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AUTHOR   Leslie, David W.
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ABSTRACT
        This monograph was a preliminary investigation of the
parameters of faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance. It
was in part a test of an untried method for measuring those
perceptions. The results suggest several conclusions: (1) In
assessing dynamics of collegiate governance, it is necessary to take
type of institution and issue effect into account. (2) In assessing
dynamics of collegiate governance, it appears necessary to take
institution effects into account only for some types of institutions.
(3) Although issue effects differ from type to type, and within some
types of institutions, it appears that faculty tend to perceive as
more legitimate those governance processes in which they can expect
to have relatively greater influence. (4) The loss of perceived
legitimacy, frequently noted among American colleges and universities
does not appear to be an all-or-nothing proposition. (5) The method
used for assessing perceptions of the legitimacy of governance
appeared generally appropriate on the basis of a validation exercise
and the findings that supported the generally accepted theory.
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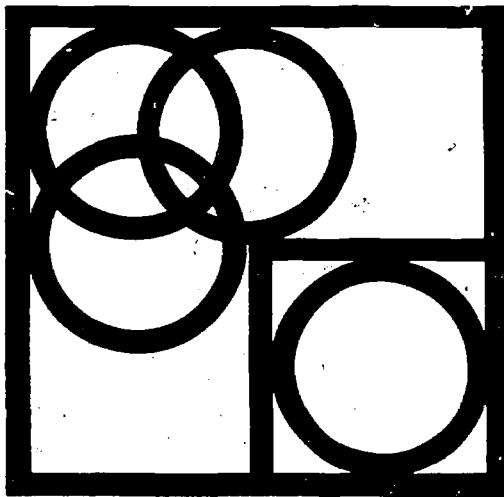
Variability in Faculty Perception of the Legitimacy of Decision Making at Nine Pennsylvania Institutions

David W. Leslie

Center for the Study of
Higher Education

The Pennsylvania State University

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Foreword

In 1971, the Center for the Study of Higher Education initiated
two governance studies under my direction. The one reported here by
David W. Leslie seeks to measure variability in faculty perception of the
legitimacy of decision making at nine institutions in Pennsylvania. The
second, to be reported at a later date, studies the operational governance
patterns in six of these nine institutions. Both of the studies attempt to
illuminate the relationship of the crucial variables of individual issue,
individual institution, or type of institution to perceptions and patterns
of governance.

The unsophisticated observer of colleges and universities demands
an answer to the question of who governs. Given the complexities of
colleges and universities and their authority relationships, the question
itself is hard to understand let alone answer. Does governance mean
who *controls* the institution or does it merely mean who has the chance
to *influence* the decision-making process? Do similar patterns of gover-
nance prevail on various issues within the same institution? To what
extent are governance patterns similar to or inherent in different types
of institutions? Are community and state colleges more like each other
than they are like universities in their governance patterns? To what
extent can one generalize about governance patterns in all colleges and
universities?

This study by David Leslie and one to be reported at a later date
by Manuel Gunne attempt to illuminate three questions about the
variability of perceptions of legitimacy and the variability of patterns of
governance: 1) To what extent do the perceptions of and/or patterns of
governance vary according to the issue being considered? For example, are
basic perceptions and patterns of governance about salary matters similar
to those about new courses? 2) To what extent are perceptions about and
patterns of governance by faculty and administrators particular to the

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individual institution? 3) To what extent are perceptions or patterns of governance similar among institutions of the same type?

Those familiar with the literature on organizational authority will recognize the centrality of the concept of legitimacy to effective governance. The relative lack of legitimacy for merit raises compared to the other issues analyzed in this study portends the advent of collective bargaining to five of these nine institutions. Of the remaining four institutions, two have been petitioned by subsegments of their faculty for the purposes of collective bargaining. It would be interesting to know the extent to which this apparent lack of perceived legitimacy on this issue contributed to support for collective bargaining.

Dr. David W. Leslie is now an Assistant Professor of Higher Education at the University of Virginia. At the time this study was conducted he was a graduate assistant at the Center for the Study of Higher Education at The Pennsylvania State University. This is a much condensed version of his doctoral dissertation.

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Kenneth P. Mortimer
Associate Professor and
Research Associate
Center for the Study of
Higher Education

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Introduction*

In recent years, legislators as well as administrators and faculty members within the university have begun to question the basis for the decision-making authority within academic institutions. This questioning reflects a new reality in the governance of the academy—the need for decision makers to seek authorization from constituencies that had long been relatively quiescent and nonpolitical about the way in which things were run. These constituencies, in other words, are questioning the *legitimacy* of academic governance, the right and competence of the governors to govern. Their questioning can threaten the stability and continuity of academic governance.

Through all of the public discussion about legitimacy—a debate which has involved many societal institutions—it has never been clear how academic decision making or "governance" was perceived at various institutions by various constituencies for selected issues. Since legitimacy is based on perception, the lack of reliable data on such perception is a significant lack in attempts to understand academic governance. Because faculty are a major constituency of the academic community, this study attempts to measure the strength of faculty agreement or disagreement about the legitimacy of decision making for selected issues on their respective campuses in order to compare their perceptions from campus to campus.

I. Empirical and Theoretical Background

Several empirical studies conducted in recent years have reached
strikingly similar conclusions about the state of governance processes in
higher education. Hodgkinson, Wise, and Dykes all concluded that par-
ticipants in collegiate governance lacked trust in their fellow constituents.[1]
Daniel Bell attempted to explain the condition and its causes:

> There has . . . been a specific loss of trust because of the increas-
> ing amorphousness of the institution itself, for the question
> constantly asserts itself: to what and to whom does one owe
> loyalty? The crisis of legitimacy in the university (to the
> extent that it is specific and not just societal) is rooted in a
> loss of definition of the university: its assumption of many
> new and contradictory functions and its evident inability . . .
> to define its limitations and to fashion a structure appropriate
> to its purposes.[2]

As Kelman has noted: "Trust . . . is . . . the other side of the coin of
legitimacy."[3] The presence of trust or legitimacy allows political
leaders or governors the scope of action they need to pursue the acts of
government without being called continuously to account.

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[1] A. R. Dykes, *Faculty Participation in Decision Making* (Washington,
D.C.: American Council on Education, 1968); Harold L. Hodgkinson,
"Presidents and Campus Governance: a Research Profile," *Educational
Record* 51(1970): 159-66; W. M. Wise, *Politics of the Private Colleges: an
Inquiry into the Processes of Collegiate Government* (New Haven: The
Hazen Foundation, 1968).

[2] Daniel Bell, "By Whose Right?" *Power and Authority*, edited by
Harold L. Hodgkinson and R. L. Meeth (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971).

[3] H. C. Kelman, "A Social-Psychological Model of Political Legitimacy
and Its Relevance to Black and White Student Protest Movements," *Psychiatry*
33(1970): 224-26.

The absence of legitimacy has varied effects on acts of government. Using a continuum, Rose suggests that governments range from "fully legitimate" regimes enjoying "high support" and "high compliance" to "repudiated" regimes which could expect neither support nor compliance.[4] Specifically, the varying perception of the degree to which their government has the right and competence to govern results in various degrees of acceptance of that government by the governed. When a regime fails to attain full legitimacy, it is to be expected that interested parties to the system will rely more upon coercive tactics as the *modus operandi* of the system rather than deferring to authority. Leaders will find themselves held accountable for actions which they might otherwise have been free to take without question: their range of options will be restricted. In extreme cases, the government can be repudiated via revolution or other less cataclysmic means.

The parameters of this fundamental problem of legitimacy have not been adequately explored in higher education. A disproportionate share of the literature on governance problems, for example, focuses on the university. Few comparative statements such as Morris Keeton made in his recent report, *Shared Authority on Campus* (1971), are available. The work of several prominent theorists, including Robert Presthus (1962), John Corson (1960, 1971), and Talcott Parsons (1958, 1960), which hypothesized that perceived legitimacy will differ from issue to issue and that these differences will be of inconsistent direction and magnitude from institution to institution has not been tested.[5] Their notion that, statistically speaking, legitimacy is an interaction effect with factors such as size,

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[4] R. Rose, "Dynamic Tendencies in the Authority of Regimes," *World Politics* 21 (1969): 602-28.

[5] Morris Keeton, *Shared Authority on Campus* (Washington, D. C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1971); R. V. Presthus, "Authority in Organizations," *Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior*, edited by S. Mailick and E. H. VanNess (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.:

complexity, institutional character, and institutional purpose affecting
the ways and the extent to which legitimacy is established need to be
investigated. Accordingly, the following key questions posed for this
study are:

1. Do faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of collegiate
   governance differ *from issue to issue*?

2. Do faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of collegiate
   governance differ *from institution tp institution*?

3. Do faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of collegiate
   governance differ *between institutions*? That is, can
   differences be detected between perceptions made by
   college faculty and faculty in four-year colleges or
   universities?

4. Can interaction effects *between the "effects" of issue
   and the "effects" of institution* or type of institution be
   detected in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of colle-
   giate governance? That is, does each institution have
   profiles of faculty perceptions which are distinct from the
   profiles of other institutions?

5. In general, do faculty *perceive collegiate governance
   to be legitimate*?

Answering any of these questions presupposes an operational definition
and a measurement scheme for perceived legitimacy.

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Prentice-Hall, 1962); John Corson, *Governance of Colleges and Universities*
(New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960) and "The Modernization of the University:
The Impact of Function on Governance," *The Journal of Higher Educa-
tion* 42(1971): 430-41; Talcott Parsons, "Authority, Legitimation, and
Political Action, *Authority*, edited by C. J. Friedrich (Cambridge, Mass.:
Harvard University Press, 1958) and *Structure and Process and Modern
Societies* (New York: The Free Press, 1960).

II. Defining Perceived Legitimacy for the Purposes of This Study

As indicated in the preceding section, legitimacy is an attribute of government which derives from the perceptions of the governed.[6] Specifically, individuals allow themselves to be governed if they believe that the kinds and scope of control exercised over them are acceptable. Parsons has noted that "Legitimation . . . is the appraisal of action in terms of shared or common values in the context of the involvement of the action in the social system."[7] Government is appraised and evaluated and its stability and continuity (as well as its effectiveness) are dependent on positive constituent evaluation of its performance.[8]

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[6]The term "government" is used here to connote the broadest interpretation of the acts of governing. The reader should not confuse the use of this term with the common notion of civil government. Rather, any institutionalized arrangement for the exercise of rule in any social system is what is here referred to as "government." This obviously includes the government of institutions of higher education.

Parsons supported the generalization of the concept of "government" proposed here: "It seems to me very important that there is an essential continuity between the treatment of authority for total political systems by Weber and others and by Barnard for the formal organization within society." See T. Parsons, *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p. 325.

Depending upon the issue under consideration, "the governed" may refer to different constituents of the academic "political system." Different groups exercise effective influence over various classes of decisions.

[7]Parsons, "Authority, Legitimation," p. 201.

[8]Kelman, "A Social-Psychological Model."

Legitimacy can be supported in a variety of ways. In general, most observers recognize two bases for legitimacy. Peabody, in his synthesis of the literature, referred to the distinction between formal authority (based on formal sanctions granted to a position or an office by a code) and functional authority (based on professional competence, experience, and human relations skills.)[9] It is often noted that government of educational institutions—particularly the university—suffers from constant competition between those who exercise formal authority by virtue of their position in the hierarchy and those whose professional identification and training dispose them toward functional authority. Anderson has described this dilemma well:

> If it is to exist as an organization, [the university] must enforce organizational discipline at the same time that it must foster independence or freedom for its most important group of organizational members (the faculty). This is a dilemma neither confined to the university nor to contemporary times. It is one of the great philosophical issues of history. Yet it is perhaps nowhere more strikingly revealed than in university government.[10]

The problem is largely one of finding some way to reconcile the loyalty of professionals to a set of values and expectations shared by an extended group of professional peers with the need to maintain an organization, to defend it from outsiders, and to articulate appropriate goals which will hold the organization together.

Organizations, as Peabody demonstrated, differ regarding the bases upon which claims to legitimacy are made and the scope of behavior over which they can expect to exercise legitimate control.[11] An exemplary

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[9]R. ! . Peabody, "Perceptions of Organizational Authority: A Comparative Analysis," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 6(1962): 465-66.

[10]G. Lester Anderson, "The Organizational Character of American Colleges and Universities," *The Study of Academic Administration*, edited by T. F. Lunsford (Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education, 1963).

[11]Peabody, "Perceptions of Organizational Authority."

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study, conducted by Schein and Ott, demonstrated that in American corporations there are some kinds of behavior over which management can expect to exercise legitimate influence (e.g., the tidiness of the office and the amount of working time spent talking to the family on the telephone); there are other kinds of behavior over which management would have a great deal of difficulty exercising any influence (e.g., how much an employee buys on credit or what clubs or organizations an employee belongs to).[12] Universities, it could be argued, may expect to operate with severely restricted zones of acceptance—a term used by Simon in referring to the scope of behavior over which individuals will accept another's authoritative control.[13] Lunsford, for example, has noted that:

> The university executive cannot expect that "suspension of judgment" which some analysts have considered the hallmark of authority. He must expect frequently to justify his decisions to important segments of the organization he represents.[14]

Up to this point, two dimensions of legitimacy have been described: the varying bases for legitimacy and the scope of legitimacy. A third dimension, considered for the purposes of the present study to be essentially *invariant*, must now be considered.

Independent of the bases upon which evaluation occurs, certain universal elements of government are evaluated by constituents. *Perceived*

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[12]E. H. Schein and J. S. Ott, "The Legitimacy of Organizational Influence," *American Journal of Sociology* 67(1962): 682-89; See D. K. Clear and R. C. Seager, "The Legitimacy of Administrative Influence as Received by Selected Groups," *Educational Administration Quarterly* 8(1971): 46-63 for a replication of the Schein and Ott study in educational institutions.

[13]Herbert Simon, "Notes on the Observation and Measurement of Political Power," *Journal of Politics* 15(1953): 513.

[14]T. F. Lunsford, "Authority and Ideology in the Administered University," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 11(1968): 10.

legitimacy of a government is defined here as *the sum of individual evaluations of those elements*, which presumably remain constant from government to government.

Dahl's definition of legitimacy is based upon such a notion of invariant elements:

> Belief that the structure, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials, or leaders of government possess the quality of "rightness," propriety or moral goodness and should be accepted because of this quality—irrespective of the content of the particular act in question—is what we mean by "legitimacy."[15]

Rightness and moral goodness are attributed to government on the basis of an individual's belief system which may or may not be consciously related to the *bases* for legitimacy. But, regardless of the standards he uses to assess rightness, an individual evaluates the various elements of government enumerated by Dahl in making his own judgment about the legitimacy of that government's authority.

Measuring legitimacy, however, requires a refining of the elements Dahl enumerated.

Specifically, governmental officials or leaders can be evaluated in at least two ways. First, their performance can be evaluated in terms of standards of competence. Presumably one's competence, if persuasively conveyed to his subordinates, will enhance the legitimacy of his official acts.[16] Secondly, as Dahl himself has suggested elsewhere, people in office are either trusted or distrusted by those over whom they rule.[17]

Furthermore, unless a government is perceived to be fully legitimate, it is likely that its continuity and stability will be threatened by varying

[15]R. A. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 19.

[16]Peabody, "Perceptions of Organizational Authority," pp. 465-66.

[17]R. A. Dahl, *Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 319.

kinds and amounts of what Rose referred to as "extra-constitutional activity."[18] Kelman dealt with the symptoms and context of such activity:

> Failures in achieving change through the political process, moreover, are likely to deepen the perceived illegitimacy of existing practices, since the groups concerned see themselves as lacking effective recourse against such practices. Thus, they are likely to resort to challenges that go outside of the established channels, ranging from deliberate violation of laws as a basis for legal tests, through selective acts of civil disobedience, to more generalized acts of disruption or violence.[19]

Since these dimensions of leader competence, trustworthiness, and extra-constitutional activity or disobedience (overt and covert) seem central to a working conception of legitimacy, they were added to Dahl's list.

> A total of seven elements was thus derived for this study:
>
> 1. The *structure* of the decision-making process with particular emphasis on the individual's feeling that he has adequate opportunity to influence the outcome of decisions. (The emphasis is drawn from Almond and Verba's suggestion that the individual's sense of competence to influence decisions relates directly to his perception of the government as legitimate.[20]
>
> 2. The government *procedures* used to help its administration to make decisions.
>
> 3. The *policies* which guide decision making to ensure objectivity, fairness, and regularity.
>
> 4. The *decisions* which actually emerge.
>
> 5. The *trustworthiness* of government officials.
>
> 6. The *competence* of government officials to perform their assigned tasks.
>
> 7. The *extent* to which extra-constitutional activity is perceived to be acceptable or necessary.

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[18]Rose, "Dynamic Tendencies," p. 611.

[19]Kelman, "A Social-Psychological Model," p. 230.

[20]G. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1965), pp. 207-8.

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Each of these elements affects the perceived legitimacy of decision
making *within* issue areas. (Pluralist political theory suggests that in
examining the exercise of influence, power, or authority, the investi-
gator must, to reflect reality, introduce the issue variable as an indepen-
dent factor.)[21] Assuming that the elements of government remain constant
from issue to issue, a comparison of the summed evaluation of elements
could be made across issues. Likewise, comparisons could be made across
the seven elements. Both comparisons would yield important descriptive
information about the sources of a government's legitimacy as perceived
by constituents (Table 1).

III. Methodology

A. The Instrument

The construction of the instrument was guided by the parameters
of Table 1. A survey questionnaire was designed that initially contained
ninety items. The items covered all of the cells in Table 1. Half of the
items in this initial pool were phrased so that agreement with the state-
ment posed implied perceived legitimacy of governance on the part of the
respondent while the other half were phrased so that disagreement with
the statement implied perceived legitimacy. One item of each type was
written for each cell. The agreement-disagreement scaling was validated by a
panel of judges. Items were also validated by the panel of judges for their re-
lationship to perceived legitimacy, as well as for their readability and clarity.

A pretest on a population similar in character to that which received
the final instrument provided the data which allowed most of the original

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[21] R. A. Dahl, *Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American
City* (1963), pp. 332-3. Also, J. G. March, "An Introduction to the Theory
and Measurement of Influence," *American Political Science Revew* 49(1955):
433. Also, N. W. Polsby, *Community Power and Political Theory* (New Haven:
Yale University Press, 1963), p. 128.

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items to be discarded as superfluous, low in power to discriminate among respondents' perceptions, or otherwise undesirable. Eight items were retained for each of four issues covered in the final instrument: 1) new courses, 2) merit raises, 3) financial decisions, and 4) educational goals. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statements posed in these items along a six-interval continuum in a Likert-type scale. ("Agree strongly" at one extreme to "Disagree strongly" at the other extreme.) One score was computed for each set of items referring to a single issue, resulting in four issue subscale scores. Some of the items retained from the original pool were phrased so that agreement implied perceived legitimacy while others were phrased so that disagreement implied perceived legitimacy. In all cases, expression of perceived legitimacy (whether through agreement or disagreement with the specific item presented) was scored toward the high end of the six-point scale.and expression of lack of perceived legitimacy (again, whether through agreement or disagreement with specific items) was scored at the low end of the six-point scale. A maximum subscale score for any one subscale represented the sum of item scores within that subscale. (For example, an individual who perceived maximum legitimacy for each item and thus was scored with a 6 on each of the 8 items for the subscale had a score of 48 on that subscale. Minimal perceived legitimacy on each item would result in a subscale score of 8, one point for each item.) Each of the subscales had an internal consistency reliability coefficient greater than .90.

B. Procedure

Random samples of fifty full-time faculty were selected from current faculty directories of nine public institutions of higher education in Pennsylvania. The final sample included three community colleges, three state-owned state colleges, and three state-related universities. Questionnaires were mailed to each of the 450 individuals included in the sample along with a cover letter explaining the study. Several followup mailings were made

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to encourage responses. A final total of 286 usable responses was received, giving a return rate of 64 percent.

C. Design

The primary questions asked were whether faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of internal institutional governance vary with the type of institution, the individual institution or the issue in question. Each of these was employed as an independent variable. The dependent variable was the sum of an individual's evaluations of the elements of government.

Two two-factor analyses of variance for mixed designs were conducted in order to test the following null hypotheses:

1. No interaction will be observed *between type of institution and issue* as sources of variance in perceptions of the legitimacy of governance in their respective institutions.

2. No difference will occur *among issues* in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance.

3. No difference will occur *within types of institutions* in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance.

4. No interaction will be observed *between individual institutions and issue* as sources of variance in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance.

5. No difference will occur *among individual institutions* in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance.

Institution and type of institution were included as *between* subjects variables and issue was included as a *within* subjects variable.[22]

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[22]The model for this design was taken from J. L. Myers, *Fundamentals of Experimental Design* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966), pp. 176-189. Terminology used in referring to variables is from Myers. The reader should recognize that certain assumptions upon which the use of this design depends have not been strictly met. For example, it is impossible to select from some pool of college faculty random samples which can be assigned to treatments (individual institutions) on a random basis. It cannot be concluded that assigning an individual to a community college will affect his perceptions of the legitimacy of governance in certain ways. All that can be said is that those individuals who emerge by self-selection and by such selective mechanisms as are operative in the academic marketplace seem typically to develop the attitudes which will be measured. Strictly speaking, the type of institution has been confounded in this design with the personal characteristics of the respondents.

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D. Results

Table 2 reports descriptive results, and Figure 1 reports profiles
for the three types of institutions. Since the six-point Likert scale gave
respondents an opportunity to register maximum agreement with state-
ments implying perceived legitimacy (6.0), or maximum disagreement with
those statements (1.0), a meaningful neutral point on each item was 3.5.
For a given subscale, the maximum score is 48.0 and the minimum is
8.0 (each subscale has eight items). The neutral point on each subscale
is 28.0. Scores above that point represent a tendency on the part of a
respondent to agree with statements implying perceived legitimacy of
governance for the issue, while scores below that point represent a
tendency to disagree with statements implying perceived legitimacy.
Figure 1 reports mean subscale scores for each type of institution.

The analysis of variance (Table 3) detected an interaction, and
the sequential hypothesis testing procedure (including the Newman-Keuls
multiple comparisons procedure) recommended by Games (1971) was
employed to detect the loci of differences among means within the type
of institution matrix.

The basic patterns which emerged from this analysis were as
follows:

1. A significant effect was observed across institutional types
   of the New Courses subscale. Faculty at all three types of
   institutions perceived governance in this area to be sig-
   nificantly more legitimate than governance for any of the
   other three issue areas.

2. Each of the three types of institutions had a profile which
   was distinct from that of each other type.

3. Community colleges differed significantly from state
   colleges in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of
   governance for three of the four issue areas. (New Courses,
   Financial Decisions, and Educational Goals.) On each
   of the three issues, community college faculty perceived
   governance within their respective institutions to be more
   legitimate than did state college faculty. There was vir-
   tually no difference among the types on the Merit Raises

subscale, where all faculty showed a slight tendency to disagree with statements implying perceived legitimacy.

4. Universities and state colleges did *not* differ significantly from each other in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance for three of the four issue areas. University faculty perceived governance for decisions about New Courses to be significantly more legitimate than did state college faculty.

5. Universities and community colleges differed significantly from each other in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance for two of the four issue areas. Community college faculty perceived governance for Financial Decisions and Educational Goals to be significantly more legitimate than did university faculty. Faculty from these two types of institutions did not differ significantly in their perceptions of the legitimacy of governance for New Courses or Merit Raises.

The general inferences to be drawn are 1) that each type of institution seems to have its own unique profile, 2) that the patterns of perceived legitimacy of governance of community college faculty differ substantially from faculty at universities and state colleges, and 3) that faculty at all types of institutions included in this study perceive governance for New Courses to be more legitimate than governance for the other issues. It should be reemphasized, however, that faculty at the state colleges perceived governance for New Courses to be significantly *less* legitimate than did faculty from the other two types of institutions.

Rejection of the null hypothesis concerning interaction between type of institution and issue indicated that separate tests of hypotheses concerning *institution* effects should be carried out *within each type*. Because it had already been shown that an interaction existed among the types, comparisons of each of the nine institutions against one another would have yielded ambiguous results. Some of the differences obtained would simply have represented a repetition of previously reported differences among types. Accordingly, separate tests of institution effects were conducted within each type—all universities against one another, all state colleges against one another, and all community colleges against one another.

Figures 2, 3, and 4 present profiles for each institution by type. The two-factor, mixed design analysis of variance was conducted employing *institution* as the between-subjects variable and *issue* as the within-subjects variable.

For the universities, both the interaction null hypothesis and the null hypothesis concerning the main effects of institution were retained (Table 4). Given the retention of those two null hypotheses, the finding of a significant issue main effect is redundant; it was established earlier that an issue effect existed for the universities as a type.

The interaction null hypothesis was rejected for the state colleges (Table 5). Subsequent multiple comparisons located an institution effect on the Financial Decisions subscale; faculty at State College A perceived governance in this area to be more legitimate than did faculty at State College C. Institution effects were not observed on the other issue subscales for the state colleges. State College A departed from the profile of its institutional type insofar as no issue effect was detected. This finding should be associated with the profile obtained for State College A in the validity check. (See Table 7 and attendant discussion of this point.) For the other two state colleges, faculty perceived governance for New Courses to be more legitimate than governance for the other issue areas.

The final analysis was performed to test the hypotheses using community college faculties' responses (Table 6). As was the case with the state colleges, a significant interaction effect was obtained. Subsequent analysis revealed marked institutional differences.

Faculty at Community College A perceived governance for New Courses to be more legitimate than governance for Merit Raises, but there were no other issue effects at that institution. Faculty at Community College B perceived governance for New Courses to be significantly more legitimate than governance for any other issue, but they made no detectable discrimination with regard to governance for the other three issues.

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At Community College C, faculty perceived governance for New Courses to be significantly more legitimate than governance for any other issue area. They perceived governance for Educational Goals to be more legitimate than governance for either Financial Decisions or Merit Raises. There was no evident difference in their perceptions of the legitimacy of governance for the last two issues. Each of the community colleges, then, presented a distinct profile when issue effects were considered.

Separate analyses were conducted to test the null hypothesis concerning the effect of community colleges as individual institutions on faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance for each issue. No *institution* effect was detected on the New Courses subscale; but on the remaining three subscales, faculty at Community College A and at Community College B perceived governance to be more legitimate than did faculty at Community College C. Faculty from the first two institutions did not differ in their perceptions of the legitimacy of governance on any of the four subscales. Thus, a pronounced institution effect was indicated by the departure of perceptions of the legitimacy of governance of Community College C faculty from the perceptions of the legitimacy of governance held by faculty from the other two community colleges.

In summary, it was concluded 1) that institution effects could not be detected among the universities, 2) that institution effects were pronounced among the community colleges, and 3) that occasional institution effects may occur among state colleges (although the only effect detected in this study was on the Financial Decisions subscale). Issue effects were clearly in evidence at all but one institution.

E. Validity

Validation of the scale was handled in two stages. A panel of judges was used in the first stage to assess the validity of individual items. The second stage involved gathering corroborating information about the

ways in which key administrators at the institutions sampled viewed faculty behavior, using criteria relevant to the concept of perceived legitimacy.

Specifically, the literature suggested that one way to confirm the validity of a survey of perceptions of the legitimacy of government would be to assess the ease with which a government can justify its decisions to and gain the cooperation and consent of its constituents. Since the comparisons made in this study were intrinsically relative (issues were compared against each other), academic vice-presidents and deans at the cooperating institutions were asked to make relative (ranked) assessments of the four issue areas regarding: 1) the ease with which they felt cooperation and consent of their faculty were obtained and 2) the ease with which they felt they could justify decisions and policies to the faculty. Eighty-one percent of the deans and vice-presidents polled returned usable responses (the total response rate was nearly 90 percent).

Table 7 presents comparative data for each institution, with the community colleges grouped as a class. (Only one academic officer responded from each of these institutions; it was felt that rankings based on one man's perceptions would be too unreliable. All of the other institutions had two or more responding officers.) Faculty rankings of the issue areas were derived from the order of mean issue subscale scores reported in Table 2, and the deans' rankings represent composites of the rankings reported by responding administrators. For the faculty, a rank of 1 indicates "perceived as most legitimate," a rank of 2 indicates "next most legitimate," and so on. For deans, a rank of 1 indicates "easiest to gain cooperation and consent and to justify decisions," etc.

These rankings affirm that at least some observable positive relationship exists between faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance and the "governability" of faculty as assessed by academic administrators. Spearman rank-order correlation coefficients were calculated for the comparative rankings

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for each institution, and, while the number of rankings in each case was too small to yield any meaningful estimate of significance, all coefficients were positive. The relationship of perceived legitimacy to "governability," as assessed by faculty and deans respectively, appears to be more than casual. Although the estimate made here is crude, it appears to warrant some confidence in the power of the scales to detect the kinds of relationships in the real world which they were intended to detect. The nature of the validation information obtained should be taken as evidence of the validity of the *approach* rather than as evidence of the validity of the specific scales used.

It should also be taken as at least partial justification for the procedures and assumptions employed in comparison of the issue subscale scores because the same rankings of issues emerged from the results of both surveys in the New Courses issue. For example, note the low relationship in the case of State College A (Table 7). An analysis of the faculty profile for that institution yielded no differences among issue subscale scores. If reality corresponded to faculty perceptions, only a random relationship of faculty perceptions to administrators' perceptions would be expected. Neither group could have had a meaningful basis on which to assign rank orders of issue areas if, in fact, no difference existed. Thus, the rankings could not be expected to covary.

IV. Discussion

It seems clear that perceived legitimacy of college or university governance cannot be described without specifying the *issue* in reference to which perceived legitimacy is assessed. Faculty members included in this study sample made definite and statistically significant discriminations in the legitimacy of governance for four issue areas. These results confirm what has been found in other studies and what is generally accepted in pluralist political theory: that is, in examining or describing the dynamics of decision-making processes, the investigator should introduce the issue variable.

Pursuing the findings with regard to issues, it was determined that faculty at each *type of institution* perceived governance for New Courses to be significantly more legitimate than governance for any of the other issues considered. It seems saf‿ ‿ suggest that this is an area in which faculty have been granted considerable power in most institutions. It is expected that faculty at most institutions will control the disposi+ion of new course proposals to a great extent, or that at least their judgments will be seriously considered in making curricular decisions. Whatever the actual form of governance for New Courses—and this study has not maoe any rigorous determination of ways in which decisions *are* made—this area is clearly a source of perceived legitimacy among faculty.[23] Judging from administrators' responses to the validity survey, there appears to be general agreement about the ways in which decisions about New Courses should be reached.

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[23]Hobbs and Anderson asserted in concluding a study of departmental administration that "In curricular matters, e.g., the proposed addition of new courses or the nature of requirements to be met by students majoring in the discipline, faculty democracy is the rule." W. C. Hobbs and G. L. Anderson, "Academic Departments: Who Runs Them— and How?" (Buffalo: Office of Institutional Research, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1970). The results of that survey cannot be generalized to the institutions used in the present study, but there is no a priori reason to insist that such practices are *not* followed at most of the institutions in the present sample. An exception, if it exists, occurs in the case of the community colleges. Many decisions at those institutions appear to be made at the central level, but with substantial faculty input at some institutions on some issues.

See "Report of the Survey Subcommittee of Committee T," *AAUP Bulletin* 57(1971): 68-124, for the results of a survey concerned with the nature of faculty influence on more than thirty decisions. (970 institutions of all types were included.) Faculty influence across institutions was found to be highest on academic and curricular decisions and lowest on budgetary and salary decisions (p. 70).

If faculty feel that they have a substantial influence on decisions about New Courses—more influence than they have with regard to other issues—then Almond and Verba's *generalization* that an individual's sense of competence relates to his perception of the legitimacy of governance is confirmed.

Some points should be made about other issues. Community college faculty were significantly less satisfied with governance for Merit Raises than they were with governance on the other three issues. This finding supports the growing national movement toward collective bargaining among this group. (Pennsylvania community college faculties have recently become legally eligible to collectively bargain.) It would appear virtually certain, if the scale used in this study has validity, that relative discontent among community college faculty with governance for Merit Raises will ensure receptivity to the bargaining approach. But since significant differences occurred among community colleges on this scale, such a generalization should be qualified. Perhaps the faculty at Community College C would embrace bargaining without hesitation. It would appear at the same time that the administration at Community College B has built a reservoir of good faith which would deter their faculty from militance on this issue. However, the present study only taps the perceived legitimacy of governance; it does not tap the extent of faculty satisfaction or dissatisfaction with actual pay scales or merit raise provisions.

Faculty at most institutions did not express an unqualified perception of legitimacy regarding governance for Educational Goals. This does not mean that there is necessarily any major disagreement among faculty and administrators about specific goals. It does suggest, however, that Gross and Grambsch were overly optimistic in their conclusions when they asserted that: "In general, there is considerable congruence between the ideal and the actual and, by inference, a high degree of satisfaction among

faculty and administrators that goals are receiving the proper emphasis."[24]
The question raised in the present study was in reference to ways in which
decisions about goals are reached and faculty cannot be said, at the insti-
tutions sampled, to impute an unqualified perception of legitimacy to
those processes. Thus, whether congruence in terms of desired goals
exists or not, other elements must be assessed in order to reach conclusions
about the ways in which decisions on institutional goals are made.

It would have to be concluded that the frequently reported loss
or decline of perceived legitimacy among faculty at colleges and universities
is apparently not an all-or-nothing proposition. Faculty at various insti-
tutions discriminate among issues in different ways, but they seem to
perceive as relatively legitimate governance processes which guarantee
them at least some feeling of competence to influence decisions.

Community colleges differed most from the others as a class in
terms of faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance. State colleges
and publicly-controlled universities appeared more like each other than
either was like the community colleges.

Perhaps the most intriguing result obtained in the contrast among
institutional types was the ceiling effect on state college faculty percep-
tions of the legitimacy of governance for New Courses. While all faculty
appeared relatively satisfied with the conduct of decision making in this
area, state college faculty perceived governance for New Courses as signifi-
cantly less legitimate than did faculty at community colleges and universities.
It is a difference which deserves explanation, but data generated in this
study only hint at the cause.

An hypothesis can, however, be offered. Specifically, perceptions
of the legitimacy of governance among state college faculty appear to be

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[24]E. Gross and P. V. Grambsch, *University Goals and Academic
Power* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1968), p. 110.

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affected by the constraining aspects of direct state control.[25] One
must suspect that this control has created a "halo effect" which is
best described as a resultant unwillingness among state college faculty to
grant unqualified support to existent governance arrangements. This
finding could have clear implications for the exercise of state control over
institutions through coordinating boards. If faculty are unwilling to
impute legitimacy to governance arrangements which involve a heavy measure
of external control, the president will have to assume a mediating role
between conflicting interests (the state and the faculty), neither of which
accepts the legitimacy of the other's right to make certain decisions. How
a president might sustain his own authority under such circumstances is
open to question.

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[25]A recent study on organizational dynamics of selected state
colleges in Pennsylvania reached a similar conclusion. (See Linda S.
Hartsock, *Organizational Dynamics in Selected Institutions of Higher
Education* (Ed. D. dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University,
1971). The following selected quotations from that study are illustra-
tive:

> The state relationship of the institution was cited by virtu-
> ally all those interviewed as potential and sometimes real
> limitation on the autonomy of the college . . . (p. 108).

In looking at a second institution, the author concluded:

> Institutionally, many interviewees indicated that the college
> was not autonomous because of its public nature and state
> control. This state relationship was often cited as the reason
> for a number of institutional problems which emerged . . .
> (p. 167).

A quotation from a faculty member at one of the institutions seems to
express in a few words the apparent frustration caused by perceptions of
rigid external control on these institutions:

> No, the whole college and all its parts is entirely restricted
> by DPE (Department of Public Instruction) and the Board of
> Trustees in anything we do. (p. 236)

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It is clear that generalizations about faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance are not warranted if those generalizations fail to account for differences among institutional types. Whatever the actual source of variance, the parameters of perceived legitimacy appear to vary from type to type.

The effects of individual institution upon faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance varied from type to type. This conclusion implies a qualification of Keeton's recent recommendation. He asserted that:

> A tailoring of the governing structures and processes to each campus' conditions would surely be more appropriate to effective performance of its task than would the adoption of a standard approach to the governing of all private or all community or all four-year public colleges.

The results of this study support those conclusions when applied to Pennsylvania community colleges. But it is not clear from the results reported here that that conclusion would apply with equal force to universities as a class of institutions. Universities appeared more homogeneous as a class than did either the state colleges or the community colleges, and it may be that a generalized approach to problems of *university* governance is feasible. (Keeton did not include universities in his sample.) The state colleges presented a less clear situation.

Keeton's approach and the approach of this study differ. Keeton opted for breadth, asking respondents to identify problem areas from among a broad selection. This study selected only four areas, but concentrated on securing assessments of the dynamics of governance within each of those areas. The fact that the two approaches yielded partially contradictory conclusions points not to the inadequacy of either approach, but to the need for further study of the question of generalizing among institutions about theories of institutional governance.

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[26]Keeton, *Shared Authority*, pp. 8-83.

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It can be said that an important part of the variation in faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance was explained by aggregating responses within types of institutions. Some additional variation was explained when data were aggregated by institution, but institutions within two types—universities and state colleges—appeared more like one another than they were different.

It can be hypothesized that the pattern of variation among types of institutions reflects, in part, the nature of external controls. Community colleges are the most intensely and avowedly local of all institutions. Their primary accountability is to the community (school district, county, etc.) which supports them. Assuming considerable variation in institutional adaptation to local political circumstances, along with variation in the political realities themselves, it might be hypothesized that governance dynamics will differ markedly from community college to community college. The universities, however, are more often accountable to state-wide or national constituencies and, compared to community colleges, are usually free from any formal local control. State colleges, it would appear, contend to some extent with informal local political influences. Further study is needed regarding the extent and nature of external political control as it affects institutional governance between types of institutions in the public sector. Such a study has become especially urgent as the tendency to statewide coordinating mechanisms gathers momentum.

It is clear that a thorough study of *existent* governance structures and processes must accompany a survey of faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance if variability in those perceptions is to be explained. Further, it is clear that a longitudinal assessment of patterns of change in perceptions of the legitimacy of governance within selected institutions would yield information about causation, as would a broader application of this instrument to various types of institutions in other states.

There is also a need for further investigation of the effect of types of governance structures on faculty perceptions. Comparative studies of various models for participation and consultation would yield important information which this study has not tapped.

The methodology employed in this study has certain merits, regardless of the specific conclusions on the perceived legitimacy of institutional governance. As reported earlier, the faculty perceptions were related to administrative perceptions of faculty governability. As predicted from the theoretical literature in politics and organization behavior, interactions were obtained between type of institution and issue and between individual institution and issue.

Conclusion

This monograph was a preliminary investigation of the parameters of faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance. It was in part a test of an untried method for measuring those perceptions. The results suggest several conclusions:

1. In assessing dynamics of collegiate governance, it is necessary to take type of institution and issue effect into account.

2. In assessing dynamics of collegiate governance, it appears necessary to take institution effects into account only for some types of institutions (state colleges and community colleges). Universities did not differ from one another.

3. Although issue effects differ from type to type, and within some types from institution to institution, it appears that faculty *tend* to perceive as more legitimate those governance processes in which they can expect to have relatively greater influence, e.g., governance for New Courses.

4. The loss of perceived legitimacy frequently noted among American colleges and universities does not appear to be an all-or-nothing proposition. On some issues at some institutions, faculty showed a significant tendency to

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agree with statements implying perceived legitimacy. On balance, however, it should be noted that faculty at most institutions also showed distinct tendencies to disagree with statements implying perceived legitimacy for most issues covered.

5. The method used for assessing perceptions of the legitimacy of governance appeared generally appropriate on the basis of a validation exercise and the findings which supported the generally accepted theory.

The external validity of these conclusions is subject, of course, to the representativeness of the sample, which consisted only of public institutions in Pennsylvania.
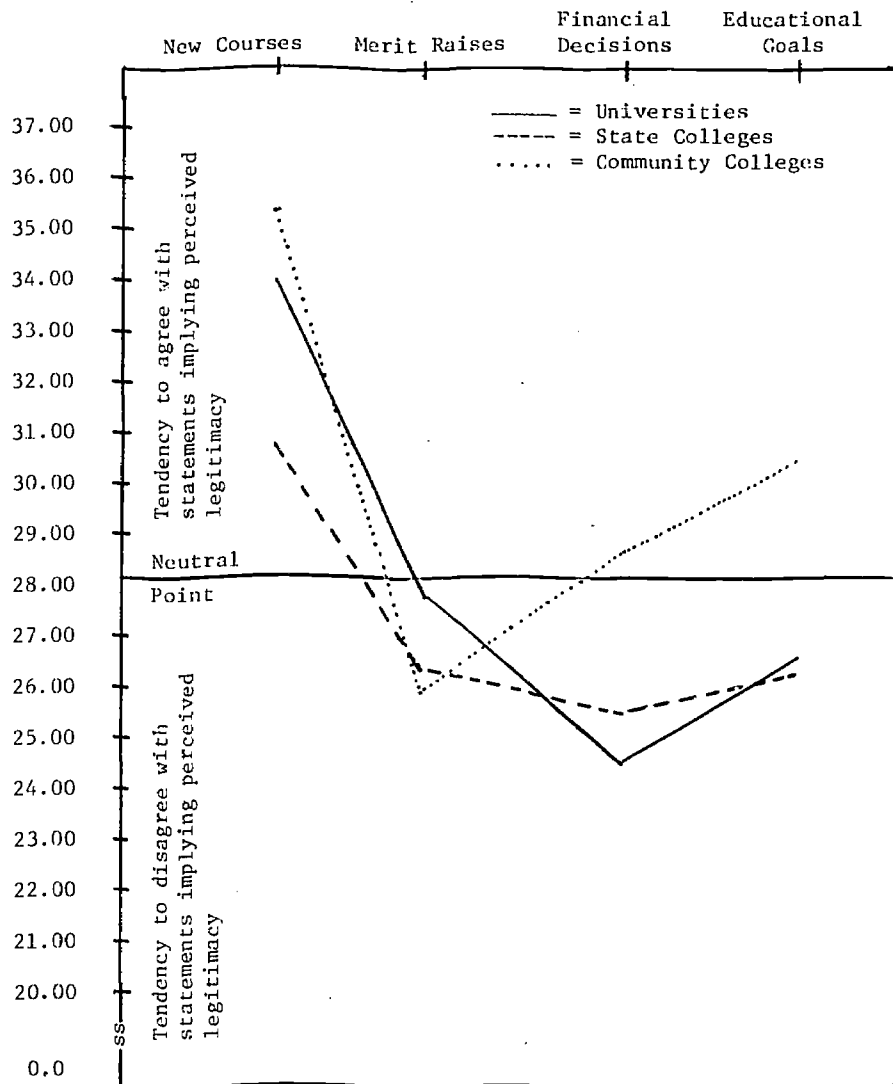
Appendix A:

Figures

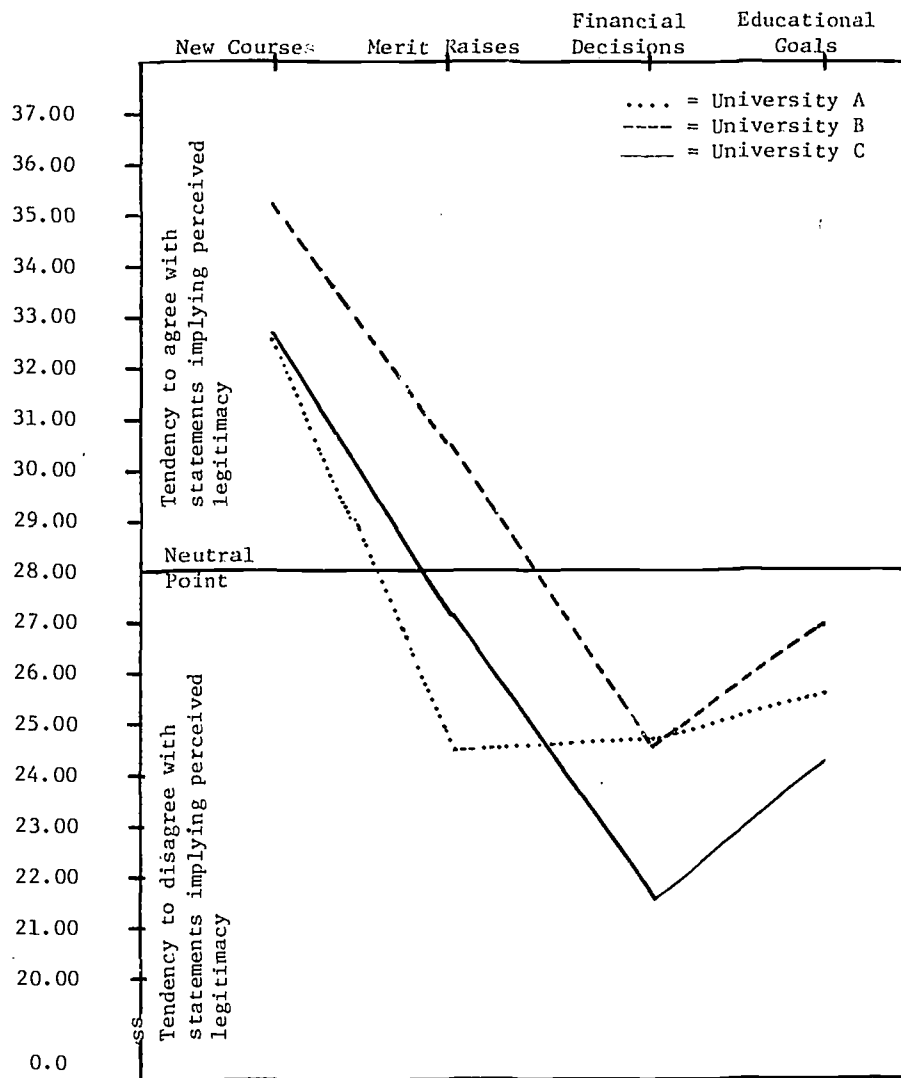Figure 1. Profiles: perceived legitimacy scores by type of institution.

Figure 2. Profiles: perceived legitimacy scores by institution, universities.
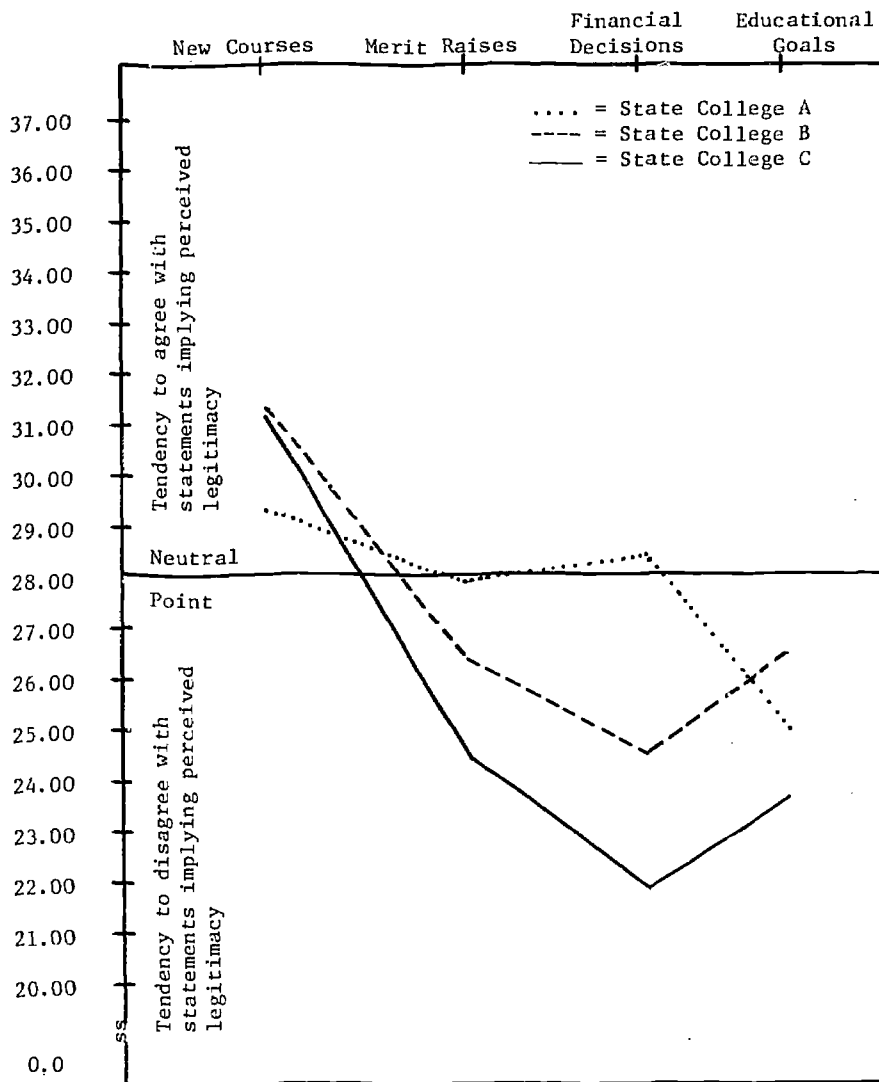
Figure 3. Profiles: perceived legitimacy scores by institution, state colleges.
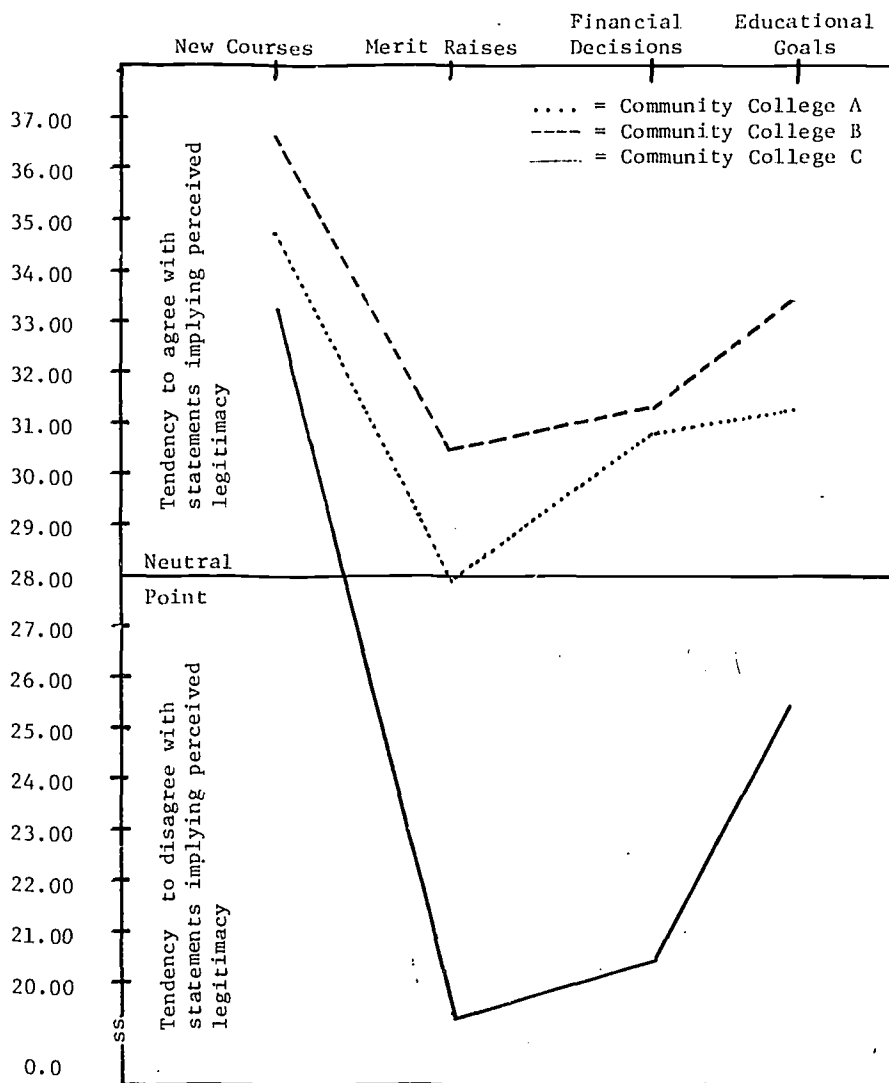
Figure 4. Profiles: perceived legitmacy scores by institution, community colleges.

Appendix B:

Tables

TABLE 1

COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT FOR DETERMINING THE SOURCES
OF A GOVERNMENT'S LEGITIMACY OR ILLEGITIMACY

Elements of Government

	Structures	Procedures	Policies	Decisions	Officials, Trust	Officials, Competence	Extra-const. Activity	SUM
1								
2								
3								
4								
SUM								

(Row labels: I S S U E S)

In theory, a sum of citizens' evaluations of the elements of government across issues and a sum of citizens' evaluations of "issues" across the elements of government could be obtained. In the absence of any absolute measure of legitimacy, comparisons could be made of the sums to indicate *relative* strengths and weaknesses in the incumbent government as evaluated by citizens.

If this approach is accepted, a third dimension could be added to the analysis. Specifically, assuming the issues one selects are comparable from one government to another, several governments might be compared on these dimensions.

TABLE 2

SUBSCALE MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS BY INSTITUTION AND INSTITUTIONAL TYPES

Institution[a]	New Courses		Merit Raises		Financial Decisions		Educational Goals	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
University A	32.55	6.79	24.55	9.91	24.77	7.36	25.73	7.89
University B	35.23	8.30	30.64	8.39	24.55	8.13	26.95	9.55
University C	32.64	9.01	27.09	7.82	21.64	7.86	24.14	8.09
Subtotals Universities	33.94	7.60	27.71	8.86	24.51	7.57	26.64	8.41
State College A	29.23	9.60	27.95	9.16	28.36	7.71	25.30	9.71
State College B	31.27	8.57	26.41	8.90	24.55	8.69	26.45	10.92
State College C	31.05	7.77	24.36	9.02	21.92	6.91	23.68	9.15
Subtotals State Colleges	30.80	8.15	26.40	8.83	25.55	8.11	26.23	9.40
Community College A	34.82	8.64	27.95	7.75	30.86	6.79	31.18	9.96
Community College B	36.68	7.70	30.36	10.03	31.18	7.38	33.41	7.91
Community College C	33.14	4.84	19.09	5.90	20.50	4.43	25.45	5.97
Subtotals Community Colleges	35.31	6.66	25.90	9.04	28.45	7.70	30.29	8.14

[a]The institution totals were computed on the basis of 22 respondents per institution. Subjects were randomly discarded from each institution's pool to reach that figure. Twenty-two was the lowest number of subjects available (in terms of usable questionnaires returned) for one institution, and in order to conduct the analyses of variance without violating pertinent assumptions, equal cell sizes were necessary. The same consideration held for computation of type-of-institution descriptive data reported here, except that 80 subjects were available for each type. The means and standard deviations reported for each type were calculated *separately* from the institutional means reported within types. The figures which report institution profiles drew on the data reported here. Virtually no difference was observed between the data reported here for the revised samples and the data computed on the basis of all usable information for each institution or type of institution.

TABLE 3

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY TABLE: TYPE OF INSTITUTION X ISSUE

Source	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	DF	F-ratio	p^a
Between Subjects					
Type of Institution	1241.36	620.68	2	3.185	.05
Error	46183.10	194.87	237		
Within Subjects					
Issue	7897.17	2632.39	3	102.360	.001
Type x Issue	1221.09	203.52	6	7.914	.001
Error	18294.70	25.72	711		

[a]As noted by Lana and Lubin (1936), the repeated measures analysis of variance is sensitive to violations of the assumption that the correlations among the repeated "treatment" scores are zero or equal. The assumption was tested as recommended by Winer (1962) and, for the data in this study, the assumptions were found to have been violated. Accordingly, the conservative test of the hypotheses recommended by Lana and Lubin (adjusting the degrees of freedom by multiplying them by 1/(k-1) for the within-subjects portion of the design) was used in arriving at the probability levels for the F-tests.

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY TABLE:
INDIVIDUAL UNIVERSITIES X ISSUE

Source	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	DF	F-ratio	p
Between Subjects					
Institution	441.14	220.57	2	1.057	.348
Error	12930.00	205.24	63		
Within Subjects					
Issue	3566.32	1188.77	3	50.206	<.001[a]
Institution x					
Issue	295.07	49.18	6	2.007	.058
Error	4475.11	23.68	189		

[a]See note for Table 3. Probability level was determined for this test as recommended by Lana and Lubin (1963).

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY TABLE:
INDIVIDUAL STATE COLLEGES X ISSUE

Source	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	DF	F-ratio	p^a
Between Subjects					
Institution	281.60	140.80	2	0.587	.559
Error	15120.60	240.01	63		
Within Subjects					
Issue	1359.68	453.23	3	17.494	<.001
Institution x					
Issue	464.49	77.42	6	2.988	<.05
Error	4896.58	25.91	189		

[a] See note for Table 3. Degrees of freedom and probability levels adjusted for this test as recommended by Lana and Lubin (1963).

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TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY TABLE:
INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY COLLEGES X ISSUE

Source	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	DF	F-ratio	p^a
Between Subjects					
Institution	3437.85	1718.92	2	10.987	.001
Error	9856.41	156.45	63		
Within Subjects					
Issue	3088.32	1029.44	3	44.712	<.001
Institution x					
Issue	617.18	102.86	6	4.468	<.05
Error	4351.50	23.02	189		

[a]See Table 3. Degrees of freedom and probability adjusted for this test as recommended by Lana and Lubin (1963).

TABLE 7

ISSUE AREAS RANKED BY FACULTY AND ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATORS

Institution		N	New Courses	Merit Raises	Issue Financial Decisions	Educational Goals	Correlation
University A	Faculty	22	1	4	2	3	+ .80
	Deans	10	1	4	3	2	
University B	Faculty	22	1	2	4	3	+ .80
	Deans	12	1	3	4	2	
University C	Faculty	22	1	2	4	3	+1.00
	Deans	4	1	2	4	3	
State College A	Faculty	22	1	3	2	4	+ .25
	Deans	2	2.5	4	1	2.5	
State College B	Faculty	22	1	3	4	2	+ .80
	Deans	6	1	4	3	2	
State College C	Faculty	22	1	2	4	3	+ .60
	Deans	3	1	3	2	4	
Community Colleges	Faculty	80	1	4	3	3	+1.00
	Deans	3	1	4	3	2	

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Note on the Author

DAVID W. LESLIE is an Assistant Professor of Education at
the University of Virginia. He received his Ed.D. in Higher Education
from The Pennsylvania State University in 1971. He received the
Ed.M. in School Psychology from Boston University in 1965 and the
B.A. in Psychology from Drew University in 1964. While at Penn State,
Dr. Leslie served as a research assistant in studies of governance at the
Center for the Study of Higher Education. Before coming to the
Center, he served as registrar, director of institutional research, assistant
director of admissions, and residence hall director at Dean Junior
College in Massachusetts. Dr. Leslie is currently studying the impact
of collective bargaining on conflict resolution procedures in higher
education under a grant from NIE. With another grant from NSF, he
is also studying the media's (mass and professional) content modification
of Supreme Court decisions as they are transmitted to college administrators.

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The Pennsylvania State University

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