be uneasy about its relatively minor role in framing legislation, and often compensates by demonstrating an exaggerated concern for its own rights and privileges (p. 436).

In both cases, operations are often at a snail's pace and the rambling nature of debates is frequently a target for scorn. Foster's article was only nine pages in length, and thus a full exposition of his thoughts on governance was impossible.

Foster explicitly rejected the corporate or economic model, as he referred to it, for academic governance. To Foster (1968)

> The goals of higher education are more like those of politics than those of the corporation. There is no universal test, such as the ability to make profits, which the college must achieve in order to survive. Nor are there any sure guides to the best means of attaining any goal. (p. 442).

He found commencement addresses strangely reminiscent of campaign oratory, and the goals of higher education, like those of the political system, obscure, shifting, and often in conflict.

In Foster's analysis, the political system was seen as a mechanism for translating conflict into policy—either in the authoritarian tradition, where dissent is repressed, or by democratic means, where conflict is open and proceeds according to certain rules. Policy making in the university was conceived as following the same process. A university contains genuinely and permanently independent elements,

and thus, pluralistic power centers which are often in conflict. Foster (1968) stated that "power in the academic realm depends on the same sort of factors that determine its allocation in the larger sphere of domestic politics (p. 438)." The literature of higher education seldom makes this similarity explicit; indeed, the common tendency seems to be an attempt to obfuscate it. Unfortunately, Foster never developed his rather promising model to full scale proportions as did our last model builder, J. Victor Baldridge.

J. Victor Baldridge (1971a) spend the 1967-68 academic year studying the governance processes of New York University. Baldridge's efforts (initially articulated in the form of a doctoral dissertation, and subsequently published in a slightly revised form) represent the first full scale political model of university governance. Baldridge drew together several insights from various branches of the social sciences in developing his model. The final section of this chapter details Baldridge's model, its development, and the subsequent research utilizing his model. To date, it stands as the only full scale political model of academic governance.

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Baldridge's Political Model
of University Governance

</div>

Using New York University as his research setting, J.

Victor Baldridge (1971a), himself a sociologist by train-
ing, developed the first full scale political model of
academic governance shown in Figure 1 (Baldridge, 1971a,
p.22). Given the nature of his disciplinary training, he
quite naturally turned to the literature of conflict theory,
community power theory, and interest group theory for the
theoretical foundations of his model. All of these sub-
disciplines are closely related with the broad field of
sociology.

Conflict theory has long been a part of sociological
inquiry, and traces its origins to Karl Marx. Baldridge
noted that conflict theorists emphasize the fragmentation
of social systems into interest groups, each with its own
goals. The interaction of these various interest groups
often results in new conflicts. The application of this
thinking to the university enabled Baldridge to account
for the presence of conflict in academe and the dynamic
changing quality of the modern American university which
was being noted by the various observers cited in the pre-
vious section of this chapter.

America's other great domestic fascination in the
1960's, besides higher education, was the sudden realiza-
tion that our urban areas were in trouble and, perhaps,
ungovernable. Men emerged who were concerned with mapping
the distribution of power in any given community. These
community power theorists typically investigated the nature

FIGURE 1

A SIMPLE POLITICAL MODEL

Social Context Factors	What are the social conditions which promote the formation of divergent values and interest groups?
Interest Articulation	How do the interest groups bring pressure to bear?
Legislative Transformation	How are the multiple pressures translated into official policy?
Policy	Policy
Execution of Policy	Policy Execution

Feedback Processes:

The generation of new political conflicts

of power in the political system of the community, the role of interest groups in the political arena, and the goal-setting activities of the community, especially in cases where the goals were ambiguous, contested, and changing. With several multiversities the size of small cities, Baldridge's application of the community power perspective to university governance appears eminently reasonable.

Any formal group is the focus of both internal and external pressures designed to influence the group in the direction of a particular interest group. Baldridge reviewed the existing knowledge about interest groups in organizations such as prisons, industrial settings, and governmental agencies and concluded that the group processes in the determination of goals was similar from organization to organization. The extension of these insights to the university setting was viewed as only natural. Figure 2 summarizes the theoretical background of the political model according to Baldridge (1971a, p. 19).

Baldridge's actual model has five stages, all of which center around the policy-forming processes. According to Baldridge (1971a), policy formation was selected as the central focal point for his model because "major policies commit the organization to definite goals, set the strategies for reaching those goals, and in general determine the long range destiny of the organization (p. 21)." He went on to define policy as "not just any decisions, but

FIGURE 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE POLITICAL MODEL

Conflict Theory

(1) Conflict and competition

(2) Emphasis on change processes

(3) Role of classes and interest groups in promoting con-
flict and change

(4) Role of conflict in political decision making

Community Power

(1) Forms of power and influence

(2) Multiple centers of influence

(3) Interest groups and veto groups

(4) Goal-setting as a prime object of study

(5) Spheres of influence and study of specific issues

(6) Interaction of multiple types of influence

Interest Group Theory

(1) Influence of internal groups

(2) Influence of external groups

(3) Conflict and competition

(4) Divergent values as source of conflict

(5) Goal-setting activities

instead those that have a major impact, those that mold the organization's future (Baldridge, 1971a, p. 21)." The model attempts to address such basic questions as how the social structure of the university influences the decision processes, how political pressures are brought to bear on decision makers, how decisions emerge from the midst of conflict, and how determined policies are implemented.

The first stage of the model addresses itself to social context factors, more specifically, to an analysis of the social framework within which the political dynamics of the university occur. Baldridge (1971a) saw the social structure of the university as pluralistic and asserted that

> Rather than a wholistic enterprise, the university is a pluralistic system, often fractured into conflicts along lines of disciplines, faculty subgroups, student subcultures, splits between administrators and faculties, and rifts between professional schools. The academic knigdom is torn apart in many ways, and there are few kings in the system who can enforce cooperation and unity. There is little peace in academia; warfare is common and no less deadly because it is polite. The critical point is this: because the social structure of the university is loose, ambiguous, shifting, and poorly defined, the power structure of the university is also loose, ambiguous, shifting, and poorly defined (p. 107).

The formal bureaucratic system, differing value and subcultural divisions, and the external environment of the university all provide breeding grounds for divergent values and interest groups who are not reasonably prone to be in conflict. The promotion and emergence of conflict interest

groups within the university is the essence of the first stage in the model.

"Groups with conflicting values and goals must somehow translate them into effective influence if they are to obtain favorable action by legislative bodies (p. 23)," Baldridge (1971a) concluded. This process of interest articulation represents the second stage of Baldridge's model. Of concern in this stage of the model are the following: (a) the kinds of groups that develop in the social context of the university and how those groups are organized; (b) the trust orientation of these groups with reference to authorities within the university; (c) the goals of groups which attempt to influence university officials; (d) the resources available to influence groups within the university; (e) the responses of university authorities to interest groups; and (f) the interrelation of influence groups and authorities within the university with reference to what Baldridge termed "a cycle of conflict." Figure 3 illustrates Baldridge's (1971a, p. 171) Cycle of Conflict and Figure 4 (Baldridge, 1971a, p. 172) represents a graphic summary of the entire articulation process.

Articulated interests are translated by various dynamic processes into policies; these processes are the focus of stage three in Baldridge's model--the legislative stage. As Baldridge (1971a) commented,

Legislative bodies respond to pressures, transforming

FIGURE 3

THE CYCLE OF CONFLICT

The
unifying
issue

Bureaucratization
of conflict

Intensity increases:
moderation gives way
to radicalism

Mediation and
resolution

The issues expand:
from specific issues
to questions of
authority

Call for allies:
coalitions formed

Sanctions are
applied by all
parties
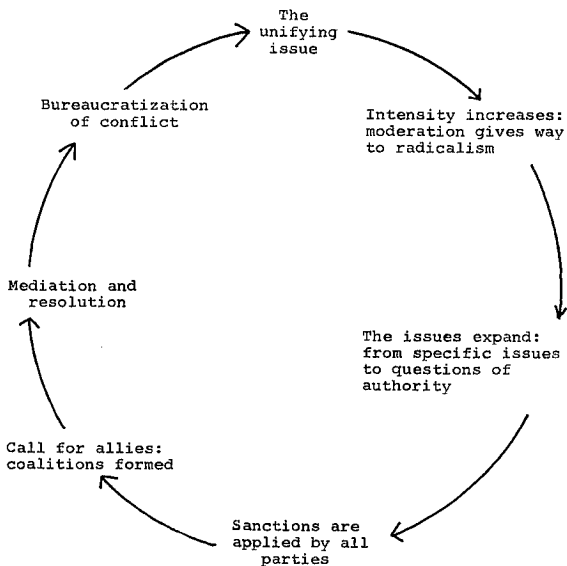
FIGURE 4

A GRAPHIC SUMMARY OF THE INTEREST ARTICULATION PROCESSES

Types of Groups	Group Goals	Resources and Tactics	Response of Authorities	Conflict Cycle
	Influence over			
Quasi groups	specific issues	Bureaucratic	Anticipatory re-actions before influence beings	Issues
	long-range goals	Professional	Changing deci-sions to meet demands	Radicalism
				Goal evaluation
Conditions promoting active interest groups	incumbents of offices	Coercive	Social control:	Sanctions
	the decision system itself	Personal	insulation	Alliances
			persuasion	
			cooptation	Mediation
			sanctions	
Anomic groups Partisan cliques Authority cliques Associations				Bureaucratization

71

> the conflict into politically feasible policy. In the
> process many claims are played off against one another,
> negotiations are undertaken, compromises are forged,
> and rewards divided. Committees meet, commissions re-
> port, negotiators bargin, and powerful people 'higgle
> and haggle' about the eventual policy. Not only must
> we identify the types of interest groups and the meth-
> ods they use to bring pressure but we must also clar-
> ify the translation process by which all these pres-
> sures are negotiated into a formal policy (pp. 23-24).

Although political scientists have long studied the legis-

lative process of government, their studies have been facil-

itated by the existence of a clearly defined legislative

body that meets regularly and holds public sessions. In

the university, no simple legislative body exists; the

legislative process occurs at a number of the multiple

levels present within the institution. In academe, the

executive and legislative functions often overlap. Bald-

ridge (1971a) noted that

> The university has a more diffuse legislative struc-
> ture than the state or national governments, or, to
> put it another way, the decision structures of the
> university are less differentiated than those of the
> government (pp. 173-174).

Faced with a vague, diffuse legislative process operating

at several different levels within any given university,

the researcher is reduced to determining who decides, what

is decided, and how it is decided. Figure 5 illustrates

the legislative stage of the model as Baldridge (1971a, p.

193) developed it.

The fourth and fifth stages of Baldridge's model are

devoted to the formulation of policy and the execution of

FIGURE 5

THE LEGISLATIVE STAGE

Who Decides?	What Are the Areas of Influence?	How Are Decisions Made?
(1) Authorities make binding decisions But . . . –there are many different authorities at different levels. –Many different people are authorities to some extent through committees, etc.	On most issues there are spheres of influence with different authorities having influence over different issues.	(1) Rational decision schemes give some insight but are generally quite limited.
(2) There is a scale of participation in decision making: –officials, –activists, –attentives, –apathetics. (3) The university is moderately democratic and the decision process is diffuse.	The consensus on domains may go down and conflict over spheres may result. This is a major cause of change in the university.	(2) A political decision model suggests that the following should be considered: –Attention cues that call attention to a problem. –The struggle over who is authorized to make the decision. –The political pressure brought to bear on authorities by partisans. –The continuing political process after the policy is set.

policy, respectively. Generally, these stages receive less attention and are less developed than the preceding stages of the model. Baldridge (1971a), in describing the formulation of policy, stated only that

> The articulated interests have gone through conflict and compromise stages and the final legislative action is taken. The policy is the official climax to the conflict and represents an authoritative, binding decision to commit the organization to one set of possible alternative actions, to one set of goals and values (p. 24).

The policy execution stage marks, in most cases, the formal end of at least that round of conflicts within the university. Typically, at this stage, officials routinely execute the predetermined policy; however, the execution of the policy invariably causes a feedback cycle, in which new interests, new tensions, and, ultimately, new conflicts are generated.

A broad overview of Baldridge's Political Model of University Governance reveals a complex social structure generating multiple pressures, many forms of power and pressure impinging on decision makers, a legislative stage translating those pressures into policy, and a policy execution stage generating feedback in the form of new conflicts. The model clearly conceptualizes the university as a political system--not merely as a quasi-political system or a system where political jargon is attached--but as a political system in the full sense of the word, complete with conflict and pluralistic power centers. Baldridge

outlined portions of his model in a slightly different
format, presenting in a series of articles alternative
models of university governance (Baldridge, 1971b); faculty
activism and influence patterns in the university (Bald-
ridge, 1971d); and images of future organizational change
(Baldridge, 1971e). Although the Baldridge model may be
far from perfect, it does represent the most detailed at-
tempt yet to build a model based on a growing body of
knowledge which conceptualizes the university, and several
other complex organizations, in other than bureaucratic or
collegial forms. Those who wish for a more perfect model
should be reminded that it was not until the mid-1950's
that Easton (1953 & 1957) was conceptualizing political
life, itself, as a system of interrelated activities.

Baldridge's model is the only political model of uni-
versity governance to prompt subsequent research utilizing
the model. Stam (1970) chronicled a radical student move-
ment at Stanford University using the political model and,
in the process, expanded on the interest articulation stage
of the model to include a more detailed analysis of conflict.
The relationship between the political model and Stam's re-
search is diagrammed in Figure 6 (Stam, 1970, p. 59). A
summary of this research was presented in a shorter version
by Stam and Baldridge (1971). Richardson (1970) used Bald-
ridge's Political Model to study the elevation of Portland
State College to university status. This research empha-

FIGURE 6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLITICAL MODEL
AND THE CONFLICT THEORY

| Political Model | Conflict Theory |

- Social Context — Stage 1: Background factors affecting Conflict Development
- Interest Articulation — Stage 2: Introduction of a stimulus event. A potential decision
- Stage 3: Mobilization of Partisans
- Stage 4: Cycle of Conflict
- Legislative Transformation (Policy formulation) — Stage 5: Policy Formulation
- Policy
- Policy Execution
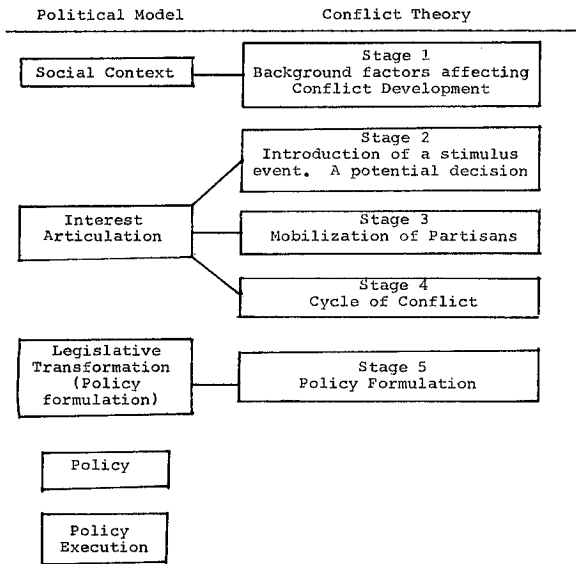
sized the first stage of the model, i.e., the social context factors, especially those in the external environment. Baldridge, himself, working through the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, has continued to work on the refinement of his model. One focus of this research has been the development of a series of propositions that link interest group theory, political attitude research, and tactical considerations into a theory of organizational policy formulation. To date, the only published account of this research links environmental pressures and professional autonomy within the university (Baldridge, 1971f). Additionally, Baldridge undertook a major field project in 1971 involving 18,000 faculty members and administrators in the United States. It was hoped that this research would provide reliable information about the political decision dynamics in a wide spectrum of colleges and universities; however, no published account of this research has appeared at this time. Several doctoral dissertations are also currently in progress under Baldridge's tutelage at Stanford University which examine other aspects of the political model.

In summary, it has been seen that conflicts within the universities mounted during the 1960's to the point where they could no longer be ignored or even equivocated. Political imagery was utilized increasingly to account for this conflict and to suggest ways of dealing with it.

Several attempts were made to suggest that the university was a political system, as opposed to a bureaucracy or a community of scholars. The most detailed political model of university governance was developed by J. Victor Baldridge. Both Baldridge and a series of his students have attempted to refine and expand the model. The remainder of this study is an attempt to determine if Baldridge's Political Model can be utilized to explain the governing process of collegiate unit within a university.

PART II

GOVERNANCE:
A CASE STUDY IN COLLEGIATE GOVERNANCE

79

CHAPTER V

THE COLLEGE AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

As stated earlier, the research setting for our case
study in collegiate governance is a professionally oriented
undergraduate college in a large developing midwestern
university. The college environment focused on in this
research is the university itelf. Prior to developing
the two illustrative cases in Chapters VI and VII, a brief
profile of both the College and the University will be
furnished in order to provide additional perspectives for
the case studies. The social structure factors related
to the College, which correspond to the first stage of
Baldridge's model, are analyzed in Chapter VIII.

A Brief Profile of the University

The fact that the University was chosen for inclusion
in Dunham's (1969) book, _Colleges of the Forgotten Americas_,
reveals much about the institution. The University is
clearly one of those "emerging" universities struggling to
escape from a provincial normal school tradition and achieve
a new identity. As opposed to a state university or land
grant university (e.g., the University of Michigan and
Michigan State University, respectively), the University
is a regional university designed to serve the needs of a

80

portion of the state. Although this regional conception may now stand in opposition to some institutional ambitions, it is an accurate reflection of the University's heritage and one of which the State Board of Education (1970) reminded its former normal schools in its recent State Plan for Higher Education when it said, "The locations of the four institutions have a bearing on the character of the educational program offered (p. 12)."

The University was given birth when the state legislature created on May 27, 1903, a fourth normal school in the state (Knauss, 1953, pp. 4-11). The State Board of Education decided that _____ State Normal School would be located in a growing community which, today, contains approximately 100,000 people. On June 27, 1904, the new school opened with a handful of faculty members and 117 students. In 1918, the State Board of Education authorized its new normal school to grant the Bachelor of Arts degree, and six years later, authorized the granting of the Bachelor of Science degree. The name of the institution was changed in 1927 to _____ State Teachers College. The depression years saw the production of teachers exceed the demand in the state; and, in 1935, a vigorous fight was necessary in order to save the institution from being forced to close. Even though the institution remained open, the depression period witnessed the State Board of Education instruct its teachers colleges to diversify their programs. Aviation

technology, paper technology, and increased concern for general education were embraced. Enrollment, after over forty years of operation, passed the 4,000 mark.

The University was renamed in 1955, and for the first time the institution's name no longer designated it as a teacher preparation institution. In 1956, the institution was divided into five schools, each with its own Dean. A legislative act designated the institution as a university in 1957. When the state constitution was revised, it provided that the existing public four year baccalaureate institutions have their own governing boards with responsibility for supervision of their respective institutions. This was another important step for the University because it removed the institution from the direct supervision of the State Board of Education. In 1970, the new University's schools were proclaimed colleges by its Board of Trustees.

Graduate programs were first launched in 1939, with a Master's degree for teachers in cooperation with the state university. The State Board of Education granted the University permission to offer its own Master's degree in 1952. A decade later, sixth year programs were offered and, in 1966, doctoral programs were authorized in a limited number of areas. Dunham (1969), in comparing the University to other former teachers colleges in a less developed stage, remarked that

What really sets _____ University apart from Emporia

> and Brockport, aside from sheer size, is the breadth
> and complexity of its many applied programs. It is a
> multiuniversity. A vast array of undergraduate pro-
> grams is at the base of 62 master's and 16 special-
> ist's degree programs. There is an Ed.D. degree of-
> fered, and Ph.D. programs have been introduced (p.
> 21) . . . .

The school's 1970-71 catalog proudly proclaimed that the
University ranks fourth among the state's institutions of
higher education in numbers of students, diversity, com-
plexity and level of programs. The original handful of
faculty and 117 students reached approximately 1,200 fac-
ulty members and 22,000 students during the 1970-71 aca-
demic year.

The University identifies its current mission as the
education of professionals and paraprofessionals to meet
the needs of the state. Although the College of Education
continues to be the largest college in terms of students,
the College of Arts and Sciences has by far the largest
faculty and thus dominates the faculty governing body. The
creation of a College of Fine Arts during the 1971-72 aca-
demic year provided further diversification. Lindquist
(1971), in a report on campus governance at the institu-
tion, noted that "the moderation maxim has marked govern-
ance (p. 1)" at the University. In its almost seventy
year history, the University has had only three presidents.
Certainly, these long tenures have provided institutional
stability for the University and are characteristic of the
subdued tone which marks the institution.

A Profile of the College[1]

The College is essentially an undergraduate college with a distinct professionally oriented curriculum. Graduate work is offered by the College, but is considered of secondary importance. The subject matter associated with the College was first introduced in the University in 1914, and a department (Department C) to provide a formal curriculum was created three years later. The curriculum attracted few students in the young normal school and budgetary allocations to support the Department were meager during the next three decades. However, the end of World War II saw an influx of returning veterans to the college ranks. These students were attracted to practical studies that resulted in solid occupational upgrading. In light of this sudden infusion of students, Department C, which was to grow to become the College, was reorganized and a new departmental chairman was installed. The new departmental chairman was to remain as the leader of the unit for twenty-five years and the future development of what was to become the College was to be intertwined with his subsequent career.

Although at the time of its formation Department C was thought of primarily for its two year programs and

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[1]Extensive use was made of the annual reports of the College. These reports are listed in Appendix A.

supporting subject matter for teachers, by 1953, fully sixty percent of the Department's students were enrolled in the four year professional curriculum. In recognition of this new emphasis, the State Board of Education authorized the University to grant a new undergraduate professional degree. The February 1953 graduation saw the first fourteen of the new degrees granted.

When the institution became a university in 1957, Department C became a school, one of five schools in the new University. Up until this time, Department C had been part of a loose amalgamation of departments called the vocational division. The change to "school" status involved little tangible change initially. The Head of Department C became Dean of the School. Another department, Department A, with its own Head, was created; it had twenty percent of the student enrollment and four instructors. Everything else in the School remained under Department C with the Dean continuing to serve as Head of the Department. The School had twenty faculty members, but the Dean was the only full professor and the only faculty member with a doctorate.

If the designation as a School resulted in little tangible change, it did seem to inspire its new Dean to create an entity worthy of the label. In what was to prove a faithfully followed blueprint for the next fifteen years, the Dean enumerated the following objectives in his <u>Annual</u>

Report, 1956-1957:

(1) The development of a Professional School of _____
which will rank qualitatively with institutions of
comparable size, resources and functional responsi-
bility to the community at large.

(2) The approval of the School of _____ by the
_____ (appropriate professional accrediting associ-
ation).

(3) The development of the staff to the highest pos-
sible professional levels.

(4) The organization of the School of _____ in keep-
ing with the accepted standards and practices in this
and other institutions.

(5) The acquiring of adequate physical facilities.

(6) The development of a Master of _____ Curriculum.

(7) The development of additional programs and areas
that are consistent with the capacities and responsi-
bilities of the School.

(8) The development of adequate library facilities.

(9) The development of a full fledged evening school
division.

(10) The development of a _____ Research and Com-
munity Service Institute (pp. 2-3).

The Dean also indicated that, in keeping with what he hoped

the eventual design of the School would be, there would be

five areas of instruction.

The following year the Dean of the School was project-

ing the future need for a Bureau of _____ Research, a

Conference Coordinator, and a Graduate Program Coordinator.

An overall Policy Committee for the School and a number of

subordinate committees were established. A third depart-

ment, Department B, with its own Acting Head, was created.

The 1958-59 academic year witnessed the School moving after twelve years in a war surplus temporary building to a "permanent" location in the former library building. During the 1959-60 academic year, the School established a Professional Master's Degree Program after approval by the State Board of Education in February of 1960. During the 1961-62 academic year, Departments D and E emerged as separate departments with their own Head. In 1963-64, the School had grown to over 8,000 student class enrollments with a full time faculty of 37 instructors, yet the Dean, in his Annual Report, 1963-1964, predicted that "the School is standing at the threshold of its greatest growth, quantitatively and qualitatively (p. 2)." Specifically, he envisioned a doubling of enrollment and at least undergraduate professional accreditation by the close of the decade.

The Dean's Annual Report, 1964-1965 established the major long term objective of the School as "to create an undergraduate school of _____ of such qualitative capacity that it will be recognized as a leader in the Midwest (p. 5)." Growth of the School continued on all fronts; the following year a _____ Research and Service Institute was created. By 1967, the School enrolled more graduate students than its parent department did total students in its first year of operation; in recognition of the importance of graduate study in the School, an Associate Dean was appointed with responsibility for coordinating this

area. The Dean's <u>Annual Report, 1967-1968</u> (p. 6) presented the "developed" organizational plan of the College shown in Figure 7.

Physically, the School had expanded, by 1969, from the old library building to occupying at least portions of three other buildings. The School now dominated the old campus that had been the initial home of the entire University, with the result being that the School assumed a "campus environment." During the 1969-70 academic year, the School received its goal of undergraduate accreditation by the professional accrediting association. Student class enrollments for the year totaled 21,244. In what appeared a fitting move, the name of the School was changed to the College of _____ effective July 1, 1970.

It is evident even to the casual observer that the development of the College owes a tremendous debt to the Dean, its guiding force for twenty-five years. He has dominated the College and its decision making processes during that period. A number of faculty members in the College indicated that until the selection of the present Associate Dean, no significant second in command existed within the College. The faculty of the College has not met as a body in almost two years. Although the College has an active Policy Council, all of its members are appointed, as are most committee members within the College.

The decision making processes of the College are evolv-

FIGURE 7

ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE COLLEGE
JULY, 1968
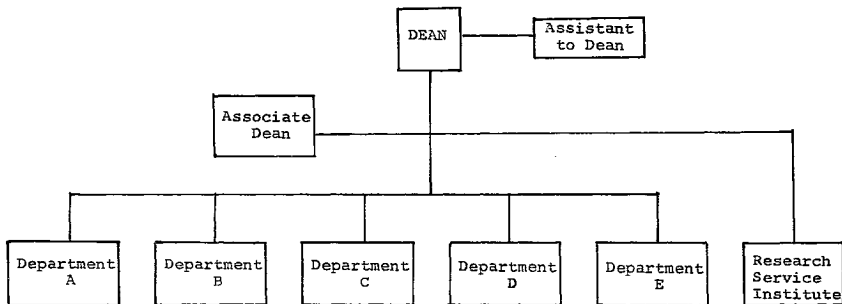
ing. The current Associate Dean's appointment was the result of a selection committee effort. The recent appointment of a Head of Department B was the result of a search committee effort. Both the Chairman of Department D and the Chairman of one area in Department C are elected leaders. It appeared that most, if not all, of the other department or area leaders would easily be elected by their faculty. In 1970-71, students appeared on College committees for the first time, although their method of selection would be abhorred by student power advocates. However, as might be expected in a professionally oriented college, both faculty and students exhibit a pragmatic acceptance of hierarchial authority that would raise waves of protest in more idealistic colleges of the University.

Little can and does happen in the College without at least the implicit consent of the Dean. The Dean's retirement is now a year or two away and that implicit approval is being granted in an increasing number of instances. One member of the College, when interviewed, voiced the opinion that "the Dean is phasing himself out." Although the organizational chart of the College has not been formally changed, the current Associate Dean is increasingly functioning as a line officer between the Dean and the departments, rather than simply as a staff coordinator of graduate programs. In viewing the College and its Dean today, the observer is left with the image of a parent who,

although proud of his offspring, is a little sad at the realization that it may now be able to survive, even thrive, on its own.

CHAPTER VI

ALIENATION: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
THE COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY

In discussing the social psychology of organizations,
Katz and Kahn (1966) pointed out that when high expectations
come in conflict with difficulties in communication and re-
stricted participation in a complicated structure of deci-
sion making, "It can produce . . . alienation among cer-
tain elements who see themselves hopelessly outside the
system (p. 470)." This appears descriptive of the rela-
tionship between the University and the College. Chapter
VI will explore the underlying conflict which is the cause
of this alienation in terms of the various stages of the
political model developed by J. Victor Baldridge (1971a).
Emphasis is placed on the social context factors, interest
articulation, and legislative transformation stages of the
model as was done in Baldridge's (1971a) original research
with the political model. The presentation is basically a
case study. Chapter VIII analyzes the political factors
related to this case study.

Social Context Factors

The College is physically separate from the main op-
erations of the University. The College and its predecessor

92

units have always been located on the original campus.
However, the years following World War II witnessed the
rest of the University's exodus to new buildings on another
nearby campus. Although the two campuses are contiguous,
the athletic facilities, a maintenance building, railroad
tracks, and a four lane highway form a natural barrier be-
tween the two campuses. As others moved off the old campus,
the College expanded into these older facilities; today,
the College occupies most of the original University's aca-
demic quadrangle. Its only neighbors on the old campus
are departments with relatively small enrollments which
fail to involve many students except those interested in
their rather limited specialities. No other dean or major
administrative official of the University is housed on the
old campus. Whether this physical isolation is the result
of the Dean's reluctance to leave proximity to what he con-
siders a "laboratory area" or the failure of the adminis-
tration to recognize the importance of integrating the
College into the University proper, the isolation remains.

Newcomb (1966) has well established the importance of
propinquity in establishing close relationships. In dis-
cussions with members of the College, it was evident that
this physical isolation resulted in little communications
between faculty in the College and other areas of the Uni-
versity. One faculty member, in referring to faculty on
the new campus, said, "I just don't know anyone over there."

Another faculty member, explaining why he was unfamiliar with faculty members in other areas, said simply, "We are geographically removed." Some members of the College are quick to equate propinquity with the competition for resources in the University. They feared that, by constant contact with the Academic Vice President, the Dean of Arts and Sciences had built a strong relationship with central administration. In commenting on this situation, one faculty member stated, "I bet he stops by there every day to put in his oar." Whether this situation is real or not, it is perceived as real; these sentiments and the lack of trust they reflect seem directly attributable, at least in part, to geographic isolation.

A second major factor in the social context of relevance here is the institutional identities of the University and the College. Although the University evolved from a normal school and professes pride in its applied programs today, the most dramatic growth of the last decade, in terms of faculty and resource allocation, has been in the College of Arts and Sciences. Approximately one-half of the University's faculty is assigned to that unit and it is allocated over one-half of the instructional budget. A separate College of General Studies exists with a budget rivaling the College focused on in this study, and a separate College of Fine Arts was recently created. The current institutional identity of the University is firmly

based on education and liberal arts. It is an institutional identity that is not surprisingly often at variance with the College's self-identity as an undergraduate professional school. Approximately two-thirds of a student's curriculum in the College is devoted to professional subjects. Although the remainder is technically devoted to the University's general studies requirements, the College has been successful in lobbying to influence these requirements.

When the faculty was surveyed on its attitudes toward the relative places of liberal arts and/or professional training in the undergraduate curriculum, 46.1% answered that professional preparation was the more important, or most important element in the curriculum. Another 44.2% of the faculty in the College believed that it was impossible to say which was the most important element in the curriculum; only 7.6% identified liberal arts as the more, or most important curriculum element. (See Appendix G, Section I, Question 2.) The educational philosophy of the Dean and faculty of the College seems at variance from the current thrust of the University and its central administrators.

Finally, the 1960's represented the greatest expansion period in the history of higher education, with the University and all of its colleges sharing in the "bull market." That the shares given to the various colleges were, perhaps,

weighted incorrectly did not matter; everyone was getting more each year. But 1970 witnessed, at least temporarily, the end of the bull market in higher education. Additionally, the state's economy suffered from an unemployment rate of over seven percent, the state's largest employer experienced a major strike, and state revenues were hard pressed to support higher education. Budget levels for state colleges and universities fell far short of request, and the Governor ordered a percentage return of even those sums allocated. The demand for teachers, which appeared insatiable only a few years earlier, suddenly evaporated. The University, with its historical reputation for teacher preparation, was especially hard hit. A number of "pink slips" were issued to faculty members in other colleges of the University during the 1971-72 academic year. In a memorandum dated July 3, 1972, the University's President informed the faculty that the budgetary crisis was continuing, even intensifying, and additional faculty members would be released in the future. Although the University has grown to be the fourth ranking state institution of higher education in terms of number of students, diversity, complexity, and level of programs, state appropriations have lagged behind. In a letter to the State Budget Director dated February 8, 1972, the President of the University pleaded for relief in the University's ninth ranking in state appropriations per student based on the Governor's

1972-73 net recommendations. This situation only tends to increase internal competition for the only too scarce dollars.

While some University programs have come upon hard times in the past few years, the College has continued to grow, or at least, to maintain stability. During the 1970-71 academic year, the College produced 21,126 student class enrollments at a cost of approximately seventy-three dollars per enrollment. This means that the College produced approximately ten percent of the University's tuition income while receiving only 7.5% of the instructional expense dollar. It appears that the College is supporting the instructional programs of other University units. The faculty of the College is aware of this in principle if not in detail. When the geographic isolation, the difference in educational orientation, and an apparent budgetary/enrollment imbalance are taken together, these social context factors provide a basis for the alienation of the College from the University.

<div align="center">

Interest Articulation:
"Our Fair Share of the Resources"

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The Dean of the College has consistently used his annual report to articulate formally his position on issues. The need for a building for the College and for "our fair share of the resources" are repeatedly raised in these an-

nual reports. In an effort to correct its perceived budget/enrollment imbalance, the College has actively sought growth. The feeling in the College is that even if the University adequately fails to appreciate professional education, increasing enrollments will force central administration to budget more resources for the College.

During the 1971-72 academic year, when it appeared that central administration was advancing a new building for the fledgling College of Fine Arts over the College building in institutional building priorities, the College acted to protect its interests. Informally, faculty members within the College utilized their personal contacts with members of the state legislature and senate to advance their building. Although he personally favored a building for Fine Arts, the President of the University eventually responded to the State Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman in hearing that if he could have only one building, he preferred the College building. It can be presumed that the University President realized this was the answer the Committee Chairman wanted to hear.

During the past year, the College has been active in promoting the establishment of a graduate professional school in another discipline (the Professional School) at the University. The College presently contains the embryo of such a separate professional school in Department C. One reason for promoting this school was to eliminate the

high enrollment classes associated with this discipline
from the College, thus advancing compliance with accredi-
tation standards. Informal contacts directed from within
the College have included luncheon meetings with a federal
government official, contacts with the City Manager's of-
fice, smoothing Faculty Senate acceptance of another new
college, and encouraging local professional associations
associated with this discipline to issue statements of
support. All of this was done on a strictly informal basis.

In curriculum matters, the College frequently uses its
ability to set degree requirements for its large student
population as a lever. It has consistently worn away gen-
eral studies requirements. During the 1971-72 academic
year, the College joined with representatives from other
"practical" disciplines on the University's Educational
Policies Council to actually reduce the University's gen-
eral studies requirements. The threat by the College of
no longer requiring a specific psychology course of its
majors effectively blocked an attempt by the Psychology
Department to increase the course from three to four hours.
At a May meeting of the College's Policy Council, repre-
sentatives of the Speech Department were explicitly warned
that if a service course taught for the College's students
was not scheduled more regularly, the College would teach
the course itself and ask that the instructional cost be
transferred from the Speech Department budget. The All-

University Committee on Undergraduate Education in their final report reacted to these and similar attempts to protect vested interests by commenting:

> Faculty also is vulnerable to the lures of provincialism. We were distressed, especially during the College-wide meetings we held throughout the University, by the strong, recurrent faculty desire to be left in peaceful isolation from the rest of the University (p. 2).

Although the Deans of the College are publicly supportive of the University and its central administration, faculty members of the College are frequently outspoken in their criticisms. When surveyed, 38.5% of the faculty felt that there were too many University standards. While 52% of the faculty thought the recent Committee on Undergraduate Education Report had value for the University, only 43% saw any value in the report for the College. While 78.9% of the faculty expressed confidence and 48.1% strong confidence in the leadership of the College, only 57.7% expressed confidence and a mere 19.2% strong confidence in the leadership of the University. Perhaps most startling, only a minuscule 5.7% rated the ease and readiness of communication between faculty and central University administration as good or better. In light of this lack of communication, it is not surprising that 82.7% of the faculty in the College felt that they had very little influence on University-wide policy compared to other members of the University staff. (See Appendix G, Section

IV, Questions 8-10 and 19-20; Section VII, Question 3.)

When a group of faculty members is frustrated at their ability to participate in the decision making process, they typically strike out in anger. The recipient of most of that anger is the President of the University. The following is a collage of that sentiment expressed during the 1971-72 academic year by dozens of faculty members in the College:

The problem has been the President.

He is making decisions like a man building a cocoon.

The administration has never said they want a College of _____.

He is not interested in the vocational area.

I have yet to hear him speak affirmatively about our program.

He has copped out in several areas.

He has reduced academic standards, paid too much attention to radical student groups, advanced the wrong priorities.

The President is autocratic.

The President is not a good administrator; he is a political appointee.

He refuses to see some Republican state representatives.

We would have 35,000 students now if it were not for him.

He has made another midnight appointment.

He is a pseudo-intellect and not a gentleman. The only reason we stay is the Academic Vice President.

Continued association with the University President also

seems to have its price as far as the College is concerned.
Although a former Head of Department C, who currently
serves as a vice president of the University, still holds
academic rank in that department, his name is missing from
the 1971-1972 College directory which was issued by the
College.

Legislative Transformation:
Decisions at Many Levels

If any proof were needed that a university is diffi-
cult to analyze as a bureaucracy, it becomes self-evident
when the question, Who decides?" is asked. In terms of
the issues which have alienated the College, the answer
to the question seems to support the concept of a plural-
istic power structure for decisions are made at various
levels. The method ised to make decisions is hidden from
public view and, usually, even hidden from most of those
in the organization.

It appears that the College's strategy of constantly
pushing their enrollment is starting to yield dividends.
Although central administration has not increased the Col-
lege's budget dramatically in the last few years, the Col-
lege has escaped the major budgetary cuts faced by some
other units within the University, and thus, their percent-
age of the University budget is beginning to creep higher.
It may be significant that the University President's memo-

randum of July 3, 1972, announcing the need to cut sixty-seven faculty positions included the statement that

> Across-the-board cuts cannot be made. Programs must be reviewed and staff reductions made in areas experiencing the greatest decline in student demand. Such review may well indicate that in some areas faculty must be added (p. 2).

If future University resources are to be allocated on this basis, it could signal future benefits to the College.

Many decisions which directly affect the College are decided by the state legislature. Powerful state governmental leaders such as the Chairman of the State Senate Appropriations Committee yield power not only over the budget, but over program development as well. When this state official phones the University President and asks, "Where are the plans for the Professional School," the response can only be affirmative. The imposition of a statewide accountability system and the right of the Governor and state legislature to deal with specific line items in a budget proposal, give these men ultimate decision making power over many areas. Generally, the College welcomes this state involvement, believing that fellow professional men in the state government will be more sympathetic to their cause than what they consider the ethereal judgments of the University President. During the 1971-72 academic year, the state legislature took action favorable to the College's position on both a new building and the development of the Professional School at the University.

The unwritten law of academe, that questions of curriculum are primarily the concern of the faculty at the departmental level, leads to a situation where an impressive array of University committees, charged with supervision of curricular matters, tends only to act out a pro forma role. When surveyed, none of the faculty in the College thought their departmental faculty was without influence over curriculum and 48.1% indicated they had high influence over curricular matters. (See Appendix G, Section V, Question 1.) This tends to explain the College's ability to develop a strong, professionally oriented curriculum and resistance to general education in the face of a University administration that is oriented toward the liberal arts.

Policy and Policy Execution

At the University, frequently definitive statements of policy are not made, especially when that policy statement would have a negative cast; "No" is generally not a popular word in academe, for it often strikes faculty as arbitrarily irrational. While no policy statement from the University administration ever refused a new building for the College, it was just that, for twenty-five years, something else always had a higher priority. Although the University President was reported, privately, against the formation of the Professional School at the University,

the University's public position was one of either muteness or foot dragging. Occasionally, University policy is changed before ever being formally announced as in the case this year of the number of faculty promotions to be permitted.

When policy statements are issed by the University, they are sometimes ignored or only given lip service by the College. In reference to a new University policy on departmental guidelines, the general sentiment within the Policy Council of the College was expressed during their meeting of January 24, 1972, by the statement: "Follow them particularly when it suits your convenience. They cannot supercede the procedures of this organization." At a subsequent meeting when the same topic was raised, the Dean stated, "I do not hold committees accountable; I hold department heads accountable." The College overwhelmingly subscribes to the view that "it is our responsibility to run _our_ College."

Although the College's record of accomplishing its goals is impressive, the alienation toward the University remains. The College feels it must fight for everything it gets and that results are accomplished despite the University administration, instead of with their support. The College has high expectations which are constantly frustrated by the feeling that it has little input into the decision making processes of central administration and

little opportunity to communicate their positions. Each exclusion from the councils of the University, such as this past year having no representative on the President's Advisory Council, further alienates the College and, ultimately, results in the College assuming an adversary role with the University on most any given issue.

COMPETITION: "THE DEPARTMENTS
HAVE BEEN LINED UP FOR WAR"

The major source of friction in a university, accord-
ing to Harold Hodgkinson (1968) is the problem of budget
allocation. The last chapter discussed the question of
budget allocation as one of the causes for the alienation
of the College from the University. Budget allocation is
also a major source of departmental competition within the
College. One member of the faculty graphically stated the
situation, "The departments have been lined up for war."
The basic alignment in the war, during recent years, has
pitted one specific department, Department D, against the
rest of the departments in the College. Although the war
has seldom been officially recognized, either within the
College or the rest of the University, the guerrilla tac-
tics utilized have certainly left scars on personal and
professional relationships which may be slow in healing.
In addition to budget allocations, questions involving
educational philosophy, instructional methods, and even the
authority structure of the College itself became issues in
the departmental war. All the departments have come to-
gether when it was mutually advantageous, in such specific
cases as working for undergraduate professional accredita-
tion and developing a program statement for the new College

107

building; but once these armistices were over, the war
was resumed. The cost of this war for the College in
terms of lost opportunities for a more unified and innova-
tive academic program may never be fully known. In this
context, J. Victor Baldridge's (1971a) admonishment seems
particularly appropriate: "There is little peace in aca-
demia; warfare is common and no less deadly because it is
polite (p. 107)."

Social Context Factors

In the mid-1960's, the College began paying increas-
ing attention to qualitative growth. In his Annual Report,
1966-1967, the Dean wrote,

> It is doubtful, at the present writing, as to whether
> our students have the opportunity to specialize in
> fields of _____ studies to the extent that they
> would have on a School of _____ level in universities
> and colleges which have specialized over the years
> (p. 2).

In order to meet the accreditation standards and bring
recognition to the School, quality, innovative programs were
needed. This was the direction being emphasized in the
same report by Department D which called for a re-evaluation
of starting salaries, teaching loads, library facilities,
research funds, and physical facilities "if our qualitative
growth is to continue, unhampered by serious shortages (p.
47)." Department D was advancing the right argument at the
right time.

Another factor which led to the departmental war was the close personal relationship between the Dean and the Head of Department D. A few years hence, the Dean was to appoint the Department Head to the newly created position of Associate Dean of the College, a position many assumed at the time carried rights to succession. This Department Head had joined the College in 1959, and had become the first Head of Department D when it was formed during the 1961-62 academic year. He quickly impressed the Dean with his academic ability by proposing, in his second year with the College, a new departmental curriculum which stressed applying knowledge from the behavioral and applied sciences to problems associated with the departmental discipline. In his **Annual Report, 1960-1961**, the Dean enthusiastically endorsed the new curriculum calling it, "the chief innovation, and the first of its kind at the University (p. 15)." It was only a faint shadow of what was to come from Department D in the future.

The organizational philosophy of the Dean and the way he developed the College contributed to the subsequent events in this case. Until the formation of the School in 1957, the Dean had exclusively controlled all budgets. After 1957, the Dean continued to serve as the Head of Department C, the largest unit in the School. It was not until the mid-sixties that these fledgling departments were in serious competition for resources; however, they quickly

learned the rules of the game. One faculty member indicated that the chief function of the department head was to "flag down all the money you can."

It was the Dean's belief, as he said in a recent interview, that "competent people want an environment of growth." Translated into terms of departmental organization, this means that outstanding faculty want outstanding colleagues with which to work, and, to create this situation in any given department, usually takes a massive infusion of budgetary support, generally over a period of several years. In a school, itself short of resources, budget resources become even more strained. Equity between departments is theoretically achieved by rotating this budgetary build-up among departments. The combination of needed qualitative improvements in the College, the close association of the Head of Department D with the Dean, growing departmental identities, and an organizational approach which stressed the development of "star" departments was to provide a backdrop for an escalated spirit of competition among departments.

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Interest Articulation: "National
Recognition Within Five Years"

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When the Head of Department D was selected to be Associate Dean of the College in 1967, the choice of his successor as Chairman of Department D was to prove the

impetus for a series of dramatic events. The majority of
the senior faculty members in the Department established
as their goal "national recognition within five years
(Annual Report, 1967-1968, p. 41)." The new Associate
Dean sold the Dean of the College on permitting the De-
partment to embark on a series of innovations in order to
meet this goal. A former faculty member who had been with
the Department from 1962 to 1964, was persuaded to return
as Chairman of the Department. The new Chairman's specific
charge was to develop an innovative program which would
attract national recognition. A departmental executive
committee would be formed--comprised principally of the
senior faculty--and they, not the Department Chairman,
would make departmental policy with the one exception of
the budgets. Both the change in title from Head to Chair-
man and the personality of the incumbent were to prove im-
portant.

The new Chairman developed a program based on several
new concepts from psychology and educational technology.
Emphasis was placed on having students work in a "meaning-
ful" environment rather than being taught about it. The
learning environment involved teams of students working on
"real" problems, usually submitted by groups outside the
University. Faculty members were envisioned as consultants
rather than teachers as traditionally defined. Student
evaluation was accomplished in a manner designed to en-

courage students to participate in as many appropriate experiences as possible. Students received so many points for each successful experience completed; peer evaluation and "earnings" from work on projects were also used in grading. Terminally qualified faculty members were recruited who would advance the Department's new program.

Reaction from other departments was predictable. These changes were seen as affecting them because their "departmental majors" were required to take nine hours of course work from Department D. Initial student reaction to the new program was negative, culminating in a petition which called for a change to more traditional instructional techniques. Faculty members in other departments told stories of massive alleged student cheating in the new program. However, even from the start, some students liked the new methods and began to question the techniques used in the other departments, thus antagonizing non-Department D faculty even more. The words of Eric Hoffer (1963) seem discriptive of the situation, "No one really likes the new (p. 1)."

If the value of these educational innovations were questionable to the other departments, the thought that they were being accomplished at the cost of budgetary support for their own departments was intolerable. Department A blamed their loss of graduate assistants on the cost of luring the new Chairman of Department D back to the Uni-

versity. In describing the growth of the faculty in the Department, one member of another department commented that "when _____ (Department D) needs support for faculty, the nearest place to get it is out of another department." The Chairman's concern for empirically based decisions and assertive style proved abrasive to others in the College; his initially positive influence on the College became negative. Whatever he favored, others automatically opposed, dismissing him as "a bull in a china shop."

Department D's budget was seen as "a novel" by other departments who heard rumors about flagrant line item switches and standard one percent annual increments in the previous years' line items even though they no longer had any relationship to Departmental activities. Even worse were the open comments of "private" bank accounts, off campus, which the Department controlled without supervision. Although no supporting evidence of these rumors was ever made public, faculty members in other departments typically accepted these comments as fact. "The rest of us versus Department D" orientation was adopted by many in the College.

In an interview during February of 1972, the Chairman of Department D retorted that:

> We have not taken resources from the other departments; they don't believe it. We spend our money radically different, utilizing technology and design. We teach

statistics for four to seven dollars per student.
But because that argument was usually not accepted by other
departments, Department D tended, psychologically, to with-
draw from the College. The Chairman stated the Depart-
ment's position as

> only attempting to minimize problems. We are not in-
> terested in being the best department in the College;
> our focus is national and professional. We ignore
> other departments; we compete for external resources.

Far from solving the Department's problems with the rest
of the College, this external focus was viewed as an addi-
tional abrasion. One faculty member of another department
stated, "_____ (Department D) is Arts and Sciences ori-
ented," and, in the College, that is not typically a com-
pliment.

Legislative Transformation:
The Cost of Innovation

One of Department D's innovations threatened not only
other departments in the College, but the authority struc-
ture of the College as well. When the Head of Department
D became Associate Dean, the senior faculty elected a Chair-
man. No provision existed in the College for this proce-
dure. Departmental leaders were responsible to and appoint-
eded by the Dean. A chairmanship carries the connotation
that he is responsible to and selected by faculty members.
The Dean continues to insist that all departmental leaders
are selected by and responsible to him irregardless of the

title they choose to use. This controversy which represents the classic distinction between bureaucratic and community traditions may ultimately have influenced the final decisions regarding Department D as much as pressure from the other departments.

Ultimately, the internal allocation of resources within the College of Business today, as it always has, rests with the Dean of the College. Not surprisingly, faculty members in the College attribute their Dean with high influence over everything connected with the College except student extracurricular activities. (See Appendix G, Section V.) But, as one faculty member in the College commented, in reference to the Dean's decision making power,

> What do you mean decision? The Dean has control, but at what price? Every time you use power, you pay. You can only use it so many times and then the cost becomes too high.

In the competitive resource environment which marked the College in recent years, 63.4% of the faculty surveyed in the College recently rated the extent of faculty participation in the development of budgets at the College and departmental level as poor or very poor, even though 71.1% indicated their own salary was good or very good. (See Appendix G, Section IV, Questions 2 and 4.) Unhappiness with resource allocation seemed the chief faculty complaint, for 74% felt that the faculty had at least moderate influence over general policies of the College, with only 32.7%

and 19.2%, respectively, rating faculty involvement in the determination of academic policy for the College and the development of the College building program as poor. (See Appendix G, Section VII, Question 5; Section IV, Questions 5 and 6.)

A principal cost of the innovations in Department D may well be indicated by the fact that only 32.7% of the faculty in the College rated the ease and readiness of communication between faculty in the College as good or better. Ironically, in view of the efforts of Department D to receive national recognition, the faculty of the other departments rated their colleagues as uniformly competent. Based on a review of departmental reports for the last five years, the quantity and quality of scholarly work by the faculty seems approximately uniform between departments. Nor did the departments differ appreciably in their gener-ally good rating of the College's undergraduate program. (See Appendix G, Section VI, Questions 8, 11, and 13.) If Department D had achieved its goal, the rest of the Col-lege generally chose to ignore it. However, one senior faculty member in another department indicated, "The _____ Department turned us around in terms of program; I do not think it would have happened without Dr. _____ as a catalyst."

The cost of innovation had been high in terms of fac-ulty friction within the College. Despite the denials of

Department D, it had also been costly in terms of the College's financial resources. Figure 8 shows that, although Department D produced only twenty percent of the class enrollments for the College, it received twenty-six percent of the College's instructional budget during the 1970-71 academic year. This appears to have been accomplished at the expense of Department C, a department of which the Dean continues to serve as Head. A further irony is that other departments appear to receive budgetary support approximately in line with their credit hour production. But in the world of departmental competition and resulting attitudes, reality may be less important than perception.

Policy and Execution

At the January 10, 1972, meeting of the College Policy Council, the Dean complimented Department D for their innovative efforts. However, he called for a review of their program in light of experience; specifically, he raised the question of whether the same approach (consultative or course work) was valid for both Departmental majors and the service course needs of other departments. During the spring of 1972, four of the five senior faculty members in Department D were reported interviewing for positions at other institutions. During June, 1972, the Chairman of Department D announced his resignation. He was replaced with a member of the Department whom several viewed as

FIGURE 8

COMPARISON OF CLASS ENROLLMENTS PRODUCED
AND DEPARTMENTAL EXPENDITURES FROM THE
GENERAL FUND BY DEPARTMENTS IN THE COLLEGE
1970-71

	% of College Class Enrollments Generated (1)	% of General Fund Expenditures for College (2) (3)
Department A	20%	21%
Department B	19%	20%
Department C	23%	17%
Department D	20%	26%
Department E	18%	16%
	100%	100%

(1) Based on the College's Annual Report, 1970-1971

(2) Based on the University's Financial Report, 1970-1971

(3) Excludes General Administrative Expense of the College

more moderate on curriculum questions. Future budgetary
emphasis in the College appeared to be shifting--this
time toward building a stronger Department E.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF GOVERNANCE
IN THE COLLEGE

The two preceding chapters provided illustrative ex-
amples of the governing/decision making processes of the
College. Conflicts over the level of financial support,
educational philosophy, and instructional methods were all
apparently present. However, were the decision making
processes of the College political in nature--did they
"fit" Baldridge's political model? This chapter analyzes
these processes against Baldridge's formulations. As in
Baldridge's (1971a) research, emphasis was placed on the
first three stages of the model--social structure factors,
interest articulation, and legislative transformation. The
statement of formal policy and its subsequent execution
are not considered to be uniquely different in the politi-
cal model and, thus, not treated. Reference will be made
to Baldridge's (1971a) findings at New York University and
to conditions in the College.

Social Context Factors

Inherent in the formation of Baldridge's (1971a) model
was the belief that

rather than a wholistic enterprise, the university is
a pluralistic system, often fractured by conflicts

120

> along lines of disciplines, faculty sub-groups, stu-
> dent subcultures, splits between administrators and
> faculties, and rifts between professional schools
> (p. 107).

The social structures of a university or a college is con-
stantly shifting and poorly defined, thus making analysis
difficult. However, Baldridge chose to focus on three
elements: the formal bureaucratic system, values and sub-
cultural divisions, and the external environment.

Within a complex organization, the political dynamics
are greatly influenced by the network of official struc-
tures, commonly called the bureaucracy. Units in the
bureaucracy are differentiated and, when they are in direct
competition, conflicts arise. Chapter VI showed that the
College was in competition with other colleges in the Uni-
versity for support, both in terms of resources and morale;
and Chapter VII recounted the direct competition between
departments in the College. The fact that levels of an or-
ganization can be in conflict often transforms a bureau-
cratic structure into a political system. Cleavages be-
tween colleges and between departments become battle lines
as illustrated in the preceding chapters. Easton (1957)
credited this type of resource competition as being the
basis of political activity:

> The reasons why a political system emerges in a soci-
> ety at all--that is, why men engage in political ac-
> tivity--is that demands are being made by persons or
> groups in the society that cannot all be fully satis-
> fied. In all societies one fact dominates political
> life: scarcity prevails with regard to most of the

valued things (p. 387).

Bureaucratic structure in a multi-layered organiza-
tion can also generate role conflicts. The Dean of the
College was, in theory at least, in role conflict between
running "our College" and his position as a subordinate of
the Academic Vice President. Within the College, the use
of the titles "Chairman" and "Head," often when referring
to the same person, was a graphic example of role conflict.
The title "Head" emphasized responsibilities as the repre-
sentative of the Dean, while the title "Chairman" empha-
sized responsibilities to the faculty as a collegial body.
Bureaucratic structure not only generates conflict, but it
can serve as a mechanism for channeling and resolving con-
flict. The pressures to permit Department D to innovate
were channeled through the formal structure of the College
as were the conflict pressures to limit that innovation.

In studying the decision making processes of the Col-
lege, the fragmenting effect of a system of subcultures
that clusters around divergent goals was clearly present.
The College clearly perceived itself as a professional
school. The College's faculty and administration placed
emphasis on professional education at the expense of lib-
eral education, a course which insured conflict with other
elements of the University. The innovative efforts of
Department D, based as they were on a goal of national
recognition and grounded in behavioral theories, reinforced

budgetary conflicts with more traditionally oriented departments. Lindquist (1971), in his report on governance at the University, found that fragmentation and alienation were the most frequently cited problems in the institution. The College operates in, and, in turn, provides such a fragmented environment. The Dean and Associate Dean of the College were constantly jockeying between pressure groups and increasingly politicking rather than administrating.

However, it should be made clear that, although the College was fragmented internally over questions of departmental support and curriculum innovation, on other issues, such as support for the proposed Professional School (71.2%) and the importance of accreditation (80.7%), the College shared common values and acted in consort. (See Appendix G, Section IV, Questions 21 and 22.) In virtually all relations with groups outside the College, members of the College closed ranks and presented a unified front. The appearance of such unified action does not refute Baldridge's formulations on the political nature of governance; rather, it appears indicative of the basic group instinct to unify, or at least to give the appearance of unification, in the presence of outsiders. The illustrative examples in Chapters VI and VII established that values differed and conflict was present in other instances.

Equally as important as these internal elements in the

College's social structure are its relations with the external social structure. In focusing on the College, the University becomes the principal external element. Chapter VI dealt extensively with the decisions of the University as they were perceived by the College. The College felt alienated from the University, removed from the decision making processes of the University and excluded from meaningful interchanges with the University. Approximately two-thirds (63.5%) of the College members reported no formal, and one-half (48.1%) no informal contacts with the rest of the University; only 9.6% of the College members were associated with the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) chapter. (See Appendix G, Section III, Question 3; Section VIII, Question 3.) Rather than concluding that these apathetic indications reflect disinterest, Keeton (1970) warned us that they may hide conflict: "Apathy is often the obverse of a sense of powerlessness, distrust, and disagreement with authority (p. 120)." Elements outside even the University have had a strong effect on the College. The role of the Chairman of the State Senate Appropriations Committee, in advancing the College's position on a new building and a Professional School, was described in Chapter V. The insistence of Department D that it was interested in "external" funding further illustrates the potential importance of these external social elements. Twenty-five percent of the College faculty re-

ported having made attempts to influence internal policies by appeals to external groups. (See Appendix G, Section II, Question 5.) Such attempts to influence decisions flow both ways and we can reasonably assume that numerous external pressures, often conflicting, are exerted on the College.

Interest Articulation Processes

Baldridge (1971a) reasoned that if a university's social system is fragmented and divided, then

> This complex structure generates competing claims, divided loyalties, and specialized pressure groups. Each partisan group has different goals for the university and each puts pressure on the authorities to obtain favorable policy decisions (p. 136).

In short, interest articulation processes are generated. Baldridge focused on six aspects of interest articulation: (a) types of partisan groups, (b) trust orientation, (c) goals, (d) resources and strategy, (e) response of authorities, and (f) the cycle of conflict. Figure 4 provides a graphic summary of the interest articulation process.

Under Baldridge's supervision at Stanford, Stam (1970) expanded several aspects of the interest articulation stage. Four increasingly aggressive modes of interest articulation were formulated: apathy; formalized conflict (the use of formal channels such as a faculty senate); startegic conflict (lobbying, petitioning, personal persuasion, behind-the-scene pressures); and anomic conflict (extra-legal,

coercive activity). Using the Almond and Coleman (1960) classification of active interest groups, Baldridge (1971a) envisioned associational interest groups, cliques, and spontaneous anomic interest groups corresponding to the active modes of interest articulation. In his research at New York University, Baldridge (1971a) found that 53.1% of those he surveyed belonged to no clique and that only 28.8% reported membership in any formal associational groups. The presence of these groups was taken as evidence that conflicting views were articulated in the university.

In the College, 75.0% of the respondents reported membership in one or more cliques, a significantly higher percentage than Baldridge found. Members of the College reported greater clique membership than Baldridge found at the departmental, college, and university levels. Members of the College attributed significantly greater influence to cliques than Baldridge had found at New York University. Clique members in the College perceived themselves as having significantly greater personal influence than non-clique members on the formulation of policy at the departmental, College, and University levels. Clique members dominated formal influence positions in the College; all departmental officials, all College officials, and twenty-three of the twenty-five persons serving on College councils and committees reported clique membership. Figure 9 provides statistical data on clique membership in the Col-

FIGURE 9

AN ANALYSIS OF CLIQUE MEMBERSHIP
IN THE COLLEGE

I. Clique members are in the majority:

	Baldridge[1]		College		
	n	%	n	%	
<u>No</u> clique membership at any level	368	53.1	13	25.0	$x^2 \rangle$ .01
Belong to cliques in department	325	46.9	37	71.2	$x^2 \rangle$ .01
Belong to cliques in college	154	22.2	22	42.5	$x^2 \rangle$ .01
Belong to cliques at university level	47	6.8	13	25.0	$x^2 \rangle$ .01
	(N=693)		(N=52)		

II. Clique influence is rated medium:

	Baldridge[1]		College	
	n	%	n	%
High clique influence	65	12.2	10	23.9
Moderate clique influence	244	45.7	19	41.1
Low clique influence	225	42.1	17	36.0
	534	100.0	46	100.0

$$x^2 \rangle .01$$

FIGURE 9 (Continued)

III. Clique members report more activities:

	Member n	Member %	Non-Member n	Non-Member %	
Department:					
Informal activities	37	95	10	77	$x^2 > .01$
Department meetings	34	87	10	77	$x^2 > .05$
Department committees	30	77	5	38	$x^2 > .01$
Department executive committee	12	31	3	23	
Official position	6	15	0	0	
College:					
Informal activities	29	74	7	54	$x^2 > .01$
College meetings	16	41	2	15	
College councils/committees	23	59	2	15	
Policy Council	9	23	0	0	
Official position	3	8	0	0	
University:					
Informal activities	22	56	0	0	
Faculty Senate	5	13	0	0	
Councils/committees	17	14	0	0	

Clique Members (N=39)

Clique Non-members (N=13)

FIGURE 9 (Continued)

IV. Clique members perceived greater personal influence
     on policy at each level:

Degree of Influence

	Little		Moderate		High		No Response	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Department:								
Member	7	18	22	56	10	26	0	0
Non-member	6	46	3	23	3	10	1	8
College:								
Member	23	59	12	31	4	10	0	0
Non-member	8	62	4	30	0	0	1	8
University:								
Member	31	79	6	15	1	3	1	3
Non-member	12	92	0	0	0	0	1	8

Clique Members (N=39)
Clique Non-members (N=13)

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[1]J. Victor Baldridge, _Power and Conflict in the University._ New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971. (Research at New York University.)

lege.

Formal association membership by members of the College in groups such as the Faculty Senate, Senate councils, the local chapter of American Association of University Professors, while involving 34.6% of those surveyed, appeared less important than clique membership. All of those who reported formal membership on the College Policy Council, University Faculty Senate, or University councils and committees also reported clique membership. The fact that only one person indicated that he perceived himself with high influence on University policy is in keeping with the College's alienation from the University summarized in Chapter VI. When membership in formal associations in perceived as having little effect on policy, persons will logically expend their influence through other channels--in the case of the College, through cliques.

Once a group is formed, the goals and tactics they adopt will depend largely on their attitude toward the authorities they are trying to pressure. Baldridge (1971a) made use of Gamson's (1968) work on trust orientation to outline three types of group trust:

> (1)Confident groups--trust the authorities and believe they are capable of executing favorable decisions; they are likely to be inactive, but when they do enter the conflict, they usually side with the authorities.

> (2) Neutral groups--believe the authorities are not necessarily biased for or against them; they are more active than confident groups, and believe influence

is worth the effort, but is usually a low profile effort.

(3) Alienated groups--feel that the authorities are biased against them or so ineffective that they can not carry out favorable decisions; they are likely to be intensely political and will try to force the authorities to give them acceptable decisions.

Chapter VI saw an alienated College use political influence with state officials and local professional men to advance their positions when they perceived that the University administration was advancing other positions. The use of greater enrollment to force increased financial support may be viewed as a coercive tactic. Chapter VII chronicled the efforts of the other four departments to fight Department D. Because these departments generally had a higher degree of trust in the College administration, continual, but rather subdued pressure was utilized. An alienated group is likely to escalate its demands from concern for a specific issue to attacks on incumbent office holders and the validity of the decision making system. The amount of personal vehemence directed against the University President by the College, the attacks against the Chairman of Department D, and Department D's disregard of the Headship position follow this pattern of escalation.

In order to exert pressure or influence against authorities, a group must have resources, a power base, and be skilled in its tactical use. Baldridge (1971a) stated, "Four power bases are critical in university politics:

bureaucratic, professional, coercive, and political (p. 154)." Bureaucratic resources include legitimacy, sanction, including both budgetary and personal appointment and removal, and legitimate access. In the College, the decision making power of the Dean was respected, at least in part, because of the legitimacy of his position. The Dean often used, or threatened to use, budgetary sanctions. Once he told the Chairman of Department D, "I have got the budget purse strings, and I will teach you the game." It could be argued that the ultimate demise of the Chairman of Department D involved a personnel sanction. One of the College's specific criticisms of the University President was that he surrounded himself with staff, thus denying direct access to others.

The influence that Department D was able to develop in the College was based on a professional power base consisting of senior faculty members in the Department. Several departmental leaders in the College increasingly were experiencing rumblings from faculty elements attempting to exert professional prerogatives. The controversy over the Headship versus the Chairmanship of Department D illustrates the potential conflict resulting from disparate power bases. Although members of the College would be reluctant to admit it, increasingly, evidence existed that coercive tactics were being utilized. The coercive use of enrollment by the College itself has already been mentioned. Schelling

(1960) argued that the use of irrationality could provide a strategic advantage for its user over a rational man. Whether or not its use was intentional, irrationality was used effectively by the Dean and several others in the College. The College's attempt to gain endorsements for establishing the Professional School at the University was an effective coercive use of public opinion.

Baldridge (1971a) noted that, "strong individuals are an important resource for a partisan group trying to influence policies (p. 163)." The College had numerous strong individuals who utilized their personal influence to advance causes. Foremost was the Dean of the College who affected virtually every issue in the College and who built an academic unit that reflected his personal philosophy and life style. The Head of Department D used his personal influence with the Dean to launch innovations in the Department. Those innovations would have never come to fruition unless, as one person indicated, the Chairman of Department D had not served as a catalyst. Finally, the current Associate Dean of the College could not have become a significant subordinate without the strong personality which numerous members of the College pointed to as the reason for his success.

The response of authorities to the initial efforts of a pressure group can greatly affect subsequent events. Baldridge (1971a) argued that

> Authorities often try to anticipate influence attempts
> in advance and cut them off by appropriate action.
> Moreover, they work in the cross pressures of many
> groups and can often gain freedom of action by playing
> them off against one another. If these actions fail,
> the authorities have two options: either to change
> the decisions to match demands or to make social-
> control attempts to manage the partisans. These con-
> trol attempts may take the form of insulation, per-
> suasion, cooptation, or sanctions (pp. 166-167).

Virtually all of these elements were present in the Dean's

handling of Department D as outlined in Chapter VII.

Baldridge (1971a) felt that once the interest articu-

lation process had begun, it goes through a series of epi-

sodes which he termed the cycle of conflict. (See Figure

3.) A provocative unifying issue begins the cycle, such

as the perceived lack of budgetary support for the College

discussed in Chapter VI. As that illustrative example re-

vealed, the issue intensifies and becomes expanded. Ques-

tions of educational philosophy were introduced; personal

attacks were made against the University President and the

legitimacy of the decision making process. Sanctions were

applied by all parties. The University advanced other pro-

jects that have a higher priority than a new building for

the College. The College withheld support of University

policy and executed policy laggardly. The College looked

to allies such as conservative legislators, professional

leaders, and other practical colleges within the University

for support. A series of compromises were worked out. The

University submitted a program request for the Professional

School to the state legislature, but the School's open-
ing date was put several years in the future. If only one
building will be finances by the state, it will be the
building for the College. If budgetary increases are not
forthcoming, at least cuts will be in areas with enrollment
declines. The conflict became bureaucratized. Budget
meetings were held. Professional School and College build-
ing planning continued. And, until another unifying spark,
some degree of peace was achieved.

The Legislative Process

Given Baldridge's assumption that the university is
basically pluralistic in nature, decisions should be made
at numerous levels. Indeed, in the College, some decisions
were made at the departmental level either by the depart-
mental leader and/or the faculty; many decisions were made
by the Dean and a fewer number by the College councils or
committees at the collegiate level; the University Presi-
dent and the Faculty Senate are only the most prominent of
several decision makers operating on the University level;
and, as was shown in Chapter VI, other decisions were made
by such physically removed parties as state senators. In
light of this legislative proliferation, Baldridge (1971a)
concentrated on answering three questions about this stage
of his model: "Who decides what, and how (p. 174)?"

As indicated earlier, every major decision which af-

fects the College of Business needs at least the implicit approval of the Dean. But the Dean is increasingly finding that "every time you use power you pay" and that often "the cost becomes too high." Departmental decisions, with with the Dean has had only minimal agreement at best, are becoming policy. If the Dean is "phasing himself out," then surely a growing number of the operational decisions are being made by the Associate Dean.

Almost three-quarters (73.1%) of those surveyed in the College felt they had moderate or greater influence on policy decisions at the departmental level; twenty respondents (38.5%) felt that they had moderate or greater influence on the formation of College policies. The line between influence over policy and actual policy decisions is often blurred.

Baldridge (1971a, pp. 179-180) divided those who responded to his questionnaire at New York University into two groups depending on the extent of their organizational activity. One group, which we shall call "participators," he defined as those who held an official position or who reported membership on a council or committee. Another group, "non-participators," included all of those who reported only informal activities and/or attendance at general meetings. Baldridge found that 39.2%, 56.2%, and 79.9% of his respondents were classified as non-participators at the departmental, college, and university levels,

respectively. A total of 61.8% were non-participators at any level. In the College, only 25.0% of the respondents were classified as non-participators. At the departmental, college, and university levels, non-participators comprised 23.7%, 50.0%, and 67.3%, respectively. Using a chi-square analysis to compare the actual numerical findings, the results obtained proved statistically different (.01 level) for overall participation/non-participation. A profile of of participators in the College revealed that they tended to be senior faculty members with a good, scholarly record who were clique members and who perceived their personal influence as moderate or greater. (See Figure 10.)

When members of the College were asked to indicate the specific areas in which different groups had influence, the results were an affirmation of the Dean's power. He was perceived as having high influence over curriculum, faculty appointments, selection of department heads, promotion and tenure, college budgets, physical plant, long range college plans, and external public relations. Individual professors were reported to have moderate influence over curriculum. Departmental faculties were credited with high influence over curriculum, faculty appointments, selection of department heads, and promotion and tenure. The potential for conflicts with the Dean were present in each of these areas. The College faculty, as a whole, was judged to only moderate influence over curriculum and long

FIGURE 10

"PARTICIPATORS" VERSUS THE COLLEGE

	Total College N	%	"Participators" N	%	
Personal influence perceived as moderate or high	38	73.1	35	89.7	$x^2 > .01$
Clique membership	39	75.0	34	87.2	$x^2 > .05$
Campus organiza- tional membership	18	34.6	18	46.2	$x^2 > .05$
Appeals to external authority	13	25.0	12	30.8	
Senior faculty (full or assoc- iate professor)	21	40.4	21	53.8	$x^2 > .05$
Professional mem- berships (three or more)	37	71.2	33	84.6	$x^2 > .05$
Articles published	25	48.1	23	59.0	$x^2 > .05$
Professional papers read at meetings	25	48.1	23	59.0	$x^2 > .05$
Professional meet- ings attended (three or more)	31	59.6	27	69.2	
	(N=52)		(N=39)		

range college plans.

In discussing how decisions are made, Baldridge (1971a)
called attention to attentive cues that call attention to
a problem, the struggle over who is authorized to make the
decision, the political pressure brought to bear on author-
ities by partisans, and the continuing political process
after the policy is set. In the example involving Depart-
ment D, the student petition and charges of student cheat-
ing were attentive cues which forced the College to consider
the case. The controversy over Headship versus Chairman-
ship directly addresses the question of who is authorized
to decide. The Dean contended that, "I do not hold com-
mittees accountable, I hold department heads accountable,"
while Department D maintained that the accountability was
to the faculty. Finally, the pressures brought to bear by
the other departments forced a change in course, and new
policies were made which fueled as yet submerged new con-
flicts.

At each stage, the analysis used by Baldridge at New
York University finds parallels in the College. Fragmented
social systems, conflicting pressure groups, and pluralistic
decision centers were all present in the College.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

To the casual observer, the College appeared to be a
bureaucratic entity softened only by the collegial manners
that abound in academe. However, although elements of the
bureaucratic and community traditions existed in the Col-
lege, conflict was also present, in the last five years,
as illustrated in Chapters VI and VII. The social system
revealed the presence of conflicting values and organiza-
tional philosophies on several issues. Pressure groups,
usually informal, arose and articulated their position,
often in language assumed to be more characteristic of the
loading dock than the ivy covered halls of academe. People
jockeyed for influence and, even though the Dean exerted
nominal control, pluralistic power centers existed.

The political model of J. Victor Baldridge did "fit"
the College as shown in Chapter VIII. The decision making
process of the College not only could be explained in po-
litical terms, but such an analysis seemed "natural" in
light of the dynamics currently present. Based on the
evidence of politically oriented decision making in the
College, the research question this study addressed, i.e.,

Does the "political model" developed by Baldridge
conceptually explain the governing/decision making
processes of an individual college within a univer-
sity?

140

must be answered affirmatively. Such an answer does not deny that other elements are also present; rather, it adds one more conceptual tool to assist in the study of higher education.

Given that college level decision making can be conceptualized in political terms, several implications exist. If conflict and political dynamics function at the collegiate level, they should become of concern not just to multiversity presidents as typically assumed, but to deans, to department heads, indeed, to all of those interested in decision maning in academe. This may require that administrators be equipped with new skills, perhaps even that a new breed of administrators are needed. Secondly, far from being alien to academe, a mechanism that assumes conflict, such as collective bargaining, may be at home in higher education. Thirdly, the fact that political dynamics were operating at the level of a relatively small college, casts additional doubt on the existence of "real" collegial relationships. The actions of departments and the acidic comments of individual faculty members about their colleagues proves hard to reconcile with the presence of community. Given the current financial crisis in higher education, an increasing number of academic types may, if reluctantly, embrace political tactics and find themselves in agreement with the Dean of the College who commented, "If you think this is a nunnery, you are wrong! These

departments are filled with vultures and bank robbers!"
Finally, given some universities have departments larger
than the size of the College, political dynamics might
reasonably exist even within departments.

It may be of significance that this was the only
known study to use Baldridge's model and not be conducted
by Baldridge or under his supervision. The fact that the
applicability of his model to higher education was upheld
may be taken as some independent verification of the model.

A final note in defense of the College is presented.
Although the illustrative examples may illustrate adminis-
trative errors, Coser (1957) commented sometime ago that
"a social group is in need of conflict if only to renew its
energies and revitalize its creative forces (p. 197)."
Perhaps the College would not have made its past advances
or enjoyed the prospect of future success unless political
dynamics had not been present. Therefore, it should not
be automatically assumed that the political dynamics present
in the College are somehow to be "corrected." Skillful
administration may minimize conflict, but conflict will
almost never be eliminated, and, as Coser suggested, perhaps,
it is undesirable to try.

Research on the political dynamics present in higher
education is still in its infancy. Various types of other
research settings, most notably departments and community
colleges are yet to be examined using Baldridge's model.

Nor has any empirically based research been conducted to provide quantifiable evidence that Baldridge's model fits. Further research would do well to address these areas.

Most important, perhaps, was the fact that this research found a conflict prone/political environment operating with respect to the routine problems of higher education and without any of the extreme manifestations of conflicts (strikes, demonstrations, etc.) that many researchers have focused on exclusively. Violent tactics and earthshaking issues may be easier to report or provide more graphic case studies, but the material covered in this study is more central to the daily life of academe and, thus, may deserve a greater proportion of the research effort in the future.

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144

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APPENDICES

156

APPENDIX A

LIST OF DOCUMENTS UTILIZED

157

LIST OF DOCUMENTS UTILIZED

Annual Reports, Department of _____ Studies, 1947-1955.

Annual Reports, School of _____, 1956-1969.

Annual Reports, College of _____, 1970-1971.

Institutional Profile for _____ Accrediting Association,
    December 1, 1970.

Letter from University President to State Budget Director
    dated February 8, 1972.

Letter from University Academic Vice President for Aca-
    demic Affairs to all Faculty Members dated January
    14, 1972.

Memorandum from the University President to all Faculty,
    Administrative, and Professional Staff of the Univer-
    sity dated July 3, 1972.

Mimeograph distribution of statement, "University Policies
    and the Faculty, Departmental Procedures," distributed
    January 1972.

Minutes of the Building Committee, College of _____, 1971-
    1972.

Minutes of Curriculum Committee, College of _____, 1971-
    1972.

Minutes of Graduate Council, College of _____, 1971-1972.

Minutes of Policy Council, College of _____, 1971-1972.

Program Statement for College of _____ Building, 1971.

Report of the All-University Committee on Undergraduate
    Education, 1971.

University Catalog, 1970-1971.

University Financial Report, 1970-1971.

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO INTERVIEWEES

159

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF COUNSELING AND PERSONNEL

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
49001

Dear

    Thank you for agreeing to participate in a series of
depth interviews designed to explore the decision-making
process within the College of _____.

    Attached is a copy of the interview schedule to be
used during the interview with you. Please take a few
minutes to read through the questions and reflect upon
them prior to the interview. Your candid responses are
essential to gaining an accurate analysis of the decision-
making process within the College of _____.

    Thank you again for agreeing to participate.

                    Sincerely,

                    Leo A. Zabinski

Interview scheduled for _____.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

161

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(1) In most organizations some persons, because of either their position, expertise, or some personal qualities, are able to have an impact on the organization? Who are some of these persons in the University? In the College? In your department? Over what areas or situations do they have impact?

(2) In many organizations groups of individuals exist which attempt to influence the decisions of the organizations; such groups may be either "sub-groups" of the organization or even technically external to the organization. Are such groups functioning in the University? In the College? In your department? If yes, please identify.

(3) How much control does the faculty have over policies in the University? In the College? In your department? Would you alter the faculty's voice? If so, how?

(4) Do students have influence on policies in the University? In the College? In your department? What is your attitude toward student influence? Is it growing? Are there faculty influences for change which parallel the student influences?

(5) What are the critical problems that you see in the University? In the College? In your department?

(6) What are the specific changes of major importance you have observed in the last _five_ years in the University? In the College? In your department? At each organizational level, were these changes promoted and/or resisted in your opinion? If so, by whom?

(7) Given that a problem has at least two alternative solutions, how would it typically be resolved within the framework of the University? Of the College? Of your department?

(8) Information on respondent:
   (a) Field
   (b) Rank and/or Position
   (c) Tenured or Non-Tenures
   (d) Length of time at the University
   (e) Highest Degree
   (f) Length of time since highest degree received

(g) Professional organizations to which he/she belongs
(h) Committee or Council memberships
(i) Distinguished Contributions (major publications, leadership position in an organization, etc.)

APPENDIX D

LETTER REQUESTING
QUESTIONNAIRE PARTICIPATION

164

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF COUNSELING AND PERSONNEL

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
49001

April 1972

Dear Faculty Member:

Faculty members at virtually every institution of higher education have become increasingly concerned with their role in the governance of their own institution. The attached questionnaire is part of a doctoral research project designed to explore the governing/decision-making processes within the College of _____. There has already been a series of interviews conducted with faculty members within the College, but it is also necessary to survey the opinions of the entire faculty. The results of the research project will be made available to the College of _____.

The questionnaire has been reviewed by the Policy Council of the College and approved. However, each faculty member must make his own decision on whether to support this project.

All responses will be strictly confidential, and no individual responses will be released. The questionnaire takes approximately twenty minutes to answer. If you have already talked with me in a personal interview, please complete the questionnaire anyway, since it contains information not covered previously and is necessary for statistical presentation of the data obtained.

When you have completed the questionnaire, please return it in the envelope provided to:

        Governance Research
        c/o Department of Counseling & Personnel
        Western Michigan University
        Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

    Thank you for your cooperation.

                        Sincerely,

                        Leo A. Zabinski

APPENDIX E

FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE
FOLLOW-UP LETTER

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF COUNSELING AND PERSONNEL

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
49001

May, 1972

Dear Faculty Member:

Several weeks ago you received a questionnaire de-
signed to explore the governing/decision making processes
within the College of _____. Approximately fifty percent
of the faculty have already returned the questionnaire; how-
ever, a return of at least seventy percent is usually the
objective in this type of survey. If you have already re-
turned the questionnaire, I thank you for participating.
If you have not returned the questionnaire as of yet, I
urge you to do so.

All responses will be strictly confidential, and no
individual responses will be released. I realize some mem-
bers of the faculty have raised concerns about the personal
data section of the questionnaire. The purpose of this
section is to identify several research variables by which
to analyze data in other sections of the questionnaire.
(For example, do senior faculty members have different per-
ceptions of the College than junior faculty members.) How-
ever, if you prefer to omit any of the personal data ques-
tions, please feel free to delete them when answering the
questionnaire.

When you have completed the questionnaire, please re-
turn it in the envelope provided. Those of you who are
teaching this session will receive this questionnaire at
your office in the hope that this may be more convenient.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Leo A. Zabinski

APPENDIX F

SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE
FOLLOW-UP LETTER

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF COUNSELING AND PERSONNEL

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
49001

June 5, 1972

Dear Faculty Member:

During April, each of you was asked to partici-
pate in a doctoral research project by completing a ques-
tionnaire on governance in the College of _____. A
duplicate questionnaire was provided several weeks later.
Approximately sixty percent of you have returned a ques-
tionnaire to date.

The purpose of this letter is to urge you to
complete your questionnaire and return it by Wednesday,
June 14th. Each response is important and your effort
will be greatly appreciated.

Completed questionnaires should be returned to:

> Governance Research
> c/o Department of Counseling and
>   Personnel
> Western Michigan University
> Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

To those of you who have already completed your
questionnaire, I express my gratitude.

Sincerely,

Leo A. Zabinski

APPENDIX G

COLLEGE GOVERNANCE RESEARCH
CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRES

170

COLLEGE GOVERNANCE RESEARCH
CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRES

I. (Check one response for each question)

1. There are frequent debates about whether there
   should be <u>university-wide</u> standards on such mat-
   ters as admissions, promotion policies, and degree
   requirements, or whether each individual college
   should set its own policies. Concerning this is-
   sue, which of the following statements most ac-
   curately describes your opinion?

   --We already have too many university-wide
     standards and regulations. We ought to
     turn more of these matters over to the
     colleges and schools so they can have au-
     tonomy to plan their own programs without
     interference from the rest of the univer-
     sity.. _____

   --The number and types of university-wide
     regulations are about right. There is a
     good balance between the needs of the in-
     dividual colleges and schools, and the
     needs of the whole university............... _____

   --There are not enough university-wide stan-
     dards. The university needs more central-
     ized guidance to achieve unity and to main-
     tain uniformly high quality................ _____

   --I have no opinion on this matter........... _____

2. Which of the following statements most accurately
   represents <u>your</u> opinion of the relative places of
   liberal arts and occupational or professional
   training in the undergraduate curriculum?

   --Liberal arts are by far the most important
     element of the undergraduate curriculum.... _____

   --Liberal arts and occupational or profes-
     sional preparation are both desirable, but
     the liberal arts element is more important
     than the others............................. _____

--Liberal arts and occupational or profes-
sional preparation are both desirable, and
it is impossible to say one is more impor-
tant than the other........................ _____

--Liberal arts and occupational or profes-
sional preparation are both desirable, but
the occupational or professional element
is more important than the liberal arts.... _____

--Occupational or professional preparation
constitutes by far the most important el-
ement in the curriculum.................... _____

3. Your identification with the university, as re-
lated to employment possibilities elsewhere.

--My identification with the university is
very strong. I would probably not leave
except under very unusual circumstances.... _____

--My identification with the university is
moderate. I probably would leave for a
better job................................. _____

--My identification with the University is
weak. I probably would leave for a better
job and perhaps even for an equivalent or
less desirable job......................... _____

4. People have differing degrees of attachment to the
university. Which of the following statements
best characterizes your relation to the university?

--My university position is one of the most
important aspects of my life. It is my
prime job and consumes most of my time..... _____

--Although my university relationship is
important, it is only one of several im-
portant activities......................... _____

--My relation to the university is fairly
modest. I have other activities which are
more important............................. _____

II. INFORMAL ACTIVITIES

1. There are many campus organizations which try to influence university policies. Examples include the Faculty Denate, Senate councils, AAUP, Administrative-Professional Employees Organization.

   List below any policy influencing organizations in which you participate. Include campus groups which have indirect influence even though this may not be their prime goal. However, do not include professional organizations unless you feel that they have considerable influence on the university's policy.

   (How much influence does this group have?)

List here:	Very Little	Moderate Amount	Very Much
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

2. In addition to campus organizations there are also many strictly informal groups. Sometimes these groups have nicknames, such as the "Young Turks," or the "Old Guard." More often, of course, these are simply groups of friends who discuss policy issues over lunch or plot strategy before a meeting. Make a rough guess, and write in the number of these informal groups you belong to which try to influence policy:

   At the Departmental Level _____

   At the College Level _____

   At the University Level _____

3. In general, how much overall effect would you say
   such informal groups have on policies?

        Very Much   _____

        Moderate Amount   _____

        Very Little   _____

4. Have you actively worked with student groups who
   were trying to influence university policies?

        Yes   _____

        No   _____

5. Have you ever attempted to influence internal
university policies by appealing to <u>outside</u>
groups? Check any of the following, and add
others you have done. Include only activities
which were specifically intended to influence
some policy, whether you intended to <u>support</u>
that policy.

Example: If you appeared on television to an-
nounce the results of your research, <u>do not</u> in-
clude that. If you appeared on television to
attempt to influence policies of the University,
or the College, <u>do</u> include that.

Letters to newspapers _____

Magazine or newspaper articles _____

Television or radio reports _____

Appeals to alumni or benefactors _____

Appeals to accrediting agencies _____

Attempts to influence foundations _____

Appeals to influence governmental
    officials _____

Testimony before government
    committees _____

Appeals to professional
    associations _____

Appeals to business leaders _____

Other (specify):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

III. ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES (Check each artivity in which you regularly participate. Check as many as applicable.)

  1. Departmental Activities

       Informal, person-to-person contact
       which might influence departmental
       policy and decisions   _____

       Departmental meetings   _____

       Departmental committees   _____

       Departmental executive committee
       or advisory group   _____

       Hold official position in depart-
       ment or area (head, chairman)

  2. College Activities

       Informal, person-to-person contact
       which might influence college pol-
       icy and decision   _____

       College general meetings   _____

       College committees   _____

       College Policy Council   _____

       Hold official position in the Col-
       lege (such as Deans or other full-
       time positions)   _____

  3. All-University Activities

       Informal, person-to-person contact
       which might influence all-univer-
       sity policy and decisions   _____

       Faculty Senate   _____

       University councils or committees   _____

       Hold an official position on the
       central administration of the uni-
       versity   _____

IV. GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE

Please evaluate the following aspects of the university by circling the number beside each question which most nearly expresses your evaluation.

1.....Very Poor
2.....Poor
3.....Average
4.....Good
5.....Very Good
No....No opinion or question does not apply to your situation

1 2 3 4 5 No   (1) Your office facilities at the university

1 2 3 4 5 No   (2) Your present annual salary

1 2 3 4 5 No   (3) Extent of faculty participation in the determination of academic policies and procedures with the college

1 2 3 4 5 No   (4) Extent of faculty participation in the development of budgets at the college and departmental levels

1 2 3 4 5 No   (5) Extent of faculty participation in the determination of academic policies and procedures with the university

1 2 3 4 5 No   (6) Extent of faculty participation in the development of the college building program

1 2 3 4 5 No   (7) Ease and readiness of communication between faculty in the college

1 2 3 4 5 No   (8) Ease and readiness of communication between faculty and central university administration

1 2 3 4 5 No   (9) Your general confidence in the leadership of the university

1 2 3 4 5 No   (10) Your general confidence in the leadership of the college

1 2 3 4 5 No   (11) The general competence of your colleagues on the faculty

1 2 3 4 5 No   (12) The general promise of the students you know in this university

1 2 3 4 5 No   (13) The general quality of the undergraduate program of the college

1 2 3 4 5 No   (14) The general quality of the graduate program of the college

1 2 3 4 5 No   (15) The general quality of the academic programs within other colleges of the university

1 2 3 4 5 No   (16) The value of the Faculty Senate as an avenue for faculty influence on university policy

1 2 3 4 5 No   (17) The value of councils and committees as avenues for faculty influence on policy within the university

1 2 3 4 5 No   (18) The value of councils and committees as avenues for faculty influence on policy within the college

1 2 3 4 5 No   (19) The value of the C.U.E. Report to the university

1 2 3 4 5 No   (20) The value of the C.U.E. Report to the college

1 2 3 4 5 No   (21) The importance of developing a graduate professional school

1 2 3 4 5 No   (22) The importance of accreditation to the college

V. SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

This section deals with your perception of the influence that groups within the university have over certain issues. The issues are listed across the top. Start with the "Individual Professor" in the first column, and go down the list of issues. Beside each issue put the amount of influence the group has over that issue.

For example: how much influence does the individual professor have over curriculum, student extracurricular activities, faculty appointments, etc.

        1.....Little or no influence
        2.....Some influence
        3.....Moderate amount of influence
        4.....Very much influence

	INDIVIDUAL PROFESSOR	DEPARTMENT FACULTY	COLLEGE FACULTY	DEANS
1. Curriculum	____	____	____	____
2. Student extracurricular activities	____	____	____	____
3. Faculty appointments	____	____	____	____
4. Selection of department heads	____	____	____	____
5. Promotion and tenure	____	____	____	____
6. College budget	____	____	____	____
7. University budget	____	____	____	____
8. Physical plant	____	____	____	____
9. Long-range college plans	____	____	____	____
10. Long-range university plans	____	____	____	____
11. External or public relations	____	____	____	____

VI. PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES (Write in)

1. Number of books
   published

sole authorship	joint authorship

2. Number of monographs
   published

sole authorship	joint authorship

3. Number of articles
   written

sole authorship	joint authorship

4. Number of state, regional,
   national, or international
   professional organizations
   to which you belong   _____

5. Number of professional
   meetings attended in the
   past 12 months   _____

6. Number of papers presented
   during the past two years
   at professional meetings   _____

7. About what per cent of your
   time do you spend in non-
   teaching activities (research,
   consulting, etc.)   _____

VII. PERCEIVED INFLUENCE (Check one in each row)

	Very Little	Moderate Amount	Very Much
1. Compared to other members of your department, how much influence do you believe you have on policy in your department?	_____	_____	_____
2. Compared to other members of the College, what influence do you have on College policy?	_____	_____	_____
3. Compared to other members of the university staff, do you have much influence on university-wide policy?	_____	_____	_____
4. Taking your department faculty as a group, how much influence do they have on your department's policy?	_____	_____	_____
5. Taking the College faculty as a group, how much influence do they have on policy of the College?	_____	_____	_____
6. Taking the university faculty as a group, how much influence do they have on university-wide policy?	_____	_____	_____

VIII. BACKGROUND DATA

Answer each question by either checking the appro-
priate item or by writing in the information re-
quested.

1. Your present academic rank:

_____ Professor

_____ Associate Professor

_____ Assistant Professor

_____ Instructor

_____ Other faculty appointment

2. Administration/Teaching:

_____ No administrative position

_____ Department Head or Chairman

_____ Other administrative post

3. Are you a member of the AAUP chapter?

_____ Yes

_____ No

4. Faculty Senate:

_____ I am a member

_____ I have been a member

_____ I am not or never have been a member

5. Year you received your highest degree/certifi-
cation:

(Write in) _____

6. Are you a member of the Graduate Faculty?

_____ Yes

_____ No

7. How long have you been on the University staff? (write in) _____

8. Employment status:

_____ Full-time, tenured

_____ Full-time, non-tenured

_____ Part-time

9. Sex:

_____ Male

_____ Female

10. Age:

_____ Under 30

_____ 30-40

_____ 41-50

_____ 51-60

_____ Over 60

11. Degrees held (check all degrees held):

_____ Bachelor's

_____ Master's

_____ Doctorate

_____ Professional

12. **Departmental affiliation**

    _____   Department A

    _____   Department B

    _____   Department C

    _____   Department D

    _____   Department E