

**MASS RESIGNATION IN A SOCIOLOGY**

**DEPARTMENT: A CASE STUDY**

**By**

**DONNA KAY MARTIN**

**Bachelor of Science  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, Oklahoma  
1967**

**Master of Science  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, Oklahoma  
1969**

**Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate College of the  
Oklahoma State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for  
the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION  
May, 1996**

Thesis  
1996D  
M379m

**MASS RESIGNATION IN A SOCIOLOGY**

**DEPARTMENT: A CASE STUDY**

**Thesis Approved:**

*J. Peter Rustine*

**Thesis Adviser**

*Martin Burdzy*

*Michael Melby*

*Kerry Kuse*

*Thomas C. Collins*

**Dean of the Graduate College**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks to my major advisor, Dr. Nan Restine, for her inspiration, expert guidance, support and friendship in this effort. The other members of my committee, Dr. Martin Burlingame, Dr. Ken Kiser, and Dr. Michael Mills, have been eager to provide assistance and have encouraged the completion of my work; I thank them, as well.

The goals of my doctoral program, fostered by my professors in educational administration and higher education, led me to the concrete identification of the constructs of a conceptual framework within which I have lived and worked over the last twenty-five years. The post-positivist paradigm is founded on the belief that there are multiple ways of knowing that are valuable, indeed essential, to the scholarly pursuit of knowledge. Therein lies the seed of my approach to this study.

The culmination of a near life-long dream leaves in its wake a twenty-eight year marriage. No words adequately express my regret that I could not have both. I am thankful to my two precious daughters, Lori and Lyndsey, for the love and understanding that have kept me going. I extend my gratitude, also to my sister and brother-in-law, Wanda and Sam Sheehan, who were confident I could accomplish my task. Finally, I “lift” my thanks to my parents, Max and Nell Peery, who had faith in me from the beginning.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background of the Study.....	2
Conceptual Framework .....	6
The Problem, Purpose and Questions.....	14
Methodology .....	16
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE .....	19
The Culture of the Academy .....	19
The Culture of Academic Disciplines .....	24
The Culture of the Sociologist.....	33
Culture as a Holistic Phenomenon .....	43
Summary: Academic Culture as the Interpretive Lens for Examining Conflict .....	49
III. METHODOLOGY .....	51
Design of the Study .....	54
Data Collection .....	55
Data Analysis .....	57
Summary .....	60
IV. THE CASE .....	61
Transition in the Sociology Department .....	62
Budgetary Misunderstandings .....	65
The Impression of the North Central Association.....	68
The Altizer Controversy .....	69
The ACLU Affair .....	74
The March 9 Meeting .....	77
Campus and Statewide Reaction. ....	81
The First Resignation .....	85
Aftershocks of the First Resignation .....	88

Chapter	Page
IV. THE CASE (continued)	
A National Awareness.....	99
Response Across University Subcultures.....	102
The Moss State University Incident .....	105
The Provo Picnics.....	108
The Last Remnants of Confidence Fade .....	110
The Sociologists Resign En Masse .....	114
The Bereaved Departure.....	120
The Board of Faculty Representatives' Report .....	123
AAUP Censorship .....	126
V. THE FINDINGS .....	128
Overview of Theoretical Perspective .....	128
Alignment of Emerging Themes With Existing Literature .....	131
The Antagonistic Political Climate of the University .....	133
The Changing Face and Internal Climate of the Sociology Department.....	149
Movement Toward a Quality Sociology Program.....	156
Distress Over Leaving Rosholt Research University .....	159
The Compatible and Cohesive Climate of the Sociology Department.....	162
Favorable Labor Market for University Faculty .....	163
Summary .....	165
VI. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS.....	166
Conclusions .....	167
Implications.....	168
Suggestions for Further Research.....	170
REFERENCES .....	173
APPENDIX.....	179
References to Printed Materials Tied Directly to the Case .....	179

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1.1 The University System Depicting Administrative and Faculty Subcultures .....	12
1.2 The University System Depicting Administrative, Faculty and Academic Discipline Subcultures.....	13

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Recriminations between administrators and faculty, rooted in the diverse subsystems of academe, resulted in perceived administrative retaliation and in mass resignation of the sociology department at Rosholt Research University at the close of the 1967 Spring semester. The backdrop of this case study is provided by the political dissensus of society that moved inward to college and university campuses in the decade of the sixties (Ladd & Lipset, 1975). Because social scientists are concerned with matters of polity and society in the fulfillment of their intellectual pursuits, divisions over policy in academe as well as the larger society intimately affect how their world is seen and, consequently, the operations of the institutions of which they are a part.

The author has chosen Birnbaum's (1988) model of the university system to express the distinctive subsystems of the university while at the same time illustrate the blends of faculty and administrative responsibilities that are necessarily influenced by the disciplines of academic men and women. Social scientists owe their allegiance to a particular set of ideological values, as do members of each of the interest groups Birnbaum (1988) identifies. Yet, as this case study reveals, these varying ideologies are bound to create misunderstandings and conflict.

The case study of mass resignation in the sociology department at Rosholt Research University<sup>1</sup> was analyzed through the conceptual framework provided by

---

<sup>1</sup> Pseudonyms have been used to replace the name of the institution, key players and printed documents cited herein. For references to printed materials tied directly to the case, see Appendix.



Collins' (1975) theory of conflict, the object being to transfer this particular set of events to broader theoretical constructs, perhaps providing propositions for examining other phenomena in higher education.

### Background of the Study

The democratization of higher education that intensified after World War II, together with the Russian launching of Sputnik and increases in state and federal appropriations, resulted in the expansion of existing institutions of higher education and the founding of new and diverse ones (Horowitz, 1986; Rudolph, 1990). The number of university and college students in the United States almost doubled during the 1960s. Academia began to develop into a learned and respected profession. Increasing student numbers fostered increasing demands for resources, diversification of activities, larger faculties, and movement toward bureaucratization. Coupled with the political atmosphere of the 1960s, a consciousness about and a rationale for radicalism and free speech developed (Horowitz, 1986).

The emergence of student and academic protests impacted the American college and university more than had ever been experienced historically by virtue of the large numbers of persons connected with academe (Lipset, 1971). By the end of the 1960s, there were seven million students and over half a million full-time faculty, compared to the one million students and eighty thousand full-time faculty in the 1930s. Even if only a minority of those students and/or faculty participated in campus protests, the sheer number involved was enough to convince the country that the university of the sixties was a "hotbed of rebellion" (Ladd & Lipset, 1975).

The decade of the sixties “began with a small, though significant number of cultural and political radicals on campus, stimulated by adult mentors” (Horowitz, 1986, p. 25). Martin Lipset (1971), in his study Rebellion in the University, cites a set of dissenting factors emerging from studies of institutional correlates of student activism in the 1960s, which he refers to as “determinants of protest-proneness.” Included are: (1) size, particularly if there is a critical mass large enough to sustain a protest movement; (2) bureaucratization with regard to the impersonal treatment of students; (3) the political beliefs students (and faculty) bring with them to the university; and, (4) an alliance between student and adult protest.

Lipset (1971) suggests that student protests were not a demonstration of generational revolt, but rather students’ contribution to the trends of the adult world as represented by faculty. The American Council on Education documented faculty participation in stimulating or supporting student unrest in the 1960s in a comprehensive analysis of demonstrations which took place at 181 institutions during 1967 and 1968 (Boruch, 1969). According to Lipset (1971), “faculty were involved in the planning of over half of the student protests which occurred” (p. 198). It was the social scientists, first, and then the humanists, who empathized with antiestablishment, liberal-left positions. Lipset (1971) and Ladd and Lipset (1975) note a correlation between the fields most dedicated to the value of knowledge, art and basic research--the liberal arts--and the tendency to recruit students and faculty who are sympathetic to radical positions in the reform of the establishment. Conversely, they point out, the more practical fields such as engineering, education, agriculture, and business tend to be more conservative in their

recruiting and hiring efforts (Ladd & Lipset, 1975; Lipset, 1971). These disciplines differ substantially in their epistemology as well as in their political views. Horowitz (1986) maintains that the protesters of the sixties were not acting out of “individual conscience,” but “from within a collegiate culture with its own ethos and codes of behavior” (p. 26). Roszak (1968) dubs this culture the “dissenting academy,” and Kerr (1991) characterizes those who supported it as viewing institutions of higher education as collectives dedicated to helping to change society. Kerr (1991) describes them as seeking “to have faculties and professional associations as a whole, such as the sociologists, take positions on public issues” (p. 55). From an administrative point of view, it is essential to consider these orientations as they impact the university in times of controversy and conflict such as were present in the student-faculty activism of the sixties.

The rapid growth in size and numbers of institutions of higher education prompted the development of bureaucratic tendencies that added to an already general political discontent on the part of faculty and students. The academic disciplines responded in different ways; some, more aggressively than others, through academic protests. Administrative attempts to restore order were construed as a threat to academic freedom, furthering the conflict between campus cultures.

The mid-sixties environment at Rosholt Research University, a mid-western land-grant university, reflected the typical faculty and student unrest sweeping the nation’s institutions of higher education. After what some called the “controversial appointment” of a new university president in July of 1966, there were allegations of his interference in Religious Emphasis Week; the State Regents produced a statement on academic freedom;

the Student Union refused to allow the state chapter of the Civil Liberties Union to use Student Union facilities as a convention site; the Student Senate considered--and split over--a proposed student "Bill of Rights;" the new president issued a statement revisiting the proper communication channels (as opposed to protest gatherings) for faculty and graduate assistants' grievances; and, nine of the ten faculty in the sociology department resigned at the end of the spring semester, 1967, in protest of what they considered suppression of academic freedom. The fluid academic labor market of the 1960s provided faculty with alternatives that enabled them to depart, relatively easily, from institutions where they viewed the administrations as "incompetent, mis-directed, or improperly constrained" (Brown, 1967, p. 162). Brown (1967) notes that the "right of independence of action" was so embedded in the climate and culture of the college and university of the 1960s that it was the "*primary* determinant of job choice . . ." (p. 164). The dissensus resulting from each of these events exponentially increased conflict over intramural policies.

The problem under investigation has as its focus the widely held notion that sociologists hold radical views and that behavior based upon those views is grounded in the epistemology of the discipline. Porter (1984) suggests that sociologists are "their own worst enemies, suffering from lack of confidence in their field because of the unpredictable, anxious environment in which they operate. The allegation is confirmed by Becker (1982), who contrasts the uncertainty of the disciplinary context of sociology with the natural sciences, noting that sociologists do not discover things previously unknown to man, but look for a deeper understanding of familiar concepts. The

discipline of sociology has been described as a “fractious family,” with little agreement on perspectives and problems (Becher, 1987). The fact that sociologists’ ideological identities are at stake, Becher (1987) expounds, “may be one reason behind the tendency . . . toward a disproportionate incidence in rifts and schisms . . . in areas in which values are highly charged,” referring to sociology as a case in point (p. 98).

The phenomenon of academic freedom, however, contradicts the proposition of disciplinary allegiance and accompanying isolation (Clark, 1987). The academic professional adopts the pursuit of truth as central to the mission of the university and the ability of faculty and students to shape their teaching and learning environments as implicit in achieving that goal. As Clark (1987) states, it is the “idea of integration through cultural overlap” in that “. . . the ideologies of the professoriate view academic freedom, in all its variant meanings, as a necessary condition for acting with integrity in the service of knowledge. The one concern shades into the other” (pp. 144 & 139).

The author will explore the idea that, although their disciplinary paradigm shaped how the sociologists at Rosholt Research University initially reacted to the new president’s policies, it was the holistic phenomenon of academic freedom and its universally-agreed upon intrinsic value to the university that governed the sociologists’ decisions to resign en masse.

### Conceptual Framework

The conceptual lens that provides a perspective for viewing the problem under study is conflict theory; the interpretive lens is the holistic phenomenon of the cultural system of the higher education community. Although several theories of social conflict

have been posed, Randall Collins (1975) incorporates Weber, Marx, and Durkheim in his path toward identifying the existent variations in not only formal positions, but in the organization of domestic and associational networks that shape both outlooks and behaviors of individuals. He stresses that the “crucial dividing lines in the social structure are dominance relations in all of these spheres and the resources and contacts that are attached to them” (Collins, 1975, p. 45). According to Collins (1975), the basic insight underlying conflict theory is that while human beings are sociable animals, they are also conflict-prone animals. In his estimation, conflict exists because violent coercion is always a potential resource, and coercion brings forth conflict in the form of antagonism. Each individual basically pursues his or her own interests and there are situations, particularly when power is involved, in which those interests are inherently antagonistic (Goffman, 1959). Multiple spheres of social interaction exist for all individuals. It is the pattern of personal interaction in each sphere, Collins (1975) notes, together with the resources available to individuals in different positions and their combined force in a given situation, that determines one’s personal ideology.

For most individuals, an occupational orientation is a part of their sphere of social interaction. Max Weber’s (1968) bureaucratic organizational theory suggests that organizations may be best understood as arenas for conflict among individuals pursuing their own interests, which is particularly the case in research-oriented institutions of higher education. The role of the institution determines, in fact, the array of interacting cultural perspectives that define the organization (Clark, 1963). Interactions rooted in personal ideologies produce moral solidarity either for the organization or within

subgroups of the organization; result in administrative techniques that can be applied to impose sanctions; and provide individuals an awareness of the sanctions that are necessary for compliance with their interests, as leaders, and the limits of their compliance, as followers (Collins, 1975). Collins (1975) maintains that “political, economic, and cultural organizations [i.e., institutions of higher education] are all subject to a common analysis,” based upon the idea of an organization as a network of interpersonal influences (Collins, 1975, p. 298).

In his discussion of ideology, ritual, and control, Collins (1975) directs his formulation of social conflict theory toward various social units. Regarding the case under consideration, the social unit is defined as the sociology department, a subgroup of the larger organization of Rosholt Research University. His thoughts regarding community are of particular interest in this context:

1. The more power and resources are located in the joint activities of a tribe or community, the greater the tendency for ceremonies to take place involving the whole community, and [the greater the tendency for] both to bolster the authority of community leaders and loyalty to its members.
2. The greater the similarity among the ceremonial ideals of particular factions, the more they will coalesce in a common position in a political crisis[is].
3. The more severe the crisis, the more likely groups are to coalesce along the lines of collective interests. (Collins, 1975, p. 369)

Collins (1975) further relates that the strongest commitment to an organizational group and its ideals results from successful social rituals. This can be applied on the

plane of the overall organization or within subgroups of the organization; the key to attachment to the group *per se* requires rituals to be performed among equals.

Considering the sociology department at Rosholt Research University as the unit of analysis, Collins' (1975) applicable propositions are as follows:

1. The more similar recruits are in cultural background, the more likely they are to become friends, and the greater the potential loyalty.
2. The more conducive the conditions for creating personal friendships in an organization, the greater the potential loyalty.
3. The greater the isolation of subgroup members from outsiders, the greater the potential loyalty to the subgroup. (p. 303)

As the last proposition above suggests, conflict against outsiders is yet another way to engender strong ritual ties within a group and promote solidarity. Collins (1975) puts forth the following idea that deals with the ritual that accompanies threats from outside the organization, or subgroup:

The more that members of a subgroup are aware of danger and hostility from another subgroup, the more loyalty to the subgroup (provided that there is not already hostility between groups within the subgroup). (p. 305)

Collins (1975) also discusses the various control techniques used by administrators and the devices that work best in varying situations. He notes that administrative "surveillance" is alienating because it limits freedom of action and that the more coercion is used, the more surveillance, or control of the physical environment, is needed to "prevent escape, rebellion, and organizational disintegration" (Collins, 1975,



p. 313). Rules, as well, take on a control characteristic in fostering the goals of the organization. Collins (1975) emphasizes the following:

1. The greater the use of written rules, the less personal loyalty to immediate superiors, and the less subversion of authority through the chain of command.
2. The greater the threat from insubordinate local [subgroup] officials . . . the more an organizational leader is motivated to bureaucratize. (p. 318)

The most basic determinant of the degree of influence of one individual over another (such as administration over faculty), Collins (1975) purports, is the type of sanctions applied. The following propositions, then, are particularly pertinent to the case under study:

1. Coercion leads to strong efforts to avoid being coerced.
2. If resources for fighting back are not available but opportunities to escape are, the greater coercion that is applied, the greater the tendency to leave the situation. (Collins, 1975, p. 298)

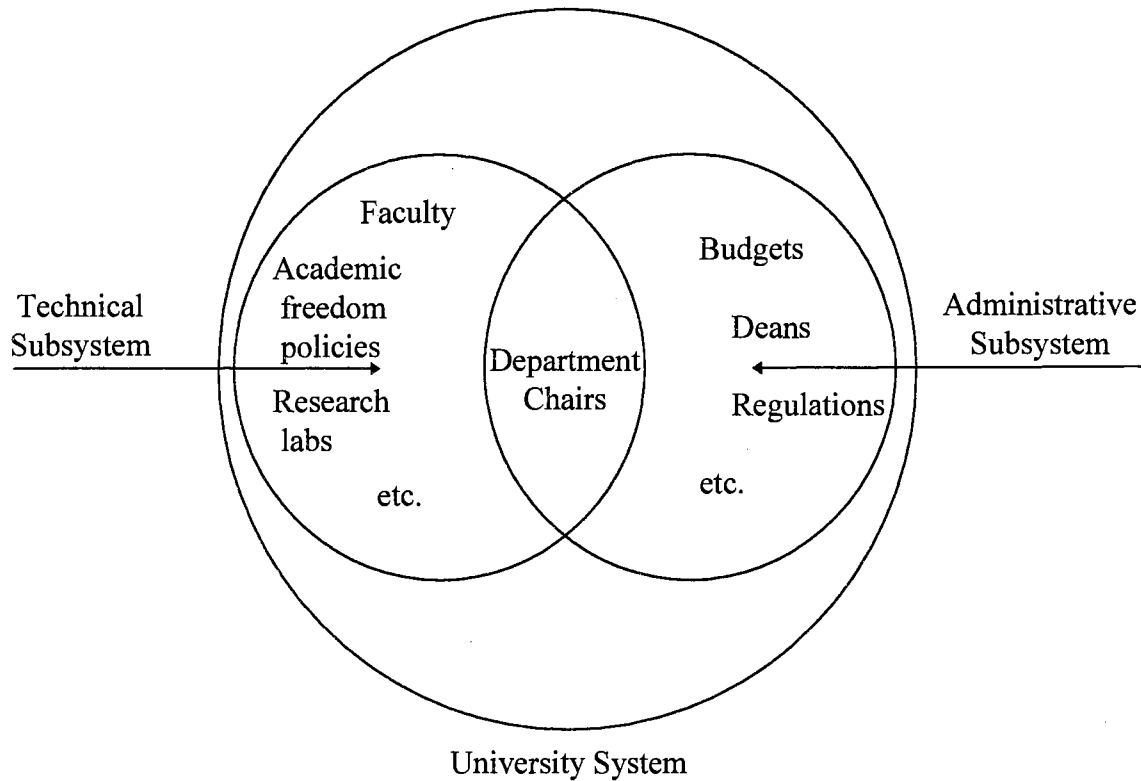
Collins (1975) points out that the principles of conflict theory are “no where . . . better exemplified than on the materials of stratification” (p. 61). Higher education social strata may be described as the cultures of academe; namely, those of the particular academic disciplines, the faculty in general, and the administration. Each strata is defined by the shared values, assumptions, beliefs, or ideologies members have about their particular subgroup (Peterson & Spencer, 1990). The academic life is composed of small worlds; different worlds (Clark, 1987). There are “multiple spheres of social interactions

and multiple causes in each one” (Collins, 1975, p. 61). Conflict theory enables one to examine the congruity within and the diversity between each sphere in light of patterns of interaction, resources available to persons in different positions, and the strategy they adopt for furthering their personal status. Collins (1975) maintains that “the ideals and beliefs of persons in different positions thus emerge as personal ideologies, furthering their dominance or serving for their psychological protection,” thereby influencing the decisions emanating from the subgroup to which they belong (p. 61). It is the interpretation of the communication within and across the spheres of interaction that enables us to order the development of conflict, embracing and expressing it toward shaping the future of an organization (Burns, 1978).

While Collins’ (1975) theory of conflict provides a conceptual lens through which one may view persistent differences between groups in the higher education community, the cultural system of academe is the interpretive lens for examining discord and conflict within and between subgroups, or subsystems (Peterson and Spencer, 1990).

Birnbaum’s (1988) model of the university system (Figure 1.1) separates the higher education community into two subsystems: the technical, which is composed of faculty, department chairs, policy statements (such as academic freedom) and research laboratories; and the administrative, which includes regulations, department chairs, deans, budgets and other elements necessary to coordinate the activities of the organization.

Using Kast and Rosenzweig’s (1973) definition of a system, we are concerned with “an organized whole that has two or more interdependent parts (or subsystems) and is separated from the environment by a boundary,” realizing that the subsystems interact

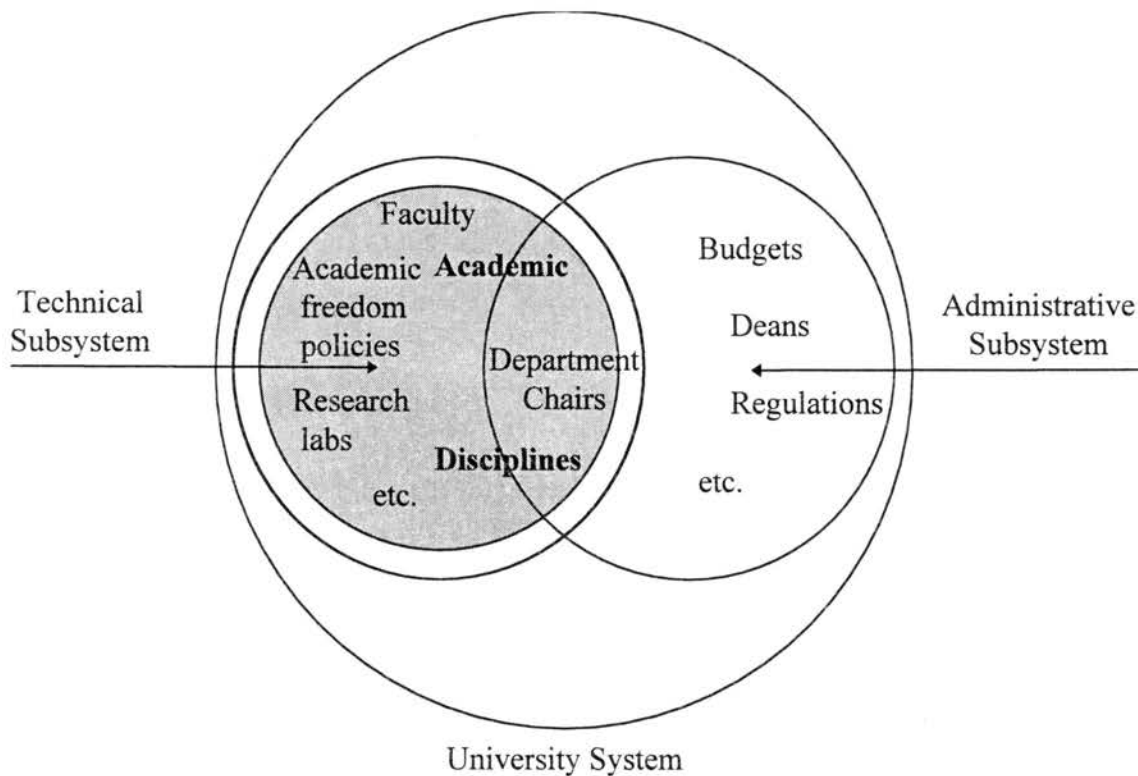


**Figure 1.1 The University System Depicting Administrative and Faculty Subcultures**

and affect each other (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 30). The outer boundary serves to remind one that not only are academic communities subject to the epistemological issues of the cultures inherent within academe, but also to the influences of the wider society. Indeed, it is these combined influences that shape the institutional mission (Carnegie Foundation, 1976).

The propositions espoused by Collins (1975) suggest the strategic importance of considering all organizational subgroups in order to gain a complete awareness of the multiple spheres of interaction operational within any organizational community. This logic, together with Becher's (1989, p. 23) assertion that "it is around the disciplines that

faculty subcultures increasingly form,” dictates the addition of a third subsystem--that of “academic disciplines”--to Birnbaum’s (1988) model of the university system. It must be superimposed upon the technical subsystem for obvious reasons and necessarily overlaps with the administrative component since department heads, deans, indeed, all administrators, identify with a unique field of study. The model depicted in Figure 1.2 represents not only the existence of a third subsystem, but suggests insights to be gained



**Figure 1.2 The University System Depicting Administrative, Faculty and Academic Discipline Subcultures**

toward understanding conflict in academe through the probing of the array of interactions introduced through the cultures inherent within the multi-disciplinary sphere.

The members of a particular academic discipline necessarily interact within their unique subgroup, within the array of disciplinary groups that make up the general faculty, and with administrators who not only belong to the administrative culture but the culture of their chosen discipline. The different spheres within which one lives and works often create opposing orientations and color the conflict (shaded area in Figure 1.2) which emerges due to different views of the world. The ideologies native to each cultural sphere provide a rubric for understanding contrasting perspectives and determine the strategies each pursue, thus providing a foundation for understanding the generation of conflict (Dubinskas, 1992).

It is Collins' (1975) propositions about the effects of control strategies and their structures on the interests of the individuals within an organization, their struggle to pursue their personal and cultural interests, the administrative techniques employed to accomplish certain tasks toward shaping organizational ideals and goals, and the strength of cultural ideology and ritual in the face of an external threat which lend the perspective through which to focus on the conflict resulting in mass resignation in a university sociology department during the late 1960s. It is the phenomenon of the culture of the academy that provides the lens through which the conflict may be best interpreted.

#### The Problem, Purpose, and Questions

The political and social temperament of the nation is reflected in the internal environment of the college and university. Multiple spheres of culture provide disparate interactions seeded in patterns unique to the ethos of the particular cultural stratum. Further complicating this context is the existence of multiple disciplines within the

faculty sphere. Differing ideologies at each level continually negotiate for position in order to affect change, and are often a source of conflict.

Various descriptions of the academic community allude to multiple layers, or strata. According to Kuh and Whitt (1988), describing the culture of a college or university may be compared to “peeling an onion,” as it is often difficult to determine “where one layer ends and the next begins” (p. 51). Indeed, as one considers individual faculty members, multiple roles are revealed.

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze an incident of mass resignation in a sociology department at Rosholt Research University in the Spring of 1967. In particular, the study focuses upon (1) describing the cultural world of the sociologists, generally, while noting the broader function of sociologists as faculty members at Rosholt Research University; (2) the interaction of sociology faculty with faculty of multiple disciplines outside the sociology department at Rosholt Research University; and (3) interaction of members of the sociology department with the cultural sphere of university administrators at Rosholt Research University. In particular, research questions are: (1) What was inherent in the epistemology of the sociology faculty that provided a basis for understanding the conflict between the sociology faculty and the administration? (2) Why did the disparate cultural logics of the multi-disciplinary general faculty exacerbate the conflict between the sociology faculty and the administration? (3) How were the competing cultural perspectives of the sociology faculty and the administration manifested in their “world views” of the governance structure of the university, and how did their views ameliorate the conflict?

## Methodology

The focus of this study is the description of the epistemology of sociologists and their interactions, as members of a discipline and members of the academic profession, with the administration of Rosholt Research University during the events of the 1966-1967 academic year. In describing the events of that year, the goal is to:

illustrate the complexities of [the] situation--the fact that not one but many factors may have contributed to it; to show the influence of personalities on the issue; to include vivid material--quotations, interviews, newspaper articles, and so on; to spell out differences of opinion on the issue and suggest how these differences . . . influenced the result. (Merriam, 1988, p. 14).

An interpretation of the interactions between the sociologists, other faculty, and the administration in a unique set of institutional and historical circumstances offers insight into the holistic meaning of the event and, therefore, its impact upon the participants and the institution.

Case study research is a design often employed in understanding and interpreting observations of educational phenomena. In particular, the historical case study aids one's ability to understand an event or phenomenon over a period of time and apply that knowledge to practice through a study of the "context of the event, the assumptions behind it, and perhaps the event's impact on the institution or participants" (Merriam, 1988, p. 24). The unit of analysis in this case study is the sociology department at Rosholt Research University during the 1966-1967 academic year. The department of sociology may be identified as what Merriam (1988) refers to as a bounded system in that

the boundaries of an academic department have a “common sense obviousness” (p. 10). Data collection methods employed in this case study include multiple forms (Merriam, 1988), combining the “dissimilar methods” of the long interview, physical evidence in the form of newspaper articles, and personal as well as internal university documents to study the unit.

The long interview approach was used to look into the “mental world” of the sociologists involved; to “glimpse the categories and logic by which they [saw] the world” in the context of Rosholt Research University during the events of the 1966-1967 academic year. A pilot study of the topic in the Spring of 1993 included interviews with three individuals, although they were informal and semi-structured, as the interviews preceded the author’s technical training vis-à-vis McCracken’s (1988) long interview methodology. The president of Rosholt Research University at the time of the controversy was interviewed, as was a graduate student in the sociology department during the 1966-1967 school year and the first faculty member hired in the sociology department after the resignations.

Five of the nine members of the sociology department who resigned from Rosholt Research University in the Spring of 1967 were interviewed. Four of the interviews were face-to-face; one member was interviewed via telephone. All five of the sociologists were interviewed during the Spring of 1995 at their respective institutions of higher education or their places of work. Four of the five reside outside the state in which Rosholt Research University is located; one is a member of a sociology department in a



metropolitan area within the state. Information was gathered from the diary of one sociologist whose health did not permit a personal interview.

Major ideas that cut across the data were identified and conceptual categories about the “general properties of thought and action” (McCracken, 1988, p. 46) within the sociology department were developed toward interpreting the data and arriving at conclusions (Merriam, 1988).

The use of hindsight in reviewing the mass resignation of the sociology department at Rosholt Research University in the Spring of 1967 is meant to be professional rather than critical; that is, toward identifying pointers for the future rather than rendering a verdict on anyone or any group (Neustadt & May, 1986). The aim is to find the most compelling interpretation of what happened and draw on the knowledge gleaned from the event. The lesson to be learned for administrators is “to *use* experience . . . in the process of deciding what to do today about the prospect for tomorrow” (Neustadt & May, 1986, p. xxii).

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review of the literature focuses on the ethos of the profession of the academic as well as the subcultures of which he/she is a part; namely, the multiple academic disciplines, the discipline of association, and managing the meaning of these varying ideologies toward conflict resolution and organizational effectiveness. The purpose of this review is to examine the existing literature on these subjects with an eye toward exploring the overlap and interconnection between cultures and to consider the lens through which the integrative aspects may be most cogently viewed.

#### The Culture of the Academy

The overarching integrative values that “link faculty across the range of disciplines and institutions” serve to define the “culture” of the academic professional (Austin, 1990, p. 62). The concept of “culture” has been studied by scholars in a wide variety of disciplines. Becher (1984), though uncomfortable with the many denotations of the term “culture,” admits that “it is the only term that seems satisfactorily to combine the notions . . . of a shared way of thinking and a collective way of behaving” (p. 166). Culture is often obvious to an outsider, but invisible to the members of a cultural group because it is “largely constituted out of the taken-for-granted, seldom articulated patterns of everyday action and belief” (Dubinkas, 1992, p. 188). It is pervasive, “deeply embedded and enduring . . . not malleable, changed primarily by cataclysmic events or through slower, intensive . . . long-term efforts” (Peterson & Spencer, 1990, p. 6).

A cultural system is built from “reciprocal relationships” between four focal components as identified by Dubinskas (1992): “(a) knowledge or beliefs (the shared cognitive or conceptual understanding of what or how things are), (b) patterns of practice (both the models for doing and the model-guided, habituated actions of everyday practice), (c) tools and artifacts (the means and ends of practical action), and (d) patterns of [emotion] that embody the compelling force of culturally appropriate models” (p. 190).

A definition of the culture of academe adopts as its focus the patterns of beliefs, norms, values, practices and assumptions which shape behavior in colleges and universities and serve as a referent framework in the interpretation of actions and events (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). The culture of the academician embraces several focal components that are the hallmark of higher education, amidst the diversity of institutions and areas of knowledge defining them. Clark (1963) and others (Austin, 1990; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Rice, 1986) purport that several values and concepts provide an integrative link between faculty across disciplinary lines, with the type of institution determining how academics exhibit them in their professional lives. The first focal point relates to the academicians’ fundamental conceptual understanding that the purpose of higher education is to pursue the truth through careful analysis and discovery and to disseminate that knowledge to students and society, with the goal of increasing understanding for the common good (Clark, 1963). Professorial autonomy and academic freedom are patterns of practice which are understood and form the bedrocks of preservation of quality and fostering of creativity in the pursuit of truth. Intellectual tools claim a general adherence to integrity

in dealings with students and a commitment to intellectual honesty, shunning theft or falsification of ideas (Clark, 1963). The genre of academe is a community of scholars who work together to govern their particular institution, are supportive of their colleague's educational and research efforts, and transmit culture through their associations with students and service to society. It is the "commonplace, everyday, unanalyzed actions" in any group's particular way of carrying out their profession that "weave together in a coherent life or career" (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 188). It is this patterned system of actions that has become the culturally appropriate lifestyle of the academic professional.

Clark's (1987) study of the life of the academic researched the culture of the profession through field interviews with 170 faculty members in six fields of study, across six major types of institution, covering every tier of higher education. He identified "outstanding scholarly work" and an "unfettered commitment to seek the truth" as the norm for outstanding professors at research institutions (Clark, 1987, pp. 124-125). The faculty at comprehensive institutions were more pragmatic, believing that professors should not only keep up in their field, but should be realistic about their obligation to students (Clark, 1987). The community college faculty members were strongly student-centered, their open-door ideology aimed at jump-starting beginning students as opposed to any "pie-in-the-sky" notions of the scholarly pursuit of truth (Clark, 1987). Even with these differences among the professoriate at various levels of higher education, Clark (1987) notes that in describing what attributes they felt they had in common, faculty used such terms as "searching for answers," "problem-solving,"

“sophisticated analysis,” and “intellectual curiosity” (p. 130). These traits were felt to be essential in reaching the goal of providing knowledge to society, undergirded with honesty, lest their efforts be rendered valueless toward societal ends. Integrity in the service of knowledge, Clark (1987) found, had its roots in the ideology of academic freedom. One faculty noted:

I think that if a faculty member ever feels that he or she doesn't have academic freedom with respect to expressing views to the administration, to society, to special interest groups, [and] to industry [that] we may as well get out of the university business because this is intrinsic to what the university is. (Clark, 1987, p. 134)

The various orientations “across the landscape of American colleges” may be attributed largely, according to Clark (1963), to the “role of the college; the objective interests of the faculty, induced partly by the role of the college and partly by the structure of rewards of the academic profession; and the scale and autonomy of the college” (p. 45).

Ladd and Lipset (1975) point out that a well-developed theme of commentators on the intellectual community of which faculty are a part is “inherently questioning, critical, [and] socially disruptive,” by virtue of their preoccupation with creativity and innovation (p. 13). Reference is made to Veblen, Schumpeter and Snow (Ladd & Lipset, 1975) who claim that in their obligation as intellectuals and scholars, the professoriate has had a tendency to reject the status quo, oppose ideas, and criticize reality. While Ladd and Lipset (1975) admit that significant protest movements have gathered visible support from higher education at different times in history, they note that most

universities have accepted the status quo and remain primarily educational institutions. In contrast to the idea of an *avant garde* culture used by some critics to describe colleges and universities, Ladd and Lipset (1975) conclude that most institutions of higher education are not considered “knowledge-creating centers.” Instead, the faculty are “primarily involved in the transmission of useful skills and indoctrination of accepted values, in preparation for life,” not in opposing current ideology and practice (Ladd & Lipset, 1975, p. 13). They agree that the professoriate are a cadre unified in their commitment to transmit the existing societal culture, including the apparatus that legitimates the authority system (Ladd & Lipset, 1975).

The academic professional is faced with simultaneous commitments to a university or college and to a field of study, each penetrating and confronting the other (Clark, 1987). Even with the shared understandings of the culture of a given institution of higher education, “internal bureaucratic separations, combined with career paths along narrow tracks of expertise, promote deepening divisions of goals and interests within the organization and set the stage for conflict” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 189). Barnett (1988) suggests that it is “the fragmentation of the academic community into discreet disciplinary sub-cultures which is to blame for reducing the internal sense of community across academic fields” (Becher, 1989, p. 170).

The core values that bind academic professionals together focus upon the pursuit of truth and understanding, intellectual honesty, and the importance of academic freedom. The culture of each institution reflects the uniqueness of its members’ patterns of behavior, values and beliefs. Further division of the academic cultural system into

distinct disciplines with their own sets of norms and values, often leads to a “dialectic of discord” within the university community.

### The Culture of Academic Disciplines

The diverging work of the various academic disciplines increasingly differentiates professors into subcultures, generating distinctive languages, norms and epistemological bases that shape their attitudes and worklives and “condition the way they see the world” (Becher, 1989, p. 25). Academics display distinctive orientations that set them apart from other professionals, but “individually they are hardly of one mind” (Ladd & Lipset, 1975, p. 6). Oppenheimer describes this separation into specialized disciplines as being akin to “the fingers of the hand, united in origin but no longer in contact” (Hagstrom, 1972, p. 125). In describing the academic life, Burton Clark (1987) elaborates upon the importance of the discipline by noting that “there is no more stunning fact about the academic profession anywhere in the world than the simple one that academics are possessed by disciplines, fields of study, even as they are located in institutions” (p. 25). A common discipline suggests that groups of scholars “turn their attention to the same universe of detail and try to screen out from their line of vision all other details that might interfere with that concentration” (Erickson, 1970, pp. 333-334).

Just as the academic profession, in general, is described as a cultural system, the academic disciplines operate within focal components specific to their area of expertise. The culture of the discipline becomes “constitutive of personhood as well as of group identity” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 192), or what Geertz (1983) likened to a frame that defines one’s life. It becomes, in fact, an everyday fact of life, that Dubinskas (1992)

relates to the world of fish: “[They] may be keenly aware of sharks, competitors, and food, but they don’t talk about *water*--they just swim in it” (p. 188). Members of a discipline don’t talk about it, they just make meaning of their culture through their actions (Dill, 1982).

F. G. Bailey introduces Tony Becher’s book (1989), Academic Tribes and Territories: Intellectual Enquiry and the Cultures of Disciplines with the following quote: “Each tribe has a name and a territory, settles its own affairs, goes to war with others, has a distinct language, or at least a distinct dialect and a variety of ways of demonstrating its apartness from others” (p. vi). Becher (1989) goes on to say that cultural elements of disciplines such as “traditions, customs and practices, . . . beliefs, morals and rules of conduct, as well as . . . linguistic and symbolic forms of communication” are important and powerful integrating forces, that define identities and produce devices for defending “intellectual ground” (p. 24).

Erickson (1970) gathers various descriptions of the term, “discipline,” to arrive at his own definition as “a set of ideas shared among a community of scholars as to what constitutes a proper order of evidence, a proper method of investigation, a proper standard of criticism” (p. 337). He does not attach any particular authority to these notions other than the fact that they “make sense to the men who hold them” and, as such, must be understood as a “normative order, a system of belief, a cultural product” (Erickson, 1970, p. 337).

Dill (1982) suggests that academic disciplines evoke the “greatest meaning, commitment, and loyalty” from academics (p. 309). He describes the disciplines as



taking on their own culture with symbols of status and authority, ritualistic behavior and articles of faith, similar to Dubinkas' (1992) cultural components cited earlier.

Friedrichs (1970) purports that the identification of man/woman with their occupation becomes so emotion-laden because of their dependence upon it for much of the meaning in their daily lives, causing "them to defend it vigorously and to advance its cause where possible" (p. 89). In fact, according to Becher (1989), the "tribes of academe . . . define their own identities and defend their own patches of intellectual ground by employing a variety of [cultural] devices" (p. 24). In order to become a member of a particular academic discipline, Becher (1989) maintains that not only is intellectual proficiency in one's trade required, but also a "proper measure of loyalty to one's collegial group and adherence to its norms" (p. 24), or socialization to the point that one becomes an "appropriate" member of the profession (Dubinkas, 1992, p. 199). Friedrichs (1970) echoes that notion, pointing out that professional education typically takes place "within the confines of a single paradigm." The learning takes place about this paradigm just as does the learning of a mother language or the norms of personal life. In addition, the level of consciousness about the paradigm within which one lives professionally comes to the fore only when it is shaken (Friedrichs, 1970).

According to Kuhn (1970), the intellectual paradigm provides structure to an academic discipline in that it "stands for the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (p. 175). Put more simply, it is the way members of a discipline have learned to live and talk and work together" (Hagstrom, 1972, p. 125). Kuhn (1970) suggests that the entire scientific craft

is determined by the nature of the dominant paradigm in that it is the paradigm that defines what the scientist is to study, what entities should be of concern and what he/she can expect to discover once those entities are examined. This system of ideas, or “disciplinary matrix,” (Church, 1976, p. 102) is used as a means of change and control by a professional intellectual community, as “progress stems from working in a context in which there is close agreement on theories, methods of inquiry and the training of newcomers to the discipline” (Becher, 1989, p. 10).

Ritzer (1975) argues that a more complete definition of a paradigm incorporates not only what should be studied, but what questions should be asked, how they should be asked and how they should be interpreted. He notes that “the paradigm is the broadest unit of consensus within a science and serves to differentiate one scientific community from another” (Ritzer, 1975, p. 157). It is the disciplinary paradigm that is instrumental in determining how academics organize their professional lives because “the ideals and practices of academic communities are intimately bound up with the nature of the knowledge they pursue” (Becher, 1989, p. 169).

In his paper on faculty cultures presented at the Institute on College Self Study in July, 1962, Clark (1963) remarked that, “Faculty cultures have many segments, and only a few aspects can be caught in any one net, no matter how fine the webbing of the net nor how large its size” (p. 40). The more noteworthy segments to which Clark (1963) alluded included how faculty view the status of academic persons in society, their economic attitudes, and their political values. Certainly, the professoriate has long been looked upon as leaning more to the left politically than other occupational groups (Clark,

1987). Such a blanket generalization, however, fails to reveal the different political ideologies embedded in the paradigms of the various academic disciplines. Ladd and Lipset (1975) attribute the deep divisions in academe to “the age of the multiversity” and the wide range of fields, outside interests and expectations, and social backgrounds of faculty. Akin to that is Dubinskas’ (1992) assertion that the sources of conflict in contemporary organizations “often lie in the cultural patterns that distinguish and differentiate functional specialties from one another” (p. 188). Ladd and Lipset (1975) note that it is the culture of the field or discipline within which faculty members live their professional lives and the disciplinary paradigm that shapes their ideas, interests, norms, values and professional styles. In addition, their “most striking discovery bearing on faculty political attitudes by discipline” is the progression of discipline groups along a liberal-conservative continuum, with social sciences the most liberal and agriculture the most conservative (Ladd & Lipset, 1975, p. 60). The fact that the subject matter of a discipline tends to attract people of a particular value orientation (Becher, 1989; Ladd & Lipset, 1975), enhances cultural differences within disciplines and the “intransigence in understanding another’s perspective” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 189).

Church (1976) suggests that disciplines must be looked at within the social and educational context in which they are practiced. Ladd and Lipset (1975) note, for example, that the protests of the 1960s were important because of the attention they brought to the fundamental importance of universities in American social life. The 1969 Carnegie Commission on Higher Education study of undergraduate and graduate students, faculty and administration was directed toward identifying characteristics of the

“academic mind” as to the conceptualization of political life and its relationship to a particular discipline, or intellectual arena. Responses from over 60,000 full-time college and university professors, representing all tiers of higher education, indicated that while many academics are liberal or even leftist, on larger social issues, they are relatively conservative when it comes to campus events, such as student demonstrations (Ladd & Lipset, 1975).

A discussion of the culture of academic disciplines *per se* neglects the obvious complexities introduced by the fact that, as Light (1974) points out, “faculty are *defined* by the institution that hires them” (p. 17). Austin (1990) suggests that the strength that the disciplinary culture has with regard to framing the faculty member’s behavior is directly tied to the culture of the institution in which he/she is employed. There is necessarily a connection between the mission of the institution and the work of the academician, thereby shaping a part of the professional life and, therefore, culture of the disciplines unique to a particular institution. What happens, however, is that discord between disciplines occurs based upon the false premise that “everyone in an organization does (or ought to) understand things and act the same way that oneself does” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 189). The interpretation of institutional policies may be caught in the cross-fire of the “dialectic of discord” in that different groups provide “fundamentally disjunct ways of understanding what is happening,” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 187) producing an isolation from members outside of the subculture and solidarity within communities that possess a similar view of their organizational world (Collins, 1975). Clark (1987) asserts that the disciplines offer different authority environments, stressing that “their

knowledge contents cannot help but shape how departments operate internally, how they relate to other departments, and how they expose themselves to higher-level commands” (p. 168).

Clark (1963) also notes that specialization has promulgated a difference in points of view, fostering movement toward a variety of disciplinary orientations rather than a single intellectual culture. He, like Becher (1989), speaks of many “nations and tribes” living their own ways. This concept is illustrated in an excerpt from Clark’s (1962) presentation:

Men of the sociological tribe rarely visit the land of the physicists and have little idea of what they do over there. If the sociologists were to step into the building occupied by the English department, they would encounter the cold stares if not the slingshots of the hostile natives. (p. 54)

This conflict between the disciplinary subcultures stems from a misinterpretation of what, for members of a given discipline, constitutes “the natural way of doing things;” their “particular way of working and understanding their work becomes normalized and [turns] into a sort of commonsense backdrop to everyday life” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 180).

The cultural characteristics of the disciplines spell out the “natural way of doing things.” Both Becher (1989) and Biglan (1973) have engaged in research contrasting the caricatures of the academic disciplines. Becher’s (1989) study of the cultures of academic disciplines included interviews with approximately 220 academics, spanning twelve disciplines and eighteen research institutions in Great Britain and the United States. His interviews, together with pre-existing written data about the disciplines, aided

him in his attempt to distinguish between the social aspects of knowledge communities, the epistemological properties of knowledge forms, and how the two influence each other. His areas of study included twelve fields; namely, biology, chemistry, physics in the pure sciences; mechanical engineering and pharmacy in the applied sciences; economics and sociology in the social sciences; history and modern languages in the humanities; academic law, as a humanities-related profession; and geography and mathematics, roughly categorized among the social and pure sciences, respectively. He concluded that “the ideals and the practices of academic communities are intimately bound with the nature of the knowledge they pursue” and, therefore, that “discipline . . . is defined in terms of its intellectual content as much as by the adoptive community” (Becher, 1989, p. 151). Biglan’s (1973) study at the Urbana campus of the University of Illinois focused on the organization of forty-seven Ph.D.-granting departments. Academic areas were clustered according to their (a) concern with a single paradigm (hard vs. soft), (b) concern with application (pure vs. applied), and (c) concern with lifecosystems (lifecosystem vs. nonlife system). Data collection techniques included questionnaires, archival records, and faculty members’ judgments of certain scholarly works. Comparison of respondents and nonrespondents were made for all departments. Depending upon the characteristics of their disciplines, scholars tended to differ in (a) the degree to which they are socially connected to others, (b) their commitment to teaching, research, and service, (c) the number of journal articles, monographs, and technical reports that they published, and (d) the number of dissertations that they sponsored (Biglan, 1973). Biglan (1973) found that the level of paradigm development influences

the culture of the discipline, but perhaps more importantly, he discovered a “need to consider subject matter characteristics in studying academic organizations” (p. 213), owing to the fact that the results of his study were dissimilar depending upon the academic area, and thus not generalizable. Noteworthy is the fact that it is the differences between disciplines that shape the actions of the tribal members and form naturalized cultural standards that are used to apprise the actions of others, “and these are not [necessarily] the standards by which other [tribes] guide themselves” (Dubinkas, 1992, p. 189). Antagonism between groups is fostered by the fact that in “[painting] the pictures of each other, . . . each use[s] only the limited colors of its own culture’s palette” (Dubinkas, 1992, p. 205).

The collective patterns of belief, practice, and emotion that constitute the culture of the discipline create “more differences than similarities among faculty” (Austin, 1990, p. 63). Each “academic tribe” assesses the world in terms of what its members believe to be culturally appropriate, often resulting in conflict between territories.

Each academic discipline is characterized by its own unique system of cultural norms that command the greatest meaning of all the cultural spheres making up the academy. The intellectual paradigm that defines each discipline attracts people of different value orientations, making for roots that run deep. At times, the clashing of the disciplines interferes with the “overarching integrative values” that purportedly link the faculty in a single intellectual culture.

## The Culture of the Sociologist

Within a discipline, “ways of knowing,” that is, the epistemological issues of “the role of theory, the importance of specialized techniques, the extent of quantification and modeling, the degree to which findings [can] be generalized and the way conclusions are established” are the basis of “tribal” culture and the language of the tribal members (Becher, 1989, p. 2). The distinct behavior within and across territorial boundaries is a manifestation of these disciplinary abstractions, so that in analyzing the culture of a discipline one must “not concentrate [wholly] on the intellectual context of the paradigm to the exclusion of its social substructure” (Church, 1976, p. 102); that is, the cultural world is contrived from educational processes as well as working contexts (Dubinskas, 1992). In order to understand the “interpretive process rooted in the culture of the interpreter,” one must investigate both (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 187).

Although intellectual paradigms are products of their time (Boissevain, 1974), the sociological paradigm in place during the mid-sixties can best be understood by relating the intellectual development of the field, over time, to the disciplinary status it strived toward for decades (Church, 1976). Toward that end, it is instructive to delve into the phases of development of the discipline of sociology as it evolved through the 1960s. One can identify three broad phases in the development of sociology; namely, (1) the differentiation of sociology from other disciplines, (2) the institutional legitimacy of sociology, and (3) the reconsolidation of sociology with other disciplines (Merton, 1970). While admitting that these phases overlap and coexist rather than proceeding through a successive progression, Merton (1970) suggests that there has been a tendency



for each phase to be dominant for a time partly as a result of social processes immanent to the field and partly because of the emergence of various social structures. Apparently, “there existed no broad consensus as to the fundamental nature of sociology’s subject matter either in Europe or America during the period leading up to the Second World War” (Friedrichs, 1970, p. 11).

Sociology had its beginnings in the disciplines from which it split, originating in England, where it was primarily associated with political economy, social administration, and philosophy (Merton, 1970). Its ancestry stretches from Germany, where it shared its philosophical roots with those of its English followers, to France, Yugoslavia and Spain, with similar beginnings rooted in philosophy and psychology (Merton, 1970). In Latin America and the United States, however, there was a concern for practical reform, economics and anthropology (Merton, 1970).

The context of the discipline was what its founding fathers declared it to be, each one searching for sociology’s place in the intellectual scheme of things (Merton, 1970). The result was an attempt on the part of each to develop his or her own system of sociology. During the late thirties and early forties, Talcott Parsons’ (1937) The Structure of Social Action became a common point of reference. In it, he distinguished between “behavior,” which he noted was “sheer empirical phenomenon of movement,” and an “act,” which “presumed . . . an active, creative, evaluating [voluntary] actor” (Friedrichs, 1970, p. 12). Parsons’ theories did not have a major impact on the world of sociology until the early fifties with a series of publications that reified his 1937 contributions; namely, Toward a General Theory of Action, The Social System, and Working Papers in

the Theory of Action. His followers detected a change in focus from “action” to “system.” Merton (1970) stresses that the fact that the nineteenth century is thought of as the century of sociological systems is not due to the pioneering sociologists’ system-mindedness, but due instead to the fact that the historical context demanded sociologists play that role. In attempting to establish the legitimacy of a “new science,” the systems approach had much more impact than the study of “detailed and delimited investigations of specific sociological problems” (Merton, 1970, p. 510). There was what Friedrichs (1970) terms a “mutual reinforcement” between the system image and the receptivity with which sociologists accepted. This was due to a theoretical base common to both, known as functionalist theory, a derivative of the more fundamental notion of society as a social system. The capstone was a multiplicity of systems, each claiming to be the genuine sociology, with the upshot being a discipline that not only differentiated itself from other disciplines, but was internally differentiated in terms of intellectual legitimacy. Merton (1970) suggests that “[t]his is one of the roots of the kinds of social conflict among sociologists today” (p. 511).

Although Parsons (1937) failed to mention the word “function” in his Structure of Social Action, by 1945 he was referring to it as “the all-important concept.” He prefaced the 1949 edition with the notation that it represented “a shift in theoretical level from the analysis of social action as such to the structural-functional analysis of social systems” (Friedrichs, 1970, p. 15). This new focal conceptual referent gave sociologists something they heretofore had not had--a logical base that invited the intellectual analysis and rigor experienced in the more established sciences. Functionalism was a dramatic development

in sociological theory, causing sociology to develop as a science, with “systems” as a common theoretical framework (Martindale, 1965). The individual was no longer the unit of analysis, but rather the “role” (or function) the individual played in a set of interactive systems (Friedrichs, 1970).

The theoretical framework of functional analysis bolstered sociology toward its second phase of development, breaking into the institutionalized “status-judges of the intellect: the universities” (Merton, 1970, p. 511). In the case for establishing sociology as an autonomous academic discipline, the recurring questions that arose were whether or not a science of society were possible and the niche sociology occupied in the structure of academic life. The challenge of change began to emerge across America in the 1960s, and sociologists began to see the edges of functionalism being punctured by an anomaly that could not be analyzed in system terms (Friedrichs, 1970). This second phase in the development of sociology was a response by sociologists to delve into areas not systematically approached by other disciplines, such as social interaction and social relations (Merton, 1970). Fundamental social change tipped the scales away from social equilibrium, sending sociologists searching for an alternative to the functionalist paradigm. The result was the absence of an overarching theoretical posture. Friedrichs (1970) notes the effect on the discipline through Kuhn’s words that, “as frustration over a fundamental anomaly lengthens into crisis, the scientific discipline involved becomes archly self-conscious . . . perceiving *itself* as a problem” (p. 29). This was the position of the sociological paradigm as it moved from the fifties into the sixties.

In the search for autonomy, the discipline experienced self-isolation, receiving only limited recognition from the universities (Merton, 1970). Peripheral status was acquired, however, with the organization of research institutes toward furthering the advancement of sociology through experimentation with new orientations in the field (Merton, 1970). While Merton (1970) points out that sociology had not been completely acknowledged by other academic disciplines, the pressure for distinctiveness from other disciplines continued to decline. With the “trial” over, so to speak, the door opened for the third stage of development, as sociology began to re-enter the arena occupied by some of the same disciplines from which it drew its origins; namely, psychology, anthropology, political science, economics and history (Merton, 1970).

The system paradigm was not to be denied until another fundamental image of the subject matter of sociology developed to take its place. The most popular candidate for the dominant disciplinary paradigm was “conflict theory” (Ritzer, 1975). According to Bernard (1965), there was a burgeoning of scholarly theories of conflict in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but interest then waned and did not see a rebirth until the 1950s. “Conflict theorists” believe that the existence of any order in society is the result of coercion of some members of society by people at the top, maintaining that “authority” and “positions” are social facts and that authority does not reside in individuals, but in positions (Ritzer, 1975). They see society constantly open to change; conflict and dissension are ever-present, with each societal element contributing to disintegration (Ritzer, 1975). Gouldner and Sprehe (1965) reported that 39% of some 3,500 sociologists who responded to a 1964 survey agreed with the statement that “the

underlying reality in groups is a series of more-or-less powerful tensions and conflicts.” Seventy-eight percent were in agreement with the statement: “Many modern social institutions are deeply unstable and tensionful” (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 44). From their analysis of the Carnegie Commission’s Survey of Student and Faculty Opinion in 1969 and their own survey in 1972, Ladd and Lipset (1975) constructed an “up-to-date” profile of the political orientation of faculty members. They, as well as Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1955), found sociologists to be the most liberal among the three social science fields of sociology, political science and economics.

Evidence that the professional behavior of sociologists is a manifestation of their paradigmatic abstractions is documented by Lodahl and Gordon (1972) in their study designed to validate Kuhn’s concept of paradigm; most specifically, consensus of beliefs. Questionnaires were sent to twenty randomly selected university departments of physics, chemistry, sociology and political science in the spring of 1968 (Lodahl & Gordon, 1972). They found that “social scientists operate in a much less predictable and therefore more anxious environment than physical scientists . . . . This continuous struggle to reach consensus in a relatively unpredictable and uncertain environment is likely to produce high levels of conflict, both within and between individuals” (Lodahl & Gordon, 1972, p. 70). Ladd and Lipset (1975) refer to the “debate which has engulfed social science,” wherein:

. . . one side argues that the proper role of the social disciplines is to subject societies and their processes to as careful, objective, dispassionate, and scientific an analysis as is possible . . . while the

other maintains that any explanation of a set of social facts should be viewed primarily as upholding or undermining various political interests and the societal 'reality' in which these interests are rooted, and that social scientists should, as professionals, be 'involved,' should make conscious moral commitments in their work and strive for political relevance. (p. 104)

The suggestion of a lack of consensus with regard to the sociological paradigm lends credence to Becher's (1989) findings that non-sociologist academics accused sociologists of being fragmented and pseudoscientific, with their research methodology dubious, tending toward overgeneralization, leaving them "open to ideological exploitation." One can also understand Erikson's (1970) contention that the subject matter of sociology is more of an "approach" than it is an agreed-upon "inventory of known facts" (p. 333). Threats to ideological identities, Becher (1989) notes, "may be one reason in areas in which values are highly charged--sociology is an obvious case in point--towards a disproportionate incidence of rifts and schisms" (p. 98). Porter (1984) reifies the assertion in his description of the discipline of sociology as a series of enclaves marked by factionalism, with an historical custom of internal dissent. The "political involvement and political dissensus," say Ladd and Lipset (1975) "have cut through the social sciences as a two-edged sword" (p. 107). They explain that social science faculty have been divided internally on the question of what their role should be as professionals in responding to the "great disputes of the day," while the subject matter of their discipline

dictates that they “address broad matters of political controversy” which invites retaliation from “offended” groups (p. 107).

Perhaps in a effort to decry accusations of non-consensus in the paradigm, Gouldner and Sprehe’s (1965) extensive study of the “professional opinions and values of American sociologists” explored the opinions of sociologists with regard to research, metaphysical assumptions, self-concept, and attitudes toward the profession (p. 42). The responses consisted of ranking statements on a Likert scale, with findings reported in terms of the percent of agreement, disagreement or uncertainty.

At the time of the survey (1964), the *techniques* of research were of mounting importance (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965). Over half (52%) of the 3,440 sociologists responding, however, agreed that “the most important aspect of any piece of research is its contribution to general theory” (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 43). An even larger percentage (82%) agreed that functional analysis and theory retained “great value for contemporary sociology” (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 43). Eighty percent of the respondents placed high importance on the use of mathematics in sociology; even greater importance (85%) was given to the inventiveness of the sociologists in research design, as opposed to rigor (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965).

There was large consensus (78%) that in any group, the basic sources of stability were the “*beliefs and values which its members shared*” [italics added] (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 44). Social problems, the great majority felt (86%), could not be corrected without planned intervention. Most of the sociologists surveyed indicated they did not want to become overly specialized, with 90% agreeing that they would not feel

competent “without considerable knowledge of the other social sciences” (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 44). Interestingly, even though sociology was often labeled as a value-free science during the decade of the sixties, the sociologists participating in the survey registered a high propensity (67%) to express their personal values to students; they did not feel that public expression of political values should be avoided; nor did they believe “active involvement in efforts to remedy social problems would seriously bias their work as sociologists” (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 42). This verifies Friedrichs (1970) report that the graduate generation of the sixties viewed itself in “humanistic terms rather than simply in the value-free garments that had come to be associated with the behavioral sciences” (p. 34).

Of particular note, is the fact that 91% of those participating in the survey agreed that: “The sociologist, like any other intellectual, has the right and duty to criticize contemporary society” (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 43). Along those same lines, 56% believed a part of their function is to “increase the effectiveness of social institutions” (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 43). Eighty-five percent agreed that they should communicate their findings to both professional colleagues and the larger audience of the general public. In keeping with those results, Rudolph (1990) reports that social scientists have been known to come “into conflict with important groups outside the academic community” (p. 413). He explains that “in seeking to apply their economic and political and social discoveries to the real world, [they] often collided with the men who were serving the universities as benefactors and trustees” (Rudolph, 1990, pp. 413-414).



One might regard the political orientation of the sociologist as the “commonsense backdrop” (Dubinskas,1992) that encouraged their involvement with broad questions of public policy. Ladd and Lipset (1975) found that faculty in the social sciences were more liberal or left of center than their colleagues in any of the other major disciplines. Becher (1989) reveals that academics outside the tribe view sociologists as “highly politicized, guilty of indoctrinating students, and ‘very left’” (p. 29). Friedrichs (1970) relates that “laymen typically conceive of [them] as institutionalized muckrakers, dredging deep for the day’s cultural contradictions” and that they were often regarded as “rebellious adolescents, kicking over the facts and fables laid down by the hard-headed adults of this world” (p. 57). Ladd and Lipset (1975) note that the active concern of social scientists with political developments and dissensus came long before the 1960s, citing the formation of the AAUP in 1914 that was the result of “a joint committee established by the American Economic Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Political Science Association,” which had met the previous year to draw up a statement “dedicated to institutionalizing the rights of faculty” (pp. 106-107). They note, too, that from an analysis of the characteristics of antiwar [Viet Nam] petition signers, “sociology petitioners gave the greatest support to the student protests of the late 1960s” (Ladd & Lipset, 1975, p. 110).

Some members of the contrasting cultures of academe have interpreted the discipline of sociology to be “fissiparous, sectarian--even divisive” in nature (Becher, 1989, pp. 29-30). Sociologists, however, were very much in agreement when describing themselves in Gouldner and Sprehe’s (1965) survey, as being dedicated to their work and

quite cognizant of its role in society, with a desire that their academic activity be used to improve the world around them. Apparently, the search for a distinctive place in the academic world for the sociological paradigm went hand-in-hand with assigning legitimacy to the sociologists' way of life (Merton, 1970).

The discipline of sociology has been internally at odds for decades in terms of what its place should be in the "intellectual scheme of things," vacillating in its early history between the study of sociological problems and sociological systems, both of which sprung from the theoretical base of functionalist theory. Conflict theory became the paradigm of choice in the 1950s, as social scientists began to deal professionally with a whole range of public issues and controversies, exposing them to many sides of political conflict. Their perspective has been heavily reformist, adopting the belief that their professional lives should address the structure and values of society in order to affect change.

#### Culture as a Holistic Phenomenon

The admixture of cultures within a bounded organizational context can be utilized as "interpretive" in making meaning of the complexity of multiple ideologies that shape the university system (Birnbaum, 1988) and "instrumental" in effectively adapting to the problems and challenges this cross-functional discord may present (Peterson & Spencer, 1990). The holistic perspective that the study of cultural subsystems lends to administrators in higher education is the key toward the establishment of a shared vision.

Clark's (1987) insights into institutions of higher learning are particularly appropriate for administrators in higher education. He notes that, "culturally, as well as

structurally, the many and the one coexist, necessitating movement among modes of thought that illuminate a configuration of contradictions” (Clark, 1987, p. 109). In their study of academic paradigms in the physical and social sciences, Lodahl and Gordon (1972) established that administrative attempts to change an institution must be grounded in an understanding of the different structure of knowledge in various disciplines and the impact such differences have on the ways in which the organization operates. Conrad’s (1978) development of a grounded theory of academic change furthers that contention. Using the constant comparative method and theoretical sampling, Conrad sought to generate a theoretical framework that would address the questions of who the major sources of academic change are and the processes through which academic change occurs. Four institutions were selected that had used different methods to realize change in their academic curricula. Through interviews and the gathering of primary and secondary materials, the different methods utilized by the University of Rochester; Ohio State University; Aquinas College; and Western Michigan University were compared and contrasted to refine existing theory. Conrad’s theory (1978), offered as an alternative to Baldrige’s (1971) political model, “focuses explicitly on the political dimensions surrounding the process of academic change, giving special attention to the formation of interest groups and the ways in which these groups attempt to utilize power and influence in the shaping of new policy” (p. 111). Conrad’s theory (1978) brings to mind some of the propositions espoused in Collins’ theory of conflict. His theory (Conrad, 1978) includes the following pertinent elements: (1) the existence of conflict in academe is a function of the extent to which interest groups believe they are a part of the decision-

making process; those interest groups whose members believe they are not benefiting equally from the system promote “conflict and agitation against the status quo” (p. 109); (2) even though underlying conflicts within the substructure of the college or university may be invisible, they become overt when external or internal pressures threaten the status quo; (3) those groups who have a vested interest in an outcome, but whose goals and/or values differ from those holding power, pursue means of translating their goals into an effective means of influence over the appropriate policy-making body; (4) the administrative leadership intervenes, prompting an impetus for change through some kind of controlling mechanism; (5) administrators serve as brokers in the change process, molding consensus and berating deviants, while the faculty at large advocates changes suggested by the policy makers; and (6) the administration can make the process of change less divisive by establishing communication channels between interest groups and by striving to unify academic cultures toward the common goals of the educational institution.

Building upon those theoretical constructs and recalling the interpretive function of a holistic cultural perspective, Bensimon (1990) reminds us that the personal theories reflected in paradigms “become a principal source of the sense-making scripts that orient [administrators]” as they take on new responsibilities or become a part of new institutional settings (p. 77). Segmented work patterns underlying bureaucratic structures become the cognitive maps administrators use in determining that “the thickets of their world contain sharp, sometimes absurd, caricatures of the style and ethos of different occupational groups” (Jackall, 1988, p. 192). The subcultures within the

university system (Birnbaum, 1988) see their organizational world from radically different perspectives (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 194). Birnbaum (1988) maintains that patterns exist in organizational life, but “ineffective administrators who fail to see these patterns . . . often act foolishly” (p. xiv). In his effort to illustrate this concept, he created five fictional institutions, each with a different system of organization, administration, and governance (Birnbaum, 1988). He emphasizes the importance of understanding the dynamics of organizational culture in constructing common perceptions of reality, therefore, “making sense” of the interactions taking place and verifying the “legitimacy of the organization” (Birnbaum, 1988). In Chaffee and Tierney’s (1988) study of four public and three private institutions of higher education, their goal was to depict “colleges and universities as socially constructed organizations and discern what can make them more effective” (p. 12). They integrated qualitative and quantitative research approaches, including multiple case studies conducted simultaneously. Their analysis was longitudinal, with interviews covering a full academic year, so that they might capture the “dynamics of organizational culture and processes of organizational change” (Chaffee & Tierney, 1988, p. 15). Based upon their study of seven institutions, they identify several ways in which administrators can be more effective in identifying “what they need to do and how they need to do it, given the organization in which they find themselves” (Chaffee & Tierney, 1988, p. 184). Among their recommendations is “Finding Internal Contradictions,” which are “often incongruities between values and structure or enacted environment” (Chaffee & Tierney, 1988, p. 185).

In so far as the distinctions between disciplines are “accepted as observational realities rather than theoretical artifacts,” Becher (1989) argues that their differences “have significant implications for the management of [conflict within] higher education and the policies of individual institutions within it” (p. 162). Bensimon (1990) suggests that “when new presidents (veterans, too) find themselves at the center of crisis, the most likely reason is not because they are inept administrative scientists but rather because they have failed to be “cultural knowers” (p. 76). Dubinskas’ (1992) study of conflict between research scientists and financial executives over product and project planning in a biotechnology firm lends insight to exploring competing cultural logics as a basis for discord:

Seeing the roots of conflict in culturally constructed differences gives us a unified platform for understanding the persistence and intensity of discord . . . . The disjunctions between these clashing cultural systems underlie the political and personal conflicts that are occasioned by some *specific historical circumstances* [italics added] . . . This concept of culture both encompasses and provides a synthetic interpretive framework for understanding historically specific conflicts without erasing the explanatory power of other theories and models to also explore the dynamics of a situation. Culture thus provides a platform for interpretation across many specific occasions of conflict for the same or similar groups of actors . . . The bounds of similarity--the breadth of the social context of relevance for a cultural pattern or system--is an issue to be explored and discovered, not assumed a priori. (p. 204)

Building upon cultural differences as a basis for understanding episodes of conflict, then, one must be careful to consider the specific actors and communities within the historical context of the event and decide whether or not the model goes beyond that boundary (Dubinskas, 1992). Neustadt and May (1986) note that administrators facing difficult decisions in time of crises should “pause to define their concerns in historical context” . . . asking what major trends are relevant and what specifics in the issue’s past--especially . . . in its past politics--bear on the question of what to do now” (p. 133). They go on to say, “the differing ideas about the past and its lessons . . . go with differences in age or experience or *culture* [italics added]” (p. 133). To add to the argument, Bensimon (1990) instructs that “before [an administrator] can assume a leading role in defining institutional reality, he or she needs to learn how ‘shared understandings’ have evolved over time and to develop a feeling for the symbolic processes that sustain them” (p. 77). Otherwise, he/she may “become derailed because of [an] insensitivity and inability to understand the perspectives of other people” (Kouzes & Posner, 1993, p. 97).

The dialectic process of moving closer together from poles separating symbolic and interpretive distance is what Dubinskas (1992) refers to as a “native process of cultural translation” (p. 205). He explains:

A cultural translation model treats the interaction as a joint meaning-construction process. In a failing, conflictual process, . . . groups are blocked in their efforts to achieve agreement by a fundamental inability (or unwillingness) to interpret each other’s position or perspective. In moving toward resolution, . . . conflicting groups are actively seeking

meaning in the other's actions as well as proactively trying to make their own actions understandable to [the] other. (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 207)

This is where culture becomes instrumental (Peterson & Spencer, 1990). It is the challenge of the administrator to find common ground through incorporating diversity by recognizing the “reciprocal relationship between those who are led and those who aspire to lead” (Kouzes & Posner, 1993, p. 93). Administrators who make an effort to listen to what others say become good leaders because they are good learners (Kouzes & Posner, 1993). As Jackall (1988) points out, in the bureaucratic world, “it is not what a person is but how closely his many personae mesh with the organizational ideal,” which has evolved over time and is defined by the current subsystems of the university (p. 193). The administrator must harness with proper protocol the “ideologies and rhetorics that serve his [organization]” in order to “address the particular exigencies” with which he/she is faced (Jackall, 1988, p. 193). The reciprocal process includes the “representation of self to [others] as well as an exploration of [the]discovery of [others]” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 296). From these efforts, a new cultural platform of mutual respect and shared vision will develop which does not erase differences, but provides a basis for cooperation and coordination for improving the performance of the organization (Kouzes & Posner, 1993).

#### Summary: Academic Cultures as the Interpretive Lens for Examining Conflict

The everyday actions and beliefs of academic professionals are based on the core values of the pursuit of truth, intellectual integrity, and the intrinsic importance of academic freedom to the quality of higher learning. Unique cultural norms that are the



outgrowth of disciplinary paradigms constitute the natural and most endearing way of doing things for those who are native to the discipline. Contrasting interpretations of each cultural subsystem by the other, i.e., administration, faculty, and academic discipline, contribute to the generation of conflict. The interpretation of cultures across all spheres of academe provide the “thick texture of data” that is instrumental in constituting a context for examining situations of both consensus and conflict within institutions of higher education, increasing the potential for improved organizational performance.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

While previous research has been directed toward improving organizational performance through the analyses of the cultural mix of academe (Austin, 1990; Becher, 1989; Chaffee & Tierney, 1988; Clark, 1987; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Lodahl & Gordon, 1972; Peterson & Spencer, 1990; Tierney, 1988), this qualitative case study presents for analysis a particular event at an institution of higher education within its historical context, the assumptions behind the event, and the impact upon the educational institution and its participants (Merriam, 1988). The goal is to understand the uniqueness of the situation of the mass resignation in the sociology department at Rosholt Research University in the Spring of 1967 and the interactions at play, communicating what happened as instructive in considering problems of practice (Merriam, 1988).

The historical nature of the case necessarily relies on the recall of informants of past events, behavior and circumstances, the validity of which has been questioned by some researchers (Bernard, Killworth, Kronenfeld, & Sailer, 1984). In addition, the use of historical documents required the acceptance “as a working principle the fact that the eyes with which one sees have all the defects of the age in which [she] lives, and that other eyes will see things different as a matter of course” (Erikson, 1970, p. 338).

Qualitative case study, however, enables one to use methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1970), which combines multiple methods of data collection to communicate the most salient explanation of the event in question.

McCracken's (1988) four-step method of inquiry served as the framework for conducting this case study. The first step of the inquiry was an exhaustive review of the literature that was sparked by a reading of Becher's (1988) chapter, entitled "Patterns of Communication," in Academic Tribes and Territories. He alludes to a "disproportionate incidence of rifts and schisms" in departments characterized by "highly charged values," citing sociology as an obvious case in point (p. 98). Coupled with that was the recollection of the event by the author. The literature review uncovered numerous studies on the various subcultures of academe, as well as syntheses of organizational culture research in higher education, suggesting the pivotal importance of culture in determining the success of an institution of higher learning. The knowledge gleaned through the literature provided evidence that served to question personal interpretations of the event and expectations gained from a study of higher education, shaping the domain the interviews would explore (McCracken, 1988).

The second step of the investigation introduced the concept of the researcher as the "primary instrument" for data collection and analysis (Merriam, 1988, p. 19). A peripheral familiarity with the case under study provided insight that proved to be extraordinarily advantageous in that it was possible to summon some of the systematic properties framing the case. That examination proved to be fruitful because the author was able to recall the time period of the event and the accompanying state and national political atmosphere, the main actors, and the campus issues which fueled the controversy. This was the initial phase of identifying what to look for in the interview data. Because of an acquaintance with the event, the second step of inquiry afforded the

chance to “get in touch” with the personal view of the situation and distance that from what would be learned from the respondents and documented information to be gathered in the data collection phase.

An added opportunity for distilling cultural categories was a pilot study conducted in the Spring of 1993. Although the long interview technique was not employed, three individuals were interviewed: (1) President Emeritus People, who was president of Rosholt Research University at the time of the controversy; (2) a current professor at Rosholt Research University who was a graduate student in the sociology department during the 1966-1967 academic year; and (3) the first faculty member hired in the sociology department after the mass resignation who remains an employee of Rosholt Research University on a part-time basis. The pilot study helped formulate the analytic strategy of the study and shaped its data base. It became apparent that, in order to classify the cultural categories which revealed their “picture of the world” at the time of the incident, it would be necessary to interview at the very least the “core group” of faculty in the sociology department during the 1966-1967 school year, if they could be located. A direct outcome of the pilot study was recognition that an unstructured interview would be the best way of exploring the topic in order to tap the cultural categories defining the sociologists’ world view.

The fourth step of the inquiry consisted of the analysis of the interviews and the identification of culture categories that impacted the sociologists’ view of their world, in general, and the mass resignation of the sociologists at Rosholt Research University, in particular (McCracken, 1988). Themes began to emerge and came together in the form

of general theses about the “properties of thought and action” within the sociology department at Rosholt Research University during the controversial 1966-1967 academic year (McCracken, 1988, p. 46). The theses derived from a review and discovery of cultural categories pertaining to the sociologists were the foundation for the interpretation of the conflict that resulted in their mass resignation.

### Design of the Study

The qualitative case study method was selected to examine the mass resignation in the sociology department at Rosholt Research University “as a means of understanding, informing, and improving practice” (Merriam, 1988, p. 6). The study may be referred to as ex post facto research (Merriam, 1988) in that the research was conducted “after the fact” to determine causal relationships. The case is nonexperimental, or descriptive, in design because it was the description and explanation of the mass resignation and the antecedent events that were sought, not prediction based on cause and effect. The particularistic element of qualitative case study research enabled the researcher to focus on the specific situation of mass resignation and suggest from the interpretation “what to do or what not to do in a similar situation” (Merriam, 1988, p. 13). With that as the researcher’s objective, the descriptive technique of “telling the story” was utilized to offer insights into the background of the unique situation, the reasons for the conflict, what happened and why it happened--an inductive, as opposed to deductive, process. The idea of researching this single case study was to offer *analytical* generalization of the particular set of results to the broader theory of conflict (Collins,

1975) as well as the interpretive concept of culture, thereby serving as a model for other cases to which the results are generalizable (Yin, 1989).

Another factor in selecting the case study method as the appropriate research design centered on the fact that the sociology department, which is a bounded system, is the focus of the investigation. It is what Cronbach (1975) refers to as an “interpretation in context” wherein the case reveals interactions which are significant to the outcome (p. 123).

### Data Collection

Purposive sampling (Merriam, 1988) was utilized to select a sample from which the researcher could learn the most. The initial goal was to interview all members of the sociology department at Rosholt Research University during the 1966-1967 academic year. Sociology faculty as listed in the 1966-1967 Rosholt Research University Catalog served as the population. The most recent edition of the American Sociological Association Directory of Members (1993) was consulted. It provided the names and the current institutions of affiliation of three of the ten members of the department. Those three practicing sociologists were contacted through an introductory letter, and follow-up calls were made to schedule interviews. The first three contacts provided information through which four more members of the department were located. Two of those four were in declining health and could not participate in the study. The other two were sent an introductory letter, followed by a telephone call through which the time and place of the interviews were arranged. One member of the department is deceased; one was not

located, and the only member of the department who did not resign did not respond to repeated requests for his participation in the study.

McCracken's (1988) long interview approach was used in order to get close to the phenomenon under study by depending upon "the actors in the scene for an understanding of what [went] on" (Burlingame, 1993, p. 9). The issue in employing the long interview was not "one of generalizability . . . but . . . to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one construes the world" (McCracken, 1988, p. 17). The open-ended, or unstructured, interview allowed the investigator to get at "the facts of the matter" (Yin, 1989, p. 89). There was not a predetermined set of questions initially; however, as information was garnered from subsequent interviews, formulated questions began to emerge (Merriam, 1988). The primary objective of the interview was "to allow the respondents to tell their own story in their own terms" (McCracken, 1988, p. 34). It was essential to listen for the ways in which the sociologists defined the key actors, how they dramatized the structure of the controversy, the roles ascribed to the various players, and the social and cultural significance of the interactions which took place and contributed to the discord (McCracken, 1988).

The "mining of documents" also was a part of the data collection techniques and used to corroborate and augment the evidence from other sources (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1989). The campus newspaper of Rosholt Research University, together with the newspapers of the city in which Rosholt Research University is located, the state's two major metropolitan area newspapers, and national newspapers were reviewed. In addition, "archival records" (Yin, 1989) in the form of personal documents of the

sociologists interviewed and internal university documents pertaining to the event of the mass resignation were analyzed. One of the sociologists who was too ill to participate in an interview provided a “diary” documenting events prior to Dr. People’s inauguration as president of Rosholt Research University through mid-summer, 1967, after the mass resignation. It was extensively examined. All of these sources included information that was relevant to the research questions posed (Merriam, 1988). Three of the five interviewees had preserved newspaper articles, memos, notes, or creative writings about the events culminating in their mass resignation, evidence of the *meaning* they attributed to the event.

The data gathering and analysis techniques used in this study are characteristic of qualitative research and point to the case study’s unique strength--the ability to deal with multiple forms of evidence (Yin, 1989). The rationale is to offer strength to the research by combining techniques, thereby overcoming flaws that one might encounter in using a single method, resulting in the false reporting of an event (Yin, 1989). The qualitative approach to this case assumes multiple realities (Merriam, 1988); thus, analysis revealed “converging lines of inquiry” and strengthened the accuracy of the conclusions owing to the fact that they were based upon “several sources of information, following a corroboratory mode” (Yin, 1989, p. 97).

### Data Analysis

Cultural themes derived from an analysis of the interview data and documentation of events in diary form, as well as newspaper accounts and personal and university documents, were fundamental to the interpretation of the conflict at Rosholt Research



University during the 1966-67 academic year which led to the sociologists resigning en masse.

Trustworthiness Criteria. The soundness of the methodology used in gathering data for analysis was revealed through the analysis itself. Trustworthiness in this naturalistic case study was established through the use of several techniques “that provide truth value through credibility . . . , consistency through dependability, and neutrality through conformity” (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993, p. 132).

Multiple sources of data were used to lend credibility to the study. Archival records and personal papers were expanded upon by interviewing the individuals directly involved; the information obtained from each interview was further expanded and verified as subsequent interviews were completed. Not only did a combination of methods strengthen the study from the standpoint of overcoming the deficiencies unique to any one method, multiple sources of data provided multiple perspectives which all led to the same “story.”

Newspaper articles, copy from radio broadcasts, university catalogs, and memos provided background meaning toward interpreting the data. These referential adequacy materials offered “a slice of life” of the sociologists in the historical context of Rosholt Research University in the 1960s (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). The materials were not used in the formal analysis, but provided a convergence of information which aided in assembling the pieces of the case into a credible picture of what transpired.

Every interviewee was provided a copy of their interview transcript, asked to review it, and return it with their comments. All responded with their remarks. Additionally, three of the respondents were asked to review the write-up of the case for misstatements of fact and to make suggestions with regard to improving clarity. Two returned the manuscript, with their written suggestions. Finally, two of the sociologists interviewed were asked to review the author's interpretation of the case. These member checks verified the author's reconstruction of the events which led to the mass resignation of the sociologists, thereby enhancing the credibility of the study.

A part of the audit trail for the study was a journal of field notes kept by the author. Initially, a "dissertation log" was kept recording daily progress, including literature citations, suggestions from dissertation committee members, and information gathered from current members of the Rosholt Research University community who had been on campus during the 1966-67 school year. Detailed entries also were made after each interview. In two cases, the interviewees shared additional information over dinner that was, of course, not recorded, but added "flavor" to the official interview transcripts. The author's notes, the interviews, the diary, personal letters, newspaper articles, university documents, and other writings dealing with the subject of the mass resignation supplied the consistency and confirmability upon which the findings were based.

Authenticity. The real strength of this case study is the intersubject agreement revealed through the interviews and Dr. Padre's diary. They all told the same story, with some variation regarding the chronological order in which the events took place. A letter was written to each potential respondent describing the purpose of the research, and each

was asked to sign an interview consent form acknowledging that their participation was voluntary; they were apprised that they could withdraw their consent at anytime. None did so. Continual correspondence with the participants affirmed their support of the research effort.

Ethical Considerations. The privacy and confidentiality of the subjects was protected through the use of pseudonyms for all participants, as well as the institution under study. Confidentiality has been protected; anonymity is not guaranteed.

The establishment of a “partnership” between the interviewees and the author resulted from “a free and honest exchange of the separate constructions of all participants,” pointing up the lessons to be learned toward improving current administrative practice (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993, p. 160).

### Summary

The methodology of this qualitative case study was governed by McCracken’s (1988) four-step method of inquiry, including a review of the literature, an examination of the author’s familiarity with the topic, the identification of cultural themes through interviews, and the formation of general theses for interpretation of the conflict under study. Archival records and newspaper accounts corroborated the interview data, lending credibility to the analysis. The objectivity and authenticity provided through intersubject agreement was revealed through the participants’ like accounts of the events that took place. Pseudonyms were employed in reference to all participants, the institution under study, and all journalistic materials which were easily identifiable within the context of the case.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CASE

The climate of Rosholt Research University in 1966 was akin to many other colleges and universities across the nation during the turbulent sixties. Faculty and students were beginning to challenge both the national and campus establishments through campus marches upholding the Civil Rights movement, disruptions protesting United States' involvement in the Vietnam War, and rallies amorphously proclaiming the rights of students and faculty. The evolving debacle at Rosholt Research University, however, was somewhat out of character for what most considered to be a highly conservative midwestern university. As a journalist for a notable New York newspaper put it, it was "the kind of school where the girls are the ones with the long hair . . . . Stetsons and boots are common . . . . Beards are not" (AA, 1967, p. C93).

In that conservative tradition, the University Board of Regents began their task of replacing an acclaimed retiring president of fourteen years, the only graduate of the university ever to serve as president (AB, 1992). Dr. People was the successful candidate as the sixteenth president of Rosholt Research University, selected from a list of seven. He had served the university in two capacities since coming to Rosholt from a neighboring southern university in 1958 to fill the role of Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. His more recent experience was as Vice-President for Academic Affairs. Two of the other finalists also were internal candidates, one serving as Vice-President for Agricultural Services and one as Vice-President for Development. One of these candidates left the university shortly after the announcement of Dr. People's selection, to

become president of another university; the other candidate was reportedly “passed over at least in part because his major field of academic work was not as good for the school’s ‘image’ as Dr. People’s arts and sciences background” (AC, 1967, p. 10). He had earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in English and speech; the Master of Arts in educational psychology and the Doctor of Philosophy degree in higher education and counseling psychology (AB, 1992). Dr. People’s elevation to the presidency reportedly “shocked most of the . . . faculty and most of the higher education fraternity in the state” because of his “less than exceptional academic credentials” (AD1, 1967, p. 4). The Board of Regents for Rosholt Research University was looking for someone to help remove its agricultural image, yet who would champion its heavily conservative leanings (AD1, 1967).

#### Transition in the Sociology Department

As had been the case on other university campuses during the decade of the sixties, challenging the “establishment” and aligning with the liberal-left position emerged initially from within the social sciences (Lipset, 1971); more specifically, the sociology department at Rosholt Research University. As Dr. People put it, “the department was assembled hastily from other campuses, and those individuals did not understand the traditional conservative stance at Rosholt Research University on various issues” (People, 3/9/93). From an internal perspective, the department was viewed as having been strong for the previous two decades (AE, 1992). President People, however, remembered the department as gaining strength only after Dr. Padre came on board as chairman (People, 3/9/93). The early sixties may be characterized as a period of

transition for incumbent sociology faculty, because Dr. Hester, the chair of what had been known as the Department of Sociology and Rural Life, retired from that position after thirty-four years of service (AB, 1992). Dr. Hester had practically become a “part of the institution” (Gore, 2/14/95) and was revered by his faculty as having shaped a department highly regarded for its commitment to undergraduate teaching. The new chair, Dr. Padre, assembled a department of “new, young faculty in sociology” (People, 3/9/93). The department shifted disciplinary emphasis from a rural focus to a study of urban problems (AE, 1992). Some of the “old guard” believed that after he stepped down as department chair, Dr. Hester was “kinda forgotten--put out to pasture” (Gore, 2/14/95). As one member of the sociology department related, “he wasn’t really accorded the kind of recognition and attention by the new regime that some wanted” and felt he deserved (Gore, 2/14/95). There was a certain allegiance to Dr. Hester on the part of some of the older members of the department that resulted in “a little bit of split between the, or negative feelings, on the part of two or three faculty who were there before the build up between the new and the older” (Gore, 2/14/95).

One of the new faculty hired by Dr. Padre, Dr. Teddy, remembered that beginning with his interview for the job at Rosholt Research University, he “came to admire and respect Dr. Padre enormously” and that he “learned more about how you’re supposed to do in this business than I could under anybody else” (Teddy, 3/31/95). His perspective in terms of the department he was about to join is summed up as follows:

I think he [Dr. Padre] brought a real intellectual and bureaucratic revitalization to what had been a pretty sleepy, third-rate department and . . . took one of the

weakest liberal arts departments in the whole college and made it the strongest.

(Teddy, 3/31/95)

One of the other sociologists hired by Dr. Padre noted what he had learned from him about managing a successful department:

He . . . taught me an awful lot about what a manager's job is--a boss, a department head. He said to us one time, "As the department head, my job is to facilitate **your** doing **your** best . . . . It's to create the conditions and maintain the conditions in which you can do your best work." (Camp, 5/24/95)

During the 1966-67 academic year, the sociology department was composed of ten faculty members, nine of whom were on campus; one was on-leave to complete his doctorate. Their length of service at Rosholt ranged from seventeen years to newly hired. Among the younger sociologists were Dr. Bird, Dr. Camp, Dr. Gore, Dr. Ruby and Dr. Teddy. Four of these five were relatively new Ph.D.s, coming to Rosholt Research University quite early in their professional careers. For Dr. Bird, Rosholt Research University was his third post-doctoral assignment; Rosholt Research University was Dr. Camp's first position after completing his doctoral course work; Dr. Gore had served as faculty at two other institutions before coming to Rosholt, but had held the doctorate only one year when he joined the Rosholt Research faculty; and Dr. Teddy was a brand new Ph.D. He had, however, served as a teaching faculty member prior to joining the sociology department at Rosholt. Dr. Gore had completed his undergraduate work in sociology at Rosholt Research University.

### Budgetary Misunderstandings

Antecedent conditions existent between President People and the sociology department, born almost as soon as he took office, predisposed the sociology faculty to discontent even before the start of the 1966-67 academic year (AE, 1992). Lack of adequate financial resources were a preexisting condition that fostered antagonism between faculty and administrators. Dr. Padre noted that at that time Rosholt Research University, in effect, penalized the budgets of departments who had been successful in obtaining monies from sponsored research. He related the following:

It had been my experience elsewhere that when departments were successful in attracting research monies, that the salaries thus freed became available to the department to hire replacement staff. I quickly learned that this system does not operate at Rosholt and the success of the Department of Sociology in attracting research money meant that its salaries budget was reduced accordingly. (Padre, 7/6/67)

As President People spoke of the conservative atmosphere of Rosholt Research University, he, too, noted that financial resources were lean (People, 3/9/93). He acknowledged that the sociology department was anxious to become a great department and wanted to move quickly toward that goal, but the necessary funding was not available. Having gathered departmental members from other larger institutions, it was difficult, Dr. People pointed out, for sociology faculty to understand that Rosholt was “not as well funded as other large universities” (People, 3/9/93). He maintained that he was supportive of Dr. Padre in his efforts to shape a quality sociology department, but



that “when Dr. Padre realized the funding difficulties, he was ready to move out” (People, 3/9/93).

Other problems that emerged that year “were evident before in less developed form” (Padre, 7/6/67). In his notes documenting the events leading to the resignation of the sociology staff, Dr. Padre mentioned knowing about faculty members at Rosholt Research who “had incurred administrative displeasure and . . . there were special problems involved in attempting to get adequate salary increases for these men” (Padre, 7/6/67). It was his general impression that:

these men [had] at some time committed the “crime” of taking, publicly, positions that were disapproved of by top administrators. They then became, in a way, marked men who were regarded as potential trouble makers and who did not share appropriately in increased funds made available to the university over the years. (Padre, 7/6/67)

The men Dr. Padre referred to were three sociology professors whose salaries were, in effect, frozen by the People Administration for the 1966-67 academic year (AE, 1992). One of the professors, who left for another university, was a well-known demographer who had “published an article which pointed out where agriculture and business were in the state and it had implications for who might be named president” (Camp, 5/24/95). The second professor Dr. Padre spoke of was a senior faculty, Dr. Thornton, who “had served as chairman of the Board of Faculty Representatives the year before [and] had participated in that group’s survey of Rosholt Research University’s salaries, pointing to the low position of arts and sciences relative to the other colleges” (AE, 1992, p. 294).

The third departmental member was one of the younger faculty, Dr. Teddy, who had agreed to serve as faculty sponsor of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (AE, 1992).

Internal feelings of “impending doom” for the sociology department began to emerge, as related by Dr. Padre, “during the spring and summer of 1966” (Padre, 7/6/67). As noted previously, Dr. People had become president-elect in the spring of that year. In recounting the activities of the pre-inauguration period, Dr. Padre recalls that President People had personally approved awarding a charter to the Students for a Democratic Society. As Dr. Padre remembered, however, he was:

summoned to a meeting in the President-elect’s office along with Dr. Teddy of the Department of Sociology, Dean Marks of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Dean Ridge [Dean of Student Affairs]. I learned . . . that the president-elect disapproved of Dr. Teddy’s serving as faculty advisor to the SDS or to the way that Dr. Teddy enacted the role of faculty advisor, or both. (Padre, 7/6/67)

In Dr. Padre’s opinion, Dr. People’s reservations about faculty sponsorship of the group were manifested in unfavorable adjustments to Dr. Teddy’s salary, stemming from a belief that the “SDS consisted of outside agitators intent on fomenting unrest” (AE, 1992, p. 294). He noted that:

Dean Marks and I had worked the recommended salary increases through very carefully and . . . when I received the salary budget, I discovered that, after the salary budget left the Dean’s Office, that all recommended salaries in the

department, save two, had been cut. Two of the most drastic cuts had been in Dr. Thornton's and Dr. Teddy's salaries. (Padre, 7/6/67)

Although none of the members of the sociology department were aware of it, nor was it acknowledged by President People (People, 3/9/93), Dr. Padre submitted his resignation to Dr. Marks effective the fall semester, 1966, citing administrative retaliation against his staff. In a meeting between Dean Marks, Dr. Scram (Vice-President of Academic Affairs) and Dr. Padre, the salary cuts were restored to the budget, and Dr. Padre withdrew his resignation (Padre, 7/6/67).

#### The Impression of the North Central Association

More external signs of faculty discontent with the new president began to erupt in the fall, after Dr. People had assumed the presidency in July, 1966. Prior to his inauguration in October, Dr. Bird, an associate professor of sociology, and Dr. Teddy, an assistant professor of sociology, co-authored a letter to the editor of the university newspaper criticizing an "editorial defense of quiet" in response to a recent report by the North Central Association (NCA) (AF, 10/7/67, p. 4). The NCA warned that the student body was "quiet, unexcited, but capable," the continuation of which would "gradually reduce the quality of the total university from second to third or fourth rate in comparison with others of comparable size and functions" (AF, 10/7/67, p. 4). Bird and Teddy took issue with the editorial stance that Rosholt Research University had "a good thing going here, let's face it," expressing:

The world today is full of issues and problems . . . . to remain calm and unexcited in the face of all of these is a mark not of capability but of rigor mortis . . . . The

college years are the most appropriate time of life for action and excitement . . . .  
The pursuit of ideas is a boisterous and exciting activity; it is ideas which are the core of the university. The student who does not recognize and share this excitement, no matter how wholesome and attractive in appearance he may be, must be counted as one of Rosholt Research University's most dismal failures. (AE, 10/7/67, p. 4)

### The Altizer Controversy

Although the general faculty did not become aware of it until the December meeting of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), President People had requested the Religious Emphasis Week Committee to withdraw its tentative invitation to noted theologian, Thomas Altizer, proponent of the "God is dead" theory, to speak at the university's Religious Emphasis Week the following February. The committee, composed of student and faculty members, was instructed by Dr. People to "disinvite" (Teddy, 3/31/95) Altizer "on the grounds that he did not want to antagonize any of the university's 'several publics' during his first year as president" (AG, Spring, 1970, p. 63) He made his actions public when he participated as a panelist in a round-table discussion on "The Role of Controversy on the University Campus" at the December AAUP meeting (AE, 1992). Dr. People's decision to ban an anti-God figure from the campus was hailed by the press and the public, but not by some of the faculty and students.

Dr. People's continued insistence that he knew what was best for the university further aroused the ire of some sociology faculty members as well as others on campus

and a few nonconformists across the state. A second letter co-authored by Bird and Teddy published in the university newspaper after the December AAUP meeting posed the following questions:

(1) Do we have a university atmosphere at Rosholt when we must ask ourselves “Should there be controversy?”

(2) If Rosholt Research University must refrain (for political reasons) from inviting a man like Altizer until the churches in [this town] are willing to invite him to speak from their pulpits, then how long will we wait?

(3) The following is a list of individuals who, at some state in their careers, would not have been welcomed in their communities and/or would have lessened the public support of an institution which provided them a forum.

Mahatma Gandhi

Joan of Arc

Robert Ingersoll

Martin Luther

Jesus of Nazareth

Socrates of Athens. (AF, 12/16/66, p. 4)

In the same issue of that newspaper, a student offered the following remarks in a letter to the editor:

I do not know whether or not I could adhere to the philosophy of the theologian in question, but I feel that I have a right to find out . . . . I really do not understand why the administration is so insanely worried about student reaction to controversial discussions. An atmosphere of apathy has been encouraged here . . . . Mr. President, on behalf of the few interested students who are willing to become involved in this matter, I beg

you, PLEASE STOP SPOON-FEEDING US. LET US LEARN!

(AE, 12/16/66, p. 4)

And in a separate letter (AE, 12/16/66):

New math? What barber needs it? What mathematician doesn't? But both are offered a choice in our great society . . . . Ah, theology. Theology is different . . . .

Can society afford to have people speculate that God is dead? The taxpayers would never hear of it! You can't thrust atheism, or agnosticism before the impressionable students' minds! They'll flare into uncalled-for controversy.

We can't have that! Other's can't be allowed to force their ideals upon us--and don't you forget that--not for one minute of Religious Emphasis Week. (p. 4)

The idea that students should be protected from controversial issues had been espoused by President People to the general faculty according to Dr. Camp, a sociology professor who taught a class dealing with social issues:

I can recall a meeting of the full faculty in which he made a few remarks that struck me as carrying the university back about 400 years . . . . to the effect that the students really didn't have the maturity to deal with controversial issues and that in the classroom, we really should present the side of any issues that was the sort of the American, apple pie, and motherhood type of approach. If there's a conflict of values or if values come into question in any issue area, our job in the classroom was to really teach the good old American way of looking at it and not raise questions. (Camp, 5/24/95)

The People Administration considered the Altizer case a misunderstanding in that

the administration did not *order* the invitation to be withdrawn. Rather, they let it be known that the anticipated controversy accompanying Altizer's appearance would bring unfavorable publicity to the university. The administration claimed that the Religious Emphasis Week committee withdrew the invitation on its own initiative (AC, 1967); a leading faculty member of the committee, however, related to Dr. Padre that he feared he might lose his job "unless he backed the president completely on the Altizer issue" (Padre, 7/6/67).

In early January, 1967, the Rosholt Research University Board of Regents issued a statement defending Dr. People's stand that the discussion of "radical" ideas within the walls of individual classrooms was quite proper, but that the university had no obligation to bring people advocating such ideas to campus. The minutes of their January 6-7, 1967, meeting record the following:

Though the university must be a marketplace for ideas, it must not be a platform for irresponsible speech . . . . The board believes in academic freedom consistent with policies that do not destroy our freedom. Academic freedom is not violated when the use of University facilities is denied those who are irresponsible, who are perverted, or who admittedly seek to destroy the values on which the University has been built and on which its future development depends. (p. 2)

In a separate action at the January meeting, the Board promoted Dr. Bird of the sociology department, from associate to full professor. Dr. Bird remembers the surprise announcement on January 8 of his promotion in the college town's newspaper as shocking and embarrassing, as he had only had his doctorate for five years and was "not

ready for full professor” (Bird, 3/30/95). He interpreted this action as People’s attempt to provide “evidence that he could be forgiving for people who spoke out and he was not always vindictive” (Bird, 3/30/95). Dr. Padre later wrote that he had planned to submit Dr. Bird’s name for promotion in the spring and advised Dean Marks of Arts and Sciences against the timing of the January action as “being interpreted as a bribe” (Padre, 7/6/67). The sociology chair was understandably stunned, as he had learned through a rather well defined grapevine of administrators who did not wish to oppose the president publicly, that Dr. People had “told the Academic Council [Vice Presidents and Deans] that staff members who wrote critical letters to the [campus newspaper] would get neither raises nor promotions at this University” (Padre, 7/6/67).

Nevertheless, Dr. Bird continued his conversation with the administration and governing body by responding to the Regents’ statement on academic freedom in his letter to the campus paper that appeared on January 11, as quoted in the excerpt that follow:

The Regents have defended academic freedom, and have announced support of policy which would deny university facilities to those who are irresponsible. But I ask you in all candor is it not irresponsible to imply that Professor Altizer, a member of the faculty at Emory University, is perverted? or is irresponsible? or is admittedly seeking to destroy the values on which academic freedom’s future development depends? The Regents’ statement makes such an implication . . . . I have complete confidence that these men did not intend to besmirch the name of a



scholar . . . . It would seem to me that common decency and/or Christian charity warrant an apology to Professor Altizer. (AF, 1/11/67, p. 4)

In a related editorial appearing in the pages of the capital city's newspaper (AD2, 3/16/67), the writer addressed the recent denial of controversial speakers' appearances at Rosholt Research University:

There is an area of intellectual curiosity where development is enhanced by wide study. Denial of this opportunity magnifies dissent and creates disturbances. The whole academic structure is based on experiment and questioning, proceeding from the known to the unknown. Evaluation is an individual matter based on an opportunity for reasonable examination of all facts and theories. (p. 15)

Altizer later spoke at the only other major university in the state and praised that institution for its academic freedom (AC, 1967).

#### The ACLU Affair

Tensions began to mount among faculty, students, and administrators, when, on March 6, 1967, the associate director of Rosholt Research University's student union turned down a request for meeting facilities for the state chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). He explained to the press that he felt that the ACLU "is too controversial and possibly would cause trouble" (AG, Spring, 1970, p. 63). His decision was reportedly based on a report prepared by the chief of the University Safety and Security Department (AD2, 2/28/67). The director of the AAUP chapter confirmed that he had received approval from the faculty Convocation Committee to hold the meeting at the student union in accordance with the university's rules on meetings of off-campus

groups. The decision, coupled with the knowledge that the Student Union had reneged earlier during the academic year on an agreement to allow two campus groups--one of which was the Students for a Democratic Society--to set up tables in the Union to gather signatures on pro-Viet Nam and anti-Viet Nam petitions, pushed student activists over the edge (AE, 3/9/67). Political science and sociology students circulated petitions of protest and scheduled a public meeting to decry the oppressive behavior of the administration. Despite the reversal of the decision to ban the ACLU chapter from meeting on Rosholt's campus, the protest went as planned. The caption beneath the campus newspaper photograph of the approximately 400 students, graduate assistants and faculty who participated read: "The old image of apathy at Rosholt Research University was partially over-thrown Wednesday when a well-behaved crowd of approximately 400 people gathered to listen to old and new grievances against university regulations" (AE, 3/9/67, p. 1). Those speaking included the vice-chairman of the Student Association Forum committee, the associate editor for an off-campus newspaper, a political science graduate assistant, a history graduate assistant, a regular columnist for the campus newspaper, and a sociology professor, Dr. Ruby (AG, Spring, 1970). According to Dr. Padre, he, like many faculty on campus, learned "quite by accident" that there was going to be a protest meeting in front of the library that day:

Anxious that sociology staff or students might get into difficulty over such a meeting, I hurried over to see what was going on . . . . Knowing what I did about past statements on reprisals, I was virtually certain that there would be repercussions. (Padre, 7/6/67)

Indeed, Dr. Bird, who would be the first sociology faculty member to resign, related that he had been away from the campus briefly and, upon returning, noticed a group of students gathering out on the library steps and joined them when “somebody came up and took my picture” (Bird, 3/30/95). Professor Ames, a member of the sociology department who had been hired by Dr. Padre’s predecessor, noted:

Now I was there. I guess everybody was there that had feelings about the situation. Course, there were plenty of faculty, I think, that at that moment . . . didn’t care one way or the other. There were plenty of students who didn’t. It was just that bunch over there doing their thing. (Ames, 5/4/95)

A letter protesting the denial of the use of student union facilities to the Civil Liberties Union chapter was written by a sociology class, taught by a graduate assistant, and printed in the campus newspaper. It was directed toward this most recent incident as well as the withdrawal of the invitation to Dr. Thomas Altizer to speak on campus:

First, we question the qualifications of the campus police as serving as “intellectual guardians” of the student body. Secondly, we wish to question the apparent rejection of “controversial” speakers by the administration of “our” university . . . . What is it in college that we face that could not cause trouble? Everything has that potential . . . . We are not seeking university turmoil but again we seek new ideas and through them enabling us to form our own opinion in what is true and what is not. Silencing of ideas and discussion is an assumption of infallibility . . . . We seek an invigorating and inspiring (which may be at times upsetting) mental environment. Such

thought is important for realizing truth in the search for understanding and identity. (AF, 3/9/67, p. 4)

### The March 9 Meeting

On the day after the first protest gathering, Dr. People called a meeting of the Deans of Arts and Sciences (Dr. Marks), Education, Student Affairs (Dr. Ridge), and the department heads of sociology (Dr. Padre), history, political science and philosophy (AG, Spring, 1970, p. 64)--the departments who had graduate students or faculty involved in recent public criticism of the university. The content of that meeting sparked the controversy that led to the eventual mass resignations in the sociology department. In a letter requesting the Board of Faculty Representatives to investigate the proceedings of the meeting, which had not yet appeared in the press, "reliable sources" related the following:

At this meeting President People instructed these four department heads to advise their faculties and staff that there was to be no further public criticism of the University and/or Administration, that any further action could result in non-reappointment [for graduate assistants] or in no raise or promotion (for faculty), and that the department heads should inform their faculties and staff of these policies on their own authority and not attribute the policies to People. (Letter to Arts and Sciences Board of Faculty Representatives, March 22, 1967)

The Board of Faculty Representatives later filed a report with the AAUP about the proceedings of that meeting. Interviews were held with each of the four department heads involved, and with President People. The report revealed that:

[the President] indicated that measures might be taken by department heads, in the regular line of duty, to discourage the participation of faculty members and graduate assistants in such public meetings at which there was criticism of the University and its administration . . . . The opinion expressed by People was that the methods of criticism of the University used on March 8 [were] inappropriate and that the department heads should convey this message to their staffs.

(Board of Faculty Representatives verbal report to the AAUP, April 22, 1967)

From the pages of Dr. Padre's documentary diary of these events, he noted that "the President stated that those persons who could not conform 'should move on'" (Padre, 7/6/67). He recounted a post-meeting discussion with the other department heads who were present with regard to what should be done about the president's directive. Dr. Padre had concluded that it would be best to "do nothing," feeling "it was impossible for us to tell staff and graduate students to cease and desist without it being obvious that the message came from the president" (Padre, 7/6/67). One of the younger sociologists, Dr. Camp, recalled the rumors about the meeting circulating on campus:

There had been a meeting, and People warned . . . "Your graduate students who **are** on a stipend who show up or participate in any of these things **are** jeopardizing their graduate stipends. These **may** be withdrawn." I think we [sociologists] were standing around looking at each other with our mouths open saying, "Is this really happening?" (Camp, 5/24/95)

One of the graduate teaching assistants in the sociology department during the 1967 spring semester, who was also a member of the Students for a Democratic Society,

remembered the administration telling Dr. Padre that before assistantships in the sociology department were granted for the fall semester, a review board wanted to go over the names. When this practice was questioned, and it was learned that similar lists in other departments on campus had not been subjected to administrative review, “those who were quasi-hardened against various administrative policies already, became rigid” (Jay, 3/2/93).

The Board of Faculty Representatives Report also indicated that People disapproved of various specific activities and the individuals connected with those activities, such as:

the faculty advisement of such organizations as SDS . . . . graduate assistant participation in the student movement . . . . Dr. Bird’s name was mentioned in association with the word “riot” and remarks were made which subsequently led to the press story in which Dr. Bird was said to have “incited students to riot.” (Board of Faculty Representatives verbal Report to the AAUP, April 13, 1967)

Again, reviewing the pages of Dr. Padre’s diary, he recalled that:

On Saturday afternoon, Bird came to my home and asked me point blank whether the President had accused him of inciting to riot. He told me that word of the content of the [March 9] meeting had leaked out through the political science department. In response to Bird’s direct question, I affirmed that the president had made such a statement. I also received a telephone call from

Dr. Ruby, who was in obvious fear of losing his job. I told him that . . . I had no reason to think that his position was in jeopardy. (Padre, 7/6/67)

The President's allegation that Bird had "incited students to riot" apparently stemmed from a discussion Bird had with students in a social psychology class he taught during the 1967 spring semester. One of his students who had been actively involved in protesting recent administrative activities asked Dr. Bird "what [he] thought students could do to influence People" (Bird, 3/30/95). Dr. Bird answered the question by noting that the President was a "very religious man. He was a convert from Judaism to the Methodist Church in [this midwestern state], which at that time was fairly conservative. I said 'I think he would understand prayer,' to which a student queried, 'Are you suggesting we have a pray in?'" (Bird, 3/30/95). It was Dr. Bird's answer that antagonized the president:

I said "well I think that he might be able to handle appropriately the right kind of atmosphere where you were not confronting him . . . but praying." The president took that to imply that I was trying to incite students to riot at the presidential home . . . . That was **not** [it]; I was simply trying to respond to a student's earnest question in class. (Bird, 3/30/95)

Word of the content of the March 9 meeting at which President People allegedly made the accusation about Bird "spread over the campus like wildfire" (Padre, 7/6/67). What the University released to the press was a statement by President People toward averting future protest meetings:

I've often stated that our Rosholt Research University student body is the

finest and the most responsible I've ever known. I leave it up to them to judge the worthiness, the validity and fairness of statements made by their fellow students, the faculty, and the administration.

Let me say, too, that as we plan and work together to make this a great university, the faculty and administration will continue to look to the duly elected representatives of the student body, such as the members of the Student Senate. (AF, 3/11/67, p. 1)

### Campus and Statewide Reaction

Campus reaction to the protest meeting and ensuing statement by the president took several forms. One graduate student's letter to the editor of the campus newspaper captured the conservative stance of some:

My impression is that students are here at Rosholt to better themselves not to degrade those in charge . . . . The so-called "old image of apathy at Rosholt" had some merit. The majority of the students here on campus realized that rules and regulations must exist if the university was to achieve its purpose. Their failure to voice an opinion was not apathy but rather respect, mature understanding and contentment. (AF, 3/11/67)

Even the state government entered the picture. The governor expressed confidence in the Rosholt president saying that he believed that "People is handling the situation properly" (AD3, 3/17/67, p. 1). A legislative resolution in support of the president read as follows:

Be it resolved that Dr. People is hereby commended for his farsighted and



efficient leadership as president of the great Rosholt Research University, that he be further commended for his stand in discouraging the appearance of Altizer to espouse his infamous “God is dead” theory to the student body at Rosholt Research University, and for instructing the faculty members and graduate assistants of said institution that they should not take part in student protest meetings and demonstrations. (AD3, 3/17/67, p. 1)

Newspaper reports about the unrest intimated that People was resisting suggestions that he ban protest meetings at Rosholt. He was in concert with the right of students to meet peaceably to express their views as long as there was no interference with the educational process. President People recalled that the climate on most campuses in 1967 was militancy. “This was not the case at Rosholt Research University” (People, 3/9/93). The one rule he followed throughout the period of disruption was: “you’re free to do your own thing up to the point that it interferes with the rights of others” (People, 3/9/93). He felt a commitment to stability for both students and parents and sought to provide some normalcy in the abnormal environment of the sixties (People, 3/9/93). While student protest meetings might be acceptable, he did not feel that faculty members should use such meetings to “air their grievances:”

It seems to me that in accepting the professional responsibilities of a teacher, one’s status and obligations in the academic community are different than those of students . . . . Certainly there should be full opportunity for members of the faculty to express themselves, but such should be done through their elected

representatives on the faculty council or through regular departmental and college channels. (AD2, 3/14/67, p. 2)

In the meantime, the press contacted Dr. Padre about the March 9 meeting at which President People had issued the aforementioned directive. He was asked to take a public stand concerning President People's instructions (Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Padre issued a statement to the press indicating that he did not agree with President People's stand against faculty participation and considered it "unfortunate" (AE, 3/15/67). He further explained his feelings about the controversy over academic freedom on campus in these words:

There is the possibility of faculty resignations on a substantial scale following the recent activities of the administration. There is a fear that there is not enough academic freedom here and also a fear of retaliations against people who participated in last week's demonstration. We feel these retaliations may take the form of reductions in salary and reconsiderations of promotions . . . . I am afraid [President People] is failing to take into account a large body of feeling on the part of the faculty . . . . If people had faith in the existing channels, then there wouldn't be these meetings. This is a symptom of something serious.

(AE, 3/15/67, p. 1)

The president of the local chapter of the AAUP noted that the disagreement between the administration and some faculty with regard to academic freedom did not center on classroom activities, but in other areas (AC, 1967). He said:

There is no disagreement on the freedom of the professor with respect to his

classroom activities. President People has endorsed academic freedom in this area on numerous occasions.

I would say that there is no question on this campus of the freedom of the professor in his citizenship of the community. It is understood in public utterances in which the professor voices his personal opinion, he should make every attempt to identify them as such and not allow them to be confused with the university.

In the area of professorial statements of university policies, particularly where those statements are critical of administrative policy, I feel that there is a difference of opinion. The AAUP takes the position that professors and students do have a right, and perhaps even a duty, to speak out to their colleagues and to the administration to air their views on university policy. There are appropriate channels for formal presentation of views in this regard, such as through the faculty council, but I feel other informal channels for exchange of views between groups of faculty members or groups of students should not be discouraged.

(AC, 4/14/67, p. 11)

On the other hand, the president-elect of the Rosholt Research University chapter of the AAUP expressed his personal feelings: "I don't consider that academic freedom on the campus is of any significant problem," blaming the ACLU incident on "difference of opinion and a misunderstanding" rather than a violation of academic freedom (AC, 4/14/67, p. 11).

Various department heads across campus voiced their support of President People. The head of the botany department and secretary of the faculty council expressed the following:

My personal opinion is that we have no infringement of academic freedom at all on this campus. Dr. People is a fine man, and he's trying to do a good job. He's being harassed. Most of the controversy is being instigated by people seeking publicity. (AC, 4/14/67, p. 11)

The chair of the history department indicated he had not experienced restriction or restraint of academic freedom at Rosholt Research University, saying, "I think the Altizer thing was all a misunderstanding. In my opinion, Dr. People has the backing of most of the faculty" (AC, 4/14/67, p. 11).

#### The First Resignation

Preliminary to the second protest rally held March 15, 1967, two students visited the increasingly controversial sociology professor, Dr. Bird, asking him if he would give a presentation at the rally. Scheduled to be included on the "program" were an announcement of the newly organized Student-Faculty Association and the proposed thirteen point "Bill of Rights" that had been tabled by the 1966 Senate and recently re-introduced (Bird, 3/30/67; Padre, 7/6/67). The newest version of the Student Bill of Rights included a proposition to give students the right to freely express their opinions and would "declare null and void those laws which infringe upon student rights" (AF, 3/10/67, p. 1). Dr. Bird had no intention of speaking at the rally, explaining to the students: "I'm a terrible public speaker; I don't have a strong voice, so I gotta have a

P.A. system,” which had not been the case at the first protest gathering (Bird, 3/30/95).

Just as the students were about to leave his office:

the phone rang, and it was Dean Marks, [Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences] . . . . He called and he said he understood that I was gonna be invited to speak. I said, “Yes, I just **was** invited.” And he said, “Well, turn’em down cause if you don’t, the president’s gonna fire you.” And that was all it took. And I said, “Thank you, Dean Marks,” hung up. I turned to the young kids and I said, “I **will** speak.” (Bird, 3/30/95)

The Student-Faculty Association had organized over the weekend to plan the rally. With regard to his role at the gathering, Dr. Bird had indicated to the campus newspaper that he would “speak in accordance with my constitutional rights” and that he would make a “general statement about the events following last week’s student meeting and the issues involved” (AF, 3/15/67, p. 1). His statements translated into the announcement of his resignation, which focused on the rights of students and faculty:

We are experiencing an interesting academic year. In the short span of about six months we have witnessed discussion regarding (1) the interference of the President in Religious Emphasis Week, (2) the pressure which led to the withdrawal of an invitation to Dr. Altizer, (3) the Regents’ statement on academic freedom which seemed to question the integrity of a man, (4) the initial refusal of the Student Union to allow the [State] Civil Liberties Union to use the Union’s facilities, and (5) President People’s statement [expressing his

belief that faculty members and graduate assistants should not use protest meetings to air their grievances].

President People has every right to express his personal opinion. I shall express my personal opinion. It seems to me that some faculty members and students are trying to hold, not protest rallies, but affirmation rallies. I think that we--faculty and students--are affirming our rights and our obligations.

The primary commitment of those in the academic community is to the ideal of a great university. A central obligation in the pursuit of this ideal is to ensure those rights which make a great university possible. Those rights include:

First, the right to freedom of speech . . . the right to speak responsibly and with due regard for the rights of others.

Second, the right to freedom of assembly . . . the right to gather as free men and free women living in what we hope is a free society without fear of intimidation. These two rights are specified in our Constitution.

Third, the right of graduate students to gather in peaceful assembly without threats of reprisal . . . threats which might imply the loss of a teaching assistantship.

Fourth, the right of faculty members, with or without tenure, to assemble without threats of reprisal--threats which might take the form of no salary increases and invitations to move on, Rattlesnake!

Fifth, the right of departments to appoint graduate students to

teaching positions as graduate teaching assistants without the intervention of any screening board. I understand such a board has been appointed.

These rights are our rights and we have an obligation--a duty--to the academic community to defend them. I personally feel that these rights are in serious jeopardy. This university has too many publics which are apparently opposed to these rights. Because of this feeling, I wish to publicly announce my resignation effective June 30, 1967. I do this as my personal way of meeting my obligation to do what I can in order to protect these rights. (Bird, resignation speech, 3/15/67)

Dr. Bird enumerated several reasons for resigning:

Mostly, it's the general atmosphere, or the climate, on campus. You feel uneasy and insecure, and don't trust the administration. It kind of quiets down, and he [President People] comes out with some kind of public pronouncement, and sticks both feet into his mouth. (AC, 4/14/67, p. 11)

From the moment Dr. Bird read his remarks, "just all hell broke loose on campus" (Bird, 3/30/95). Dr. Bird remembered the vindictiveness of some people being directed personally toward him: "after I resigned, I got hate letters for just weeks and weeks and weeks . . . people threatening me--in letters; they'd say they'd love to see me shot--things of that sort" (Bird, 3/30/95).

#### Aftershocks of the First Resignation

On the morning of the second protest meeting, A & S Dean Marks had called

Dr. Padre telling him that he had drafted a statement, at the request of the president, about the fear of reprisals and the current crises on campus (Padre, 7/6/67). While the president declined to sign it, he asked Dean Marks to say that he was “associated” with the following statement:

Sociologists are busy people . . . we should not be surprised at recurring crises of conscience among its leaders . . . . All are American citizens whose rights are guaranteed by the national and state constitutions. All are scholars whose professional rights are protected by the accrediting associations; the 1940 statement of the American Association of University Professors on academic freedom, to which the University subscribes; and the tenure regulations of our board of regents. (AE, 3/16/67, p. 1)

The statement was read by Dean Marks at the second protest meeting. He emphasized that “there would be no retaliation on the part of the administration because of today’s meeting” (AH, 3/15/67, p. 1).

Dr. Bird had submitted his letter of resignation to Dr. Padre on March 14, 1967. Although Dr. Marks had not seen the letter, he knew of the impending public announcement and expressed his regrets:

I am saddened by the report of the resignation of Dr. Bird. I wish he would reconsider. Only in January the President recommended, and the regents confirmed, his promotion to full professor. He is one of the young scholars, under the leadership of Dr. Padre, who have built a strong Sociology Department here. Teaching in this field is exciting, and research significant. I want to see



Dr. Padre telling him that he had drafted a statement, at the request of the president, about the fear of reprisals and the current crises on campus (Padre, 7/6/67). While the president declined to sign it, he asked Dean Marks to say that he was “associated” with the following statement:

Sociologists are busy people . . . we should not be surprised at recurring crises of conscience among its leaders . . . . All are American citizens whose rights are guaranteed by the national and state constitutions. All are scholars whose professional rights are protected by the accrediting associations; the 1940 statement of the American Association of University Professors on academic freedom, to which the University subscribes; and the tenure regulations of our board of regents. (AF, 3/16/67, p. 1)

The statement was read by Dean Marks at the second protest meeting. He emphasized that “there would be no retaliation on the part of the administration because of today’s meeting” (AH, 3/15/67, p. 1).

Dr. Bird had submitted his letter of resignation to Dr. Padre on March 14, 1967. Although Dr. Marks had not seen the letter, he knew of the impending public announcement and expressed his regrets:

I am saddened by the report of the resignation of Dr. Bird. I wish he would reconsider. Only in January the President recommended, and the regents confirmed, his promotion to full professor. He is one of the young scholars, under the leadership of Dr. Padre, who have built a strong Sociology Department here. Teaching in this field is exciting, and research significant. I want to see

both disciplines prosper. Until I have seen his letter, I will not comment on the events that led to his decision. Every man must obey his conscience. (Bird, personal papers, 3/30/95)

Although Dr. Padre supported his resigning faculty member's convictions, he issued a statement at the end of the rally, as he had agreed to do in his conversations with Dean Marks (Padre, 7/6/67). He noted that he was ". . . deeply gratified that President People has associated himself with Dean Marks' statement. I think that everyone will recognize that this was an act of rare courage" (AF, 3/16/67, p. 1).

The accumulation of events leading to the protest rallies had been "very painful to all who cherish Rosholt Research University," Dr. Padre noted later, and that disagreements had found [the campus community]:

swept along toward a crisis that none of us wants. We would all welcome the reasonableness that would make it possible for us to carry on the work of the university--the search for and dissemination of knowledge--unhampered. (AD2, 3/15/67, p. 2)

The premonition of impending doom for the sociology department that Dr. Padre had experienced the previous summer continued to evolve. In a sociology department staff meeting on March 16, 1967, one faculty member penciled in the words "The End" in his appointment book:

This is all on March the 16th. I just wrote "The End." Now that's interesting. I don't want to jump to conclusions about what I meant, but I assume that I could see that things were going to collapse on us. (Ames, 5/4/95)

As the disagreements over academic freedom accelerated, Dr. Padre explained that performing his role as department head had become increasingly difficult (AD7, 3/15/67). He knew the importance of supporting President People; however, he had concerns about the welfare of his faculty and students, narrowing the margin of doing either successfully (AD3, 3/15/67). He lauded Dr. Bird as being “one of the most valuable members of the Rosholt Research University sociology staff . . . a fine teacher and a productive scholar” and expressed his distress at “the existence of circumstances that force responsible scholars to such extreme actions” (AD4, 3/16/67, p. 1). In his statement to the press, Dr. Padre revisited President People’s statement regarding the importance of faculty and graduate assistants utilizing existing channels to air grievances rather than airing them in public:

The fact must be faced that adequate means for the redress of grievances do not exist on the campus . . . . Something must be done--and done soon--if disaster is to be aborted. One member of my staff already has resigned in protest. If this continues, and I fear that it will, the best scholars at Rosholt will leave. The harm that will be done to Rosholt Research University and to [the State] will not be undone in a generation. (AD3, 3/15/67, p. 4)

Dr. People countered Padre’s speculation, saying that “the resignation of one unhappy individual does not constitute a crisis. I regret that some have chosen to give such an impression” (AD3, 3/15/67, p. 1). Dr. People continued to retain his stance of providing stability in the midst of the uprising:

I am confident that the vast majority of faculty members at Rosholt Research

University take great pride in their university and are happy in the progress which is being made on campus. We do not intend to let anything alter our goals of becoming a top university. (AD3, 3/15/67, p. 1)

Not only did “all hell break loose” on campus, opinions regarding the “situation” at Rosholt Research University covered the front pages of local newspapers as well as major newspapers across the state: “Sociologist Resigning Over Freedoms Issue” (AF, 3/16/67, p. 1); “Dr. Bird Resigns Rosholt Research University Position in ‘Rights’ Dispute” (AH, 3/15/67, p. 1); “Sociology Instructor Quits Rosholt Research University in Dispute on Campus Freedom” (AD2, 3/15/67, p. 1); and “Rosholt Research University Educator Tells Crowd He’s Quitting” (AD5, 3/15/67, p. 1). Beyond front page coverage, editorials warned of a possible Communist connection in the recent activities at Rosholt Research University:

The Communists have seized “the new Left” on American campuses in an effort to create a condition of campus chaos and rebellion. They have deliberately sought to goad college administrations into repressive measures so that Communist activists can lead student revolts in behalf of “academic freedom.”

The big danger down at Rosholt Research University is that logic and reason may collapse [because of a misunderstanding of the real meaning of academic freedom]. Due to the great shortage of college professors many professors are showing an independence that sometimes borders on the arrogant . . . . professors at Rosholt Research University are paid to teach or conduct research . . . not to *dismiss* [italics added] classes and join campus demonstrations.

President People must find his way across treacherous ground. On the right there is the morass of over-control, of intellectual timidity, of subservience to noisy religious and patriotic groups who are suspicious of any examination of traditional mores. And on the left is the quicksand of formless freedom, where the campus is turned over to the beats, the free-lovers, the Reds, the evangelical atheists and those who seek identity in witless commotion.

The firm ground in the middle is narrow. And Dr. People will never find it if he isn't prepared to tell the guides who would point him either left or right to go to hell. (Editorial, AD6, 3/16/67)

Clearly, some who wrote about the controversy were not fully aware of what was actually happening on campus. Dr. People took pride in the fact and emphasized that:

Classes were **never** interrupted as a result of the academic freedom crisis. No student was hurt and no buildings burned. Rosholt Research University didn't have the gravity of problems during that era as other places did. (People, 3/9/93)

In their account of the history of Rosholt Research University College of Arts and Sciences, (AE, 1992) the authors note: "the administration was convinced that police activity--which included illegal wiretaps--was the reason Rosholt Research University's protests were so mild" (p. 2). Recalling feelings of persecution by the administration, Dr. Camp of the sociology department remembered: "At that time, I think, among ourselves, we were all getting pretty paranoid. There were people listening for clicks on their telephones" (Camp, 5/24/95).

In addressing a Rosholt Research University alumni group in a nearby metropolitan area, Dr. People cited a major goal of the university as “developing conscience as well as competence” (AD4, 3/23/67, p. 1). He attributed the student-faculty unrest as “a part of a national movement spawned by the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society” and urged those in attendance “not to lose your perspective and think the entire university faculty and student body have gone to pieces” in that the onset of student demonstrations at Rosholt Research University was the desire of a “pretty well organized group to cause trouble generally” (AD4, 3/23/67, p. 1). He later reflected that the [national] situation was ripe for people who had not been a part of Rosholt Research University’s tradition--“the new, young faculty came in and upset the old guard” (People, 3/9/93).

The hometown newspaper reprinted an editorial published in another state newspaper entitling it, “As Others See Us,” which fit with Dr. People’s concern about the views of Rosholt’s various publics. The contributing editor voiced concern about “professors who feel they are placed on this earth to protect ‘academic freedom,’ the marching song of higher education” (AH, 3/17/67, p. 4). He further rebuked the actions of the resigning sociologist at Rosholt Research University with the following expose:

Being old fashioned, we have surmised academic freedom had to do with the right of a college prof to read the books of his choice, develop his subject matter to his own will, and even sit on a bench on the campus, smoking a curved stem pipe to the impression his thoughts are guided to the outer limits of civilization by some regal privilege which comes only to the intelligentsia.

But that's where we were wrong. This academic freedom, apparently, covers any and everything that said college prof deems pertinent to his own pleasure, pastime or self adulation . . . . May the Good Lord continue his blessing on Us the Ignorant. (AH, 3/17/67, p. 4)

The governor of the state continued to express confidence in the administration at Rosholt, acknowledging a “wonderful student body and a wonderful faculty at Rosholt Research University” confident that they would “solve these problems in a proper manner” (AD2, 3/16/67, p. 1). He did, however, offer to “send National Guard troops to Rosholt Research University to quell demonstrations” (AE, 1992, p. 299). The Chief of an area Indian tribe offered to “send a thousand braves to help [honorary chief Dr. People]” if he needed assistance (AE, 1992, p. 299).

The legislative resolution drafted by House and Senate leaders commended People's actions saying he had “bolstered the faith and confidence of the people of the state . . . in the administration of the great Rosholt Research University” (AD2, 3/17/67, p. 1). One metropolitan newspaper reported that the senator who co-authored the resolution in support of People had called for the immediate firing of Dr. Bird, rather than waiting for his resignation to become effective June 30, “even if the university [had] to buy up the contract” (AE, 3/22/67, p. 1). Statements such as these raised the ire of the sociologists, as evidenced in Dr. Padre's comments:

Trying to work with a governor and a legislature who, according to reports from the North Central Association and the American Council on Education, are

following policies which will result in this becoming a fifth or sixth rate university is a task to exhaust the strongest of men. (AF, 3/18/67, p. 4)

Editorial response to the legislative resolution by the Rosholt campus newspaper took a sensible, yet, humorous perspective:

Legislative and gubernatorial support of a university president is expected and essential if the system is to properly function. But spreading debate on the resolution over several days is not called for. It just antagonizes the people involved. But they know we are here now. Maybe they will send money next time. (AF, 3/23/67, p. 4)

Student leaders came out in support of the president. In a letter to the editor of the campus newspaper, the leaders of five significant student organizations deplored the student rallies held on campus questioning the aims of voices of dissent who refused to implement change through “proper channels” (AF, 3/16/67, p. 4). Their comments aligned with Dr. People’s position and emphasized the need to follow established policy:

We should hope that the students of this University have learned that no one may achieve a goal by antagonizing those in authority . . . . We are not against change . . . . We only ask that this change be implemented through proper channels, not in the name of controversy, but rather in the name of logical and feasible progress. (AF, 3/16/67, p. 4)

Newspaper articles following the March 15 protest rally revealed that some students were discouraged from attending. Rosholt Research athletes were told not to attend the meeting (even though several “letter-jacketed” men were among the crowd)



because of athletic department policy against athletes appearing. In the words of the athletic director, their attendance was restricted at any meeting “whenever it looks like there might be controversy and we don’t know what it’s going to be like” noting that “we don’t want any athletes going to any gatherings like that” (AE, 3/16/67, p. 1). It came as little surprise that the Student Senate agreed at their meeting held the evening of the second mass demonstration to submit the thirteen-item Student Bill of Rights to a vote of Rosholt Research University students (AD2, 3/16/67, p. 1).

The educational atmosphere desired by the administration and its proposed impact on Rosholt Research University students was interpreted by one sociology professor as follows:

Some representatives of the Board of Regents came and we had an evening meeting, and **they** did most of the talking . . . . and **one** individual I remember . . . was a cattle farmer. What I heard him saying after I filtered his words, was this: “Look, the students at Rosholt Research University are like cattle, and teaching these students is very much like preparing cattle for the market. I, as a cattle farmer, must ask, ‘What does the market **want**?’ and the market wants cattle with a certain amount of **marbling** in that beef. And so, I give my cattle just exactly what they need in the way of range feed and grain feed and they’re ready to be slaughtered so that . . . they’re what the market wants. The state . . . wants **good** tax-paying citizens; blue-blooded Americans who value our tradition-cherished values, and that is what you people are here to produce--not people who raise questions and who are rabble rousers and who

**question** our traditional American values . . . . We want **you** to be like our cow punchers . . . . You are hired hands; you will do as you are told . . . we support President People, and we don't hear a thing you guys have got to say because you are all way off base." We didn't stand a chance.

(Camp, 5/24/95)

No spokesperson for the general faculty came forward. Dr. Padre wrote, however, "my wife and I received a number of telephone calls at home from people on the faculty," offering support, but afraid to do so publicly (Padre, 7/6/67). He recalled that:

A number of these calls were anonymous . . . . On the whole, we received the impression that these were people of integrity who were genuinely afraid that their futures would be jeopardized if they let it be known that they were dissatisfied with conditions on the campus. (Padre, 7/6/67)

There were others outside the campus community who were concerned about what was at stake at Rosholt Research University, fearing Rosholt "may get a bad name across the nation as a place for the best faculty minds to avoid" (AD5, 3/21/67, p. 20). One journalist expressed a more neutral view of the campus climate following Dr. Bird's resignation:

What seems to have happened is that President People and his administration may have succumbed to the post-Berkeley syndrome . . . noting the turmoil and often disgraceful goings-on out at the University of California in Berkeley, they may be determined it won't happen here. That is a worthy goal . . . but . . . not the answer. [Dr. People] needs to make an unequivocal declaration of his

belief in and support of the traditional “academic freedoms” and of his willingness to remove any barriers to the free flow of opinion at Rosholt Research University. (AD5, 3/21/67, p. 20)

### A National Awareness

The academic freedom debate at Rosholt Research University gained national attention when an article in the March 22, 1967, edition of a national newspaper proclaimed “Student Protests Reach [Conservative State].” Students interviewed for that article raised an issue not broached before--paternalism: “President People is a very warm, wonderful man . . . but I think he feels we’re all his personal responsibility--his children. That’s one of the problems” (AA, 3/22/67, p. C93). Some of the students were confounded by the “furor” brought on by the protest meetings and Dr. Bird’s resignation when “all [they really wanted was] a peaceful Berkeley” (AA, 3/22/67, p. C93). A lengthy newspaper article entitled “What’s going on at Rosholt Research?” attempted to outline the issues under debate to others across the state who were trying to follow the continuous uprisings (AC, 1967). The article noted that the answer to “who is right” and “who is wrong” depended upon one’s conception of what a university should be, concluding with the following message:

When Dr. People was inaugurated, he noted, “Our hearts are filled with love for Rosholt Research University which is ours today. Let’s enjoy it!” A dedicated, sincere man, Dr. People today must wrestle with the fact that some people are thinking about Rosholt Research University more, but enjoying it less. (AC, 4/14/67, p. 11).

Daily disc jockey jabs about the controversy on radio stations across the state culminated in an editorial about Dr. Bird's resignation airing on March 20th and 21st, 1967:

You are a sociology professor of sorts, and when you don't like the social order that prevails at a university you resign . . . Run Sheep Run.

The fact that you are a leader who perhaps should be leading and doing things, teaching respect for an orderly process has little importance . . . Run Sheep Run.

It's the tone of the day . . . if you don't like the way things are, you don't work at making them better . . . resign, protest, march . . . sit-in, sit-down and quit . . . Run Sheep Run.

The fact that students have expected to attend classes . . . learn something, explore possibilities . . . not important . . . the teacher has no responsibility to them . . . Run Sheep Run.

It's the tone of the day . . . protest, demonstrate, orate, resign . . . the world is show business, the task is done when you call attention to the problem . . . that's all you need to do is just call attention to the problem . . . let it hang there . . . Run Sheep Run.

And where is the leader . . . the instructor, the molder, the guide? Gone, for pressing personal reasons . . . Run Sheep Run.

And this is the way to open a campus to a discussion of all ideas,

good and bad, but at least hear them and discuss and evaluate them? Run  
Sheep Run. (Bird, personal papers, 3/30/95)

A few days after the editorial began airing, the radio station received a letter from a professor at Temple University who had been traveling through the state listening to the station when the editorial played. He noted that, "in academe, there are two ways in which to demonstrate courage: Stand and fight, or resign in protest. Both have merit. But both are not always practical or even possible" (Bird, personal papers, 3/21/67). He reviewed the events at Rosholt Research University and suggested the people of the state, especially the media, should call for an investigation:

It is not a case of "run, sheep, run," but rather a case of the lamb who cries "wolf" as he is being sacrificed, only to find that no one wants to hear him--even on his first cry. In my opinion, Dr. Bird's extreme action was a plea for public help and public concern. Instead, the public has responded with ridicule--and the media seems to be leading the catcalls. Somehow, this would seem to violate the concept of the media as public watchdog, and strengthen the already tragic plight of the uninvolved American. (Bird, personal papers, 3/30/95)

Dr. Camp, one of the young sociologists, remembered the "Run, Sheep, Run" editorial and reflects that "I became one of those sheep that ran. I said, 'No, I cannot respect myself if I stay in this kind of a setting'" (Camp, 5/24/95). He met with Dr. People and outlined the following:

1. It is my opinion that the Administration has violated the principles of academic freedom . . . .

2. It is my opinion that the Administration has violated basic Christian principles . . . engaged in deceit, subterfuge, threat of reprisals, and overt vindictive reprisals . . . . I am truly offended . . . .
3. The Administration has violated its basic obligation to this institution, and that is to serve the faculty and students first . . . .
4. The Administration has, in its rigid and repressive position . . . contributed largely to an atmosphere in many departments . . . not conducive to the productivity of faculty and staff . . . .
5. The Administration has created a public atmosphere in which honest faculty and students have suffered abuses. (AI, 1992, p. 349).

Professor Ames also recognized the hopelessness of the situation: “Who wanted to live or work in a situation that wasn’t probably going to get any better?” (Ames, 5/4/95).

#### Response Across University Subcultures

Subsequent to his resignation, Dr. Bird wrote a letter to the Chairman of the Faculty Committee of the Faculty Council of Rosholt Research University, Professor Thomzik, following the suggestion of the president to call faculty grievances to the attention of administrators through established communication channels. He outlined the incidents which led to his resignation, emphasizing, that as he understood university structure, “your committee . . . is an appropriate channel through which a faculty member may air grievances” (Letter to Professor Thomzik, 4/6/67). Bird indicated in his letter to the Faculty Committee that he had spoken to President People, by phone, prior to his

resignation regarding People's statement that Bird was "inciting students to riot" (Letter to Professor Thomzik, 4/6/67). President People denied the accusation. In Bird's words,

I then informed President People that two persons at the Thursday meeting [second protest rally] would testify that he had made such a charge. At that point . . . President People informed me that Dean Ridge [Dean of Student Affairs] had told him that I had "talked about a riot." After concluding the telephone conversation with the president, I spoke to Dean Ridge. He denied having informed the president. Within thirty minutes after I had spoken with Dean Ridge, President People telephoned me at my home and told me that he, the president, had not received his information from Dean Ridge; in fact, he could not remember his source. (Letter to Professor Thomzik, 4/6/67)

In early June, the Faculty Committee transmitted a memorandum to the Faculty Council regarding the letter from Dr. Bird, stating that it made:

. . . no specific, clear charge, nor . . . [does it bring] any solid evidence to bear. Unless or until there is clear public evidence which could be properly adjudicated that a serious breach of professional ethics has been perpetrated by anyone, the Faculty Committee recommends that no action be taken in response to these letters. (Faculty Council Memo, 6/6/67)

Administrative admonishments continued to fuel tempers, exponentially increasing distrust and flaring tempers on both sides. Rosholt Research University's legal counsel attempted to "clarify the legal position of the university and its president" in

regard to alleged complaints about the abridgment of rights on campus by reminding the university community and its various publics that:

The presence of either students or faculty upon the campus does not bestow upon them, under any constitutional provision, rights superior to those of the Board of Regents, the university, or the president when acting in his official capacity . . . .

The president is the chief administrative officer of the university and, although he may utilize others for advice and consultation regarding the implementation of policies, he may not delegate the responsibilities for such policy implementation to any person or group. He stands alone in this regard . . . . Channels of communication for presenting grievances by anyone have always been available at Rosholt Research University since its inception and are available now . . . these channels must be used if Rosholt Research University is to fulfill its destiny as an institution of higher learning. (AH, 3/19/67, p. 1)

In direct reference to the newly-formed Student-Faculty Association, the legal counsel noted that “there is no need for the inter-mingling of students and faculty to open any new channels of communication to the administration” (AH, 3/19/67, p. 1).

With a vote on the Student Bill of Rights in the offing, student reaction to the legal position of the university came in the form of a formal resolution by the Senate of the Student Association:

The statement of the legal advisor of Rosholt Research University does not reflect the opinion of the student body . . . . The Student Senate of Rosholt Research University is the official voice and channel of student opinion,



and be it resolved that the Student Senate of Rosholt Research University go on record as opposing any law or opinion which might be construed as an abrogation of constitutional rights as a price for higher education.

(AF, 3/22/67, p. 1)

Although the Student Rights Bill was passed by the Student Senate, in early April the Student Association president and vice-president voiced their opposition to the thirteen-point proposal, noting that it was the “wrong approach” to support furthering the rights of students (AF, 4/5/67, p. 1). A new group of campus leaders organized a group called “Students for the Right Approach,” hoping to defeat the bill in a special election called for mid-April. One day after Student Government Association elections were held for the coming year, the proposed bill was repealed by the Student Senate, somewhat squelching the academic freedom debate among students.

#### The Moss State University Incident

Squabbles between faculty and administrators continued to crop up. Rosholt Research University administrators allegedly interfered with Dr. Bird’s job-search efforts after his resignation speech (Bird 3/30/95). At approximately the same time Dr. Bird had submitted his resignation to Dr. Padre on March 14, he accepted an offer from a southern state university as a member of their sociology department. He had received a warm welcome on his initial visit and returned during Rosholt Research University’s spring break to meet with members of the department and look for housing (Bird, 3/30/95). While Dr. Bird was enroute to Moss State University, Dr. Gore of the Rosholt Research University sociology department staff, reported to Dr. Padre and “to Dean Marks that he

had received a telephone call from Dr. Earnest Figg [a former colleague and business associate of Dr. Gore], Head of the Department of Sociology at Moss State University” (Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Gore related:

He called me and said that when they were deciding to interview Bird that somebody, and he said the president, had called the president at Moss [State] and had said, “don’t hire this guy; he’s a troublemaker.” So Earnest Figg, the chair’s name, said, “Well, what’s going on up there? Made me look bad.”

(Gore, 2/14/95)

Dr. Figg had been reprimanded by his president and dean for not having informed them about what had been occurring at Rosholt Research University and Dr. Bird’s involvement in the academic freedom controversy. In his telephone conversation with Dr. Gore, Dr. Figg requested a letter from Dr. Gore explaining “the details of [the] situation” (Padre, 7/6/67). After showing the “straightforward, but moderate letter explaining what had happened” to Dr. Padre, Dr. Gore sent the letter to Dr. Figg, and Dr. Padre spoke to Dr. Figg “to verify the facts” (Padre, 7/6/67).

The reception Dr. Bird met at Moss State University on his return trip was “very cool, very, very cool” (Bird, 3/30/95). The three sociology staff members with whom Dr. Bird met “began to hedge a bit on their previous statements” (Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Bird reported that “they appeared to be embarrassed and uncomfortable and appeared to have been put under pressure” (Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Bird was somewhat distressed by the situation and carried on with his plans to spend the remainder of his vacation time with friends at a nearby university where he had previously taught (Bird, 3/30/95). Once

he reached his destination, he received word that the State Highway Patrol had been alerted to look for him and that he was to call Moss State University immediately, which he did (Bird, 3/30/95):

So I get on the phone and call Moss State--Earnest Figg, I think that was his name--and I said to him, "What's going on here? Somebody wants me, the highway patrol?" And he said, "Yes, our Board of Trustees wants you to come for a public hearing to see whether you're subversive or not." And I said, I'm not coming back *at all* [italics added]." (Bird, 3/30/95)

Moss State University released Dr. Bird "from any commitment to them," and he accepted a position elsewhere (Padre, 7/6/67).

The executive committee of the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors learned of the phone call to Dr. Gore and asked Dr. Padre to meet with them to discuss the content of the call, as well as the proceedings of the March 9 meeting with the president (Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Gore considered the Moss State incident as crucial and, in the minds of the faculty,

I think that was the time when the faculty decided it was probably time to bail out . . . that, not only was this president not somebody who would uphold traditional values of academic freedom and so on, but that he was a person who was . . . capable of vindictiveness and that one would stay around at great jeopardy to their careers. This one event, I think, really verified that in the minds of a lot of people. (Gore, 2/14/95)

Within the sociology department, Professor Ames remembered the news of the phone call to Moss State University:

. . . made everybody **sick** because then everybody thought, “Can that happen to me?” And then they thought, “Oh, I’ll never be able to get a job,” because when your **college president** calls up and says something, it’s serious . . . we thought, “anybody that will reach out **that far** and not just be glad to get rid of the man, but try to impede his future professional career by what he was saying about him, that was very serious. We thought that looked pretty bad for us in the group. (Ames, 5/4/95)

Dr. Camp recalled that the whole Moss State incident “resulted in more people being shocked” (Camp, 5/24/95). As one of the professors in the sociology department pointed out, “talk about academic freedom--I believed in all those things, but it was the shock of seeing this man [Dr. People] **do** what he **did**, **say** what he **said**” (Ames, 5/4/95). Once word of the alleged phone call leaked out, both the president of Moss State University and President People denied that any conversation had taken place between the two of them regarding the “resigned Rosholt Research University sociologist” (AD5, 3/23/67, p. 1).

### The Provo Picnics

During that same spring, a group of students organized what were known as “Provo” Picnics to be held on the library lawn “with the intent of furnishing a time and a fitting setting for expressions of peace and love” (AG, Spring, 1970, p. 64). Both faculty

and students were invited to attend. Dr. Bird recalls a picnic which took place in April of 1967, after his resignation, when he was walking through the court yard:

Some of the students said, "Share lunch with me," and they brought out goodies. I thought it was a nice, friendly gesture. And then we saw campus security walking around taking pictures and I thought, "Gosh, this reminds me of maybe 1930 Nazi Germany." (Bird, 3/30/95)

When questioned about how the pictures were to be used, the two individuals taking the pictures at first said they were just "photo-bugs" and that the pictures would be in the Security office files, but were not taken at the direction of any one in particular (AF, 4/28/67, p. 4). The local chapter of the AAUP investigated the matter and determined the picture-taking project to have been initiated by the head of the university's Safety and Security Department. In accordance with proper notification of the Faculty Council, Dr. Ruby, sociology, wrote a letter detailing the events at the Provo Picnic on April 27th, 1967. He suggested that:

The atmosphere of fear and suspicion which has been felt by many members of the academic community is further aggravated by what appears to be police action oriented toward the suppression of individual freedom . . . . I request that the Academic Council make an investigation to assert or deny the veracity of this information. If what is here said is true, I request that the Faculty Council take the appropriate steps to guarantee an atmosphere free of fear for individuals who, by reason of having attended a good-will picnic, might be kept in a police file as public offenders. (Letter to Faculty Council, 4/28/67)

An editorial in the local newspaper (AH, 5/7/67) pointed out that:

The Provo meetings being held on the campus apparently have good intentions, and likely have only one thing wrong with them--they failed to get permission from authorities for their meetings . . . . The Rosholt Research University Security Force feel that photos of these unauthorized sessions on the campus would be of assistance in helping them determine whether any outsiders were involved. (p. 4)

President People subsequently announced that he had asked that the pictures be destroyed (AG, Spring, 1970, p. 64).

#### The Last Remnants of Confidence Fade

Problems continued to mount for President People when the Board of Faculty Representatives of the College of Arts and Sciences, chaired by Dr. Palmer, wrote a letter to Dean Marks recommending that the president make a public statement about the content of the March 9 meeting related to Dr. Bird's "inciting students to riot" (Letter to Dr. Marks, 4/6/67). The letter was prompted by a request from a concerned faculty member. Dr. Palmer directed the University Honors Program and also served as faculty advisor to the Association for Community Thought that published an off-campus newspaper often critical of Rosholt Research University policy and administrators. The letter from the Board asked that the president issue a statement "either to the effect that (1) the President did not cite Bird as 'inciting students to riot,' or that (2) any statement made by the President, being based on rumor only, was not intended to carry the

significance, or implication, which have subsequently been attached to it” (Letter to Dean Marks, 4/6/67).

President People did not respond directly to the Board of Faculty Representatives; rather, Dr. Marks wrote a letter in which he included a “communication from the President” and asked that she “share it with members of your committee . . . it is in no way to be duplicated or publicized:”

I have before me the letter addressed to you from the Board of Faculty representatives of the College of Arts and Sciences, dated April 6, 1967. Please thank the members of the Board for their interest and concern.

In response to the communication, I would, in a spirit of respect and good will, observe that, so far as I know, Dr. Bird is the only person who has given any publicity to what might have been said in the meeting of March 9. Certainly I have never made any public statement of the nature indicated. Accordingly, I believe it would be entirely out of order for me to make any public statement of explanation or to engage in any public discussion of the matter. (Letter to Dr. Palmer, 4/13/67)

The Board of Faculty Representatives of the College of Arts and Sciences proceeded to launch a detailed investigation of the March 9 meeting, and Dr. Padre’s files reflect that on April 17, 1967, he wrote the following letter of resignation to Dean Marks:

I have long delayed writing this letter in the hope that it would not have to be written at all. Although my best judgment has told me, for weeks, that the path that President People is following would destroy the university,

I just could not bring myself to believe that he could be so short sighted. Obviously I was wrong. The president shows no signs of permitting any real communication with him.

. . . If an appropriate position becomes available, I may well leave Rosholt Research University at the end of August. I feel that I must remain here that long in order to see my graduate students through to their degrees.

As I think you are aware, the president's actions have completely destroyed the morale of the staff and students in the Department of Sociology . . . .

My purpose in communicating these things to you at this time is to give you maximum opportunity to provide for the staffing of sociology classes in the fall . . . . You might want to begin the search for a new department head right away . . . .

Let me affirm, also, that it is only the president's actions that have forced me to this course. (AI, 1992, pp. 349-350)

Dean Marks acknowledged Dr. Padre's letter "with sorrow," noting he recognized that "it had become inevitable" and indicated that he would:

not forward [the] letter as a formal resignation until you are absolutely certain you have secured another post. In the meantime, I hope you may relax and enjoy what are likely to be the closing weeks of your service to the institution. It is a tragedy that none of us seem to be able to avoid. (AI, 1992, p. 350)



Disenchanted faculty members refused to give up the fight. At their meeting held on May 2, 1967, The Rosholt Research University AAUP Chapter heard a call from Dr. Teddy for a resolution voicing “no confidence” in President People’s regime (AD3, 5/10/67, p. 33). The full text was distributed to the members in attendance, but was never released for publication:

The current academic climate at Rosholt Research University is not one in which learning can proceed freely and efficiently or in which scholars -- students and faculty -- can operate comfortably. We are not dealing here with specific events and cases, but with an overall pattern of indicants or an aure of repression. Such a climate, however indefinite and difficult to pinpoint as to source, is not in the best interests of the university. The chief executive officer of the university must bear responsibility for this condition, as indeed he must for any condition of the university. In this particular case the responsibility is the more firmly fixed as the rise of the current unhappy situation is coincidental with the new President’s assumption of office. For these reasons it is the painful duty of the Rosholt Research University chapter of the American Association of University Professors to register a vote of “no confidence” in the administration of Dr. People. (Department of Sociology, Rosholt Research University, undated)

The executive board of the AAUP virtually killed Dr. Teddy’s proposal, saying that “the AAUP has never censured an individual by name . . . and does not, except in unusual cases . . . either praise or condemn individual persons” (AD3, 5/10/67, p. 33).

The president-elect of the local AAUP chapter resigned in protest to the “militant-activist trend” in the chapter that he believed had fostered the dissension on campus (AF, 5/10/67, p. 1). Other faculty, through the Faculty Council, reaffirmed their confidence in President People by issuing a “162-word” resolution calling for “all segments of the university community to work together for the good of the university” (AD3, 5/10/67, p. 23). The resolution affirmed the Faculty Council’s conviction that: “The president is a man of honor and integrity and that he has tried valiantly to solve the many problems of the university. The Faculty Council strongly endorses him for his many efforts” (AF, 5/10/67, p. 1). Although Dr. Teddy’s resolution was never entertained by the AAUP chapter at Rosholt Research University, a resolution replaced it which “asks the national office of the AAUP for consultation services in a study of university government on this campus” (AF, 5/12/67, p. 1).

#### The Sociologists Resign En Masse

The sociology department had not been immersed in the controversy to the point that their efforts to infuse scholarship into the program diminished. In fact, ten nationally-known speakers were brought in over the course of the year to “act as if they were faculty” (Teddy, 3/31/95). Such notables as Amitai Etzioni, Alvin Gouldner, Marion J. Levy, J. Milton Yinger and Theodore Newcombe were among their ranks. Dr. Teddy estimated that “five, at least of the ten . . . either were before then or became afterward, presidents of the American Sociological Association” (Teddy, 3/31/95).

In the meantime, inquiries had begun to come to Dr. Padre with regard to the propriety of other institutions making offers to staff members and graduate students at

Rosholt Research University (Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Padre remembered “it soon became clear that a good proportion of the staff and graduate students would leave” (Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Gore recalled a conversation with his good friend, Dr. Marks, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, wherein he conveyed that as dean, “he was caught between the president and faculty in a situation where he found it very difficult to defend the president” (Gore, 2/14/95). Dr. Marks is remembered by another departmental member as a “hero”:

[He] is the closest to a neutral party, who at least as far as I’m concerned, confirmed secret meetings and what was going on in the higher administration. He **never** said anything publicly, but he was very supportive. (Teddy, 3/31/95).

Professor Ames described Dean Marks as being a “very important person in this whole situation,” recalling that he interviewed individually each member of the sociology department over the course of the spring semester, 1967 (Ames, 5/4/95). Dr. Gore remembered his friend expressing feelings that his “administration as a dean [had] been a failure . . . . basically the ultimate test of the success of an administrator is whether you leave the college better than you found it . . . . I will not be able to do that” (Gore, 2/14/95). The sociology faculty who had been openly involved in activism on campus:

had perceived themselves to be victims of retaliation by the president . . . and the dean [was] caught in the middle between faculty and the president. As his position became more untenable, he was less able to protect and defend the faculty . . . the dean had become sufficiently weak and himself in difficulty to the

point where he no longer could protect the faculty and the principles of academic freedom. (Gore, 2/14/95)

In terms of what was going on *within* the sociology department, Dr. Jay, a graduate teaching assistant in the sociology department at the time of the crisis, recalled the morale of the department as being “quite high, energized” (Jay, 3/2/93). As he noted, “sociologists pride themselves on being on the leading edge of social change,” recalling a “self-righteousness about their [the sociologists] position and, right or wrong, they felt very good about what they were doing” (Jay, 3/2/93). Dr. Teddy recounted that:

The more we talked about it . . . I think there was a mass contagion--feedback-- that the more alienated one of us became, the more we egged the others on to be at least as alienated, and I think some people who would **never** have resigned on the basis of personal principle ended up resigning because it was the thing to do.

They would have been ashamed to stay. (Teddy, 3/31/95)

As some of the older faculty began to contemplate leaving the sociology department at Rosholt Research University, those whom they had served as mentors felt that “something stable and important about the university” was about to be removed and “the people that I had the most respect for and cared about the most were leaving” (Gore, 2/14/95). Dr. Camp verified those feelings, recalling:

So, here are some people who provided moral leadership, and when Padre and the Thorntons . . . were saying, “this is an intolerable situation; this is absolutely tyranny . . . we can’t win” . . . . That was a part of it . . . Padre’s moral leadership and the belief, the impression among us, as sociologists,

we would be fighting a no-win game, we'd better get out of here. (Camp, 5/24/95)

Dr. Teddy noted that “you can make an argument for staying and fighting on the inside, and it's easier to make that argument when you haven't got any other choice” (Teddy, 3/31/95). The sociologists did, however, have other choices.

The demand for sociologists in the early sixties was “three times larger than the supply” (AE, 1992, p. 291). That was attributed, in part, to President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs and the ripple effect in favor of college and university sociology faculty. Dr. Teddy reminisced:

it was a good job market in those days . . . . **Now** I don't think anybody could afford that . . . . you wouldn't get a mass . . . unless the issue was a great deal more serious and . . . more clear-cut than that one was . . . the principles didn't cost very much in that particular context. (Teddy, 3/31/95)

The “national players” who had served as visiting faculty in the department that year became invaluable in “aiding the several faculty members to elicit job offers” (Teddy, 4/13/95). Dr. Padre's notes show, however, that not all those who submitted their resignations had secure positions, “Although I believe that all of the staff believed that they would get new jobs, there was much anxiety about it and several of the staff were prepared to leave even if they lost financially by doing so” (Padre, 7/6/67).

While future plans were being made by the sociologists, Dr. People purposely “stayed out” of the debate over academic freedom because, as he told the Rosholt Research University Board of Regents at their May, 1967, monthly meeting, “I believe

the time for healing is at hand” (AE, 5/13/67, p. 1). By May 15, however, the deadline recommended by the AAUP for notifying institutions of faculty resignations, nine of the ten sociologists in the Rosholt Research University sociology department had resigned. So thorough were the resignations that two persons slated to join the department for the fall semester withdrew their acceptances. At the end of April, Dean Marks had also submitted his resignation to become president of an eastern university. In a personal letter to Dr. Bird, he expressed his respect for the sociology department, even though the “cold print” of newspaper accounts sometimes did not cast his remarks in that tone:

It is hard not to be guilty of dissemblance as we try to stay open to all shades of opinion on the university campus. This has already been an educative experience for me. I want to express my admiration for each of you in the Department of Sociology for the professional spirit you have shown, for your refusal to respond to hostile and provocative statements, and for your continuing commitment to honest scholarship. (Bird, personal papers, 3/30/95)

Dr. Marks “understood the political sources of the difficulties,” but, “as an academic political scientist he could not, in principle, approve of abridgment of civil liberties” (AE, 1992, pp. 301-302).

In announcing the sociology resignations, Dr. Padre blamed the academic climate at Rosholt Research University: “the timing of these resignations is due to the fact that the academic climate on the campus had become intolerable by mid-spring” (AE, 5/16/67, p. 1). He noted further that “the term, mass resignations, does not accurately describe this situation” in that the faculty had made “individual decisions” and “are

moving to more challenging and more rewarding positions than they now occupy at Rosholt Research University” (AE, 5/16/67, p. 1). Several graduate students had made plans to leave, as well. Again, the nationally acclaimed sociologists who had visited the campus and taught classes in which the graduate students were enrolled provided “aid for the vast majority of [the] graduate students . . . in soliciting admissions and financial aid” at institutions with top-quality graduate programs (Teddy, 3/31/95).

Once again, Rosholt Research University made the headlines of major newspapers throughout the state. Some reports indicated that the resignations were prompted by rumors that the administration planned to ask some members of the department to resign (AH, 5/16/67). Those reports were denied, and Dr. People issued a simple statement with regard to the departing sociologists: “I wish all of these people well in their new assignments” (AD2, 5/16/67, p. 1). The Rosholt Research University director of public information said, “the resignation move isn’t a great tragedy . . . . This doesn’t end sociology at Rosholt Research University” (AE, 5/17/67, p. 1).

The governor was supportive of Dr. People, and was pleased that the Faculty Council had given People a vote of confidence prior to the announcement of the resignations (AE, 5/17/67). Referring to the support by the Faculty Council, a major state newspaper offered the following editorial suggestion:

Given his backing at a crucial time by his faculty leadership, Dr. People might be wise now to affirm his belief in the principles of academic freedom and his realization that on a real university campus there is no such thing as a marketplace

of ideas if everything has to be cleared through the president's office. (AD5, 5/16/67, p. 12).

The only remaining sociology faculty member was professor Guidley, who had been on leave during the 1966-67 academic year to complete his doctorate. His decision to stay was based on the fact that "he did not sympathize with the militant and liberal stands of some of the departed faculty" (AE, 1992, p. 303). Dr. Gore recalled that Guidley was a "real, real strong friend of Dr. Hester, Dr. Padre's predecessor, and that "he never quite forgave those people for . . . what he considered to be slights to Hester" (Gore, 2/14/95). Guidley was an ordained minister and considered conservative by any measure. Both ideologically and personally, "he was not well meshed with people like Bird and Teddy and Padre" (Gore, 2/14/95). Dr. Camp, too, remembered Guidley as one of the members of the department who "just didn't fit in" (Camp, 5/24/95). Guidley was recommended by People to head the department and procure new faculty, which he did, and remained at Rosholt Research University until his retirement in 1988 (AE, 1992). Four of the nine resigning sociologists either immediately assumed the chairmanship of sociology departments at major institutions or did so later in their professional careers.

#### The Bereaved Departure

Dr. Padre was on target when he noted, early on, that the department had been "swept along toward a crisis that none of us wants" (AD2, 3/15/67, p. 2). The resignations meant that "a very, very close department, extremely compatible people" would move on to other educational arenas (Camp, 5/24/95). Dr. Bird "didn't want to



leave [the State] . . . . I liked the campus. I liked the program. I liked the people. Had it not been for that explosion, I would have stayed at Rosholt, I think” (Bird, 3/30/95).

Dr. Gore “wasn’t planning on going anywhere,” but:

[I] was not happy with what was happening, and I didn’t have a lot of confidence in the president, and I was very disappointed that the dean was leaving cause I **did** like him . . . . I had close ties to Rosholt Research University. I felt strongly about that cause I had been there as an undergraduate . . . I was a Rattlesnake through and through. (Gore, 2/14/95)

Professor Ames related that:

The whole group of us became an amalgam because of our sticking together. You couldn’t divide and conquer. Because . . . there were no factions to begin with. Very unusual for a university department . . . . [Often] there’s factions and backbiting and all that stuff, but there wasn’t here. I mean it was a very coherent group . . . . [When] all of this happened . . . we all just closed ranks. (Ames, 5/4/95)

Relating to the compatibility Ames’ described, Dr. Camp reminisced, “I’ve never been a member of a department since that was like that” (Camp, 5/24/95). Dr. Teddy commented that Rosholt Research University “was an exciting place to be. I think we had a good faculty; a good bunch of graduate students; good graduate programs . . . . I wondered, ‘Would I still have been there today if it hadn’t been for the series of events there.’ And I don’t know” (Teddy, 3/31/95). In fact, at the time he left Rosholt Research University, he expressed his thoughts in prose:

I like this god-damned state. I really do. In lots of ways.

Its sun-filled space (and were it not for the sun nothing could fill it),  
the wind sniffing at the door, make credible the lean and leathery  
men who turn its dust and punch small holes deep into it.

I like these men, too. Winter-wheat and crude-oil men.

They are open, if hard, like the land from which they sprung.

And their women, gone to pot upon the land, but comfortably so.

(Yet, there are other people, though I hate to call them so.

Dwellers in the towns, as I cannot call them cities. Narrow of  
mind and back and vision. Haters by profession or nature.

Lacking the cool of the city and the heat of the land.

They poison it here for outsiders like me.)

I'll leave.

Goodby, twisting rivers on tables of sand.

Goodby, redsoil, redclay.

Goodby, open sky and sharp horizons and dust abrading at the wall.

Solong, [you] with southern-softened nasal twang.

Solong, you shrewd, unlettered, liberal, bigoted, happy, solemn,  
human, humane, bastards. I love you.

I'll miss this god-damned state. I really will. In lots of ways.

(Teddy, personal papers, Spring, 1967)

## The Board of Faculty Representatives' Report

On May 2, 1967, the Board of Faculty Representatives of the College of Arts and Sciences had transmitted their report of the March 9 meeting called by President People to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. In their introductory remarks, the Board acknowledged that the dissatisfaction being voiced on the campus was “generally healthy,” but that “failure to heed, blend, and further encourage the voices of concern can result in a status quo stagnation and/or decline in potential effectiveness” (Report of the Board of Faculty Representatives of the College of Arts and Sciences, 5/2/67, p. 1). Their report included a summary of the problems revealed by their investigation, as well as a summary of proposed solutions to “immediate and long term problems” (Report of the Board of Faculty Representatives of the College of Arts and Sciences, 5/2/67, p. 2). It was at first reported that Dr. People had ordered the report suppressed, considering the matters in question “private faculty business” (AD5, 5/17/67, p. 1). Dr. Padre wrote that he “was told . . . that a group of faculty members supporting the President had a meeting at which they agreed to make the report public and to attempt to discredit it” (Padre, 7/6/67). The report was released to the press in its entirety on May 18, three days after the mass resignations in the sociology department were announced. People was quoted in the press as blaming “two resigning professors for the barbed report” (AD5, 5/18/67, p. 1). Although People did not actually name Dr. Marks, the Arts and Sciences Dean, nor Dr. Padre, his inference was clear that the two were responsible for inaccuracies in the controversial report (AD5, 5/19/67, p. 1). In a meeting of Arts and Sciences Faculty, the report was tabled because three of the four department heads who had been present at the

March 9 meeting said it did not properly reflect the content of the meeting (AF, 5/19/67, p. 1). Dr. Padre reported that:

I was told later that one of these department heads called Dr. Palmer [chair of the Board of Faculty Representatives Committee who filed the report] and apologized for the statements he made at the meeting but said that the situation had gotten just too complicated and that he could not do anything else. I was also told that a second department head admitted to more than one staff member that he lied [about the report being inaccurate] at the meeting. (Padre, 7/6/67)

Dr. Camp remembered being at the faculty meeting when the Board of Faculty Representatives submitted the report:

The most important recollection I have is that a couple of the department heads--one of whom I had kind of liked--stood up and, with sweat pouring off his head, said, "No, we did not have a meeting in Dr. People's office." And I, . . . it was like a **conversion**. It was like finding that something which was a God to you has clay feet--it crumbles. And to me that God was: college and university faculties **are** respectable, honorable, honest people . . . . And **that** was blown out of the water in that meeting . . . . And I remember **tremendous** disillusionment. (Camp, 5/24/95)

The proceedings of that same meeting were described by professor Ames as disappointing:

You were just disappointed, but then you realized that they had their careers to think of. And . . . maybe they didn't believe as we did that what was going

on was unprincipled. So I wrote in [my appointment book] after that  
“dreadful for all.” The meeting was dreadful for all. (Ames, 5/4/95)

The Board of Faculty Representatives report noted a “belief . . . that the administration controls representative agencies such as the student senate, faculty council and various appeal boards and committees” (AD5, 5/18/67, p. 1). The report further observed that:

The administration is pandering to a regressive public opinion. The president’s attitude is that the university must, first and above all, please the various publics in the state.

The president has allowed his personal feelings on various issues to interfere with his judgment as the president of Rosholt Research University.

The practice used by the president of directing policy by opinion too often leads to confusion rather than clarification.

Dismissal of personal complaints to the administration by the observation that “if you don’t like it here, perhaps you had better move on,” negates to a large degree, (channels) of communication. (AD5, 5/18/67, pp. 1-2)

The report urged faculty understanding and tolerance for the new president, but not to the point of “breaks with procedure and principle” (AD5, 5/18/67. p. 1).

In commenting on the report, Dr. People said that he had “great confidence in the future of Rosholt Research University. Some mistakes have been made in recent months by many of us, to be sure, but I feel that all of us have gained from these experiences” (AD5, 5/19/67, p. 1).

Professor Palmer, chair of the Arts and Sciences Board of Faculty Representatives, announced her resignation from Rosholt Research University on November 1, 1967 (AG, Spring, 1970). The People administration had refused to cooperate with her as director of the University honors program, had delayed an approval of her election as a faculty advisor to the Student Senate, and reversed her required endorsement of an invitation to Dr. Timothy Leary to speak on campus. In justifying her decision, she alluded to the reasons given for her difficulties as “a pernicious reference to [her] participation in what has been called the ‘academic freedom’ struggle on the campus and to the fact that as a consequence [she] was out of favor in ‘places that counted’” (AG, Spring, 1970, p. 65). Members of the Board of Faculty Representatives of the College of Arts and Sciences who remained on campus in the fall of 1967 expressed concern over the “discriminatory treatment” they believed she was receiving from the campus community because of her connection with the controversial report made public in May of 1967 (AJ, Fall, 1967, p. 5).

#### AAUP Censorship

Rosholt Research University was censured by the AAUP in April, 1970, as a result of an investigation of the denial of reappointment to a probationary faculty member in the School of Journalism who had allegedly been involved with organizations and individuals associated with the academic freedom controversy; namely the SDS, the sociology department and Dr. Palmer (AG, Spring, 1970). The AAUP Investigating Committee noted that their investigation focused not only on the possible violation of a

faculty member's rights, but necessarily on questions concerning the support given to academic freedom by the university administration (AG, Spring, 1970).

## CHAPTER V

### THE FINDINGS

#### Overview of Theoretical Perspective

The propositions of conflict theory espoused by Randall Collins (1975) serve as the conceptual framework for analysis of the case of mass resignations in a sociology department. Academic culture served as the interpretive lens that revealed underlying conflicts within and between the spheres of the Rosholt Research University system, ultimately leading to the resignation of nine of the ten members of the sociology department.

While there are varying strains of conflict theory, Collins' (1975) theory of conflict draws upon Weber's bureaucratic organizational theory and the sociology of Karl Marx. Weber perceives organizations as arenas of conflict that pit the self-interest of individuals against one another; Marx's sociology "specifies the conditions shaping interests and conflicts, describes the resources that enable particular interests to dominate, and generalizes about the relationship between the ideological surface of public consciousness and the real events below" (Collins, 1981, p. 14). Collins (1975) incorporates the basic theoretical tenets of both Weber and Marx in his development of conflict theory; most specifically, "people follow their *own interests*; success breeds *honor*; power breeds ambition; morality is based on violence, but works best by deception, especially through the deliberate staging of *dramatic gestures*; and *mass support* is useful in the struggle of elites, and can be manipulated by show . . ." (Collins, 1981, p. 14).



Theoretical generalizations of conflict theory purported by Collins (1975) were selected in analyzing the interpersonal influences flowing between the subgroups of academe, the goal being to get at the real meaning of this historical event as a basis for informing administrative practice. The propositions most applicable to this case analysis are restated from Chapter I, as follows:

1. The more power and resources are located in the *joint activities* of a tribe or *community*, the greater the tendency for ceremonies to take place involving the whole community, and [the greater the tendency for] both to bolster the *authority of community leaders* and *loyalty* to its members.
2. The greater the *similarity among* the ceremonial *ideals* of particular factions, the more they will *coalesce* in a common position in a *political crisis*.
3. The more severe the crisis, the more likely groups are to *coalesce along the lines of collective interests*.
4. The *more similar* recruits are in *cultural background*, the more likely they are to become friends, and the greater the potential *loyalty*.
5. The more conducive the conditions for creating *personal friendships* in an organization, the greater the potential *loyalty*.
6. The greater the *isolation of subgroup members from outsiders*, the greater the potential *loyalty* in the subgroup.
7. The more that members of a subgroup are aware of *danger and hostility from another subgroup*, the more *loyalty* to the subgroup (provided that

there is not already hostility between groups within the subgroup).

8. The greater the use of *written rules*, the *less* personal *loyalty* to immediate superiors, and the *less subversion of authority* through the chain of command.

9. The greater the *threat from insubordinate* local [subgroup] *officials* . . . the more an organizational leader is motivated to *bureaucratize*.

10. *Coercion* leads to strong efforts to *avoid being coerced*.

11. If resources for fighting back are not available but opportunities to escape are, the *greater coercion* that is applied, the *greater the tendency to leave the situation*. (Collins, pp. 298, 303, 305, 318 & 369)

The focus of conflict theory is on the arrangement of organizational strata into a system of power that divides social systems into interest groups “struggling for control” and “directly conditions the mobilization of interest groups for political action, as well as the production of ideas and of emotional ties” (Collins, 1981, p. 44). The interest groups to which Collins (1975, 1981) refers are congruent with the cultural bands present in the higher education community, where each subgroup may be thought of as a tribe with a distinct territory, language, and ritual of behavior that is professed to explain tribal conclusions and, sometimes, aberrant actions (Becher, 1989). Building upon that premise, the administrative and technical cultural subsystems of the university depicted by Birnbaum (1988) in Figure 1.1 brought together with the third cultural subsystem, “academic disciplines” as shown in Figure 1.2, provide the interpretive lens for this study. Each culture has its own system of *deeply embedded beliefs, patterns of practice,*

*tools of practical action* and ideas of “*culturally-appropriate*” behavior that mutually influence one another in the same group and necessarily conflict across and within subgroups, providing a “multifocal intellectual lens” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 192) for examining the discord within a university system.

#### Alignment of Emerging Themes With Existing Literature

Because the cultural system of the sociology department at Rosholt Research University during the 1966-67 academic year is the unit of analysis, it is the emergence of themes from interviews with sociology faculty that describe the world they experienced and provide answers to the research questions posed in Chapter I. In conjunction with that, is the realization that the sociologists in question interacted not only with each other, but with the multiple disciplines making up the intellectual core of the university, and the administrators who, at one time, had experienced faculty status in their particular field of study. The themes that emerged in the interviews in some cases could be aligned with the literature review, and in some cases they could not. The italicized words and phrases throughout the remainder of this chapter reflect a congruence with either Collins’ (1975) theory of conflict or Dubinskas’ (1992) four cultural components. The findings of the case correlate with what the literature says about cultural systems, in general, and academic systems, in particular.

Evidence of the case revealed that there was a presence of nonconsensus as to the direction the department should take when Dr. Padre became department chair, which was consistent with the intellectual development of the sociological paradigm moving into the sixties (Becher, 1989; Erikson, 1970; Friedrichs, 1970; Lodahl & Gordon, 1972;

Merton, 1970). As Dr. Padre worked to gather like-minded faculty around him, the departmental split began to fade. The political stance taken by the sociologists in their interactions with faculty outside the department and the administration is consistent with the paradigmatic dominance of conflict theory during the 1960s. Its advocates maintained that order in society was the result of coercion by upper administration and recognized conflict and dissension as pervasive (Collins, 1981; Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965; Porter, 1984; Ritzer, 1975). There is no indication, however, that the epistemological environment of the sociologists at Rosholt Research University during the 1966-67 school year was unpredictable or anxious, two characteristics Lodahl and Gordon (1972) attribute to social scientists that sometimes produce “high levels of conflict, both within and between individuals” (p. 70). In further contrast to the literature, the sociology department at Rosholt Research University was not subject to the limited recognition experienced by scholars in the field at other universities (Kerr, 1991; Merton, 1970; Rudolph, 1990). Instead, the sociology department was acknowledged as a viable component, with President People helping to establish a Ph.D. program in sociology while serving as Dean of Arts and Sciences (People, 3/9/93). The major disparity between the literature and the data gathered through the case study is the contention that the “highly charged values” of sociologists are the fundamental bases of their personal and professional behavior, resulting in a “disproportionate incidence of rifts and schisms” in interactions throughout the academy (Becher, 1989; Friedrichs, 1970; Porter, 1984; Rudolph, 1990). This philosophy completely overlooks the interpretive nature (Becker, 1982) of the discipline and the fact that sociologists have a “human

nature” and will respond in a like manner to individuals of other disciplines under similar circumstances. Moreover, any notion that the conflict present between the administration and the sociology department at Rosholt Research University completely directed the minds and day-to-day behaviors of the sociologists in question is dispelled repeatedly by the testimony of interviewees.

The world of the respondents was the backdrop for the mass resignation and is characterized through the emergence of four main themes; namely, (1) the antagonistic political environment of the university, (2) the changing face and internal climate of the sociology department, (3) movement toward a quality sociology program, and (4) distress over leaving Rosholt Research University. Ancillary themes included (1) the compatible and cohesive climate of the sociology department and (2) the favorable labor market for university faculty. Each theme reflects a connection to the conceptual framework of conflict theory from the perspectives of sociologists, faculty, and administration, or an admixture of the three, and either draws a parallel to the existing literature or points to contrasting evidence.

#### The Antagonistic Political Climate of the University

Dr. Padre, Chair of the Department of Sociology at Rosholt Research University from 1963-1967, was hired by Dr. People when he served as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Many members of the higher education fraternity in the state, including some members of the sociology department at Rosholt, were surprised at Dr. People’s appointment as president, considering him the “least qualified” of the candidates and a “weak choice” (Gore, 2/14/95). Dr. Gore recalled:

. . . we weren't real happy with the president when he was dean . . . . He wasn't really highly regarded within the department. And he particularly wasn't highly regarded by the people in the department who were highly respected on campus. (Gore, 2/14/95)

The *intimidating nature* of the presidency stemmed from what Dr. Padre referred to as "a long standing pattern of administrative discrimination against . . . faculty members . . . presumed to have displeased top university administrators" (Padre, 7/6/67). More specifically, Dr. Bird noted a tendency for People and upper administrators, including People's predecessor, to be "somewhat vindictive about anybody who made a public statement about anything that might be critical about any aspect of the university" to the point that "you would not be tenured or promoted and you would have a salary freeze" (Bird, 3/30/95). Thus, members of the sociology department or in Collins' (1975) terminology, the "subgroup" of the academic discipline of sociology, sensed "*danger and hostility*" from the administrative sphere.

Further *threats originating outside* the sociology department came via admonishment from the administration in a called meeting wherein Dr. People expressed his displeasure with Dr. Teddy's faculty sponsorship of the Students for a Democratic Society. President-elect People believed that Dr. Padre had not properly supervised Teddy in his role as faculty sponsor of SDS, which, Dr. Padre recalled, People considered "a dangerous, radical group" (Padre, 7/6/67). As the larger society moved inward to the campus, the new president's *patterns of action* had the university's image and various publics in mind, establishing a strong position toward "preventing

disruption” (People, 3/3/93). Padre’s *conceptual understanding* of his authority as department chair prompted him to tell People that he considered his “faculty members to be responsible, professional persons and deemed it inappropriate . . . to supervise them in this fashion” (Padre, 7/6/67). Clearly, Padre’s action *bolstered his authority as the departmental leader* and underscored *his loyalty to his faculty*. Padre reflected, however, he “never had a meaningful conversation with President People after [the meeting called regarding Teddy’s sponsorship of SDS]” (Padre, 7/6/67).

After the meeting, Dean Marks of Arts and Sciences expressed to Dr. Padre that Dr. Teddy “was already something of a marked man with the president-elect”:

He told me that [the President of the institution where Teddy had previously taught] had warned Dr. People about Dr. Teddy who had served as president of the AAUP chapter of [that college]. I told Dean Marks that Dr. Teddy was perhaps my most promising assistant professor and that, as department head, I would have to *defend* [italics added] his rights and to see to it that he was not handicapped by [someone else’s] opinion of him.

(Padre, 7/6/67)

Dr. Teddy, too, recalled being in “bad odor” with the higher administration because “they were hoping they wouldn’t have to put up with a radical organization like that at all” and labeled him as a “bad guy” (Teddy, 3/31/95). Personal and professional *ideology* led Teddy to tell members of the SDS group that “if they engaged in unethical or illegal behavior . . . he would immediately withdraw from his role as faculty sponsor” (Padre, 7/6/67). He reported that the administrative council got together and “passed a new rule

that the faculty advisor had to go to the meetings of organizations,” clearly a *bureaucratic response motivated by the threat of insubordinate members of subgroups* to upset a traditionally conservative environment (Teddy, 3/31/95).

Further *bureaucratic retaliation* by People was discovered when the salary budget for the 1966-67 academic year, jointly developed and approved by Padre and Dean Marks, had been adjusted by the upper administration to reflect a “drastic cut” in Dr. Teddy’s salary, as well as that of a senior sociology faculty member who had recently challenged the administration (Padre, 7/6/67). Although he did so “quietly,” Padre submitted his resignation to the dean, citing reprisals *against his staff*. The budget cuts were quickly restored; Padre’s *loyalty and commitment to his department* mounted, both in his own mind and in the minds of administrators.

The 1960s were a period of “intense politicization” of academe, wherein competing ideas of what the university should be no longer resided only in the academic intellect, but were in one way or another made public out of a perceived threat to university autonomy (Ladd & Lipset, 1975). When the North Central Association visitation team filed their report in the fall of 1967, Dr. Bird remembered their description of the Rosholt Research University campus as “quiet, clean-cut and scrubbed,” with “no intellectual interest on campus,” a condition the NCA warned would lead to a reduction in the total quality of the university (Bird, 3/30/95). While Bird noted that President People was “very ticked off” about the letter he and Dr. Teddy wrote to the campus newspaper hinting that “rigor mortis” of the intellect was setting in at Rosholt Research University, there was no public reaction from the president (Bird, 3/30/95). Dr. People



began to perceive the actions of Teddy and Bird as *threats from insubordinates*, later noting, “the young, sociology faculty stirred things up” (People, 3/9/93).

When Bird and Teddy learned President People had denied Thomas Altizer, proponent of the “God is dead” theory, the right to speak at Religious Emphasis Week, they co-authored a second letter to the campus newspaper (Bird, 3/30/95). Even though the administration argued that there had been no order to withdraw an invitation previously issued by the Religious Emphasis Week committee, but rather a hint of impending unfavorable publicity for the university, a feeling of *administrative coercion* was in the air. Bird and Teddy’s letter, as well as a few concerned students and faculty, *bucked the administration’s coercive posture* toward protecting students from controversial issues (Camp, 5/24/95) and the Board of Regents’ public statement “affirming the President’s actions . . . stating that irresponsible, immoral, and perverted persons should not be allowed to speak on campus” (Padre, 7/6/67). A further implication, as Dr. Gore recounted, was that “[Bird and Teddy’s] activities in opposition to the president had threatened their long-time, long-term security at the institution,” further alienating sociology faculty and those with *similar ideals*, encouraging them to *coalesce along their lines of collective interest* (Gore, 2/14/95). Dean Marks had expressed concern about possible reprisals against Bird and Teddy, relating to Padre that the president had told his vice-presidents and deans that “staff members who wrote critical letters to the [university newspaper] would get neither raises nor promotions,” a move that antagonized Padre and furthered internal *loyalty to his sociology faculty*

(Padre, 7/6/67). Dr. Gore recalled that the Altizer event occurred within the context of an environment in which:

people would have said . . . ‘This is about what we expected from this guy.’

We didn’t have a lot of confidence in him in the first place, and now our worst fears had been realized. Had he been a person who’d been highly respected, possibly there’d been . . . greater willingness to cut him some slack. (Gore, 2/14/95)

Gore referred to the administration’s decision to ban Altizer from campus as a “demoralizing event” because “when somebody that you don’t respect or you *fear* [italics added] already is capable of doing such things and then they fulfill your prophecy by doing it, your worst fears are fulfilled . . . . [Faculty] were beginning to *look around*” [italics added] (Gore, 2/14/95). In keeping with their *epistemological background*, the sociologists believed that they, “like any other individual” had the “right and duty to criticize contemporary society,” whether inside or outside the boundaries of the campus (Gouldner & Sprehe, 1965, p. 43).

It was not only the sociologists who sensed *danger and hostility* from the administration over the Altizer affair. A professor from the Department of Chemistry was a leading faculty member on the Religious Emphasis Week committee. Dr. Padre recalled:

He told me that the President had told him that the University’s Board of Regents had had it in for [him] ever since his participation in the sympathy march with the civil rights movement back in 1964. The president was

reported to have . . . implied that only the president's good will toward him and the president's influence with the Board of Regents had kept him from being fired . . . . the implication was quite clear that *unless he backed the president completely* [italics added] on the Altizer issue . . . the president's protection . . . would be withdrawn and . . . he might lose his job. (Padre, 7/6/67)

Questions began to surface across campus. Dr. Camp remembered "a little uproar around in the faculty" and people saying, "wait a minute, what is this all about?" (Camp, 5/25/95). The proposed reprisals leaked out through what Padre termed a "fantastically efficient grapevine" that he believed developed because *models of everyday administrative practice*, coupled with an *awareness of danger* that they could lose their jobs, kept vice-presidents and deans from opposing the president's actions publicly (Padre, 7/6/67).

After having challenged the administration on two occasions through letters to the campus newspaper, and considering his post-doctoral accomplishments, Bird was shocked and embarrassed to learn of his promotion to full professor. He considered the promotion a *bureaucratic action* meant as "a bribe to shut up . . . be quiet" (Bird, 3/30/95). Dr. Padre knew that Dean Marks was "doing everything in his power to assist [the department], so [he] agreed" to the recommendation to the Board of Regents that Bird be promoted (Padre, 7/6/67). Padre conveyed to Bird that *avoidance* was not an option; there was "nothing you can do about it, the president has made up his mind" (Bird, 3/30/95), somewhat of a *reverse bureaucratic action* to Bird's continued *insubordination*.

*Coercive actions* by the administration to quell student activities involving pro- and anti-Vietnam sentiments were *perceived* as oppressive and a *threat* to freedom of thought and action at least within faculty circles, and further reinforced *hostile* feelings between the small minority of faculty who supported student efforts and the administration (Padre, 7/6/67). *Hostility from those outside faculty ranks* emerged when Student Union officials denied the use of its facilities for the annual conference of the State Chapter of the ACLU because it was “a controversial organization that might cause trouble on the campus” (Padre, 7/6/67). The resulting student protest meeting held on the library steps of Rosholt Research University was construed by President People as a *threatening* disruption fueled by Dr. Bird’s comments to a social psychology class (Bird, 3/31/95). Forthcoming retaliations from the president focused on the need for students and faculty to “air their grievances” through the faculty council or through “regular departmental and college channels.” Dr. Bird remembered attending an off-campus meeting of the local AAUP chapter where discussion focused on being able to “make sure people [didn’t] become intimidated, particularly if you have this subrosa policy that if you are critical or if you . . . express your thoughts and they’re not supportive of the system, you’ll be zapped” (Bird, 3/30/95). People’s insistence that proper channels be utilized was in concert with *administrative protocol* and Collins’ (1975) proposition suggesting the *use of rules for control purposes*, the objective being “*less subversion of authority through the chain of command*” [italics added].

Dr. Padre’s fear that repercussions would result from the first protest meeting on the steps of the library were realized when selected deans and department chairs were

summoned to the infamous March 9 special meeting called by Dr. People the day after the protest rally was held. In Dr. Padre's account, he noted:

. . . the president . . . attacked the participation of faculty and graduate assistants in the previous day's meeting and stated that they were to *cease and desist* [italics added] . . . He indicated, further, that department heads should secure conformity to this policy discretely without letting it be known that they had been instructed to do so. The president also stated that *if department heads could not handle the matter, something would have to be done about that* [italics added] . . . or those persons who *couldn't conform* [italics added] should move on. (Padre, 7/6/67)

As an administrative colleague of President People, and boundary spanner (Merriam, 1988) between faculty and administrative circles, Dr. Padre noted that perhaps the president had not been well informed about the proceedings of the protest meeting, pointing out to Dr. People that:

. . . the way to deal with a problem like this was not through suppression but through trying to understand the nature of the grievances and in involving the aggrieved persons in attempts to find solutions. (Padre, 7/6/67)

Padre explained that he *refused to be coerced* by the president because he "did not believe that department heads had the right to tell staff members or graduate students that they could not attend public meetings" (Padre, 7/6/67).

Dr. Bird remembered that the president had appointed a committee of administrators to screen applicants for future graduate teaching assistantships so that

“they would not present any ideas which would be critical of the present structure either of the national government or the state government, or the university” (Bird, 3/31/67; Padre, 7/6/67). The fact that the same procedure was not being followed in all departments spelled *isolationism* and *coercion* to Padre and others in the sociology department (Jay, 3/2/93). According to Padre’s notes about the meeting, President People berated faculty who had *challenged* administrative policies and “accused Bird of inciting students to riot” through class discussion (Padre, 7/6/67).

News of the proceedings of the March 9 meeting quickly swept through the grapevine, spreading variations of fear, amazement, and disgust across the university community. The developing *political crisis* at Rosholt Research University *caused faculty to align according to the “ideals” of their disciplines*. Those within the “soft sciences” such as English, the humanities, and journalism sought a return to campus peace and tended to hold the administration responsible, calling for an investigation of the proceedings of the March 9 meeting. Those within the “hard sciences” tended to affix the responsibility to the student activist movement and the paranoid personalities of faculty who supported them, suggesting those involved were simply “seeking publicity.” The convergence of the two is illustrative of the *intransigence* present *in understanding opposite perspectives* (Teddy, 3/31/95; Ladd & Lipset, 1975). Those who interpreted the president’s alleged March 9 comments as *threats* sensed a deepening division of goals and interests. The legislative resolution certainly did not lessen feelings of retaliation in their commendation of President People’s “farsighted and efficient leadership . . . in discouraging the appearance of Altizer . . . and for *instructing* [italics added] the faculty

members and graduate assistants . . . that they should not take part in student protest meetings and demonstrations” (AD3, 3/17/67, p. 1).

When Dr. Bird learned that the president planned to “fire” him if he spoke at a second student protest meeting, an opportunity to avoid the *coercion* by “moving on” presented itself. One cannot deny the fact, either, that Bird’s sociological background emphasized what he perceived as inequities *imposed* by the president upon faculty and graduate students who publicly endorsed change in the traditional conservative stance of Rosholt Research University. With the *severity of the political crisis escalating*, there was an equal reduction in the internal sense of community on campus. Bird’s resignation speech could be interpreted as a *dramatic gesture* that spelled out the *distinctive orientation of social scientists* to advance the rights of the disadvantaged, in this case, students and faculty. He noted “*the primary commitment of those in the academic community is to the ideal of a great university* [italics added]” and that the rights of freedom of speech and assembly without threat of reprisal were central to the pursuit of this ideal (Bird, resignation speech, 3/15/67). In explaining his reasons for resigning, he emphasized his distrust of the administration (AC, 1967).

President People negated Padre’s *warning* that more scholars might leave the university if adequate means for redressing grievances on campus were not forthcoming. He “associated” himself with a statement composed by Dean Marks noting that there should be no surprise at the “recurring crises of conscience” among sociologists and that no retaliations would be taken by the administration because of the protest meeting, a position that Padre lauded as an “act of rare courage.” Padre clearly understood the

*culturally-appropriate behavior* for a department chair in terms of supporting the president; his strongest *loyalty*, however, was to the *norms and beliefs* of his discipline and the faculty whose *cultural background* he shared. Further, Padre acknowledged his “welcome [for] the reasonableness that would make it possible for us to carry on the work of the university--*the search for the dissemination of knowledge* [italics added]--unhampered” (AD2, 3/15/67, p. 2).

Subsequent actions taken by the administration exacerbated the *threatening atmosphere* perceived by members of the sociology department. Dr. Gore relates the following:

We had reports . . . that the campus police were photographing student and faculty events [such as the Provo picnics] . . . that, in fact . . . some of these probably did wind up in somebody’s dossier some place and that these photographs were being . . . kept in a file . . . were being shared with the FBI . . . probably including J. Edgar Hoover. (Gore, 2/14/95)

Both Teddy and Gore pointed out the importance of considering the historical context of what was occurring on the Rosholt Research University campus. It was symptomatic of the paranoia that “led to the shooting of students at Kent State” (Gore, 2/14/95); “that stuff [student radicalism] was in the air” (Teddy, 3/31/95). Gore further related that “there were things taking place that really approached the kind of hysteria of the McCarthy era . . . there was a lot of suspicion . . . the president was right in the middle of it” (Gore, 2/14/95). Rumors of administrative wiretaps prompted faculty to “[listen] for clicks on their telephones” (Camp, 5/24/95). Nor can one dismiss the pressure



exerted by the governor's suggestion to "send . . . troops to Rosholt . . . to quell demonstrations" and a state senator's alleged call for the immediate firing of Dr. Bird as opposed to waiting for him to leave by June 30 (AE, 1992, p. 299). The oppressive tactics were taken to heart by students who realistically advised in their statement supporting the president that "no one may achieve a goal by antagonizing those in authority" (AE, 3/16/67, p. 4). Administrative *coercion* of students was further illustrated by the athletic director's statement that student athletes were restricted from attending protest meetings (AE, 3/16/67).

An ever greater desire to *escape administrative coercion* developed among sociology faculty at word of President People's alleged phone call to Moss State University sabotaging Bird's future employment there. At issue were the legitimate use of administrative *tools* and administrative *rules of conduct* as understood by the faculty. Public disclosure of the reported discourse between Moss State and Rosholt Research University officials resulted in "more people being shocked;" Dr. Camp recalled that "among ourselves, we were all getting pretty paranoid" (Camp, 5/24/95). The accusation that faculty were subversive, potentially placing careers in jeopardy, furthered the sociologists' feelings of *isolation*, with each wondering, as Professor Ames related, "Can that happen to me?" (Ames, 5/4/95). They found it difficult to accept the tactics of the administration in the handling of the Moss State situation. That, together with what Ladd and Lipset (1975) describe as "politically unsophisticated" techniques of the administration in dealing with the campus climate of the sixties, continued to erode the president's legitimacy in the eyes of the sociologists, prompting them to explore the

academic labor market where they sought educational settings that encouraged, rather than suppressed, their *professional and political ideologies*.

Not only was Padre caught in the cross-fire of discord between his administrative position and faculty ties, so, too was Dr. Marks, the Dean of Arts and Sciences. Although he “never said anything publicly,” Dr. Teddy remembered Marks as having been “very supportive” of the sociology department (Teddy, 3/31/95). Dr. Padre was in close consultation with Dr. Marks and recounted that President People had adopted the “same freeze-out tactics” with Marks as with himself:

That is, the president simply refused to see Dean Marks or to talk with him.

Dean Marks had received word that the president was saying that Dean Marks was a weak dean and had not supported the president. The president allegedly had been telling people that the Dean of Arts and Sciences and the Head of the Department of Sociology were responsible for virtually all of his difficulties. (Padre, 7/6/67)

President People’s alleged actions were consistent with his need for *support from all campus constituencies* lest he lose his legitimacy and credibility. Dr. Gore also spoke of his conversations with the dean. Dean Marks was aware that he had marginalized his administrative effectiveness because of his difficulty in defending the *president’s actions* (Gore, 2/24/95). He quietly resigned before the mass resignation of the sociologists.

By May 15, all of the sociology faculty, save one, had realized they “didn’t have a chance” in an environment where the Board of Regents likened them to “cow punchers

. . . . “hired hands” who were to “*do as you are told* [italics added]” (Camp, 5/24/95). Padre’s resignation letter lamented the president’s failure to allow any “real communication” between them, pointing to the president’s actions as having “forced me to this course,” with Dean Marks recognizing the events as a “tragedy that none of us seem to be able to avoid” (AI, 1992, p. 350). *Resources for fighting* what the sociologists perceived as a “lost cause” were obviously *unavailable*; the favorable academic labor market and connections with noted sociologists (see Quality of the Sociology Department), however, made for a *relatively easy escape* from a *coercive* situation. President People *interpreted* the situation quite differently, indicating two major reasons for the sociologists leaving: (1) “they didn’t feel at home” in the conservative setting of Rosholt Research University and (2) *financial resources could not be provided* [italics added] to move the department forward as quickly as the sociologists deemed necessary (People, 3/9/93). According to Dr. Padre:

After the resignations were submitted, . . . the new acting dean of the College of Arts and Sciences told people that sociology staff members had withheld their resignations until May 15 in order to make it difficult for the university to recruit new staff. Nothing could be further from the truth. (Padre, 7/6/67)

The *fears* of faculty *outside* the department of sociology came to the fore after the sociologists had resigned en masse when the Board of Faculty Representatives presented its prepared report on the president’s meeting of March 9. *Bureaucratic tendencies* were *motivated by increasing potential threats from various subgroups* within the system. While Dean Marks was being put under pressure from faculty to release the report,

Dr. Padre recounted that allegedly, “*the president told the dean to ‘sit on’ the report*” [italics added]:

I was told . . . that a group of faculty members supporting the president had a meeting at which they agreed to make the report public and to attempt to discredit it. They would call an Arts and Sciences faculty meeting that Dean Marks would not be invited to attend and that would be chaired by one of their own group. Under these circumstances, they apparently felt that they could get the faculty to disapprove of the report. At that meeting, three of the four department heads involved spoke against the report. (Padre, 7/6/67)

Recalling Dr. People’s communication to the Board of Faculty Representatives, he would not “engage in any public discussion of the matter” (Letter to Dr. Palmer, 4/13/67).

Dr. Camp remembered the undertone of those speaking against the report, “with sweat pouring off” their heads as if to say “I have children and a wife, and I’ve got to protect them. I’ve got a job, and I’ve got to protect it” (Camp, 5/24/95). They may not have said so publicly, but they *believed* “*their futures would be jeopardized* [italics added] if they let it be known that they were dissatisfied with conditions on the campus” (Padre, 7/6/67).

As a footnote, the censorship of Rosholt Research University by the AAUP focused on the possible violation of a School of Journalism faculty member’s rights in the denial of his reappointment as a probationary faculty member for academic 67-68. He had made plans to enter the graduate program in sociology prior to the mass resignation,

but “ended up going to graduate school in sociology, anyway, somewhere else” (Teddy, 3/31/95).

In looking back, President People characterized Rosholt Research University as a “progressive-conservative” university . . . “progressive, with a conservative framework . . . . Education thrives on healthy conflict. We become less and less useful if we don’t listen to one another” (People, 3/9/93).

#### The Changing Face and Internal Climate of the Sociology Department

Within the context of this antagonistic political environment, the sociology department had experienced a shift from a long-time emphasis in rural sociology to the study of urban problems (AE, 1992). The department was known as the department of sociology and rural life when Dr. Padre became chair in 1963 (AE, 1992). Prior to that time, there had been an administrative connection with the College of Agriculture, but when the reins passed from Dr. Hester to Dr. Padre, sociology was exclusively administered by the College of Arts and Sciences (AE, 1992). Gore, who joined the faculty the previous year and had taken his undergraduate degree in sociology at Rosholt Research University, recalled the immediate period after Dr. Padre became chair as one of “transition” (Gore, 2/1/95). There was a split in what is generally the *broadest unit of consensus* within a department, the disciplinary paradigm. Gore recounted that:

. . . the Padre leadership . . . was bringing in new people and the department was going in somewhat different directions . . . . [there was] a separation between the traditional link [of] sociology and the ag campus . . . rural

sociology that at one time had been somewhat strong . . . was no longer.

(Gore, 2/14/95)

The sociology faculty at Rosholt Research University grew from seven in 1963 to twelve in 1965, consistent with the growth of faculty to meet increasing enrollments across the nation during the sixties (AE, 1992). As President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs took hold, there was an even greater demand for courses in the social sciences. Sociology majors climbed from 75 in 1962 to 144 in 1964, with graduate students in sociology increasing from 4 to 25 over the same period, and the College of Arts and Sciences became the largest single college on campus (AE, 1992).

There was some *hostility* on the part of incumbent sociology faculty as the new regime flourished and the "old order [was] ignored" (Gore, 2/14/95). Dr. Guidley, the only member of the sociology department who did not resign, was a close friend of Dr. Hester. Gore remembered that Guidley felt "the new regime had not given Hester and the old order the support and recognition they deserved," commenting that he believed Guidley "never quite forgave . . . them for what he considered to be slights to Hester" (Gore, 2/14/95). Guidley remained "fairly separate" from the activities of the rest of the sociology community because, as Gore put it, he was "*ideologically* [italics added] and personally . . . not well meshed with people like Bird and Teddy and Padre" (Gore, 2/14/95). His conservative ideas precluded Guidley's integration into the "new group," making him somewhat marginal and *isolated* from the perspective of other members of the department (Camp, 5/24/95) One is reminded that Guidley was on sabbatical during the 1966-67 year to complete his doctorate.

The stabilizing force between the old and the new were the Thorntons, a married couple on the sociology faculty (Gore, 2/14/95). They were a part of the “old guard,” but “made the connection between the new regime and the old [because] they were highly respected by everybody” within the department and across campus (Gore, 2/14/95).

The new blood coming into the department reflected the intellectual pursuits of Dr. Padre, directed toward the problems of urban America. What happened on the Rosholt Research University campus was congruent with what was happening on many college and university campuses across the country, albeit institutions characterized by more liberal traditions. With matters of both “polity and society” a part of *their conceptual framework*, the sociologists experienced what Ladd and Lipset (1975) refer to as a “curious mixture of the external and the internal, of criticism of national policies and of the role of the university” (p. 210). Padre writes that the president’s continued *inflexible administrative stance* as far as what was best for the university, “aroused opposition on the part of some of the sociology faculty members” (Padre, 7/6/67).

Dr. Teddy referred to himself and Dr. Bird as “**the precipitating factors**” in the clash between the president and the sociology department as he recalled the letters he and Bird had written to the campus newspaper. Dr. Padre remembered that before Bird and Teddy submitted their letters pronouncing the onset of intellectual “rigor mortis” at Rosholt Research University and decrying administrative censorship of Dr. Altizer:

. . . they did show them to me and, in effect, offered to me the opportunity to veto their action. I did not feel that I should interfere, so I confined my reactions to stating two things: (1) that I thought the letters were responsible

letters; and (2) that I thought that the president would be displeased. (Padre, 7/6/67)

It was the *joint activities* of Bird and Teddy, and Padre's administrative condonement of them, that posed a *threat* to the president's *honor* and the ultimate *success* of his administration. On the other hand, Padre's *loyalty* to the members of his department and his profession, bolstered the respect of his faculty. Padre met with Teddy and Bird, relating to them the president's suggestion to "get rid of these radical professors," but Padre would not be *coerced*, despite Padre's promise that "neither of them will ever get a salary raise or a promotion as long as I'm president here" (Teddy, 3/31/95).

Dr. Jay, a graduate student in sociology at the time of the uprising, remembered: because of the personalities involved, it became apparent immediately that there was no middle ground. It was 'we,' the little sociology department, versus 'they' the *outside oppressive administration*" [italics added]. And, from the beginning, there was a real line drawn as to whose side you were on. (Jay, 3/2/93)

The line was clearly drawn by faculty *outside* the sociology department who were disillusioned with the activist sociology faculty members and who envisioned them "as trouble makers. There were nasty letters that flowed back and forth and many felt when the resignations occurred, it was good riddance" (Jay, 3/2/93).

The sociologists who had been openly involved in challenging the administration "had perceived themselves to be victims of retaliation by the president" (Gore, 2/14/95).



Their colleagues were equally aware of People's *reprimands of their leader*, Dr. Padre, plus his accusations toward and admonishments of Dr. Teddy and Dr. Bird. In Bird's case, the retaliation purportedly continued even after his resignation, considering the alleged sabotage of his employment with Moss State University (Padre, 7/6/67).

The increased *isolation* of sociology members fueled the antagonism toward the administration and *intensified allegiance* within the departmental unit. Both Dr. Camp and Professor Ames remember conversations with Dr. People that furthered their loyalty to the *collective interests* of the department. Ames described a telephone call received from the president at home as being "cajoling" and "persuasive" and that, in view of the "disappointment and resentment and anger [that] had built up . . . it wasn't a free-flowing conversation by any means" (Ames, 5/4/95). Dr. Camp recalled his letter to the president and meeting with him to outline his protests. He noted that Dr. People "didn't really come straight out and deny these things, but he just said, 'you're wrong' and 'I'm sorry its reached this'" (Camp, 5/24/95).

In spite of the inward focus the turn of events caused the sociologists to take, according to Dr. Bird, there was no strategic plan to resign en masse. As he related, "everybody just decided they *wanted to get out* [italics added]. We never got together and discussed everybody leaving. In fact, we had several meetings in my apartment where we talked about how we might be able to solve some of these problems" (Bird, 3/30/95). This is in line with Ladd and Lipset's (1975) study, which indicated that student protests gained faculty attention only "when ordinary work on campus was clearly disrupted, and, when they did so, they tended to search for some reasonable

compromise, some kind of broad consensus that would resolve the immediate conflict” (p. 205). What began as an attempt to persuade the Rosholt Research University president to implement a system that would more satisfactorily provide for the redress of student and faculty grievances “mushroomed” into accusations that sociology faculty were associating with subversive groups, inciting students to riot, and “moving on” to other universities to cause more trouble. Dr. Gore remarked that “we [began] to wonder whether or not he [the president] was trying to annihilate the entire program or department” (Gore, 2/14/95). The older and respected members of the department who had served as mentors to the neophytes expressed their concerns about the “intolerable situation,” construing *coercive* administrative actions as “absolute tyranny” (Camp, 5/24/95). Bird and Teddy manifested those thoughts through their *ceremonial* call to the AAUP Chapter of a resolution voicing “no confidence” in President People’s regime (Bird, 3/31/95). As a graduate student, Dr. Jay remembers an “energized” atmosphere in the department and a confidence in their defense against the administration (Jay, 3/2/93).

Some of the sociologists *believed* that People was actively bent on following his *own interests* rather than doing what was best for the university. Dr. Camp noted that sometimes “if presidents and heads of organizations are actually honest and ethical, they’re probably gonna put their heads on the block,” but added, “that’s not what People was doing . . . he really wanted to run things the way he thought they ought to be run,” *following his own ambitions* (Camp, 5/24/95). Dr. Camp recalled a paper that he and Teddy drafted in the course of the cultural clash entitled “The Presidential Lie” (Camp, 5/24/95). The basic concept was this:

When a man becomes president of any kind of organization or at the top, he has a certain number of little pluses and a certain number of minuses and, ordinarily for a while, his pluses are greater than his minuses. Now, if on the very front end he does anything to get too many minuses, he's in trouble, and one of those things is 'the lie.' You cannot lie as the president **early** . . . . if after a couple of **years** he's built up a **great** following--got all of these big pluses--then he can **lie**. And the whole point of it was: People was doing too many negative things too early.

(Camp, 5/24/95)

The awareness of *hostility* from faculty in other disciplinary spheres, as well as the administrative subsystem, created a broad array of perceptions and attitudes within the sociology department. Both bred *continued isolation* and a heightened awareness of *bureaucratic sanctions* to squelch disruption on campus. Stacked upon an intellectual paradigm concerned with moral commitment, political relevance, and improved social institutions, a faculty steeped in a *shared understanding* of "power structures" realized they "didn't have a chance" (Camp, 5/24/95). Dr. Teddy summed up the climate of the department in these words:

While job market conditions and some epiphenomenal factors made it easy for us to protest by resignation, absent those opportunities there would have been some other form of *dramatic* [italics added] lasting, open protest. 'The department' had *coalesced* [italics added] as a *cohesive* [italics added], emotional, embattled group well before serious and general exploration of alternative

opportunities at other institutions. I am confident, had a substantial majority of us stayed, it would have remained so at least for another year. The nature of the protest would have been limited only by law, practicality, and our collective imagination. (Teddy, 3/31/95)

#### Movement Toward a Quality Sociology Program

Dr. Gore recalled that “the department had been very strong in the late forties and early fifties” (Gore, 2/14/95). He noted further:

When I was there as an undergraduate, it wasn't real big, but it was a very strong, strong, department, particularly undergraduate teaching. Then, starting about the time I went there [as a faculty member], there was a plan to really build it back up, and so we hired a bunch of new faculty, including a new department chairman. It was Dr. Padre. (Gore, 2/14/95)

Dr. People remembered Padre's desire and that of his department wanting to move quickly toward becoming a quality program (People, 3/9/93). The sociology department at Rosholt Research University was described by Dr. Teddy as “an exciting place to be . . . . I think we had a good faculty; a good bunch of graduate students; good graduate programs” (Teddy, 3/31/95). Through Padre's efforts, there was a “revitalization” that “took one of the weakest liberal arts departments in the whole college and made it the strongest” (Teddy, 3/31/95). Dr. Bird echoed the praise, relating that “we had a good program going in the sociology department. Dr. Padre had done a fine, fine job. We were small, but we had some quality people in that program” (Bird, 3/30/95).

Their *patterns of everyday practice* as university faculty fit the mold of the sociologists' counterparts in other disciplines. The "spat" over academic freedom during the 1966-67 year did not encompass their professional lives, which were filled with class preparations, research, composition of articles for journal publication, submission of proposals for grant monies, chairing, or serving on the committees of doctoral and masters students, and any number of social *activities* connected with *creating personal friendships* within the department and across campus. They were interested in getting on with their own work, "returning to the political arena only at moments of great crisis" (Ladd & Lipset, 1975, p. 205).

The nationally-known speakers who were "essentially equally spaced across the academic calendar--some well before any indication of problems, some during the emotional core events, some in the final days doldrums," brought confidence to the sociology department (Teddy, 4/13/95). Contacts made with major figures in their discipline gave them an opportunity to "weigh ourselves relative to these people and to note our acceptance by them as peers" (Teddy, 4/13/95). The department garnered a certain visibility from the *joint interactions* with the guest speakers at receptions, dinners, etc., including those within and outside the department. Dr. Teddy explained that the department attained "via . . . public lectures and the ancillary social events, a campus visibility and respect the department had not had previously and which would have been otherwise improbable at that time" (Teddy, 4/13/95). He also noted "high *group solidarity* [italics added]" emanating from these "tribal activities" (Becher, 1989), further *bolstering loyalty* to the group (Teddy, 4/13/95).

The respect and stature gained by the sociology department was, however, negated by the notoriety of their dissenting activities. The department was “fairly *cohesive* [italics added],” Dr. Gore noted, remembering that “our doctoral program was just beginning to get off the ground, and we were a fairly productive department in terms of research, publications . . . . [but] the program we had built had just fallen apart” (Gore, 2/14/95).

Dr. Padre is remembered by his former faculty with respect and, while the younger faculty probably would not have remained at Rosholt Research University for the bulk of their professional lives, Dr. Teddy noted the following:

I am absolutely sure . . . that Dr. Padre intended permanent tenure there. He was the most effective department chair I have ever encountered--any discipline, any institution. He ran a happy department internally and wrested resources from outside . . . . Whether Bird, I, any others stayed or went, Padre would have continued to build a prominent, nationally ranked department. (Teddy, 4/13/95)

The movement toward quality in the sociology department, in Dr. Teddy’s estimation, slowed drastically with Padre’s departure (Teddy, 4/13/95). He spoke of the imposed real and direct costs to Rosholt Research University in that Padre would have brought the department to “top twenty standing.” Instead, he noted, “Rosholt Research sociology is not even ‘top fifty,’ perhaps not ‘top hundred,’ impacting the stature and effectiveness of related social science programs and, therefore, the university as a whole” (Teddy, 4/13/95).

### Distress Over Leaving Rosholt Research University

It was, then, a fusion of institutional, national and state climate and a convergence of departmental and faculty culture that stirred the conflict and ultimately led to the decisions of the sociologists to *leave the situation*. The preoccupation of the sociologists with *radical ideas and dramatic gestures* was not the driving force, as the literature suggests. Current perceptions and attitudes about President People and institutional policies were more individualized than holistic, as evidenced by the sociologist's explanations of why they chose to leave and their accompanying distress. Dr. Padre wrote that prior to Bird's resignation, Bird:

had been approached by Moss State University . . . about the possibility of coming there. I think that if this invitation had been issued before the development of a real *crisis* [italics added] on the campus that it would not have received even fleeting attention. As Bird felt himself under increasing pressure, however, he began to think more seriously about moving and when he learned that the president had accused him of inciting to riot, that swung the balance in favor of Moss State. (Padre, 7/6/67)

The campus at Rosholt Research University "was one of my favorite campuses," Bird remembered, and "had it not been for that explosion, I would have stayed" (Bird, 3/30/95). *Manipulative* efforts on the part of the president to *coerce* the faculty to support his policies, i.e., threats regarding non-reappointment of graduate assistants who participated in protest meetings and mandates for students and faculty to work through the chain of command in airing their grievances, prompted Bird to "think about going

somewhere else” because he “just found that kind of mind set so foreign” (Bird, 3/30/95).

It wasn't *disciplinary-based* views that caused the sociologists to begin seeking employment elsewhere; it was their commitment, as faculty, to the ideal of the university in the open expression and pursuit of knowledge. Having taken a public stance toward upholding that principle, they sensed the *danger* that their jobs were at risk and their personal and professional goals about to be stymied. Camp reported that when he interpreted one of the Regent's comments at a general faculty meeting to mean, “You are hired hands; you will do as you are *told* [italics added] . . . that's the evening I went home and told my wife, ‘I'm outta here’” (Camp, 5/24/95). “Tremendous disillusionment” with other faculty outside the department who would not stand up to the president for what they believed in caused his image of college and university faculty as “respectable, honorable, honest people” to crumble (Camp, 5/24/95). It was a matter of integrity that caused him to leave a faculty where he had made *close personal friendships* and “loved our home and neighborhood. We were happy, I mean it was like . . . I have found heaven” (Camp, 5/24/95).

Gore recalled that he was under no real pressure to leave, and that even though he was “disappointed that the dean was leaving,” he “wasn't planning on going anywhere” (Gore, 2/24/95). He was approached by the president of another university and, because “the department . . . that I belonged to was disintegrating. I didn't see any long-term future there with the one major supporter we had on the campus [the dean] leaving” (Gore, 2/24/95). His personal respect for Dean Marks, as well as the Thorntons, helped



make the decision to take a position elsewhere. Any remaining steadiness in the community waned,

when the Thorntons decided to leave, too . . . that was a real blow to me, a real sign that something stable and important about the university had gone . . . this person [he] was a real mentor . . . [The President] had put himself in a position of being an *enemy* [italics added] of the department and somebody [in] whom I didn't have a lot of confidence. (Gore, 2/14/95)

Dr. Gore admitted having close ties to Rosholt Research University. His undergraduate years there had made him a “Rattlesnake through and through” (Gore, 2/14/95).

Ames also had secured employment before leaving Rosholt Research University. There was no direct connection, however, between his decision to leave and the conflict with President People, as plans had been made months in advance that he “would be leaving Rosholt anyway” (Ames, 5/4/95).

Dr. Teddy noted that prior to the Altizer incident he “hadn't even **thought** about looking for another job” (Teddy, 3/31/95). It wasn't until he learned that the president had suggested getting rid of him that he “began to think, ‘it really is time for me to get out of here’ and . . . even if it hadn't been for principle, just on the basis of *self-interest* [italics added], this suggests that it's time to start looking around (Teddy, 3/31/95). He remembered that Rosholt Research University “was better . . . than I ever thought it would be” (Teddy, 3/31/95). It was easier to make the choice of leaving rather than “staying and fighting” when other options were available.

The *collective interests* which aligned the sociologists and shaped their behavior were *culturally* based, in their *discipline*. Their decisions to leave were based in their *profession as faculty* members and the ideal of academic freedom. The distress they felt in leaving, however, was seeded in the *cohesiveness and compatibility* of the department.

#### The Compatible and Cohesive Climate of the Sociology Department

A significant factor expressed by the respondents was the *close ties* among the members of the sociology department. There was, of course, one exception as alluded to earlier, Dr. Guidley, who was appointed department chair once Dr. Padre's resignation became effective. Dr. Camp prefaced his response to interview questions with the following:

I think one of the first things that's important is that we were a **very, very** close department . . . **extremely** compatible people . . . with a little bit of conflict there, or I would say one person who wasn't a lot like the rest of us was the man who **did** become department head after the rest of us left . . . we were extremely **close** to each other . . . I've never been a member of a department since that was like that. (Camp, 5/24/95)

The interactions within the sociology department are a personification of Collins' (1975) proposition spelling out the correlation between recruits of a similar personal background, the propensity for friendships to develop, and for loyalty to one another to build. Dr. Teddy remembered the department as "very close . . . with *strong personal friendships*" [italics added] and that conditions were conducive for creating personal friendships and *potential loyalty* [italics added]:

. . . we had a lot of parties together. We drank a lot and stayed up late at night, and . . . water skiing and picnic sandwiches, and we partied at the Thornton's house; we partied at the Padre's house; and to some lesser degree at the Camp's apartment. But I think of all the places, the Thornton's place and the Padre's place were the main **social** gathering points.

(Teddy, 3/31/95)

As threats were made against specific members of the department, the faculty began to *coalesce*. Dr. Gore recalled, "the personal threats against Teddy were very crucial in the minds of the faculty as they have explained it to me . . . were **very** crucial, and kind of cemented the fact that several of the faculty decided it was time to leave" (Gore, 2/14/95).

Professor Ames pointed out that there were no "factions" in the department, that "it was a very *coherent* [italics added] group" and quite "unusual for a university department" (Ames, 5/4/95). "When all of this [the uprising] happened," Ames explained, "we just closed ranks . . . and stayed that way til the end" (Ames, 5/4/95). The closeness of the department precluded any kind of behavior other than mass resignation. "They would have been ashamed to stay . . . and have their really good friends [leave]" (Teddy, 3/31/95).

#### Favorable Labor Market for University Faculty

In direct reference to Collins' (1975) proposition regarding opportunities to *escape conflict*, the *coercion* applied by the Rosholt Research University administration was certainly great enough to motivate the sociologists to *leave the situation*. It is not

only a proposition of “resources for fighting back” being available, however, it is a matter of whether conditions, in this case the university faculty labor market, are economically conducive to allowing one to make that choice. Both Dr. Gore and Dr. Teddy reminded the author that “it was a **good** job market in those days” and that “good faculty were hard to find” (Gore, 2/14/95; Teddy, 3/31/95). “In **those** days,” Gore related, “there was a shortage of faculty; university enrollments were going up; departments were expanding . . . . probably, if it had been today’s job market, probably wouldn’t have happened” (Gore, 2/14/95).

Dr. Teddy also expressed his doubts that a similar event would repeat itself today: **Now** I don’t think anybody could afford that . . . you wouldn’t get a mass, cause there wouldn’t be that many people all in one place unless the issue was a great deal more serious and a great deal more clear-cut than that one was . . . . the principles didn’t cost very much in that particular context. (Teddy, 3/31/95)

Another important factor specific to this case was revisited by Dr. Teddy. The visiting professors who came to Rosholt Research University that year were undoubtedly a “connection” for the members of the Rosholt Research University sociology department. As Dr. Teddy pointed out, the active scholarly community in sociology at that time was relatively small and “virtually all recruiting was through personal (essentially old boy) networks” (Teddy, 3/31/95). The fluid labor market allowed the sociologists who “could not conform” to move on with relative ease.

## Summary

The themes that emerged through the sociologists' responses described the way they saw the world at Rosholt Research University during the 1966-67 academic year. Perceptions based in disciplinary and faculty ideologies framed their interactions across the layers of academe. The control strategies of the administration toward shaping the institutional goals of Rosholt Research University conflicted with the pursuit of their professional interests to the extent that they could not remain without sacrificing their personal and cultural integrities.

A

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The intent of this study was to describe and analyze an incident of mass resignation in a sociology department at Rosholt Research University in the Spring of 1967. In particular, the study focused upon (1) describing the epistemology of sociologists, generally, while noting the broader function of sociologists as faculty members at Rosholt Research University, (2) the interaction of sociology faculty with faculty of multiple disciplines outside the sociology department at Rosholt Research University, and (3) interaction of members of the sociology department with the cultural sphere of university administrators at Rosholt Research University. The problem was the contradiction between the principal proposition that the epistemology of sociologists evokes radical views that shape personal as well as professional behavior and the interacting principal that academic freedom is an overarching phenomenon taking precedence over any disciplinary construct.

Questions raised in Chapter I helped frame the qualitative research that resulted in the emergence of themes that describe the world of the sociologists at Rosholt Research University during the 1966-67 academic year. These questions are:

(1) What were the characteristics of the cultural system of the sociology faculty that provide a basis for understanding the conflict between the sociology faculty and the administration?

(2) Why did the disparate cultural logics of the multi-disciplinary general faculty exacerbate the conflict between the sociology faculty and the administration?

(3) How were the competing cultural perspectives of the sociology faculty and the administration manifested in their “world views” of the governance structure of the university, and how did their views ameliorate the conflict?

### Conclusions

Because of the distinctive orientation of social scientists to advance the rights of disadvantaged, especially toward the improvement of social institutions, and, because the sociologists perceived the students at Rosholt Research University and themselves as being deprived of academic freedom in word and thought, the resulting political crises at Rosholt Research University caused the faculty to align according to the ideals of their discipline and increasingly fostered loyalty among their ranks. Their tendency to interpret further united the sociologists in their reaction to administrative control strategies.

The conflict heightened between the administration and the sociologists as a result of the varying cultural logics of other faculty because the isolation and hostility imposed by the administration was replicated by other faculty, particularly those in the hard sciences. The widely-accepted stereotype of sociologists as trouble-makers with paranoid personalities fueled the discord between the sociology department and outside faculty. Dr. People’s coercive efforts garnered, although perhaps involuntarily in some cases, the support of faculty members who were essential in maintaining legitimacy and credibility with his “various publics.” The sociologists perceived the battle lines to have been drawn between “we” [the sociologists] and “they” [the outside oppressors].

The battle lines were purportedly staked out over the issue of the channels through which student and faculty grievances at Rosholt Research University should be brought to the attention of the administration. Dr. People's firm belief and commitment was to respect the rights of others while maintaining stability and an atmosphere of normalcy in a learning environment for the students at Rosholt Research University. The sociologists' familiarity with power structures and conflict theory, i.e., the belief that any order in society is the result of coercion of some members at the top and that authority resides in positions rather than individuals, pre-conditioned their reactions to administrative dictates. Their inclinations to criticize and reform contemporary society [and university policy] and become actively involved in social problems, antagonized the conservatively minded administration because of a perceived threat of disruption.

The sociologists did have "highly charged values" and their passions did "run deep," which triggered their initial thoughts and actions. Their ultimate decisions to leave Rosholt Research University, however, attached primarily to their ideology as faculty; in particular, the ideal of academic freedom. Individual decisions based on an allegiance to and respect for colleagues within the department founded in close personal friendships, produced a united front and a mass exodus.

### Implications

Neustadt and May (1986) suggest that an analysis of past events serves to inform current administrative practice. This case study provides an historical basis for understanding how differences in academic cultures provide a "unified platform for understanding the persistence and intensity of discord . . . across many specific occasions



of conflict for the same or similar groups of actors” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 204). The author’s analysis of this case focuses on how the differences in and interactions among the subcultures of the university system at Rosholt Research University contributed to the conflict during the 1966-67 academic year.

Research questions were answered by viewing the case through the conceptual lens of conflict theory. Conflict theory presupposes the existence of discord among interacting cultural spheres. With that supposition as a frame of reference, an awareness of not only the differences in the cultural paradigms (disciplinary, faculty, administrative) unique to a particular institution, but the depth and manifestations of those differences aid in identifying the real source of conflict within and among groups. The implications of such knowledge are significant for effective management.

The literature is extensive on the effect of differing perceptions of administrators, faculty and disciplines on organizational performance. This case study, however, discovered that too much credence can be given to disciplinary background as the “root of all evil,” such as the belief that sociologists are “highly politicized, guilty of indoctrinating students, and ‘very left’” (Becher, 1989, p. 29). Conflict is the result of an inability or unwillingness of one group to interpret the position of another (Dubinskas, 1992). The fact that general faculty members are also members of specific departments in academe further complicates the interpretation of conflict for leaders in higher education. It is imperative that administrators avoid being misled by “analogies of one *stripe* [italics added] or another” (Neustadt & May, 1986, p. 133); that is, proactive self-education about even the most generic characteristics of disciplinary paradigms and their

agreement with or divergence from overlapping cultural spheres, will further arm administrators in managing conflict.

Moreover, administrators have the advantage of seeing the variety of groups that comprise the entire “land mass” of the university. This territory of ridges becomes a common ground where all the “tribes” converge in a “community of scholars . . . sharing an interest that sets them apart from others” (Becher, 1989, p. 170). Rather than refusing to communicate, i.e., proclaiming “there is no need . . . to open any new channels of communication to the administration,” administrators can cultivate the same differences that produce conflict toward an enhanced “joint edifice of meaning” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 206). Geertz (1983) suggests the creation of a forum for persons inhabiting different disciplinary worlds to impact each other through a reciprocating interpretive process, the end result being a vocabulary leading to a higher plane of “mutual respect and shared meaning” (Dubinskas, 1992, p. 206). A mutual vision affirms the legitimacy of individual thought processes, indeed, the value of multiple, albeit at times conflicting, intelligences. Becher (1989) maintains that this--over two decades after the rebellious sixties--might persuade the wider public of the university to afford academics greater license in what to study and how to go about it.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

While the review of the literature revealed a wealth of information about how administrators deal with student protests, there is very little information about administrative decision-making models for dealing with faculty on controversial issues. After reviewing the interview information, archival records and journalistic accounts, the

author selected the specific propositions of Collins' (1975) conflict theory and Dubinskas' (1992) components of a cultural system as the deliberate theoretical framework for explaining and interpreting the data. Certainly, there are other conceptual models which could serve as the lens with which to examine the facts of the case, similar to Allison's (1971) strategy positing three competing organizational theories toward explaining the events of the Cuban missile crisis. Allison's (1971) objective is "to pose competing explanations for the same set of events" and to "provide the best explanation for this type of crisis" (Yin, 1989, p. 16).

Further research is warranted in the political arena of higher education through just such a strategy. Models such as Neustadt and May (1986), for example, analyze historical political decisions where outcome did not match administrative intent. Their model suggests that understanding "the story" by taking it back to its beginnings and asking the "journalists' questions of 'where,' 'who,' 'how,' and 'why,' of past events as well as 'when and what' . . . . illuminate both present conditions and future prospects" (Neustadt and May, 1986, p. 133). They suggest that actions taken by decision-makers be tempered by (1) history that underlies and induces presumptions about cause and effect relationships; (2) history in the minds of individuals about the lessons of a past event that often "go with differences in age or experience or *culture*" [italics added]; and the history of the routines and operating styles of organizations (Neustadt and May, 1986, p. 133). It follows that organizational theory, as well as a theoretical analysis of the role of key individuals, such as department chairs or academic deans, are comparative frameworks

that flow from Neustadt and May's (1986) model that could be used to view the case from different perspectives offering varying explanations.

This study is an excellent beginning toward analyzing an issue's past politics and its bearing on the decision-making process. Competing conceptual models provide an avenue for furthering research toward probing the connection between differing organizational structures, the multiple cultural ideologies of the academic professional and the underlying conflict in academe. The goal is to discover the most useful explanation in an experience to aid those who govern in institutions of higher learning to do so more effectively.

## REFERENCES

- Allison, G. (1971). Essence of decision: Explaining the Cuban missile crisis. New York: Harper-Collins.
- American Sociological Association. (1993). American Sociological Association Directory of Members, 1993. Albany, NY: Author.
- Austin, A. (1990). Faculty cultures, faculty values. In W. Tierney (Ed.), Assessing academic climates and cultures (pp. 61-74). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Baldrige, J. (1971). Power and conflict in the university. New York: Wiley.
- Barnett, R. (1988). Limits to academic freedom. In M. Tight (Ed.), Academic freedom and responsibility (pp. 86-117). New York: Open University Press.
- Becher, T. (1984). The cultural view. In B. Clark (Ed.), Perspectives on higher education: Eight disciplinary and comparative views (pp. 164-198). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Becher, T. (1989). Academic tribes and territories. Bury St. Edmunds: St. Edmundsburg Press.
- Bensimon, E. (1970). The new president and understanding the campus as a culture. In W. Tierney (Ed.), Assessing academic climates and cultures (pp. 75-86). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bernard, H., Killworth, P., Kronenfeld, D., & Salier, L. (1984). The problem of informant accuracy: The validity of retrospective data. In B. Siegel and others (Eds.), Annual Review of Anthropology, 13, 495-517.

Bernard, J. (1965). Some current conceptualizations in the field of conflict. The American Journal of Sociology, 70, 442-454.

Biglan, A. (1973). Relationships between subject matter characteristics and the structure and output of university departments. Journal of Applied Psychology, 57, 204-213.

Birnbaum, R. (1988). How colleges work. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Boissevain, J. (1974). Towards a sociology of social anthropology. Theory and Society, 1, 211-230.

Boruch, R. (1969). The faculty role in campus unrest. ACE Research Reports (No. 5, pp. 21, 50). Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

Brown, D. (1967). The mobile professors. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education.

Burlingame, M. (1993). Research abstract worksheets and personal reviews of the literature: Two tools for linking educational research and educational practice. Unpublished manuscript, Oklahoma State University, College of Education, Stillwater.

Burns, J. (1978). Leadership. New York: Harper and Row.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. (1976). External forces that shape the curriculum. Missions of the college curriculum: A contemporary review with suggestions (pp. 29-63). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Chaffee, E., & Tierney, W. (1988). Collegiate culture and leadership strategies. New York: American Council on Education and Macmillan.

- Church, C. (1976). Disciplinary dynamics. Studies in Higher Education, 1, 101-118.
- Clark, R. (1963). Faculty culture. In T. Lunsford (Ed.), The study of campus cultures (pp. 39-54). Boulder, CO: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education.
- Clark, B. (1987). The academic life. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Lawrenceville, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Collins, R. (1975). Conflict sociology. New York: Academic Press.
- Collins, R. (1981). Sociology since mid-century: Essays in theory cumulation. New York: Academic Press.
- Conrad, C. (1978). A grounded theory of academic change. Sociology of Education, 51, 101-112.
- Cronback, L. (1975). Beyond the two disciplines of scientific psychology. American Psychologist, 30, 116-127.
- Denzin, N. (1970). The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. Chicago: Aldine.
- Dill, D. (1982). The management of academic culture: Notes on the management of meaning and social integration. Higher Education, 11, 303-320.
- Dubinskas, F. (1992). Culture and conflict: The cultural roots of discord. In D. Kolb & J. Bartunek (Eds.), Hidden conflict in organizations: Uncovering behind-the-scenes disputes (pp. 187-208). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Erikson, K. (1970). Sociology and the historical perspective. The American Sociologist, 5, 331-338.
- Erlanson, D., Harris, E., Skipper, B., & Allen, S. (1993). Doing naturalistic inquiry: A guide to methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Friedrichs, R. (1970). A sociology of sociology. New York: The Free Press.
- Geertz, C. (1983). Local knowledge. New York: Basic Books.
- Goffman, E. (1959). The presentation of self in everyday life. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Gouldner, A., & Sprehe, J. (1965). Sociologists look at themselves. Transaction, 2, 42-44.
- Hagstrom, W. (1972). The differentiation of disciplines. In B. Barnes (Ed.), Sociology of Science (pp. 121-125). Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Horowitz, H. (1986). The 1960s and the transformation of campus cultures. History of Education Quarterly, 26, 1-38.
- Jackall, R. (1988). Moral mazes: The world of corporate managers. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kast, F., & Rosenzweig, J. (1973). Contingency views of organization and management. Chicago: Science Research Associates.
- Kerr, C. (1991). The great transformation in higher education, 1960-1980. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Kouzes, J., & Posner, B. (1993). Credibility: How leaders gain and lose it, why people demand it. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.



Kuh, G., & Whitt, E. (1988). The invisible tapestry: Culture in American colleges and universities. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 1. Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Higher Education.

Kuhn, T. (1970). The structure of scientific revolutions (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ladd, E., & Lipset, S. (1975). The divided academy. New York: Norton.

Lazarsfeld, P., & Thielens, W., Jr. (1958). The academic mind. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Light, D., Jr. (1974). The structure of academic professions. Sociology of Education, 47, 2-28.

Lipset, S. (1971). Rebellion in the university. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Lodahl, J., & Gordon, G. (1972). The structure of scientific fields and the functioning of university graduate departments. American Sociological Review, 37, 57-72.

Martindale, D. (1965). Functionalism in the social sciences: The strength and limits of functionalism in anthropology, economics, political science and sociology. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

McCracken, G. (1988). The long interview. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Merriam, S. (1988). Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merton, R. (1970). Social conflict over styles of sociological work. In J. Curtis & J. Petras (Eds.), The sociology of knowledge (pp. 507-530). New York: Praeger Publishers.

Neustadt, R., & May, E. (1986). Thinking in time: The uses of history for decision-makers. New York: The Free Press.

Parsons, T. (1937). The structure of social action. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Peterson, M., & Spencer, M. (1990). Understanding academic culture and climate. In W. Tierney (Ed.), Assessing academic climates and cultures (pp. 3-18). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Porter, M. (1984). Saint George or the dragon. Network, 29, 1-2.

Rice, R. (1986). The academic profession in transition: Toward a new social fiction. Teaching Sociology, 14, 12-23.

Ritzer, G. (1975). Sociology: A multiple paradigm science. The American Sociologist, 10, 156-167.

Roszak, T. (1968). The dissenting academy. New York: Random House.

Rudolph, F. (1990). The American college and university: A history. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.

Tierney, W. (1988). Organizational culture in higher education. Journal of Higher Education, 59, 2-21.

Weber, M. (1968). Economy and society. New York: Bedminster Press.

Yin, R. (1989). Case study research: Design and methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

## APPENDIX

### References to Printed Materials Tied Directly to the Case

AA - National newspaper

AB - Author of edition in Rosholt Research University historical series

AC - Regional Christian-affiliated newspaper

AD1 - AD6 - Regional newspapers

AE - Authors of edition in Rosholt Research University historical series

AF - Rosholt Research University campus newspaper

AG - Academic journal article featuring Rosholt Research University

AH - Local newspaper

AI - Author of historical book about Rosholt Research University

AJ - "Underground" newsletter of Rosholt Research University sociology department

VITA 2

Donna Kay Martin

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: MASS RESIGNATION IN A SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT: A CASE STUDY

Major Field: Higher Education

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Stillwater, Oklahoma, on July 16, 1945, the daughter of Max and Nell Gunnell Peery.

Education: Graduated from Stillwater High School, Stillwater, Oklahoma in 1963; received Bachelor of Science degree in Economics and a Master of Science degree in Economics from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in January, 1967 and May, 1969, respectively. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education degree with a major in Higher Education Administration in May, 1996.

Experience: Served as a faculty member at Wichita State University; Southwestern College in Kansas; St. John's College in Kansas; and Metropolitan State College, Denver, Colorado, 1970-1991; assistant to the academic dean and assistant to the president of Southwestern College in Kansas, 1991-1995.

Professional Memberships: Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society in Social Science; Colorado/Wyoming Association for Women in Education.

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD  
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 08-24-94

IRB#: ED-95-008

Proposal Title: MASS RESIGNATION IN A UNIVERSITY SOCIOLOGY  
DEPARTMENT: A CASE STUDY

Principal Investigator(s): Nan Restine, Donna Martin

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD  
AT NEXT MEETING.

APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A  
CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD  
APPROVAL.

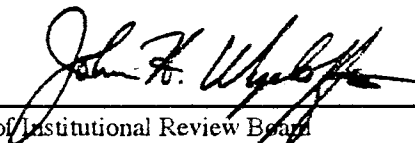
ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR  
APPROVAL.

---

---

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval  
are as follows:

Signature:



Chair of Institutional Review Board

Date: September 8, 1994

25 597NJD  
TH  
10/96 1416-17

645  
SALES