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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION, FACULTY AND STUDENTS IN A LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

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1979

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION, FACULTY AND STUDENTS IN A LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE

by

JONATHAN LASKOWITZ

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 30, 1979
Date

Patricia Kendall
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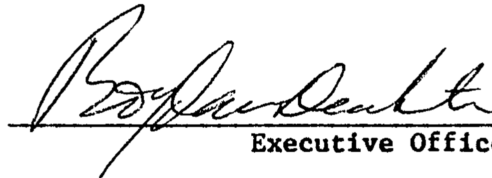
May 8/79
Date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The City University of New York

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For Jules, Patti, Anne, Peter and David Burgevin who wanted this more than I, and for Joah Walker who taught me to want.

Also for their support: Bryn Friedman, Anne Brous, Ray Davis, Julian Euell, Lin Nelson, Sharon Seymour, Simon and Jeanette Laskowitz, and Patricia Kendall.

Finally for Lisa and Jed.

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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW

A. Introduction: General Orientation and Assumptions

"The Mind Is Like The World That Conceives Of It"[1]

This study employs the sociology of knowledge in a descriptive analysis of the ways in which the practice of one's occupation produces "habits of mind."* The notion that "habits of mind" are determined by the practice of occupation is historically rooted in such thinkers as Veblen, Mannheim, Weber and to a lesser degree Marx. Veblen in particular spoke of "the 'industrial' habit of mind, and attempted to show how habituation to a given state of the industrial arts of industrial or economic institutions produced a mentality that reflected such habituation."[2] Bensman and Lilienfeld, relying on Mannheim and Weber, emphasize that methods of work and the social arrangements which result from these professional techniques are decisive in the formation of world view.[3] While Bensman and Lilienfeld's analysis acknowledges class and particular social and economic positions as influential in the creation of world views, they focus on the autonomous

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[1]Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy (New York: Barnes and Nobel, 1963).

*i.e., 'mentality,' approaches to the world, world views, attitudes toward everyday life. Joseph Bensman and Robert Lilienfeld, Craft and Consciousness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973), p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

[3]Ibid., p. 1.

development of occupational attitude induced by craft. " . . . craft and occupational attitudes have autonomous and internal dynamics which are not deducible from the analysis of the external relationship of the occupation to the society at large."[4]

Bensman and Lilienfeld's position represents a shift in emphasis from the sociology of knowledge as defined by Marx. According to Marx, the forms and content of knowledge are related to the social location of the knower. Social location is here defined as the existence of the "knower" within a social and economic class structure. "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but the existence of men that determines their consciousness."[5] In Marx's contention that existence determines consciousness, existence is primarily defined in terms of class, and consciousness is defined in terms of ideologies and perspectives which are a product of class structure. Characteristically Marx's approach is dialectic: the consciousness of the knower, determined by class position, acts back on and in turn affects the evolution and character of that class structure.

This study and its use of the sociology of knowledge will attempt to synthesize and extend the positions of Bensman and Lilienfeld and Marx as the basis of its methodology. While in agreement with Bensman and Lilienfeld that there is a dimension of autonomous development of habit of mind which emerges from occupation and is particular to that occupation, I will maintain that influence on consciousness of occupation as the primary determinant of habit of mind is insufficient: to do so neglects the social, economic and class structures within which and by which

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[4]Ibid., p. 3.

[5]Ibid., p. 2.

occupations are generated. In holding with Marx then, the influence of class cannot be minimized. Although Marx's primary emphasis is on class structure, he too hints at the way in which occupation engenders consciousness.* A given socio-economic reality generates the "need" for particular occupations and their respective world views within which there exist ranges of behavior reflecting a larger socio-economic reality.

In this study the recognition that occupations and their respective habits of mind are rooted in and produced by a larger socio-economic context is crucial. However, this larger context is not seen as the sole determinant of habits of mind. In fact independent habits of mind do emerge out of occupation while occupation remains rooted in the historical moment. This is not to say that such independent habits of mind do not influence that historical moment; rather there exists a relationship between the two.

B. The Context of Analysis

It is the contention of this study that there exists a decay in community on college campuses.** The purpose of this study is to provide a systematic explanation and description of the ways in which this decay can be primarily attributed to a pattern of interactions between administration, faculty and students whose perceptions of their own position and each other's position are based on the habits of mind which are peculiar to their respective occupations.*** These habits of mind, insofar

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*"Marx was aware of these factors, especially in his description of feudal guild occupations, but he did not give them a general emphasis in his major theoretical focus." Bensman and Lilienfeld, Craft and Consciousness, p. 3.

**In this study the college is viewed as a community of meanings.

***The position of student, as it is so often one's primary definition, will be considered an "occupation."

as they reflect both the unique demands of their respective occupation within an educational organization as well as the tacit expectations* implicit in the larger socio-economic order, find expression in conflict.

C. The Researcher as a Significant Variable in the Research Process

While the aim of this study is to explore the perceptual conflicts within a particular educational institution, it is of equal importance to the author that the research process for this study be considered in the same critical manner. For, as initially conceived of in the warmth of one spring, both the research and the researcher bear little resemblance to their earlier counterpart in a later cold winter. Between these dates it has become clear to the author that the perceptual conflicts within an institution are all too often embodied in the very process which attempts to analyze them. In this the researcher, like the constituents of administration, faculty and students under study, has assumptions from the position of the researcher. In both cases a myopic view is often generated out of an unacknowledged recognition of the world views or habits of mind implicit in one's position. Further, the theories generally employed to analyze "problems in higher education" (i.e., role or bureaucratic theory) are insufficient in that they too often take for granted the larger socio-economic order without attention to the ways in which that order determines consciousness. Thus a researcher often disregards the fact that his or her position as researcher and the methods of research are socially located. For these reasons I have chosen to use the sociology of knowledge

*Within a college it is usually the student's primary expectation to be educated; the administration is primarily concerned with fiscal matters, etc.

as the basic frame of reference for this study as it underscores the fact that position, both in the larger socio-economic order or within an occupation framework within that order, determines consciousness.

In an attempt to create a logical consistency between the topic of research and the method of research (which necessarily includes the researcher's own part in that), this present chapter will precede a review of the literature in order that a less myopic view of the research process and the researcher as a significant variable in that process can be achieved. This will be accomplished through an explication of both the conceptual and experiential aspects of this study. It is of importance to characterize and explain the basic principles and choice of methods that have influenced this research. This will allow the reader to share more intimately in the logic of the research process, thereby enabling him/her to evaluate the research from a position of knowledge of that process. It is of equal importance that the reader be introduced to the experiential aspects of the research process, as research is too often presented in a smooth, orderly and patterned progression from initial assumptions and problem selection through choice and application of method, data analysis and empirical generalizations. As Patricia M. Golden points out, "Initially, at least, it seems so simple and logical, so 'scientific.' On the surface, sociology seems capable of perfection."[6] Golden continues that all too often

> . . . neat outlines of the research process overlook much of what is actually involved in doing research. Methods texts touch on only some of the problems one encounters. Research reports do not record the many choices, decisions, and refinements made along the way . . . the implications of personal and pragmatic considerations and constraints, which may influence one's choices

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[6]Patricia M. Golden, ed., <u>The Research Experience</u> (Illinois: Peacock Publishing, 1976), Preface, p. ix.

> and restrict one's possibilities, are often ignored. The urgencies and limitations imposed by inadequate resources of time, money, and personnel are not reported. The idiosyncratic interests that influenced the selection of a problem or the choice of an integrating principle remain the private domain of the researcher. The many compromises and modifications that are made as a result of circumstances are left out of the final product. That the ideal and the actual experiences of social research may differ in significant ways is a reality seldom communicated. . . .[7]

To recognize Golden's criticisms as valid demands that the process of research, and not merely the "findings," is accessible to the reader. For this reason this chapter is intended to give the reader a detailed description of the research process. This process includes (1) the conceptual dimension of basic principles and method choices, and (2) the personal considerations and constraints facing the author. In short, both the research and the researcher are seen as legitimate objects of study to be scrutinized and ultimately understood as significant variables in the research process. For the researcher, like the constituencies of students, faculty and administration presently under study, exists in a political and socio-economic context. Within this context choices, values and constraints significantly determine the unfolding process of research from theoretical assumptions, through the choice of particular procedures of data collection and analysis.*

It must be stressed that the "world view" held by social scientists, their most basic assumptions regarding human nature and the nature of social reality, directly influence the logical forms they use for investigation and ultimately structure their empirical generalizations:

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[7]Ibid., pp. xi-xii.

*In G. Sjoberg and R. Nett's A Methodology for Social Research (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), Bramson's The Political Context of Sociology (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1961) is cited. His contention is that the changing value system in American society has been associated with shifts in the sociologist's research orientation. More narrowly, Krupp in his Pattern in Organization Analysis (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1961) documents the effect of unstated social premises, or ideological commitments, upon the study of large-scale organizations in the United States.

> In sociology, structural functionalism, symbolic interactionism, and positivism all involve certain assumptions about reality, the nature of man, and the scientist's relationship to his empirical data--assumptions that are usually linked together logically to some extent. These sets of assumptions serve as frameworks within which the sociologist proceeds to formulate or test his substantive generalizations.[8]

These initial assumptions are thus seen as structuring both the choice of the research methodology and the interpretation of the data. The recognition that world views or habits of mind are grounded in social location has been extended by Sjoberg and Nett in such a way that the research act, often viewed as objective or independent of bias, is, in fact, inextricably fused with the social location of the researcher. The social location of the researcher out of which his or her basic assumption in turn defines the parameters of the researcher process. In the following sections I will draw primarily, unless otherwise noted, on Sjoberg and Nett's A Methodology for Social Research. The reasons for this choice are twofold: to give the reader an insight into the way in which basic assumptions affect social research, and to indicate that this author acknowledges his own bias and wishes to make that bias accessible to the reader.

Assumptions made by social scientists concerning 'reality' significantly influence social research and can be seen to pattern in the following ways.

D. The Effect of 'Assumptions' on Social Research

1. The Assumption of Fluidity or of Stability in the Social Order

"There are some sociologists, like Blumer, who, while conceding that there is a degree of order in the social world, stress the everchanging nature of social reality and see the social order as in a state of

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[8] Sjoberg and Nett, A Methodology for Social Research, p. 58.

becoming."[9] This generally open or 'optimistic' view of social reality is that it is socially constructed. It includes both conceptions regarding the capacity for social change, and the influence of the individual on that process. The degree to which the social order is seen as dynamic is directly associated with assumptions regarding the individuals participation in that process. Within this tradition humans are viewed as capable of both self and social change. Thus social reality is constructed and the individual is capable of acting back on that reality and participating in its construction.

Juxtaposed to this position is the positivists' tradition which adheres to a closed or static view of social reality. This view assumes that there are fixed sets of relations in the social order. These relations, while observable, cannot be altered. The degree to which the social order is seen as static circumscribes the individual's ability (be he/she theorist, researcher or constituent in a college community) to see both self and social reality as constructed. The individual is viewed as and views him or herself as passively responding to conditions which he/she cannot control.

It is important to emphasize that these basic assumptions manifest themselves in social research by structuring the design, implementation and empirical generalizations of the research.

2. The Assumption of Integration or of Conflict

> For the integrationists, represented by Parsons in many of his writings, man strives toward harmony and cooperation and shuns tension and conflict. This viewpoint stands in sharp contrast to the perspective of such conflict theorists as Marx and Simmel, who generally assumed that human beings or social systems are continually

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[9]Ibid., p. 59.

at odds with one another.[10]

The perspective of the conflict orientation would make for an analysis of the social order in terms quite different from those of theorists stressing integration and cooperation:

> Not only are the conflict theorists much more likely to use dialectical logic, but may disavow the notion of equilibrium, unlike most integrationists, who tend to adhere to this notion. Even when the conflict theorists posit the presence of an equilibrium, they conceptualize it somewhat differently than do the integrationists.[11]

Again this difference in conceptualization has implications for the research process.

3. The Assumption of Materialism or of Idealism

> A third premise that pervades social science literature separates the materialists from the idealists or neoidealists. Although most physical scientists work comfortably with the assumption of materialism, social scientists typically have found it difficult to accept the notion that the material world is the ultimate reality. . . . Today with sociology the chief battle ground for the materialist-nonmaterialist controversy has been the field of human ecology. At one pole stand those writers who insist we cannot analyze spatial activities or structures without recourse to the actors' interpretation thereof.[12]

Thus they come to see the conceptual world as the ultimate reality. Duncan and Schnore, on the other hand, posit that the variables of technology, environment, demography, and social organization must be studied without recourse to values or beliefs.[13]

The implications of this conflict point not only to the impact of theory on research but to the perception of the researcher within these

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[10] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[11] Ibid., p. 60.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 61.

divergent schools. If one assumes with the nonmaterialist that 'conception' is the ultimate reality, then the researcher's own conceptual framework, which includes both his or her values or beliefs, is important. This allows for a degree of prescription on the part of the researcher. The materialist school, on the other hand, ostensibly precludes the possibility of prescription, as description is its main emphasis.

Sjoberg and Nett go on to point up other variants of the materialist-nonmaterialist debate. There are many who work within the framework of dualism, as well as the phenomenologists who regard the fundamental reality as neither the material world nor one's system of concepts but instead the relationships (or link) between the two.

4. The Assumption of the Basic Unit of Study as the Individual or the Group

"The recent exchanges between Homans and Parsons point to the persistence of this particular debate. Homans, as well as a number of philosophers of science, rejects the idea of a group or social system as the basic unit for analysis."[14] The belief that a collectivity or group is merely the sum of its parts will serve to structure both the collection and the analysis of data.

The preceding overview of assumptions about the nature of reality is but one dimension of the way in which assumptions, theories, values, and research procedures are linked. It serves further to emphasize the social and political context as a determining factor in research design.

We have come to see at this point, with particular regard to the social scientist, that many theoretical assumptions are associated with the scientist's broader ideological orientation and with the social

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[14]Ibid.

position he/she occupies in society at large:

> It is often difficult to separate the theoretical assumptions a person makes in his role as a scientist from the ideological assumptions he makes in his role as a member of broader society that supports the scientific enterprise.[15]

In making certain assumptions about the human nature and the nature of social reality, the sociologist, for example, sets limits upon the other kinds of assumptions he/she can make. One can discern in "ideal-type" terms major schools of thought, in sociology, with respect to the logical-theoretical constructs that are employed. Two of these major groupings are delineated by contrasting the "verstehen" school with the positivists:

> The former conceive of social reality as fluid and emerging, with no sharp division between the scientist and the data of observation. They utilize the actor's frame of reference in collecting and analyzing their data. Ultimately they utilize understanding in testing the validity of their theory. The positivists, on the other hand, tend to view reality in mechanistic terms and assume the existence of a sharp dividing line between the scientist and the data of observation. They tend to ignore the actors' perspective. In the end, the positivists would judge a theory's validity in terms of its predictability.[16]

The foregoing discussion, relying for exemplifications upon logical-theoretical constructs in sociology, specifies the way in which differing forms of assumptions serve to structure one's research design and empirical generalizations. Further, it serves to highlight the significance of, and essential need for, employing a sociology of knowledge orientation as a methodological tool in order to shed light upon these often unstated assumptions.

Finally, it is the contention of this study that in much the same way as the social scientist's unreflective assumptions structure his/her research, they similarly serve to structure their actions. For social

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[15]Ibid., p. 66.

[16]Ibid., pp. 68-69.

affiliations of all varieties carry with them pairs of "tinted glasses" in the form of cognitive and normative commitments, or world views.

The aim of this introduction has been to show that the social location of individuals, be they researchers, students, faculty, administration, or candlestick-makers, significantly determines the ways in which they view the world, and consequently determines their behavior. To the researcher this takes on particular importance, for in failing to recognize one's theoretical assumptions as having emerged out of a social and political context, it becomes easy for the researcher to inadvertently hide his/her biases, yet not eliminate the effect of such bias on the research process. Thus, this chapter has as a focus the objectification of the researcher and the process of research. We will come to see, through a detailed discussion of the research process of this study, the importance of Sjoberg and Nett's statement that "to treat the scientist as a non-person is to ignore social reality."[17]

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[17]Ibid., p. 71.

CHAPTER II

THE METHODOLOGY WITH AN AIM TOWARD CONSCIOUS DE-MYSTIFIED RESEARCH

A. The Starting Point: Selection and Preliminary Formulation of the Study . . . And How the Researcher Got There

With a few early exceptions,[1] and up until recently,[2] most research and research methods books spent little time, if any, on the researcher's earliest stages of activity and his/her surrounding context of influence. While Golden underscores this dilemma in her excellent reader, which in fact does much to fill this gap, she still maintains that "at least for beginners, the starting point is most likely to be personal interest."[3] For Sjoberg and Nett, this dilemma is expressed in terms of its effect:

> A serious bar to understanding the methods by which research projects are formulated has been the reluctance of many practitioners themselves to reveal the nature of the activity in its early stages, the various meanderings of the research design.[4]

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[1]See e.g., William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 2d. ed., Appendix; Phillip E. Hammond, ed., Sociologists at Work (New York: Basic Books, 1964); Arthur Vidich et al., eds., Reflections on Community Studies (New York: Free Press, 1966).

[2]See e.g., George H. Lewis, ed., Manners and Methods in Social Research (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1975); William J. Filstead, ed., Qualitative Methodology (Chicago: Markham, 1970); Patricia M. Golden, The Research Experience (Illinois: Peacock Publishing, 1976); Bogdan and Taylor, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

[3]Patricia M. Golden, ed., The Research Experience (Illinois: Peacock Publishing, 1976), p. 5. [Emphasis in original.]

[4]G. Sjoberg and R. Nett, A Methodology for Social Research (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 76.

They go on to suggest that

> . . . with the accumulation of further detailed data on the matter of project selection, we may discover that certain patterns that we now attribute to change do in fact stem from definite social factors.[5]

Such factors may range from graduate department socialization, wherein the student becomes what he or she 'plays' at, and 'plays' with, in terms of mentors and theoretical orientations, to granting agencies determining the research process. Other variables include socio-structural values and political contexts, or even particular accidents of individual biography. It is the aim of this chapter to detail the critical factors, both conceptual and experiential, involved in the selection of the present area of inquiry.

The temporal location of the researcher is as significant a determinant of the selection of a project as is his/her social location. My involvement in and concern with student politics and higher education was nurtured by the mosaic of action-counteraction which characterized my years as a graduate student in New York City between 1967 and 1972. American colleges and universities had been in conflict since the Berkeley revolt of 1964-65. Demonstrations occurred at 181 institutions during 1967-68.[6] A March 1969 Gallup Poll found that campus disorders replaced the Vietnam War as the primary concern of Americans, while Congress began debating how to control the university crisis without threatening the basic concept of academic freedom.[7] In the early 1960s campus confrontation

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[5]Ibid., p. 97.

[6]Seymour M. Lipset, Rebellion in the University (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), Introduction.

[7]Weaver, ed., The University and Revolution (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

meant boycotting classes, singing "We Shall Overcome," and badmouthing the dean in the campus newspaper. As a graduate student I witnessed these weapons of one generation become the antiques of the next and the emergence of new approaches to long-standing problems. "A literal flood of books and articles poured forth seeking to describe, advocate or analyze different modes of campus behavior."[8]

In the fall of 1969, I was the recipient of a National Institute of Mental Health Traineeship in Medical Sociology, working under the guidance of Professors Samuel Bloom and Patricia Kendall at the Graduate Center of C.U.N.Y. and Mt. Sinai Hospital's Department of Community Medicine. The traineeship involved the study and development of research in the area of the sociology of medicine. Mt. Sinai is situated, depending upon one's value perspective, either on the inside or the outskirts of Harlem--though degrees of splendor and squalor are regular neighbors in much of Manhattan. The geographical location takes on more significance in the temporal context of 1969 as the politics of confrontation were not confined to the campus. Community action and confrontation aimed at making organizations more responsible to their constituencies were manifest in public schools and hospitals, as well as on the campus. It was within this climate of confrontation, complete with its mysteries and complexities, that the seeds of my research interest were sown.

During the year of my N.I.M.H. traineeship I did much reading in the sociology of medicine with an aim toward developing a research project within the hospital setting. It was during this time that one particular article provided me with a conceptual-theoretical connection between the sociology of medicine and the turmoil in higher education. The article,

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[8]Lipset, Rebellion in the University, Introduction.

entitled "Two Lines of Authority Are One Too Many," was written in 1955 by Harvey L. Smith.[9]

Selltiz et al. maintain that the review of the literature requirement in research reporting may be routinized to the point that many are blinded to its great potential value in helping to formulate specific research problems.[10]

> The accumulation of scientific knowledge is a slow, gradual process in which, on the whole, one group of investigators builds on the work of others and, in turn, contributes their bit or bits, which may then serve as starting points for others.[11]

Smith studied the social matrix of the hospital, maintaining that the relationship between the need for individuation and organization creates organizational problems distinctive to hospitals. He characterized the hospital as an organization at cross purposes with itself.[12] Smith depicts a built-in conflict emerging out of the complexity of the hospital's organization and its dual lines of authority. Lay administrative "bureaucratic authority" is seen to be in conflict with the professional physicians' "charismatic authority." Thus the dilemma is viewed as a conflict between two systems of status in the hospital: "scalar status"--a status inhering in the position within a hierarchy (the administration)-- and "functional status"--a status inhering in the kind of work one does regardless of position (the physicians). For Smith, what emerges out of these differences in position is a dual system of values, and a built-in situation of conflict. The hospital is seen as both a place in which the ill are cared

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[9]Harvey L. Smith, "Two Lines of Authority Are One Too Many," Modern Hospitals LXXXIV (1955):59-64.

[10]Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, 3d ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), p. 57.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Smith, "Two Lines of Authority Are One Too Many," Modern Hospitals.

for and treated--a healing institution--and a hotel, laundry, and restaurant--a business organization. These two value systems, emerging out of the different positions of administration and physician, create a climate of conflict wherein the physician's view of the world within the hospital is one of its being a service institution, and the administration's view of the world within the hospital is one of its being a business institution. Essentially, the differing positions, structured in their respective constituencies, produced different concerns. The emergent conflict, then, is viewed by Smith to be related to status and role.

The importance of this article in the formulation of the present study cannot be overstated. Could not, I wondered, the structure confrontation on the campus be viewed in a similar light? Is not the college or university a community of perceptions, values and meanings, dependent for its survival upon degrees of consensus within its community? Does it not appear to be atcross purposes with itself--in conflict? A college is, not unlike the hospital, a community comprised of positions and behaviors (status and role): administration, faculty and students whose milieus may similarly be seen to generate the perceptions, values and meanings, or sets of assumptions about reality, that exist within its community. The research process of the present study began to take on a conceptual frame.

Although role and bureaucratic theory provide a base for the present research, it was not until I began to read intensively in the area of the sociology of knowledge that the integrating principle of this present research was formulated. In this additional perspective we see my particular experience and the part it played in the present research design as empirically justifying the reality that idiosyncratic interests influence the selection of a problem or the choice of an integrating principle.

Two professors also influenced the selection and preliminary formulation of this research. The sociology of knowledge orientation evident in this study is largely due to a somewhat serendipitous decision made by the researcher to enroll in Gideon Sjoberg's graduate seminar in the sociology of knowledge. Professor Sjoberg's seminar influenced the choice of the integrating principle of this study. The sociology of knowledge allows for a synthesis and extension of role and bureaucratic theory which are all too often masked by ideology. The other was Professor Patricia Kendall and our four semesters of research methods, wherein the excitement of qualitative research and its processional nature led me in the direction of valuing "deep" as opposed to "hard" data, though this point will be elaborated on in conjunction with my discussion of method choice. The above reinforces Sjoberg and Nett's contention that "students tend to pursue projects that in one way or another reflect the interests of their professors."[13]

The influence of a sociology of knowledge perspective, in combination with Smith's aforementioned study of the social matrix of the hospital, in which the dual system of meaning and values of its constituency is seen as the basis of conflict, led me to the present study, to the conceptual and methodological framework within which it was executed. Specifically, my analysis of the college community shares with Smith the notion that systems of meanings and values/habits of mind result from the positions occupied by the various constituencies on the college campus. Clearly, the sociology of knowledge, by focusing on the social construction of consciousness, facilitates this type of study. This research, having been influenced by the sociology of knowledge, role and bureaucratic theory, and qualitative

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[13]Sjoberg and Nett, A Methodology for Social Research, p. 100.

methodology, maintains that the assumptions/habits of mind held by the campus constituencies of administration, faculty and students toward themselves and one another are empirically discernible.

The selection and preliminary formulation of this study has been discussed as a process of modification, serendipity, influence, decision, choice and refinement, all taking place in a temporal context. This has been done for the twofold purpose of providing the reader with the recognition that the researcher, from project selection through empirical generalization, is the key variable in the research process.

B. Research Design--The Purpose of the Research

Selltiz et al. maintain that although research designs differ depending upon the purpose of the research, in practice, different types of studies are not always sharply distinguishable. "Any given research may have in it elements of (exploration, description and explanation). In any single study, however, the primary emphasis is usually on only one of these functions, and the study can be thought of as falling into the category corresponding to its major function. In short, although the distinctions among the different types of study are not clear-cut, by and large they can be made. . . ."[14]

The present research, while it contains elements of formulation, exploration, description, and explanation, has as its primary emphasis exploration and explanation.

The study is exploratory to the degree that it is designed to gain familiarity with, and achieve new insights into, the community of meanings, values and perceptions held by the campus constituencies of administration,

[14]Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, p. 91.

faculty and students. For Selltiz et al., the youth of social science and the scarcity of research make it inevitable that much of research, for a time to come, will be of an exploratory character--that of clarifying concepts and increasing familiarity with the phenomenon under investigation.*

This study, then, is descriptive to the degree that it is designed to portray the patterned perceptions, values and meanings held by administrators, faculty and students toward their own and one another's status and role on the campus. Within this context an inter-subjective description of the college will necessarily emerge.**

The study is explanatory to the degree that it hypothesizes a causal relationship between the position one occupies and the way one views the world. The study starts with the assumption that a campus is, among other things, a community of perceptions, values, and meanings, and, not unlike the larger social structure within which it operates, is dependent for its survival and growth upon degrees of consensus within its community. It goes on to maintain that the campus is, as well, a community comprised of positions--administrative, faculty and student--which may be seen in part to generate the perceptions, values and meanings that exist within its community.

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*"Few well-trodden paths exist for the investigator of social relations to follow; theory is often neither too general or too specific to provide clear guidance for empirical research. In these circumstances, exploratory research is necessary to obtain the experience that will be helpful in formulating relevant hypotheses for more definitive investigation." Ibid.

**By inter-subjective is meant the description of campus reality as agreed or disagreed on by its constituents.

C. Researcher Role--Toward What Purpose Is the Research Aimed?

> The role orientation of the researcher affects the selection of his theoretical assumptions and the application of his research methods and does much to structure his analysis and the manner in which he writes up his findings.[15]

Sjoberg and Nett, in their insightful text, delineate two categories of researcher roles: those researchers committed to science and those researchers committed to the broader society.[16] Those whose primary commitment is to science have as their goal 'knowledge for its own sake.' Researchers of this orientation do not necessarily oppose the application of scientific findings to public policy; rather, such application is secondary to the desire to know.[17] Those whose primary commitment is to society at large pattern around three roles: moralizer, mediator and technician.

The moralizer bases his or her social analysis upon a definite ideological stand:

> In the United States, perhaps the most ardent spokesman for moralization (in the reformist as well as revolutionary tradition) in recent decades has been C. Wright Mills. In his view, empirical data should be employed for specific moral ends: primarily for constructing a better world, the nature of which is to be defined by sociologists like himself.[18]

The mediator

> . . . formally espouses a neutral, objective position relative to divergent interest groups. His task is to provide the public or decision makers with the data upon which to base their judgments and formulate policy. The broker's ultimate purpose is to assist in alleviating the conflicts and strains that inhere in the relations among groups, particularly in pluralistic, industrial orders.[19]

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[15] Sjoberg and Nett, A Methodology for Social Research, pp. 80-81.

[16] Ibid., p. 80.

[17] Ibid., p. 81.

[18] Ibid., p. 85.

[19] Ibid., p. 89.

The researcher as technician makes a commitment to the non-scientific organization by accepting employment in it and seeks in the course of his or her study to discover the best means for achieving a given end:

> Whereas the pure scientist, and to some extent the mediator, does not formally align himself with a specific bureaucracy, and the moralizer either may or may not, the technician most often does so. Not infrequently the technician commits himself to an organization without really questioning its goals.[20]

This researcher sees himself as a mediator to the degree that the research has as its aim the demystification of administrative, faculty and student interactions. Additionally, this research is moralistic insofar as it rests upon theoretical foundations implicit in which are ideological assumptions. These assumptions reflect a view of human nature and social reality as fluid and that consciousness of the manifestations and roots of the pathology that exists on campus is a prerequisite for change. Thus the role stance of this researcher is to a solution in the form of policy change, and not merely the description of the web of perceptions on campus. As Selltiz succinctly points out, "Experience has demonstrated that research conducted without concern for immediate application is neither easily nor promptly put to use."[21]

D. The General and the Working Universe

> The more clearly the researcher envisions his universe and the more carefully he selects its component parts, the more likely is his research to be successful and the more readily can others verify his findings.[22]

The abstract universe to which the findings of this study apply

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[20]Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, p. VII.

[21]Sjoberg and Nett, A Methodology for Social Research, p. 129.

[22]Ibid.

may be tentatively considered to be administrators, faculty and students in private residential colleges of similar size and framework of organization as the college community under study. It is my belief that the habits of mind of administrators, faculty and students may be determined empirically and the patterns into which they fall will, in part, hold for other similarly located groups. The special or working universe, i.e., the specific system from which the units of analysis were chosen, are the administration, faculty and students in a private residential college in New York State. The habits of mind seen to be engendered by the respective positions of these groups are viewed by this researcher as transcending the particular working universe despite the fact that this universe is not typical, random or representative in any rigorous sense.

E. The Units of Analysis and Topics for Research

The units of analysis in the present research are those individual administrators, faculty and students sampled, whose perceptions in regard to their role and the role of the other are aggregated to describe the perceptions of the larger group to which they belong. Administrators, faculty and students each imply some population of individual persons, yet are circumscribed groups about whom generalizations can be made.

The units of analysis--individual administrators, faculty and students--are characterized primarily in terms of their orientation, i.e., their attitudes regarding their role and the role of the other on campus. Additionally, each was asked to respond to the question, "How do you believe the other perceives of you?" Further, units of analysis are characterized in terms of various states of being, i.e., age, sex, class in school, years occupying a given position, department, major, etc.

F. Sampling

The present study makes use of both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Twenty administrators were purposively sampled and interviewed with an aim of including administrators in leadership positions.

It is clear that members of social organizations possess unequal amounts of knowledge about its operation--along with unequal distributions of power, rights and privileges:

> Persons who carry out leadership roles, as well as specialized roles within the system, are expected to view the system as a whole, whereas other functionaries tend to view it from the vantage point of their own immediate concerns.[23]

Thus key administrators, deans, and directors comprise this sample.

From the School of Humanities and Sciences, the largest division on the campus, forty faculty were systematically sampled and interviewed.

One hundred and fifty Humanities and Sciences students were systematically sampled--seventy-five of whom received questionnaires and seventy-five of whom were interviewed. Additional interviews took place with marginal individuals. Those who are peripheral to each group, i.d., department chairpersons who teach and graduates who teach, can often provide insights into role as a function of their dual status.

G. Methods--The Purposes and Methods of the Study

It has been consistently maintained in this chapter that social research must be viewed as a process. What follows is a detailed description of the methods of the research, as the findings of a given study are inextricably linked to the methods used to seek them out, which in turn are

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[23]Ibid., p. 158.

inseparable from the researcher's assumptions and research design:

> Clearly, the sociologist's theoretical assumptions or premises concerning the nature of social reality or of human nature commit him to particular kinds of procedures when he collects and analyzes his data. So too because certain techniques are more compatible with some theoretical assumptions than with others, the scientist, simply by selecting a given set of research methods, necessarily assumes a particular theoretical stance.[24]

Having studied Research Methods with Professor Patricia Kendall at both the Graduate Center of the City University of New York and at Queens College, I was influenced by and gained respect for qualitative research techniques. As a student, and presently both a faculty member and a chairperson of the department of sociology, it would be unreasonable to assume that elements of direct observation (participant, if you will) were not a part of the research process, though in reality the major technique used in the accumulation of data was of an indirect variety, i.e., the depth interview. Yet the position and place of the researcher must be seen as contributing to the overall design, and thus some use of direct observation bears mentioning as it contributed to the formulation of the research.

Regarding the use of direct observation, I did not so much enter the field as find myself a part of it--witnessing and experiencing events first-hand as a function of my position. It was, so to speak, casual observation of my own milieu--that of the campus. Rather quickly it became clear that such casual observation placed significant limitations on the collection of data. The setting was far too heterogeneous and large, with a wide variety of divergent patterns of behavior. That ignorance and misrepresentation of one another, amongst students, faculty and administration,

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[24]Ibid., p. 34.

existed was clear--but behavioral events which indicated this would not allow the researcher to explore the sources of these perceptions or in fact the specific perceptions themselves. I was unable to develop any more than the threads of a conceptual framework that would order and make sense out of my discrete observations. Further complicating the early use of direct observation was the fact that certain settings were inaccessible to the researcher whose primary amounts of time were spent more with students and faculty than with administration. Finally, direct observation, though contributing to the formulation of the research design and its conceptual framework, did not allow for the systematization of the perceptions held toward one another by the constituencies of administration, faculty and students. In short, the researcher was able to see what people do, and in part hear what they think, but within no systematic framework.

The form of interview chosen for the present research was therefore of a semi-structured, semi-standardized "depth" variety. The sequence of questions was generally fixed within each group but not across the groups, background information also varied between the groups, and probing in directions suggested by the respondents' replies frequently accompanied the interview. Rephrasing of questions and alteration of sequence occurred frequently, as it is this researcher's contention that the most effective sequence for a given respondent is achieved by determining the overall context of the interview, and the respondent's readiness and willingness to take up a topic. Though the items of information sought were specified by the researcher in advance, and all were covered in the actual interview context, the overall tone desired, and achieved in the majority of cases, was one of relaxed conversation.

It is the firm belief of this researcher that standardization cannot be achieved by the use of identically worded questions asked in an identical

manner in both tone and context. This is consistent with the notion that researchers "cannot comprehend the complexities of social action or human motives merely by posing questions in a highly stylized, formal manner."[25] The completely standardized interview overstructures, and, according to some, oversimplifies reality by imposing a spurious kind of order on the actor's world of meaning.[26] Like this researcher, many who champion the less formalized interview believe that

> . . . to establish the reliability and validity of the informant's responses, researchers must employ depth interviewing, at times in an elliptical manner, in order to ferret out patterns of thought and action concerning which the interviewee may be especially sensitive or about which he lacks a conscious awareness until the scientist dredges them up. Many persons' actions and thought patterns, conscious or unconscious, evince internal contradictions. To understand, the researcher must be sensitive to the cues the informant may drop and be able to turn them into meaningful questions. Because of these social patterns, many researchers advocate the use of the unstructured interview despite certain weaknesses which the structured interview is supposed to overcome.[27]

The less structured approach of depth interviewing used in the present study allowed the researcher flexibility in the phrasing, ordering, and re-interpretation of questions, as well as in probing and re-direction of the respondents. For the most part, and in the largest number of cases, the context of the interview was conversational. This form of interview served well toward the uncovering of the patterns in the perceptions held toward themselves and one another by administration, faculty and student groups.

That the interview process unfolded without difficulty would be a faulty assumption. Interviewing may be likened to an art wherein skill and technique are acquired through much practice and sensitivity. Foremost

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[25]Ibid., p. 194.

[26]Ibid., p. 195.

[27]Ibid.

one must be well versed in the concepts that the interview is designed to operationalize--particularly in the depth interview where standardization is not the norm. The interview is a social context and a variety of factors influence its outcome. The various problems encountered during this process, both ethical and methodological, are discussed in relation to the groups within which they were encountered--namely in Chapter V. The structure and character of the community within which the interview takes place plays a significant part in the interview process. Personal characteristics of the interviewer, the perceived reason for the study, communication between respondents, the physical setting of the interview, and the political context are but some of these factors.

Conclusion

It is the objective of this study in general to provide a systematic explanation and description of the ways in which the disintegration of community on college campuses can be analyzed and additionally seen to be precipitated by the construction of habits of mind which are produced by occupation. This study recognizes that occupations and their respective habits of mind are rooted in and produced by a larger socio-economic structure. Such a structure is not, however, seen as the sole determinant of habits of mind or forms of consciousness. Rather, it is maintained that independent habits of mind do emerge out of particular occupations, though those occupations remain rooted in an historical moment.

In this chapter it has been important to recognize that the perceptual conflicts within a particular educational institution, as generated by occupation, necessarily exist in the research process as well. Thus it has been noted that the researcher is similarly subject to the influence

of his/her "occupation," i.e., the researcher is a significant variable in the research process. Therefore, a detailed depiction of both the conceptual and experiential dimensions of this study have been presented in order that the research and the researcher be seen as legitimate objects of study. For these reasons the sociology of knowledge has been and will be utilized as the largest frame of reference for this study, as it facilitates the recognition that the topic of research and the method of research are inseparable, though all too often they are seen as distinct. Role and bureaucratic theory and a requisite review of pertinent literature will be employed as a tool toward an understanding of the conflicts implicit in the habits of the mind of the college community under study. However, neither role nor bureaucratic theory are the foundation of this study, as each is not critical enough in its analysis of the system from which bureaucracy and role emerge.

Within this conceptual framework it would be illogical to review the literature before acknowledging the context which has determined my choice of topic and method. This chapter, which makes accessible the basic assumptions of this study, necessarily precedes a review of the literature. In the following chapter, the literature concerning role and bureaucratic theory as it applies to the construction of habit of mind will be critically analyzed within the framework of the sociology of knowledge.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE AND BUREAUCRATIC THEORY: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

A. Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to present in detail the conceptual framework for this study. This will be accomplished through a critical review of bureaucratic and role theory from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge.* As the sociology of knowledge is the foundation for the conceptual and methodological framework of this research, it is important to first share with the reader (1) the conceptual world view I bring to this research and the way in which my world view influences this study of administration, faculty and students, and (2) an historical overview of the sociology of knowledge and the way in which it is used in this study. From there I will conclude with a critical analysis of bureaucratic theory and to a lesser degree role theory in the context of the aforementioned perspective. It should be emphasized that the above prerequisites are by no means clear-cut and that close observation yields a sense closer to fusion than to distinction.

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*The rationale for choosing the sociology of knowledge as a bridge linking role and bureaucratic theory with the study of the constituencies of the college has been suggested in Chapters I and II and will be elaborated on at length in the present chapter.

B. Conceptual World View of the Researcher

The most basic world view that I bring to this analysis is one which assumes a fluidity in the social order, that in fact social life is process, and individuals can and do actively participate in the construction of reality. This view, in accordance with the Mead-Blumer tradition, includes the notion that human beings are capable of both self and social change; that reality is socially constructed and that individuals and groups influence and are influenced by existing structures.

Unlike those of the Mead-Blumer tradition, however, I am not therefore necessarily optimistic, as that which has influenced me additionally shares in degrees with theorists such as Marx, Mannheim, Veblen and more recently Coser and Dahrendorf, the recognition that human beings and social systems are more often than not at odds with one another. Yet unlike these theorists I do believe that the potential for a more integrated relationship between the individual and the broader society--or in the case of this research, the constituencies of administration, faculty and students under study--exists, though such integration will not come easily. Integration and the creation of a community of more common meaning on a campus or in the broader social structure is impeded by a variety of social factors. That there additionally exists a plethora of explanations for the lack of integration is evident.* The present research, in choosing to focus on a particular framework of explanation, i.e., the effect of occupation in the structuring of conflicting world views within an institution through an analysis of role and bureaucratic theory as enhanced by a

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*Seymour M. Lipset, Rebellion in the University (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971).

sociology of knowledge orientation, does not attempt, in so doing, to preclude the usefulness of other explanations.

C. Two Divisions of the Sociology of Knowledge

In this research the sociology of knowledge has been used in distinct but interrelated ways. In Chapter I the basic argument presented concerned the positive function of the sociology of knowledge as a pragmatic instrument of elucidation: to point out that the starting point of a theory or system serves to structure its conclusion, and that one's conception as to the basic nature of humankind and reality determines the path followed as well as the journey's end. In this dimension the sociology of knowledge serves as the methodological foundation of this research. The logic of first presenting the sociology of knowledge as the methodological foundation of this study has already been discussed; the methodological chapter preceded a review of the literature in order to maintain integrity necessitated by the sociology of knowledge as a methodology. A problem not immediately apparent in the sociology of knowledge as methodology comes to haunt the researcher who additionally utilizes the sociology of knowledge as a theoretical foundation.* To further the ends of the present research the reader must first be introduced to the sociology of knowledge as it emerged within a socio-historical context. In this way the reader

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*The sociology of knowledge as a methodology, however, is clearly rooted in the conception that to understand one's motivations, biases and initial assumptions is at the very least one step toward a more honest presentation of knowledge. Upon close examination it becomes evident this conception assumes that a relationship exists between knowledge and existence. In making assumptions about the nature of reality as being socially constructed the methodology that ensues tests the social construction of reality and therefore yields that, in fact, reality is socially constructed. These conceptual/methodological assumptions, suspending questions of ultimate causality, are affected by, and in turn affect, the researcher's world view in such a way that it becomes difficult

will understand what the sociology of knowledge as theory assumes, where such assumptions come from, and what is advantageous and/or problematic about this theory.

D. The Sociology of Knowledge in Perspective

Before looking specifically at the "forms" knowledge take it is important to provide the reader with an overview of those assumptions in the history of the sociology of knowledge which are most relevant to this research. In doing so the author has had to weed out those interesting strands in the history of this discipline which, while valuable on a variety of different levels, are somewhat tangential to the work at hand. Further, the process of honing down the available material in order that both author and reader have a digestible portion of information to consider always creates, particularly in an historical overview, an illusory sense of a neat linear progression from one idea or event to the next. Thus the reader should be forewarned that this section by no means is intended as an in-depth look at the sociology of knowledge. In fact, the history of the sociology of knowledge is so diversified that scholars

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to get oneself out of the tautological bind of trying to lay bare one's basic assumptions and therefore methodological choices without eventually acknowledging that one's basic assumptions are themselves preceded by other basic assumptions. What ensues is the state of what Berger, Berger and Kellner call "cognitive nervousness," when one begins to wonder whether knowledge itself is possible.

In partial response to this dilemma Bensman and Lilienfeld suggest that ". . . all that can be done is to suspend the epistemological reduction that is, to assume that knowledge is possible, and having assumed this to ask what are the forms that knowledge takes." Joseph Bensman and Robert Lilienfeld, Craft and Consciousness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973), p. 313.

such as Berger and Luckman note:

> Indeed, it might almost be said that the history of the subdiscipline thus far has been the history of its various definitions.[1]

Despite a variety of transformations in the definition of the sociology of knowledge (and therefore transformation in the scope of inquiry) there is and has been general consensus that the initial concern is with "human thought and the social context within which it arises."[2] The notion that human thought arises out of a social context is in opposition to an older, a priori conception that changes in ideas were to be understood on the level of ideas:

> It may . . . be said that the sociology of knowledge constitutes the sociological focus* of a much more general problem, that of the existential determination (Seins gebundenheit) of thought as such. . . . the general problem has been the extent to which thought reflects or is independent of the proposed determinative factors.[3]

The insight that human thought or consciousness is determined by our social existence is attributed to Marx and constitutes the root proposition of the sociology of knowledge. For Marx the primary determinative factors of human thought were human activity, "(labor in the widest sense of the word) and . . . the social relations brought about by this activity."[4]

This research (like all subsequent fields of inquiry within the sociology of knowledge) is indebted to Marx in more ways that can be adequately documented. In the broadest sense this indebtedness concerns the assumption that existence determines consciousness. More specifically,

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[1]P. Berger and T. Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 4.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 5.

[4]Ibid., p. 6.

this research is connected with Marx in that I am focusing on that aspect of existence, i.e., labor (in this case occupation), as well as the social arrangements brought about by the practice of one's occupation as a crucial factor in consciousness. The intent of this research diverges from Marx while recognizing the validity of his insight. The point of divergence may best be described as a shift in emphasis from Marx's analysis, which primarily examined the relationship between labor and consciousness and concentrated on the ways in which the ideas of the dominant culture (ideologies) consciously distorted reality to disguise the interests of the dominant class, to a focus not on the intentional but rather the structural reasons for the discrepancies between constituents within a particular institution. Thus, I diverge from Marx in aim if not in sentiment in two major ways: (1) Implicit in my concentration on structure is that I am not looking to "unmask the hidden class interests behind ideas" as Marx attempted to do, and (2) that the constituents in the institution under study (and others like it), regardless of class, not only have different interests, but different ideas and perceptions and these, as well, warrant an analysis other than one based solely on class. Therefore, the thesis of this research, that occupation (recognizing the socio-economic and historical context out of which it emerges) is critical in the formation of one's way of seeing the world and of interacting with it, while clearly linked to Marx, looks elsewhere for support and clarification.

Karl Mannheim, following Marx, concentrates on the relationship between existence and consciousness, as well as concerning himself with ideology. In considering the latter, Mannheim made the distinction between the particular, the total, and the general concepts of ideology.

By particular Mannheim meant:

> . . . the falsity of which is due to an intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious, deluding of one's self, taking place on a psychological level and structurally resembling lies.[5]

According to Mannheim, the conception of ideology in which specific assertions are regarded as lies is seen as 'particular' because it refers to "those assertions which may be regarded as concealments, falsifications, or lies without attacking the integrity of the total mental structure of the asserting subject."[6]

Again, it is important to emphasize that the purpose of the sociology of knowledge in this research is not to identify heroes, heroines, and villains but rather to move toward a clear depiction of the context which determines the battlelines between the constituencies on campus.

This research seeks to clarify a complex reality and not to place blame on a specific constituency. This author is in agreement with Mannheim that "as far as possible avoid the use of the term ideology because of its moral connotations and . . . instead speak of the 'perspective' of the thinker."[7] Also, like Mannheim, this research does not assume that differences in perspective emerge solely or even directly from class, and seeks to find other determinants for differences in knowledge. For Mannheim, the sociology of knowledge is defined as research into the relationship between the intellectual perspective and the historical group, or a study of the existential determinants of knowledge. By existential

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[5]Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936), p. 266.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

determinants of knowledge Mannheim meant those realms of thought in which

> . . . the process of knowing does not develop historically in accordance with imminent laws, that it does not follow from the 'nature of things,' or from the 'pure logical possibilities,' and that it is not driven by an 'inner dialect.' On the contrary, the emergence and crystallization of actual thought is influenced at many decisive points by <u>extra theoretical factors</u> of the most diverse sort [emphasis mine]. These theoretical factors may be called, in contradiction to purely theoretical factors, existential factors. The existential determination of thought will also have to be regarded as a fact, if the influence of these existential factors on the concrete content of knowledge is of more than peripheral importance, if they are relevant not only to the genesis of ideas, but penetrate into their forms and content and if, furthermore, they decisively determine the scope and intensity of our experience.[8]

For Mannheim, existential determinants of thought must be considered fact when and if they meet the above criteria.

This researcher considers that occupation (in this culture) is well within Mannheim's requisites for an existential factor to be regarded as fact in the determination of knowledge. Clearly, occupations are of more than peripheral importance to most people in our culture and are more likely a person's primary definition. Consider the question, "What do you do?"; the answer to this is most generally, "I am professor, student, administrator, or candlestick maker." This answer includes student as an occupation, for as mentioned earlier, the student is, during the course of one's studies, a person's primary definition and usually considered akin to a job. Further, occupation (as will become evident) does influence both the "form" and "content" of knowledge.* Finally, occupation is seen

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[8]Ibid.

*In this paper the "form" of knowledge is seen as related to the habits of mind which are engendered by occupation. "Content" will point to the world view which generates and is generated by the need for and subsequent existence of particular occupations.

as a critical determinant in the scope and intensity of experience. Mannheim further considers that knowledge emerges out of both the location, and the experience of the knower:

> The world is known through many different orientations because there are many simultaneous and mutually contradictory trends of thought . . . struggling against one another with their different interpretations of common experience. Thus due to this, conflict therefore is not to be found in the 'object in itself' . . . but in the very different expectations, purposes and impulses arising out of experience. If, then, for our explanation we are thrown back upon the play and counterplay of different impulses within the social sphere, a more exact analysis will show the cause of this conflict between concrete impulses is not to be looked for in theory itself, but in the while matrix of collective interests. These seemingly 'pure theoretical' cleavages may, in the light of sociological analysis (which uncovers the hidden intermediate steps between the original impulses to serve and the purely theoretical conclusion) be reduced, for the most part, to more fundamental philosophical differences. But the latter, in turn, are invisibly guarded by the antagonism and competition between concrete conflicting groups.[9]

For Mannheim, then, as for Marx, a most significant correlation exists between the types of knowledge and ideas on the one hand, and the social groups and processes of which they are characteristic on the other. The significance of this correlation to the present research cannot be overstated. First, the cleavages between administration, faculty and students are seen as rooted in the respective orientations and experiences of each. The different experiences of these constituents, defined in part by their particular orientation (i.e., position in the college), perpetuates both different expectations, purposes and impulses and thus areas that are unique to the particular group and often in conflict with the other groups. In this way the struggles between administration, faculty and students are a product of different forms of consciousness that are in part rooted in, and engendered by, the structure of the college which demands that there

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[9] Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, pp. 269-70.

be administration as distinct from faculty as distinct from students. In this way conflicts in the college are not solely issue-, i.e., content-, oriented, but rather are equally a product of existing structural (form) arrangements. Insofar as the difference in form necessitates that each group has a particular perspective as to just what the college is, both ideally (i.e., how the college should be and what roles each group should play in the college) and actually (i.e., how the college is operating and the ways in which the present operation is in accord or discord with those ideal expectations), this struggle persists. Again, these fundamental differences are, to a large extent, rooted in the position of each group which perpetuates different experience and results in what I refer to as competitive world views.

In the application of Mannheim's theory to the present research, the sensitive reader will detect what appears to be a discrepancy. Mannheim, in speaking to the relationship between knowledge and existence, focuses more on the type of theoretical knowledge which is particular to the level of ideas and ideologies and not so much to the attitudes of everyday life. Stated differently, the sociology of knowledge emerged as a discipline interested in "epistemological questions on the theoretical level, and questions of intellectual history on the empirical level."[10] This research, however, focuses more on the attitudes of the everyday work life of administration, faculty and students. In this analysis we will see that attitudes to everyday life are theoretical and ideological; to be sure, however, it is as Berger and Luckman describe it also: "common sense knowledge rather than ideas." But I am getting ahead of myself. The shift of focus in the history of the sociology of knowledge from a concentration on the ideas of the philosopher to the ideas of 'every person' can be, in

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[10]Berger and Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality, p. 13.

part, attributed to Veblen.

Thorstein Veblen, as an economist, began to look at relationships between economic development, occupation and social character. According to Veblen, "every state of economic development produced occupations and professions that in turn produced corresponding social character."[11] More specifically, Veblen spoke of "habits of mind" or mentalities that are produced by habituation to a given industrial or economic institution. In this research Veblen's insight is critical. Here we have a more specific reference to types of knowledge and one's social existence as it is related to one's occupation.

Joseph Bensman and Robert Lilienfeld, in their recent book, Craft and Consciousness, consider specifically the relationship between occupational technique and the development of world images or world views. Like the present research, both are indebted to those pioneers in the sociology of knowledge who have been documented in this chapter. Bensman and Lilienfeld also acknowledge Max Weber as instrumental in their work. In agreement with and extending Weber they state that there is an autonomous development of knowledge which is induced by the practice of one's craft or occupation. In accord with Bensman and Lilienfeld's rendition of Weber's insights for the sociology of knowledge, the present research focuses on the ways in which one's occupation (i.e., the occupation of administration, faculty and student) is critical in the development of ideas which, while rooted in external structures, develop somewhat autonomously and in turn affect and influence that external structure. Specifically, this research concentrates on the forms of as well as content of knowledge which are particular to the respective occupations of administration, faculty and

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[11]Joseph Bensman and Robert Lilienfeld, Craft and Consciousness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973), p. 13.

students and the ways in which the distinct knowledge available to each group and reinforced by the position of that group creates habits of mind and results in competitive and conflicting world views. Again, although I am placing an emphasis on the development of habits of mind that are particular to the practice of one's occupation and the correlation between that and the ways in which world views are engendered, an effort will be constantly made to remind the researcher as well as the reader that the existence of a particular occupation is inextricably linked to a larger socio-economic order which it more than often supports without question. Insofar as the danger exists of forgetting the ubiquitous influence of the socio-economic order in creating the need for specific occupations, as well as often reinforcing the effect of such occupations on that structure (including the present researcher), this research, unlike that of Bensman and Lilienfeld, will not move away from Marx, Mannheim and Veblen, but rather will be held in check with their insights.

We have seen how, through the sociology of knowledge, it is possible to consider occupation as a determining factor in consciousness. The occupations focused on in this research are structured by the college, which itself is organized along bureaucratic lines. Since bureaucracy is the system of organization which necessitates the distinctions between administration, faculty and students, i.e., within which these statuses and their respective roles exist, it is necessary to look to both bureaucratic theory and role theory as they shed further light upon the relationship between faculty, students and administration. However, bureaucratic and role theory cannot offer sufficient explanation in and of themselves, for such analysis, while clarifying a number of sources of problems on

campus, misses "a crucial dimension, the dimension of consciousness."[12]

E. The General Effects of Bureaucracy

The question that confronts us at this point is how to speak of the influence of bureaucracy on consciousness, as bureaucratic organization is the immediate framework within which the interaction between administrators, faculty and students is played out. In answering this question, it is necessary to describe the characteristics of bureaucracy in general, as well as the particular variant of academic bureaucracies. Additionally, the effects of the bureaucratic framework of organization, both in general and with particular attention to the college and its constituencies under study, shall be discussed. Finally, the existing bureaucratic form on campus and its content shall be seen to be something other than an unalterable destiny.

The bureaucratic stage upon which the drama on campus unfolds is characterized as a formal, rationally organized social structure involving clearly defined patterns of activity in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purpose of the organization:

> In such an organization there is an integrated series of offices, of hierarchized statuses, in which inhere a number of obligations and privileges closely defined by limited specific rules. Each of these offices contains an area of imputed competence and responsibility. Authority, the power of control which derives from an acknowledged status, inheres in the office and not in the particular person who performs the official role. Official action ordinarily occurs within the framework of pre-existing rules of the organization.[13]

Weber's theory regarding the relentless rise of bureaucracy (1947) distinguishes among several levels of analysis:

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[12]Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger and Hansfried Kellner, The Homeless Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 11.

[13]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 195.

> 1. The historical and technical (administrative) reasons for the process of bureaucratization, especially in Western civilization; 2. The impact of the rule of law upon the functioning of bureaucratic organizations; 3. The occupational position and typical personal orientation of bureaucratic officials as a status group; 4. The most important attributes and consequences of bureaucracy in the modern world, especially of governmental bureaucracy.[14]

Bendix goes on to point out the interdependence and overlap of these topics:

> Some of the reasons for the development of bureaucracy necessarily refer to attributes that have consequence in the modern world, and the rule of law necessarily affects both the functioning of bureaucratic organizations and the occupational position of the incumbents.[15]

F. The Concept and Principles of Bureaucracy

The bureaucratic frame of organization is governed, according to Weber, by the following characteristics:

1. "The regular activities required for the purposes of the organization are distributed in a fixed way as official duties."[16] There is a clear-cut division of labor wherein each member of an organization is a specialist and concentrates on his/her specific duties.

As Blau points out:

> This high degree of specialization has become so much a part of our socio-economic life that we tend to forget that it did not prevail in former eras but is a relatively recent bureaucratic innovation.[17]

2. "The organization of offices follows the principle of hierarchy; that is, each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher

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[14]Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (New York: Doubleday, 1960), p. 423.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 331.

[17]Peter Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 29.

one."[18] As Bendix maintains, since every official's responsibilities and authority are part of this hierarchy of authority, higher offices are assigned the duty of supervision, lower offices the right of appeal. However, the extent of supervision and the conditions of legitimate appeal may vary.[19]

3. The everyday functioning of bureaucracy is governed "by a consistent system of abstract rules . . . [and] consist of the application of these rules to particular cases."[20] Uniformity and coordination in the performance of tasks thus requires, according to Weber, explicit definition of members' responsibilities and specific rules and regulations. Yet according to Blau, this does not necessarily imply that bureaucratic responsibilities are necessarily simple and routine.[21] Hence bureaucratic obligations range significantly with regard to their complexity--it is the form of such activities that is being described by Weber, not their content.

4. "The ideal official conducts the office . . . [in] a spirit of formalistic impersonality. 'Sine ira et studio,' without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm."[22] For rational standards to characterize the climate of organization, members adopt a detached attitude to other members and especially in regard to clients, interacting with them in terms of their official status and not as whole persons:

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[18]Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society, p. 340.

[19]Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait, p. 424.

[20]Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society, p. 334.

[21]Ibid., p. 29.

[22]Ibid., p. 337.

> The exclusion of personal consideration from official business is a pre-requisite for impartiality as well as for efficiency. . . . Impersonal detachment engenders equitable treatment of all persons and thus fosters democracy in administration.[23]

5. "Employment in the bureaucratic organization is based on technical qualifications and is protected against arbitrary dismissal."[24] Such personnel policies have the consequent advantages of the development of loyalty and identification with the organization. "It may also give rise to a tendency to think of themselves as a class apart from and superior to the rest of the society."[25]

6. "Experience tends universally to show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization . . . is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency."[26] As Blau succinctly reflects, "Bureaucracy solves the distinctive organizational problem of maximizing organizational efficiency, not merely that of individuals."[27]

G. General Effects of Bureaucracy

One of the most characteristic and common features of large-scale bureaucracies in the modern world is that decisions which affect the lives of the various strata within them are made by a few individuals. This concentration of power "at the top" has been referred to in the sociological

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[23]Ibid., p. 30.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., p. 31.

[26]Ibid., p. 337.

[27]Ibid., p. 31.

literature, following Michels,[28] as the "iron law of oligarchy." In short, Michels claimed that "large numbers of people" could not effectively engage in decision-making processes; thus, it was natural for power to flow into the hands of a few. Weber, too, the pioneer in the analysis of modern bureaucracy, found agreement with Michels on this point. Commenting on this, Gouldner states:

> Weber implies that democracy is not a living option. It is on this level that his work has its deepest resonance with Robert Michels' 'iron law of oligarchy.'
>
> Just as Michels maintained that the masses could only form the pedestal for the rule of an oligarchy, so too did Weber proclaim the ineffectuality of the people in the face of expert bureaucracy.[29]

In contemporary society the "iron law of oligarchy," if it has not met the criterion of a law, has certainly proved to be the general condition.

A general effect, then, of bureaucratic organization, rooted in the larger structural framework of advanced capitalism, is that non-participation in decision-making, regardless of the type of bureaucracy (e.g., industrial, educational, etc.) characteristically leads to an alienated rank and file within the bureaucracy.

Marx, for example, believed that it was not possible to incorporate the worker's initiative, pride, or cooperation as long as he/she was subject to an organization whose operation and purpose were planned and conducted without his/her cooperation. For Marx, the exploitation of labor resulted in the loss of meaning of work, and thus life. But, if the effect

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[28]Robert Michels, Political Parties (New York: The Free Press, 1962.

[29]A.W. Gouldner, Organizational Analysis, in Sociology Today, eds. R.K. Merton et al. (New York: Basic Books, 1959).

of bureaucracy would be to alienate the worker from that bureaucracy, it would also serve to unite the workers among themselves (eventually realizing where their "true" interests lie) and ultimately turn them into a revolutionary force. This, then, most broadly conceived, may be viewed as one possible response resulting from an alienated rank and file.

If Marx viewed the submission of the worker (in the first phase of his analysis) and the efficiency of labor (in accordance with the demands of the bureaucracy) as "natural" phenomena, for Weber these were problematic and much of his analysis hinged around these very issues. Weber, like Marx, noted that modern bureaucracies tend to de-personalize the individuals in them and, in general, result in a "disenchantment" of society. Weber, unlike Marx, did not envision this as necessarily resulting in a threat to the established order. Rather, depending upon the basis and allegiance to varying types of authority, order could be maintained for any given length of time. In short, for Weber, willingness to submit is always based upon selective grounds and attention must be focused upon, particularly, the order given and who gives the order. According to Weber, as long as both of these factors are legitimated (a process always dependent upon the will of the subjected to remain in that state), tensions will be minimal and order maintained.

More recently, Gouldner,[30] for example, has noted that bureaucratic rule does not always lead to an alienated rank and file. Noting three types of "bureaucratic patterns" ("mock," "representative," and "punishment-centered"), Gouldner claims that the punishment-centered bureaucracy (that most characterized by a unilateral decision-making apparatus) produces

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[30]Gouldner, Organizational Analysis, in Sociology Today.

the greatest alienation and has within it the seeds of tension and the greatest tendency towards non-legitimation. But Gouldner pointed out, as did Roethlisberger and Dickson in their classic study,[31] that formal organizations tend to develop within them informal organizations among the rank and file and that such informal organization often acts to facilitate resistance to manipulation as well as providing for "social seeds" neglected oftentimes by formal bureaucratic arrangements. Concentrating upon the former of these, "resistance to manipulation" may be considered as another general pattern of bureaucratic effect.

Alan Harrington[32] speaks from the viewpoint of the "upper echelon" of a modern bureaucracy, a "crystal palace" where the physical and social atmosphere are friendly and pleasant (though oftentimes dull and monotonous); where job security until retirement is as well as guaranteed; where individual decision-making, creativity, and spontaneity are frowned upon in favor of "group responsibility."

Harrington's observations support the general thesis that participants in large bureaucracies (even among this upper echelon) do not generally participate in formulating decisions which affect their lives. Speaking of the "organization man" Harrington states:

> He is not responsible for the policies that govern his life. No one is. These policies have been formed over the years by ten thousand committees.[33]

For Harrington, "going along with the rules of the bureaucracy," it is implied, not expressing one's individual creativity, provide security,

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[31]F.J. Roethlisberger and W.J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[32]Alan Harrington, Life in a Crystal Palace (New York: Avon Books, 1969), pp. 53-54.

[33]Ibid.

so much security in fact that Harrington is forced (and forces us) to consider whether or not this results in a loss of meaning of life. In short, Harrington portrays an engendering of docility resulting from bureaucratic arrangements, with the meaning of life and work seriously threatened. Such docility, then, may be considered yet another general response to the "de-personalizing," non-participatory, non-creative aspects of modern bureaucracy.

C. Wright Mills, writing in 1956 in White Collar,[34] points to yet another general effect of bureaucratic organization--that of the production of what he terms the "little people" or the "new middle class:"

> Estranged from community and society in a context of distrust and manipulation; alienated from work and on the personality market from self; expropriated of individual rationality and politically apathetic--these are the new little people, the unwilling vanguard of modern society.[35]

To Mills, this "new middle class" is pushed along by forces outside of its control (largely a result of not participating in formulating most decisionswhich directly affect their lives) and consequently have become objects of manipulation. Whereas formerly, according to Mills, rationality and freedom resided in the individual, they have been supplanted by a new form:

> Now rationality seems to have taken on a new form, to have its seat not in individual men but in social institutions which by their bureaucratic planning and mathematical foresight usurp both freedom and rationality from the little individual men caught in them.[36]

Thus, Mills offers yet still another view of the general effects of

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[34]C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

[35]Ibid., p. xviii.

[36]Ibid., p. xvii.

modern bureaucratic organization. Mills sees the alienated masses as "objects of manipulation," objects to be used in whatever way is most beneficial to those few decision-makers who "control their lives."

Robert Merton sees in the bureaucratic structure a constant pressure upon its constituencies for methodical, prudent, and disciplined behavior:

> If the bureaucracy is to operate successfully, it must attain a high degree of reliability of behavior, an unusual degree of conformity with prescribed patterns of action.[37]

Merton stresses the fundamental importance of discipline as effective only if the ideal patterns are buttressed by strong sentiments which entail devotion to one's duties, a keen sense of the limitation of one's authority and competence, and methodical performance of routine activities:

> The efficacy of social structure depends ultimately upon infusing group participants with appropriate attitudes and sentiments.[38]

For Merton, the inadequacies of the bureaucratic frame of organization are a function of the structure of bureaucracy itself. An effective bureaucracy, as we have seen, demands reliability of response, and strict devotion to regulations:

> Such devotion to rules leads to their transformation into absolutes; they are no longer conceived as relative to a set of purposes. This interferes with ready adaptation under special conditions not clearly envisaged by those who drew up the general rules. Thus, the very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general, produce inefficiency in specific instances. Full realization of the inadequacy is seldom attained by members of the group who have not divorced themselves from the meanings which the rules have for them. These rules in time become symbolic in cast, rather than strictly utilitarian.[39]

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[37]Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 198.

[38]Ibid., pp. 198-99.

[39]Ibid., p. 200.

The specific features of bureaucratic structure may be seen to lead to rigorous discipline and conservatism. Since the bureaucrat's official life is planned for him in terms of a graded career, through the organizational devices of promotion by seniority, pensions, incremental salaries, etc., all of which are designed to provide incentives for disciplined action and conformity to official regulations, it increases the probability of conformance and leads to over-concern with strict adherence to regulations which induce timidity, conservatism, and technicism:

> Vested interests oppose any new order which either eliminates or at least makes uncertain their differential advantage deriving from the current arrangements. This is undoubtedly involved in part in bureaucratic resistance to change, but another process is perhaps more significant.[40]

This process as seen in Merton is one in which, through sentiment-formation, emotional dependence upon bureaucratic symbols and status, and affective involvement in spheres of competence and authority, there develop prerogatives involving attitudes of moral legitimacy which are established as values in their own right, and are no longer viewed as merely technical means for expediting administration.

Further, since the personality pattern of the bureaucrat is centered about the norms of impersonality and categorization of problems, the peculiarities of individual cases are often ignored. "Stereotyped behavior is not adapted to the exigencies of individual problems."[41]

Still another source of conflict within constituencies derives from the bureaucratic structure. The bureaucrat, in part irrespective of his position within the hierarchy, acts as a representative of the power and prestige of the entire structure:

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[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid., p. 202.

> In his official role he (the bureaucrat) is vested with definite authority. This often leads to an actually or apparently domineering attitude, which may only be exaggerated by a discrepancy between his position within the hierarchy and his position with reference to the public. . . .
>
> Thus with respect to the relations between official and clientele, one structural source of conflict is the pressure for formal and impersonal treatment when individual, personalized consideration is desired by the client.[42]

The conflict in this case derives from the introduction of inappropriate attitudes and relationships.

In essence, Merton sees the normal responses involved in the organized bureaucratic network of social expectations as supported by the affective attitudes of members of the group. Since the group is oriented toward secondary norms of impersonality, any failure to conform to these norms will arouse antagonism in those who have identified themselves with the legitimacy of these rules:

> Bureaucracy is a secondary group structure designed to carry on certain activities which cannot be satisfactorily performed on the basis of primary group criteria. Hence behavior which runs counter to these formalized norms becomes the object of emotionalized disapproval. This constitutes a functionally significant defense set up against tendencies which jeopardize the performance of socially necessary activities.[43]

It is in this way that the essential structural elements of the bureaucracy are maintained--by the reaffirmation of the necessity for formalized, secondary relations, and by helping to prevent the disintegration of the bureaucratic structure which would occur should these be supplanted by personalized relations.

While Merton points to the structural sources of dysfunction within the bureaucratic framework, Arthur Stinchcombe moves toward an explanation

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[42]Ibid., p. 203.

[43]Ibid., p. 204.

of the nature of its self-regeneration and institutionalization.

Stinchcombe, using an historic explanation, characterizes institutions by a correlation between power and commitment to a certain value. The degree of this correlation serves to determine the causal impact of a given institution on social life:

> Institutions are concentrations of power in the service of some value, they are structures in which powerful people are committed to some value, interest or pattern of values. The key to institutionalizing a value is to concentrate power in the hands of those who believe in that value.[44]

Stinchcombe sees power as the amount of difference an individual's (or decision unit's) decision can make in some aspect of social activity. Thus, power has a great deal to do with the historical preservation of patterns of values, for defended values tend to become institutionalized.

Regarding institutional replication over a period of time, Stinchcombe poses an historical explanation which he terms the process of "infinite self-regenerating causal loops." In essence, an effect created by causes at some previous period becomes a cause of that same effect in succeeding periods. In terms of explaining this hypothesis, Stinchcombe poses three questions and proceeds to provide their answers.

1. How do succeeding generations of power holders have the same values?

Powerful people secure successors of the same persuasion by selection of successors, controlled socialization, controlled conditions of incumbency, and by being heroes and ego-ideals.

2. What advantages do values defended by power holders have in gaining popular support, which regenerates the value by socialization of new generations of the public?

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[44]Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Constructing Social Theories (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 109.

Powerful people influence popular belief by controlling the content of resource-using media of socialization, by naturally devoting resources to long-run stability because they defend the value full-time, and by shaping the conditions of socialization of the general population indirectly through the public's hopes for elite status and their hero worship.

3. What advantages do values defended by power holders have in being embodied in the activities of future generations whether they gain popular support or not?

Powerful people determine the structure of social activity by serving other functions besides the values in question, and by eliciting commitment to the activities, and hence to the values embodied in them.

Thus, for Stinchcombe, we may expect institutional replication by the process of "self-regenerating causal loops" to vary with the degree to which the above specified process takes place. The social effect of a pattern of values becomes a function of depth of commitment to the value by a decision-making apparatus, and the resources and authority the apparatus controls.

Ralph P. Hummel, in a recent and provocative book entitled The Bureaucratic Experience,[45] views bureaucracy as a world of impact different from the world with which we are familiar, and different from those analyses thus far discussed in its all-encompassing effects:

> Bureaucracy is an entirely new way of organizing social life. It succeeds society, just as society has succeeded community . . . it is a world (bureaucracy) into which we are recruited . . . differs from society in five ways: (1) socially, (2) culturally, (3) psychologically, (4) power politically, (and) (5) linguistically. Bureaucracy is a new society and a new culture. Bureaucracy's functionaries represent a new personality type and speak a new language. Bureaucracy is a new way of exercising power. . . .

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[45]Ralph P. Hummel, The Bureaucratic Experience (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977).

> Bureaucracy, because it differs from society in these five ways, poses special difficulties for people depending on where they stand. Grouped according to the type of problem they face, these people are (1) the citizen as taxpayer, voter and nominal boss over bureaucracy; (2) the politician as immediate but still nominal boss; (3) the manager as the wielder of bureaucratic power; (4) the employee as the tool of bureaucratic power; (5) the client as recipient of bureaucracy's goods and victim of bureaucracy's power.[46]

For Hummel, individuals that comprise these groups must make different adaptations to bureaucracy if they are to succeed in dealing with it or working in it.

Hummel details and analyzes a variety of "society to bureaucracy transformations" in his detailing of the effects of bureaucracy as a new society. Socially, bureaucracy is viewed as replacing society, separating people, and as splitting the self:

> The social separation of the actor from his actions as well as from other human beings creates a new orientation. Human beings become accustomed to engage in functions--actions neither on behalf of an abstract system, the purposes of which they do not fully understand because of the nature of the functions themselves.[47]

In these ways cases replace people and functions replace actions and social relations.

Hummel goes on to maintain that the cultural effects of bureaucracy center about means replacing ends as ultimate norms, operational codes replacing social norms, and effectiveness replacing ethics:

> The cultural conflict between bureaucracy and society is between systems needs and human needs. . . . In bureaucracy, . . . the purpose of culture is to keep the bureaucracy alive whatever that does to the human beings who are the bureaucrats.[48]

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[46] Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

[47] Ibid., p. 5.

[48] Ibid., p. 56.

Hummel creates a powerful image of bureaucracy as an organizational context within which major transformations occur:

> Psychologically, in bureaucracy: role is seen to replace person, office or work identity replaces personality, motive replaces ideas, motivation replaces legitimation, conditioning replaces socialization, team replaces ego, teamwork replaces mastery, hierarchy replaces superego, system replaces integrated personality, stimulus-response controls replace social norms as controls and id satisfaction replaces ego satisfaction.[49]

As is evident from the above, Hummel views the bureaucrat as significantly different from the member of bureaucracy's prior context, that of society:

> Finally, initial investigation into the dynamics of the new bureaucratic psychology shows that bureaucracy is able to control its functionaries for the simple reason that, having stripped them of their inner resources of mastery and conscience, it supplies them with a reason for continuing to live. By replacing personality with an institutional identity, bureaucracy seizes the ultimate power of determining whether or not any functionary will have any being at all.[50]

Language too can be seen to separate bureaucracy from its clients, constituents from one another, and administrators from employees. Hummel posits the notion that the language of bureaucracy is one-directional and acausal, i.e., "Just do what is expected, and don't ask why." Paralleling the language of bureaucracy with that of computer technology affords a somewhat chilling picture:

> Just as one-directionality and acausality in computer language guarantee the one-way unfolding of the predetermined program without unscheduled delays by subcomponents asking undue questions, bureaucratic language in general guarantees one of the chief characteristics of modern bureaucratic institutions: top-down control.[51]

Thus, linguistically, in bureaucratic organization, command replaces dialogue and analagous reasoning replaces causal reasoning, whereas in

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[49] Ibid., pp. 199-200.

[50] Ibid., p. 138.

[51] Ibid., p. 144.

society language is two-directional and causal.[52]

Hummel, in viewing bureaucracy politically, maintains that administration replaces politics--a politics defined in terms of participatory activity:

> Politics of this sort is replaced by purportedly 'apolitical' decision-making of the managerial few. The only thing apolitical about such decision-making is that the public is excluded from the process. . . . Apolitics, in short, is hidden decision-making which decides the fate of the public but excludes the public from the process.[53]

In summary, Hummel creates a somber portrait of the general effects of bureaucracy. Yet, though it is an image of bureaucracy as distinct from society, it is not all that different in form from the critical evaluations of Marx, Weber, Gouldner, Harrington, Mills, Merton and Stinchcombe. In terms of content and degree of indictment there exists a significant difference:

> In the end, it is bureaucracy itself that has produced the kind of dehumanized human fragment--socially crippled, culturally normless, psychologically dependent, linguistically mute, and politically powerless--that has become the economy's favorite object of manipulation.[54]

In the preceding section, and throughout this research, mention has been made to the way in which bureaucratic organization plays into the hands and therefore supports the larger economic structure. The importance of recognizing the interplay between the larger economic structure and the bureaucratic framework of organization will constitute the following section.

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[52]Ibid., p. 199.

[53]Ibid., p. 165.

[54]Ibid., p. 221.

H. Bureaucracy and the Social Structure

This research, as it is centering around the occupational attitudes that emerge from the college under study, has assumed that the intermediate link between larger socio-economic structure and the particular occupations in the college is the bureaucratic framework of organization. In this section I will be concerned with making explicit the relationship between bureaucracy and society through an analysis of capitalism and bureaucracy. I will look to the ways in which they are mutually supportive and the ways in which they conflict. I will rely primarily on Ralph P. Hummel's analysis of The Bureaucratic Experience unless otherwise indicated. According to Hummel:

> Capitalism and bureaucracy are human activities. To understand bureaucracy and capitalism as activities means to go behind their structures and find out why people engage in them.[55]

To get behind the structures of capitalism and bureaucracy is to understand the motivation which encourages the participation of people in these structures. For most of us, born into a world in which both capitalism and bureaucracy are forms of organization, these forms are not thought of as objects to be questioned but rather are seen as an integral part of existence which could not and should not be questioned.

Much of our reluctance to challenge the system, then, comes, at least initially, not from apathy but from being born into an already made world with rules to be learned:

> The capitalist economy of the present is an immense cosmos into which the individual is born, and which presents itself to him, at least as an individual, as an unalterable order of things in which he must live. It forces the individual, insofar as he is involved in the system of market relationship, to conform to

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[55]Ibid., p. 67.

> capitalistic rules of action. The manufacturer, who in the long run acts counter to these norms, will just as inevitably be eliminated from the economic scene as the worker who cannot or will not adapt himself to them will be thrown into the streets without a job.[56]

If and when an individual comes to question this structure, he or she has already seen that participation in that structure is almost a mandate if one wishes to succeed. Thus, while participation is not forced, and there is a range of ways to involve oneself in a capitalist economy, it is nonetheless hegomonic.

I. The Emergence of Bureaucracy

Modern bureaucracy arose out of a need, "from the perspective of capital enterprises, . . . to provide controls over a society that hid . . . too much change in it."[57] The modern bureaucracy served the growing capitalist needs to protect the increasingly large investments through "state regulation of labor, the state supervision of commerce and finance, and finally the state stabilization of markets."[58]

Bureaucracy, like the capital economy which engendered it, reflects the needs and goals of capital enterprise: rationality, efficiency, and control.

In the bureaucratic framework of organization, like the capitalist economy it supports, these needs and goals are evident in an emphasis on a division of labor and the effects of this division:

> The division of labor has two purposes. On the one hand, it makes a functionary capable of developing highly specialized skills. The advantage of this may be that the bureaucracy can bring to bear on

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[56]Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[57]Ibid., p. 219.

[58]Ibid.

> a specific problem an individual who has the ideal capacity to resolve that problem. It makes possible the development of the expert. On the other hand, exactly because of that specialization, it is often impossible for one expert to solve an overall problem without the cooperation of other experts.[59]

The effect of the division of labor, developed in a capitalist economy unquestioned by bureaucracy, permits the worker little part but that of his or her specialty. Thus, the division of labor, while giving expertise to a worker, takes from him or her any overall control. The expert then becomes dependent on the management for mobilizing the cooperation of many experts such as him/herself. As Hummel observes:

> People's work is divided, not only to make them expert and more efficient, but to make them dependent on managerial control.[60]

Hummel asserts that bureaucracies support a capitalist economy and concordantly create an experience antithetical to society in that they create a society where human values are replaced by those of the bureaucracy. He recognizes with Peter Berger, however, that bureaucracy is nonetheless a natural product of the human need for order. Thus, the inhuman characteristics of bureaucracy exist "not merely as accidents and mistakes, but as logical extensions of a perfectly natural human tendency."[61]

According to Peter Berger, human beings create society. The process begins as a face-to-face interaction in which we, as humans, express needs or wants or designs for society. In this face-to-face interaction, individuals are engaged in constructing the social world. Berger identifies this first step, that of expressing one's intentions, as "externalization." The social construction of the world begins with simple social relationships

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[59]Ibid., p. 30.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid., p. 39.

and ends with institutions. This process is called 'objectification.' The products, i.e., the formations of social reality, encountered as a reality external to the self ("out there"), are called objectivations. Objectivations are in turn taken by individuals as guidelines for further conduct, and so such humans 'internalize' those patterns of social reality and behave according to their implicit or explicit demands.

These phases of social construction are, according to Berger, perfectly normal and legitimate. However, Hummel points out the problem relevant to this process and bureaucracy:

> The problem relevant to the understanding of bureaucracy is that there is an immense gap between the creative activities of social life involved in externalization and the passive activities that are forced on individuals by their need to accept existing social structures as guidelines and background for every behavior.[62]

Bureaucracy is then a kind of objectification and even an example of reification. In this context, objectivation is a process in which human consciousness produces certain products which embody and are available in the shared world. Reification goes beyond objectification. It is a process in which the link between human activity and its product is broken:

> The world humans have produced now appears to them as an alien reality . . . man the producer of the world is apprehended as its product, and human activities as an epiphenomenon of nonhuman processes. Thus students become the 'products' of the universities, workers become 'tools' of management, and individuals holding roles within an institution become subsystems performing functions within a system--'functionaries.'[63]

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[62] Ibid., p. 40.

[63] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

BUREAUCRATIC THEORY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT STUDY: THE SPECIFIC EFFECTS OF BUREAUCRACY ON ADMINISTRATION, FACULTY AND STUDENTS

A. Introduction

This analysis, thus far, has focused around a description of those characteristics of bureaucracy as a general framework of organization and the general effects of this organizational structure. The insight which emerged from the foregoing discussion will now be considered in terms of the specific effects of a bureaucratic framework within the context of the college. This study assumes, therefore, that the structure of colleges and universities at large, as well as individual departments within various institutions, are bureaucratized to varying degrees. A particular problem emerges within college and university, which, while present in degrees in any bureaucratic organization, stands in stark relief within this context. Whereas many bureaucracies are, despite themselves, client-oriented insofar as a client may need something, they need not operate with direct regard to its clients. For example, in Peter Blau's Analysis of Bureaucracy, an instance is cited in which a client needs a passport. For a person to travel out of a country, a passport is a necessity and the process for obtaining one is uniform in the U.S. Rules cannot be broken in this context and therefore a dissatisfied client has little choice but to

submit her/himself to the process. In a college or university, the maintenance of the organization depends (at least theoretically) on the client's satisfaction. Important too is that the client is ostensibly at the institution to be educated. Thus he/she may only directly confront the bureaucracy at times of registration, bill paying, etc. The bureaucracy remains a faceless skeletal structure "protected" by the flesh and blood of one's professors, classes, etc. Confrontation with the bureaucracy in this case is infrequent, and as we will see, almost invisible to the student/client until such a time when it intrudes upon or inhibits going to classes.

The late 1960s witnessed the growing awareness of students concerning the structure of their institutions. The administration, seen as the villain motivated by an inhuman bureaucratic system, became the target of student (and faculty) dissatisfaction. Though the battles have subsided, there continue to be skirmishes within the ranks. Bureaucracy as a principle or organization did not disappear. The organization of the institution remains basically the same. While the issues of focus of the past decade (Vietnam, Civil Rights) have ostensibly subsided, if only because students do not feel as directly threatened, the structure, which divided constituents within this institution, remains intact.

I have stated repeatedly that this research does not have as its purpose the discovery of villains and heroes. Thus, as I speak of the bureaucratic framework and an administration that defends itself by, as well as makes decisions to support that framework, I am looking more to the way this method of organization perpetuates potential divisions among college constituents, and less to those who are operating in it. In this way it could be said that I am concentrating on the act of administering and not

on the administrator, just as I will look at the patterns of perceptions generated by the role of faculty and students within this context.

Thus, this research will continue to work towards an understanding of the conflicts between constituents in the colleges which are organized around bureaucratic lines by looking at the specific effects of bureaucracy on the college. It should be kept in mind that I am looking not to do away with bureaucracy but rather to discover where bureaucracy can be manipulated and where it cannot. To investigate the limits of a bureaucratic organization and to find where in fact these limits can be pushed or challenged is to discover the "parameters of choice."[1] While the major suggestions concerning what can be done will constitute the conclusion to this research, the focus for now will be to determine such parameters. Further, it should be clear that this researcher is under no illusion and recognizes with Berger, Berger and Kellner that

> . . . the parameters will be determined by such institutional factors as economic and political power, but the question can also be put in terms of the intrinsic relations between institutions and consciousness.[2]

Thus we will turn first to a description of the particular effect of bureaucracy on colleges.

In the course of my interviewing, a point of particular importance began to surface, one which has come to characterize the overall climate surrounding the present research. As a community, structurally, politically, academically, and socially, the constituencies of the college exist in relationship to one another, at present, in a state of balanced tension. In

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[1]Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger and Hansfried Kellner, The Homeless Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 20.

[2]Ibid.

the present context, each group's perception of the other becomes a significant variable for analysis, as what each group perceives and does based upon those perceptions affects the others in myriad ways. Hence, the test of any system becomes not how well it maintains equilibrium, for a balance, particularly one of tension, can stifle the very milieu it has been created to fulfill. Institutional consciousness then becomes the primary goal of this research. Institutional consciousness characterized by constituencies interacting with one another out of knowledge of the other, out of a recognition of the exigencies each faces and the ways in which these realities structure consciousness. Institutional consciousness regarding the subtle ways in which the framework of organization of bureaucracy in its present form sustains and maintains the state of balanced tension presently characterizing the college. Institutional consciousness regarding the rootedness of bureaucratic organization in a larger political and economic context. As a social system the college, i.e., each and every constituency, is an interdependent unit. The problems of administration are those of faculty and students, the problems of faculty are those of administration and students, and the problems of students are those of faculty and administration. Until such a consciousness of the interdependence is brought to the surface it cannot become a foundation for action, and the groups involved will continue to interact with one another as they think each is--not as they really are. However, it is the structure of bureaucracy itself that inhibits the development of institutional consciousness and is in part responsible for the construction of the competitive world views and the divergent habits of mind peculiar to the constituencies of students, faculty and administration.

Colleges and universities, as complex bureaucratic organizations, have

not been systematically studied, nor have the sources of intraorganizational tension been analyzed in relation to their institutional rootedness:

> The sociological analysis of colleges and universities that is available treats them as sites of advanced socialization and as repositories of traditional culture. Jacobs (1957), Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1958), Sanford (1962), Jencks and Reisman (1968), and Feldman and Newcomb (1969) have summarized literature on the organizational features of the university, its relationship to society, and its impact on students. These sources provide descriptions, reviews of individual studies, and, frequently, suggestive discussion about issues on the sociology of higher education; but their scope is limited by the lack of research during the 1960's on the university as a complex organization.[3]

Brown and Goldin view the literature which focuses on the social structure of colleges and universities as reflecting traditional conceptions. Largely, this literature depicts the university as a "normative organization," controlling its constituents through "normative compliance" rather than through coercion. Additionally, higher education is seen as being characterized by an "independent community of intellectuals who work in support of universalistic values, (where) the pursuit of material gain or special interest is considered supplementary to their professional commitments."[4]

Brown and Goldin find a depiction of colleges and universities as organizations in which compliance, not coercion, is seen as primarily both difficult to reconcile and tenuous when compared with descriptions of campus reality. Such a depiction is thus seen as an "ideological position rather than as a description of social structure."[5]

"The assumption that the university is such an organization (normatively controlled, politically neutral and independent) may be taken as

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[3]Michael Brown and Amy Goldin, Collective Behavior (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973), p. 248.

[4]Ibid., pp. 248-49.

[5]Ibid., p. 249.

an axiom of the official ideology of the university."[6]

In highlighting the specific effects of the bureaucratic organizational structure on its constituents, it is necessary to move beyond the view of the college as untied to the larger context within which it exists. The link between colleges, universities and society is, though complicated, particularly crucial. Administrative, faculty and student bodies have changed dynamically, in direct relation to change in the broader political and social economy. Such change, and its impact on the campus community, is particularly significant, as in large degree it restructures the academic enterprise and profoundly affects the organization of the college.

B. Administration

The dramatic growth of higher education between 1960 and the early 1970s is crucial to the recognition of the college and university as a large and increasingly bureaucratic organization:

> The growth of establishments does not simply extend their characteristics. If other things remain equal, size transforms organizations and introduces new facts of social life. Beyond a certain point, size yields new functions, structural arrangements, operations, and perspectives.[7]

Brown and Goldin's description of the developments that have significantly shaped the practice of administration center about (1) "the rationalization of administration along particular lines, and (2) the professionalization of administrators."[8] As colleges and universities grew, so too did managerial and institutional operations. The consequent change in the role of administration from a relatively minor and supportive

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[6]Ibid., p. 250.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 255.

capacity to a far more complex managerial one has moved along classic bureaucratic lines.[9] Included in this shift is the emergence of the professional field of higher education and "the socialization of administrators directly into management."[10]

This rationalization of administration and the restructuring of the academic milieu is seen by Brown and Goldin to account "for many of the tensions that accompany profound organizational change."[11] This change in administration from caretaker to manager reflects new power as well as "a realignment of administrators' organizational commitments and the redefinition of university operations in terms of modern managerial practice."[12]

> More and more of the ordinary operations of the university are becoming subsidiary to transactions at and beyond its boundary, that is, to relationships with the official agencies to which it is legally and practically subordinate. This state of affairs encourages a relatively formal and one-sided relationship between administration and the particular campus it manages. It also entails an enlargement of the setting of administrative practice from the strictly local to the more cosmopolitan regions . . . of society.[13]

This broadening of the context of administrative work creates a different "frame of reference," which in turn creates different values, norms, structures and loyalties.[14]

Administration, in the face of a reliance upon technological innovation that emerges out of increased bureaucratization in colleges and universities, becomes "professionalized." Such technological technique, i.e.,

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[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. 256.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., p. 257.

systems analysis, etc., requires specialized training on the part of the administrator and ultimately can be seen to restructure the academic context of the college and necessitate a new variety of administrator--the management professional:

> As need for special training in the evaluation of this data increases, and as this data replaces other data in the construction of educationally relevant facts, many academic judgments will depend upon non-academic specialists increasingly removed from traditional academic settings, criteria, and procedures. Actuarial techniques (and the judgments they select) already in remarkable evidence at larger universities, become institutionalized under the broadening managerial jurisdictions within the university.[15]

Both the rationalization and the professionalization of administration alter significantly the distribution of power on campus. Decisions are largely framed in three groups--the governing board, the president, and his/her principal administrators.[16]

> Although functional specialization within the academic system ideally accounts for the jurisdictions of these three centers of power, their control over the university as a whole depends upon the types of decisions they can make, the organization of their activities, and their extra campus alignments. Thus there are stringent structural limits to the distribution of power on campus by systematically functional considerations alone.[17]

Many have pointed to the lopsided distribution of power on campuses (in favor of the administration) as a function of the transfer of power from boards of directors to professional administrators.[18] Realistically, if somewhat pessimistically, Brown and Goldin maintain that

> . . . it appears that the redistribution of power within the universities in favor of administrators and the extra-campus

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[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 258.

[18]Ibid.

> constituencies is institutional, an irreversible consequence of recent developments within the academic enterprise and society.[19]

The consequences of this shift in decision-making from academic to managerial jurisdiction center about such decisions being governed by the

> . . . long range plans and contextual considerations of administrative officials. These plans and considerations reflect the values, ideologies, locations and practice of administration. Thus, administrative decisions affect more of the college for a longer time than do other decisions, and they are intelligible primarily in the context of administrative practice.[20]

Administration is largely responsible for structuring the specific context within which faculty and students work. Administrators are no longer passive facilitators of the educational process:

> Moreover, the rationalization of campus governance and the redistribution of power from the faculty to the administrative bureaucracy has shifted the locus of accountability for decision makers. They are now less responsive to those whom they manage than to those to whom they must report.[21]

In pointing to the rootedness of administrative practice in extra-academic political and economic affairs, Brown and Goldin stress the point that such change reflects the general process by which social change takes place:

> Functional units developed for one organization often become functional units for another, at the same time preserving their power over their former co-interactants. Their tasks are transformed, but the material on which they work is the same. However, their relationship to that material is no longer one of interdependence but of power, in the sense of domination.[22]

Thus, for administration, rationalization, professionalization, and a redistribution of power in favor of administration characterize special

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[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p. 259.

effects of bureaucracy. Such centralized control and the extra-campus context acting back on the college further depicts the climate on campus.

Additionally, administration as a function of both external dependence and internal bureaucratic arrangements, as well as the nature of their work, are viewed as conservative:

> Such an enterprise (administrative), although it may be benevolent, is always conservative relative to its administered population. Administrative practice is, by its nature, exclusive--devoted, in principle, to maintaining an internal order within an official perspective.[23]

The lines of conflict between faculty, students and administration are thus drawn, being rooted in their work (enterprise), and the subsequent habit of mind engendered by such variation in power and frame of reference:

> In the contemporary university, the relative power and frame of reference of administrators places the very practice of administration at odds with students and, often, with faculty as well. Thus, as a practical matter, it becomes difficult for administrators to maintain the "community of scholars" position that ordinarily engages faculty support for the official order. Nevertheless, insofar as administrative conservatism remains consistent with the socially organized practice of faculty, it gains considerable support or acquiescence from faculty members who see conflict as a threat to the stability required for their work and mobility within the academic system, and student dissent as subversive to the principle of rational discourse that justifies the characterization of the university as a liberal establishment.[24]

The academic enterprise is inextricably linked to the life of the society within which it exists. College administration has become, through its rationalization and professionalization, a craft. It is neither mysterious nor surprising to view the effect of this craft on the consciousness of the constituents. It is an effect we will see highlighted

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[23]Ibid., p. 262.

[24]Ibid., p. 263.

in the perceptions held by administrators in the chapters to follow.

C. Faculty

"Universities may be judged by the quality of their faculty, but that is quite different from their being controlled by faculty."[25]

Faculty are, as a function of the present organizational context, individuated in regard to the overall operation of the college. Professional survival and a discipline and career orientation become their primary concerns. Faculty work, divided and individuated by school, division, as it is, the organization of department, and specialization does in fact make them more expert, yet in addition to this expertise they are, as more dependent upon managerial control and less in a position of potential power, as power necessitates collectivity:

> Faculty is notoriously alienated with the present setting. The alienation tends to find catharsis through a professional or cosmopolitan career orientation or through an ideology of physical or critical distance whereby value neutrality is used to reduce involvement in one's condition. Those who are locally involved tend to take on the attributes of administrators. By and large the main effect of university structure on faculty members is that it individuates them with respect to the functioning of the organization as a whole. This is modified to some extent by the use of the committee system which sets up routines for acting out participation but ultimately allows individuals to devote their energies to situations in which they do have power, namely in their own departments, rather than to situations in which they are not allowed to participate, namely the university as a whole.[26]

In line with this, Brown and Goldin point out that the nature of departmental autonomy in fact reduces faculty's power to effectively participate in the total organization of the college. Essentially, a false

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[25]Ibid., p. 258.

[26]Michael Brown, unpublished notes for text on collective behavior and university structure, pp. 3-4.

consciousness of sorts emerges out of the exigencies of the everyday struggle in a hierarchically arranged, class divided context of scarce and divisible resources in the college:

> Departmental negotiation for scarce resources such as space, personnel lines, clerical assistance, materials, ultimately depend upon the relationship of a chairperson to the administration. Whatever bargaining takes place generally occurs between administrators and department representatives rather than between chairpeople.[27]

Individuation of faculty is a powerful tool for the maintenance of order. The organizational frame of the educational bureaucracy sustains in faculty a series of what Brown refers to as immobilizing beliefs. Examples of the ways in which the mysteries and complexities of the administrative bureaucratic model are replicated in the beliefs that circulate within the organization and ultimately support it in its present form:[28]

> The university defies individual and small-scale organizational approaches to change. It does so through the complexity of organization which modifies and delays demands, the secrecy of its processes, the insulation of administrations with the concomitant protective structures which surround them and reinforce them, and an ideology of professionalism and expertise which legitimizes the exercise of power by one section of the community to the exclusion of other sections. It is further able to maintain its own control by virtue of the development within faculty and student groups of several ideologies: (1) to organize is to trade away one's individuality; (2) the principle of professionalism is a general one which must be respected. Therefore, we faculty professionals must respect the professional claims of other groups; (3) the belief that students are basically incompetent and immature, and that they want to take over colleges; (4) the assumption that long-range values and the persistence of an organization in a particular form should take priority in every case over values of the shorter run; (5) that we are impotent because the administrative principle allows for no exceptions--that legitimate power is the only possible power; (6) that a concern with local college matters is parochial or unrealistic; (7) and the belief that progress is something which naturally takes place.[29]

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[27]Brown and Goldin, Collective Behavior, p. 259.

[28]Brown, unpublished notes on collective behavior, pp. 3-4.

[29]Ibid., p. 3

Hence faculty, as a function of the existence of such "immobilizing beliefs," and as a consequence of individuation and specialization, become employees with a craft, professionals subject to both internal and external pressure. Neither encourages participation in college policy or governance, both isolate faculty from one another and increase the managerial enterprise of administration:

> One reason why individual faculty members are unlikely to take strong stands on issues is that they know that they cannot count on those around them for support, just as they know that they will not support others in similar situations. This wreaks havoc with interpersonal relations and reduces the potency of local social life. Ultimately it is the most alienating factor of all. It breeds suspicion and the special kind of politics which characterizes university settings, and it generates a general world-view which respects feelings of impotence and justifies the condemnation of those who have the temerity to make a claim on the situation. It is partly because of this that faculty members flee to national politics, electoral politics, and union activities in the large-scale, rather than emerse themselves in the details which surround them and ultimately determine their moral careers and their fate.[30]

D. Students

"College is a different place to different people. This difference is not simply a result of variations in character or background."[31] That which one does within the college, the conditions and practice of one's work, vary across administration, faculty and students. It has been maintained earlier that craft contributes to consciousness and that those who occupy similar positions within the college can be seen, as a direct function of those positions, to share a habit of mind that corresponds to the form and content of that position. Thus, different practices engender different perspectives between positions:

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[30]Ibid., p. 4.

[31]Brown and Goldin, Collective Behavior, p. 298.

> In general, when an organization is stratified along a dimension of dominance and when statuses are crystallized, as in the army or in a large university, perspectives will include those features of organization that bear on the structure of social action (practice) at various positions.[32]

The links between the college and the broader society and the organization of power on campus are significant and critical factors in determining the habits of mind (perspectives) held by each constituency on campus. The implications of such factors center about:

> The proposition that perspectivss can be significantly grounded in positions within an established organization and position-based practice has two important implications: first a hardening of divisions between positions will usually be accompanied by sharpened differences in perspective; second, when differences in the structure of social action at the various positions, perspectives will ordinarily refer to those differences in position.[33]

Students occupy a shared and particular position within the framework of the college. Not only are they the only largely transient body on campus, they also exist within a structure that is hierarchically arranged in regard to the variables of power and control. A stratification exists wherein the students are at the lower level of the hierarchy, and out of this stratification there emerges a perspective regarding the college and its other constituencies of faculty and administration.

"Students are designated but not functional members of the university, and in this respect they are outsiders to its operations, capable of influencing the organization only by breaking its rules."[34] They are, according to Brown and Goldin, "relative to administration functionally strange."[35] The position of students, then, bears on the development of a perspective,

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[32]Ibid., p. 300.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

as students may be seen to experience the bureaucratic framework of the college similarly. Studenthood,[36] as a general sense of the college that is peculiar to position, is both shared and distinctive:

> This shared sense may be characterized as a sense of being locked into a position, that is, of being overdetermined by a status that gives its members a highly generalized social identity and at the same time deprives them of the opportunity to exercise control over the conditions of that identity.[37]

This perspective, which will be elaborated on in the following chapter, is characterized by feelings of impotence and infantilism. Yet in expression of perspective (habit of mind), students, as a function of the restrictions inherent in their minority status on campus re access to authority, have a sense of the organization nonetheless. Such perspectives will be detailed and clearly seen to be both rooted in position and real in their consequence. This link between a sense of the organization and a perspective of that organization is a subtle one:

> To acknowledge one's position or to share a "sense" of the organization is not to acquire perspective on the organization; it merely states the problems of position. It does not define the organization from that position by identifying ranges of significant items and specifying that they are interrelated. Formally, however, a sense of the organization is a meta-perspective in that it establishes the dimensions along which different perspectives may be defined. The extent to which perspectives are defined in practice depends upon the possibility and scope of collective action within a given position.[38]

As we have seen in Chapter I, characteristic explanations of the basic pathology in the relationship of students to faculty and administration on campus, for the most part, systematically ignore organizational characteristics and the issue of power, as well as completely ignoring the rootedness of campus 'looseness of fit' in the broader social and

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[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

political economy.

Jencks and Reisman,[39] in postulating a student "culture," describe the characteristics of the relationship of students to faculty and administration by reference to demographic, not organizational, factors.[40]

Brown and Goldin, in a critique of the literature aimed at describing student culture, argue that "the facts ordinarily cited to justify the structural implications of the term 'culture' point to the values and associations of student life that are 'manifest' within an administrative perspective.[41] Succinctly, stressing the portrayed image of student culture as more administrative projection and construction than reality:

> Thus by and large, the associations that are taken to represent student culture are, traditionally, those associations sponsored or authorized by university officials or otherwise considered suitable for public display. Such associations certainly include student government, fraternities, sororities, sports and many campus extracurricular activities. Whether membership in such associations is evidence of a generic youth culture is certainly open to question.[42]

This emphasis upon student "culture" that is a significant part of the literature which attempts to depict the "sources" of strain on campus additionally posits as a function of an emphasis on the collegiate character of this culture, an "antiorganizational"[43] value orientation on the part of students. It is suggested by Brown and Goldin that such an outlook may reflect a disaffection from specific organizations and particular

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[39]C. Jencks and D. Reisman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968).

[40]Brown and Goldin, Collective Behavior, p. 301.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid., p. 302.

[43]Jencks and Reisman, The Academic Revolution, p. 45.

types of social control rather than a general value orientation:[44]

> If students are antiorganizational, which the authors doubt, they share a malaise attributed to many lower and middle members of large scale organizations, a malaise apparently forced by the role distance and coercion characteristic of bureaucracy.[45]

Such rejection of organization is seen by Brown and Goldin to be more related to the pattern of interference between the habits of mind of those who administer college life and those who implement its traditions and those who practice college life as students, than a rejection sui generis, or an attribute of student culture. ". . . officials are not less, and perhaps more, given to stylistic display, reaction, and generational hostility than are students."[46]

The rootedness of the university and college in its surroundings has been demonstrated. The political and economic context and its link to the campus and its constituents' perceptions and actions are a reality. Hence Brown and Goldin are correct in maintaining that the collegiate model and its sponsored student culture is an anachronism:[47]

> The sponsored culture of the putative collegian is not simply at odds with stylistic traits of contemporary students, it is inconsistent with what they know about and practice at the university. Similarly, an apparent student reaction to "adult" authority may be a resistance to the continued imposition of outdated restrictions and modes of organization resulting from the university officials' failure to acknowledge changes that have taken place in the university and society. From this point of view the relationship between students and university officials is no more than that of children to adults than is the relationship between those in controlled and controlling positions in any establishment.[48]

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[44]Brown and Goldin, Collective Behavior, p. 302.

[45]Ibid., emphasis supplied.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid.

E. The Place of Role Theory and the Usefulness of the Concept of Role in the Present Inquiry

A college is, among other things, a community comprised of positions (statuses), circumscribed by organizational expectations regarding those positions, as well as individual occupants' definitions of their situation, and finally their actual behaviors. Role theory, and the concept of role, provide both an additional theoretical underpinning and a methodological focus to the present research.

The concept of social role provides an additional means toward understanding and empirically determining the pathology, albeit structurally and occupationally rooted and not individually based, in the relationship between the constituencies of the college, namely administration, faculty and student groups. Additionally, the concept of role, as it is utilized in the present inquiry, provides the parameters within which one can begin to see indications of the habits of mind peculiar to the positions of faculty, students and administration.

Despite the fact that theories making use of role and analyses based on role are pervasive in sociological literature, this researcher is in agreement with Turner who maintains that:

> Role theory is an eclectic theoretical tradition, with few dominant figures who have provided an over-arching framework. It represents a series of narrow research findings and theoretical insights which have yet to become organized into a well articulated theoretical perspective.[49]

Three conceptualizations of role are basic to understanding role as the point of interaction between society, its institutions and organizations, and the individual. (1) Role is viewed in the literature, as

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[49]Jonathan H. Turner, The Structure of Sociological Theory (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1978), p. 34.

prescribed, as the normative culture patterns or range of structurally given expectations of a status within the broader society or in particular organizations and groups within a society:

> The individual's self and role playing skills are seen as operating to meet such prescriptions, with the result that analytic emphasis is drawn to the degree of conformity to the demands of a particular status.[50]

(2) Role is additionally viewed in the literature as the individual's interpretation of and conception about his/her role within a structure. This emphasis on the individual's definition of the situation focuses on the actor, stressing the perceptions and interpretations of the individual occupant of a status as the most fruitful focus for understanding role:

> Since all expectations are mediated through the prism of self, they are subject to interpretations by individuals in statuses. When conceptual emphasis falls upon the perceptions and interpretations of expectations, then the social world is conceived to be structured in terms of individuals' subjective assessments of the interaction situation. This conceptual emphasis is placed upon the interpersonal style of individuals who interpret and then adjust to expectations.[51]

(3) Finally, role is conceptualized as, and inferred from, action or the behavior of individuals. Role is seen, from this emphasis, as the enactment, within a particular status, of overt behavior:

> The more conceptual emphasis is placed upon overt role enactment, the less analytic attention to the analysis of either expectations or individual interpretations of them.[52]

Hence, while role appears in the literature as conceptualized along the three lines of structurally given expectations, individuals' interpretations and definitions of those expectations, and overt behavior, it is being stressed in the present research that there exists a misunderstanding

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[50]Ibid., p. 354.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid.

in conceiving role as classically yet unitarily formulated by Linton and then Merton,[53] as the behaviors oriented to the patterned expectations of others.

In focusing on the analysis of formal organizations, Daniel Levinson emphasizes the potential for misinterpretation of such a unitary conception of role as its being the behavioral dimension of a status:

> In short, the unitary conception of role assumes that there is a 1:1 relationship, or at least a high degree of congruence among the three aspects of role. In the theory of bureaucratic organization, the rationale for this assumption is somewhat as follows. The organizationally given requirements will be internalized by the members and will thus be mirrored in their role conceptions. People will know, and will want to do what is expected of them. . . . Individual action will in turn reflect the structural norms, since the appropriate role-conceptions will have been internalized, and since the sanctions system rewards normative behabior and punishes deviant behavior. Thus, it is assumed that structural norms, individual role conceptions and individual behabior or role performance are three isomorphic reflections of a single entity: 'the' role appropriate to a given organizational position.[54]

Additionally, though at some level analytically separable, when viewed in action within a particular organizational framework, say a college, the distinct separation of the three is inadequate, while their fusion is, as well, problematic:

> Indeed, overt human behavior involves a subjective assessment of various types of expectations. In fact, in reviewing the research and theoretical literature on role theory, it is evident that, although the prescriptive, subjective, or enacted component of role may receive particular emphasis, theoretical efforts usually deal with the complex causal relationships among these components.[55]

More subtly, Levinson points out that it is reasonable to expect only

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[53]Robert K. Merton, "The Role Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," orig. in The British Journal of Sociology 8 (June 1957):106-20.

[54]Levinson, Daniel J., "Role, Personality, and Social Structure in the Organizational Setting," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 58 (1959):170-80.

[55]Turner, The Structure of Sociological Theory, p. 354.

degrees of congruence among these three aspects of social role. It is also clearly apparent that organizations have varying degrees of integration, structural demands that are often contradictory, lines of authority that are defective, and a general "looseness of fit" or lack of integration:

> To assume that what the organization requires, and what members actually think and do, comprise a single, unified whole is severely to restrict our comprehension of organizational dynamics and change.[56]

It is Levinson's thesis, and that of this researcher, that the unitary conception of social role is unrealistic and theoretically constricting, for the structurally acceptable definition of a particular role is rarely fully congruent with the interpretations of the role made by its incumbents. Thus the degree of congruence between the role definitions of organization and their constituencies--in this inquiry students, faculty and administration--becomes an empirical question.

The present research, in focusing on the intersubjective perceptions among students, faculty and administration regarding specifically their role, each group's perceptions of the role of the other, and finally each group's perceptions regarding how they are "seen" by the others, utilizes an interactionist view of role wherein students, faculty and administration are seen as active participants, albeit unequal in regard to power, in the campus and its community of meanings. In so doing this research extends role theory's utility by stressing its determinative consequences for change and alteration in social structures, particularly in regard to the context of the college. When the concept of role and role theory in general are seen in the context of the foregoing discussion of bureaucratic

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[56]Levinson, "Role, Personality, and Social Structure in the Organizational Setting," pp. 170-80.

theory and most importantly, the sociology of knowledge, its potential as a means toward a less myopic view of the college is maximized:

> In focusing primarily on how changes of behavior affect self-conceptions, role theory has under-emphasized the fact that behavior can also force changes in the organization of status networks, norms, reference groups, the response of others, and other features of social structure. Until the causal imagery of role theory stresses the consequences of role enactment, not only for self-related variables but also for social structural variables, it will continue to conceptualize the social world as excessively circumscribed by the expectation structure.[57]

Turner points to some of the logical problems of role-theoretic analysis that contribute to this conception of the world, stressing that role theory leaves a gap regarding how and under what conditions the larger social structure affects the self. "If role-theoretic assumptions are to have theoretical significance, it is essential to specify just when, where, how, and through what processes this circumscription of role behavior occurs."[58] In fact, a not so subtle rationalization of the existing order, an imperativism that Turner views as subtle, emerges out of the absence of theoretical specificity:

> The needs of social structure and the individual require that behavior be circumscribed. This imperativism is further sustained by the classificatory nature of role-theoretic concepts. In denoting the types of interrelations among society, self and behavior without indicating the conditions under which these relationships are likely to exist, these concepts appear to denote what processes _must_ occur without indicating when, where, and how they are to occur.[59]

An additional non-link between role theory and elements in the larger social structure that determines the form within which the content of role exists and is structured is pointed to as mystifying. The ways in which the larger social structure affects individual conduct are "mysterious" as

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[57]Turner, _The Structure of Sociological Theory_, p. 363.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

a function of what Turner views as the "methodological problems of measuring expectations separately from the very individual processes that they are supposed to circumscribe. . . . Again, the inability to measure this crucial causal nexus leaves the role theorist with uninteresting assertions, loaded with imperativist connotations, that society shapes and guides individual conduct."[60]

Turner concludes his review of role and role theory with the suggestion that it is necessary to examine why different patterns of social organization emerge, persist, change and break down:

> At present, the main thrust of role-theoretic strategy has been to focus on how specific social contexts determine variations in individual conduct, and to give comparatively little attention to how such conduct, as mediated by self and role playing capacities, affects these social contexts as well as more general patterns of social organization.[61]

While this focus does provide, as evidenced by the plethora of empirical work grounded in role theory, insight into individual and group processes, "role theory has yet to explore the utility of its concepts for understanding more macro-social structures and processes."[62]

The present research in its use of role theoretic concepts focuses on the intersubjective assessment role expectations among students, faculty and administration. It seeks to illustrate the varying patterns of student, faculty and administrative interpretations and definitions of one another's role and thereby supports Levinson's notion that a unitary conception of role is unrealistic and theoretically constricting. It becomes clear that the structurally acceptable definition of a particular role is

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[60]Ibid., p. 364.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

rarely fully congruent with the interpretations of the role made by its inhabitants.

The use of role theory in this study attempts to substantiate a picture of faculty, student and administrative role definition as rooted in the organizational framework of bureaucracy, itself inextricably tied to the larger political economy of advanced capitalism. Hence this inquiry, in attempting to empirically determine the habits of mind of the constituencies on campus, aims at exploring the pathology in the relationship between students, faculty and administration as one that is less than imperative or inexorable, though significantly entrenched.

The present chapter has explored the ways in which the sociology of knowledge provides a bridge linking role and bureaucratic theory as applied to campus with the larger structural context within which the college functions. Both this researcher's emphasis on conscious research, as reflected in the objectification of the researcher and the research process, as well as the need to view administration, faculty and student consciousness as nested in role, itself embedded in bureaucracy and the larger order, has necessitated that the largest proportion of this study attend to theory and method. Without such detailed explication the following data would be less than a clear portrait of the constituencies under study. With such theoretical and methodological analysis as has been provided, the data to follow becomes illustrative material which can be more clearly understood in terms of this theoretical and methodological context.

We will now look specifically at the patterned perceptions of students, faculty and administration regarding the subjective assessment of their own role and the role of the others, as well as the ways in which they believe their role is viewed by the others. Such a use of role

provides a source of empirical exploration and description of the notion of habit of mind only if, as we have seen, it is viewed as existing in and determined by the larger structural context mediated through the immediate setting of bureaucratic organization on campus.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA: THE PATTERNED PERCEPTIONS OF ADMINISTRATION, FACULTY AND STUDENTS

Introduction

In the following three sections the patterned perceptions of administration, faculty and students regarding each group's subjective assessment of its own role, the role of the others, and how each perceives the other as seeing them, is presented as a means of depicting and understanding the consciousness of these constituencies. Such a consciousness as emerges from this data will be seen to embody the basic pathology that exists in the relationship between these groups on campus, a consciousness played out in the drama of everyday interaction on campus. Each group will be seen as possessing its own constructions regarding the differences between them, constructions reflecting each group's position in the mode of bureaucratic organization of the college. Specifically, the particular social, political and economic context within which these patterned, seemingly "individual" perceptions exist, is seen as the foundation for both the form (habit of mind) and the content (world view) of the consciousness of administration, faculty and students, a consciousness far from individual in both form and content.

This sociological analysis of administrative, faculty and student consciousness, interpreted in the larger context of bureaucracy and the

still larger framework of the institutional order of society, is, as previously discussed, an analysis that views such consciousness as more than an appendage to these structures, in that the patterns of consciousness of the constituencies of administration, faculty and students are neither singularly caused by (in the sense of their being a solely dependent variable to) the infrastructure of bureaucracy or the superstructure of institutional order. Such consciousness as emerges on campus is (in agreement with Weber and consistent with the interactionist assumptions discussed earlier as this researcher's particular passion) a product of reciprocal relations of causality. Administrative, faculty and student groups and individuals are seen, in varying yet discernible degrees, to act back on the structure within which they find themselves. Such an assumption, that individuals are more than passive participants or carriers of consciousness, reflects this researcher's guardedly optimistic belief that progress is possible, that individuals and groups actively participate in the construction of reality, and that a first step toward such progress necessitates an awareness regarding the source, form, and content of this consciousness. This researcher, in agreement with Berger, Berger and Kellner, believes "that a comprehensive understanding of any social reality must include the dimension of consciousness."[1]

In its patterning of administrative, faculty and student role definitions, this chapter has as its focus a depiction of the social reality within and between these groups, and the essential elements of their consciousness. Further, this reality is viewed as constructed out of an interaction between the institutions and organizational frame that confronts

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[1]Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger and Hansfried Kellner, The Homeless Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 11.

each group and that which is subjectively experienced within the consciousness of these constituencies. What Berger, Berger and Kellner refer to as the meanings or reality definitions of inhabitants in the social life-world[2] is herein empirically determined, specific to the meanings held by the campus constituencies, and patterned, using in addition to the sociology of knowledge a role-theoretic methodology.

Herein, like Berger, Berger and Kellner, consciousness is not viewed as a random array of elements; rather it is seen in administration, faculty and student groups to be organized in patterns that can be described systematically. "Although consciousness is a phenomenon of subjective experience, it can be objectively described because its socially significant elements are constantly being shared with others."[3] In advocating a particular direction for the sociology of knowledge, Berger, Berger and Kellner posit questions essential to such an approach which are, additionally, a part of the present research. Since consciousness can be patterned and empirically described, this chapter has as its focus the determination of the distinctive elements of the consciousness* between the campus constituencies of administration, faculty and students, as well as the ways in which they differ from one another, and most importantly which elements, if any, are inexorable destiny or reflective of a rationalization, making what is in fact choice regarding the mode of interaction on campus appear to be imperative.

The approach, then, of these three sections is of necessity an

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[2]Ibid., p. 12.

[3]Ibid., p. 14.

*The form, or "how" of consciousness is seen herein as 'habit of mind'; the content, or "what" of consciousness as 'world-view'--both of which have been detailed in the previous chapter as comprising consciousness.

intersubjective one wherein the structure of the consciousness between and among administrators, faculty and students is described from 'within,' utilizing individuals' definitions of their situation and that of the other as a useful indicator of consciousness. In any situation people's perceptions of what is, and of what should be, are significant variables for analysis for what we perceive is tied to what we do.

The present approach is, as discussed in Chapter I, additionally, one which assumes that there is, out of one's occupation, a dimension of autonomous development of consciousness. Such consciousness, while rooted in 'ideology' or superstructure, is not solely determined by that superstructure. Thus, while consciousness and its social construction on campus is seen as structured "from without" (tied to the larger institutional order), it is additionally seen, in the present chapter and its sections on administration, faculty and students, as intersubjectively described and actively structured "from within" the particular positions of the campus constituencies.

Before the presentation of the empirically determined patterned perceptions of the constituencies of administration, faculty and students wherein will emerge a picture of the consciousness of each that reflects the reciprocal relations of cause (i.e., "from within" and "from without") delineated in the preceding pages, a promise made earlier in this research needs to be kept.

It has been maintained in Chapter I that of importance to the inquiry at hand is the critical examination of the research process itself and of the consciousness and perceptual conflicts within a particular educational institution. Further, the research process utilized in their depiction and analysis must be considered in the same 'critical' manner. In part and as an attempt to create a logical consistency between the topic of

research and the method of research, Chapter II provided the reader with a detailed explication of the research process, including the conceptual dimension of basic principles and method choices and the personal considerations and constraints facing the researcher. Thus, both the researcher and the methodological choices became legitimate objects for scrutiny and were understood as significant variables in the research process.

Consistent with this aim, and prior to a presentation of the patterned perceptions of administration, faculty and student groups, a general characterization of the atmosphere or climate surrounding the interviews is necessary for two reasons. First, to fulfill my purpose of objectifying the research process,a discussion of the climate of the interview will facilitate both researcher consciousness and the recognition that the method of research and the topic of research are, in practice, inseparable. Secondly, a discussion of the interview climate aids in underscoring the fact that the competitive consciousness between the campus constituencies influenced the interviewing process. The structure and character of the community within which interviews take place plays a significant part in the interview process. Hence a general discussion aimed at locating the interviewer-respondent relationship in the overall context of the present inquiry must precede the more particular discussions of the patterned perceptions of the groups under study.

It has been maintained in Chapter II that the interview is a socially constructed context in which a wide variety of factors influence its process, outcome, and hence the data generated. Factors such as the structure and character of the community under study, the personal characteristics of the interviewer and the status he or she occupies in the broader structure, his or her age, race, sex and class, the perceived reasons for

the study, the emotional and intellectual satisfaction of the respondent, the physical setting within which the interview takes place, the perceived impact of the study and the power in the interviewer-respondent relationship, are all in varying degrees significant to the overall climate of the interview and define the relationship between interviewer and respondent. Hence the interview context is much more than a piece of the research process, a particular reality divorced from its moorings to the setting under study or the broader societal context. Regardless of the specific form utilized, from the unstructured, non-schedule/non-standardized interview through the standardized, highly structured interview, the interview is a socially constructed reality within which the complexities of the broader society are mirrored and replicated.

In this inquiry the interview, both in form and content, involved a complex and delicate set of interactions between myself and my sample of administrators, faculty and students. There existed in the process of carrying out the interviews a regularly shifting variation between myself and these "others" of differing status in the social-bureaucratic order of the college. Such variation, in relation to the effects of the aforementioned factors of influence, provided additional insight into the dynamics of administration, faculty and student interaction, as well as insight into the sources of the consciousness and the actual consciousness of each constituency. Thus, while being both unsettling and exceedingly demanding, this variation and shift, highlighting the interviews' social and political rootedness, provided insights into the inquiry at hand.

By way of example, and integral to the patterned perceptions to follow, let us consider the variables of power and vulnerability and their relationship to: (1) the form of interview chosen for the present research,

(2) the issue of hard vs. soft methodology, and (3) the insights gained from awareness regarding these dimensions of research in relation to the analysis of the form and content (world view and habit of mind) of administrative, faculty and student consciousness.

The issue of the form of interview chosen is as well an issue in the power and vulnerability of both the researcher and his/her respondent. Interview contexts are not unlike the contexts of other relationships with regard to the dimensions of power and vulnerability, and while degrees of difference exist between the interview relationship and those of lovers, therapists and clients, parents and children, and administrators, faculty and students, all have hierarchically arranged, inequitably balanced realities of power and vulnerability. Each reflects the broader structural context and the more immediate setting with which their respective dramas are played out. Additionally, the general and personally disturbing typing of methodologies as "hard or soft," quantitative or qualitative, is similarly, at its root, an issue of power, control and vulnerability.

By viewing power as the ability to cause or prevent change,[4] potential or actual, we can highlight the issue of power in relation to the aforementioned issues beginning with an analysis of the form of interview chosen by the researcher.

Two basic variants exist with respect to the kinds of interviews chosen by the researcher: the standardized or structured interview, and the unstructured, non-standardized interview. Each can be distinguished along a variety of dimensions with respect to their assumptions and the reflection of these assumptions in practice. Moreover, in the present

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[4]For an interesting explication of power in relationships, see Rollo May's Power and Innocence (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1972), particularly pp. 99-146.

research it is maintained that each can additionally be seen to reflect distinct differences in regard to the amount of power, control and vulnerability they afford both researcher and respondent.

Both standardized and non-standardized interviews are designed to collect predominantly the same information from each respondent so as to compare, classify and pattern such information. The standardized interview is, in an ideal typological sense, characterized by questions whose wording and sequence are determined in advance and which are asked of all respondents in exactly the same way.* Standardization is rooted in a number of assumptions, the nature of which can be seen to place a significant degree of power and control in the hands of the interviewer.

Standardization assumes that in order to produce a response which validly differentiates one respondent from another the stimulus, i.e., question, statement, etc., must be identical. It is further assumed that in any study respondents have a sufficiently common vocabulary and that it is possible to formulate questions which have the same meaning for all respondents, and that uniform wording for all respondents can be found for any subject matter. Finally, standardization is based on the premise that for the meaning of each question to be identical for each respondent, its context must be identical, i.e., since all preceding questions in an interview constitute a context, the sequence of questions must similarly be determined in advance and be identical for each respondent.[5]

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*For a thorough discussion of interview contexts and types, with particular attention to their premises and socio-structural rootedness, see G. Sjoberg and R. Nett, A Methodology for Social Research (New York: Harper & Row, 1968) and S. Richardson et al., Interviewing, Its Forms and Functions (New York: Basic Books, 1965).

[5]Richardson et al., Interviewing, Its Forms and Functions, pp. 34-55.

Such a context as is reflected in the assumptions and practice of standardization becomes one in which the researcher is in a position of maximal power and control given his/her structuring of the overall climate of interaction with the respondent. "Identical" operationalizations, regarding the concept under scrutiny through the use of identical wording and sequence, allow the interviewer a significant degree of control over the interview context and restrict the interviewee to such responses as are stimulated by the meanings operationalized in the questions presented.

The structured format yields a more readily quantifiable series of responses and, as a function of its specificity and structure, provides a source of control. It is further maintained that both internal validity and reliability are increased in the use of this interview form, as it is a "hard" method, and more scientic as a result of its positivist assumptions. Control is equated with rigor, increased objectivity, reliability, and hence generalizability of the data.

The non-standardized interview, while taking a variety of forms, i.e., the focused interview, the objectifying interview, etc., in varying degrees, emphasizes the respondent's world of meaning and categories rather than those of the researcher. Its assumptions reject the notion that standardization can be achieved through the use of identical wording and sequence. Non-standardized interview varieties have in common the premise that if questions are to have the same meaning for respondents, they need to be framed in wording that is appropriate for each respondent. Thus it is the meaning of the question that is standardized in the non-standardized interview, not the question itself. Rather, the operationalization of the meaning is varied and formulated in words familiar to and habitually used by the respondent. Additionally, since this form reflects the assumption

that the most effective sequence of questions for any respondent should be determined by his/her readiness and willingness to take up a topic, no fixed sequence of questions is viewed as satisfactory.

Because a variety of states exist between and among respondents regarding the dimensions of affect discussed previously, and because there exists potential heterogeneity of respondents, this interview format takes its cue from the interviewee regarding the form a specific question will take, its content, and overall place in the interview. Such premises lead to very different implications in practice from those of the standardized interview. This freedom in question form and content emphasizes the respondent's world of meaning and utilizes the respondent's categories which are later analyzed from the researcher's frame of reference.

Such characteristics of non-standardized interviews as described above shift the balance of power toward the respondent. This 'decentralization,' of sorts, permits and encourages, in degree, dependent upon its specific use, a freer rein to the respondent. The researcher is given greater leeway and the respondent becomes the interviewer's guide in regard to the appropriate timing and wording for a given topic. Increased range, depth, and spontaneity characterize non-standardization.

While depth and spontaneity are a product of the researcher's reliance upon the respondent, such increased qualitative technique is often viewed as "soft," less 'scientific' and hence less reliable. To this researcher, the issue of hard vs. soft methodology is a spurious issue that falsely dichotemizes both the natural and social sciences and particular techniques within the social sciences. Quantitatively- and qualitatively-oriented researchers are seen as involved in an adversary relationship wherein the latter are viewed as second class citizens, subordinate to,

and in degree disenfranchised from, privilege. This has a basis in reality only insofar as such beliefs are reflected in and sustained and maintained by the practices of granting and funding offices and the largest professional journals' policies of award and selection. In fact, the issue of hard and soft, like the issue of interview format, becomes one of power, control and vulnerability--not unlike the issues which characterize the relationship between interviewer and respondent or between students, faculty and administration.

For this researcher, we are, all of us, searching for ways of understanding the 'hurly-burly' out there (social structure) and its relationship to what goes on 'in here' (the person). We are as social or natural scientists attempting to discover regularity and order as well as the sources of discontinuity (be they in the order itself or not). We use, all of us, observation and measurement aimed at the discovery of relationships, the framing of models, and the building of theory. Absolute truth is chimera, and all measurement is arbitrary at its base. Hence, if the logic of science in practice, manifested in the principles of logical reasoning, determinism, generalization, parsimony, specificity, empirical verification, intersubjectivity, and openness to modification, is a part of any inquiry--be it within the natural or social sciences--then that inquiry is rigorous, and 'hardness' and 'softness' inheres in the person, not in the method. In essence there are 'hard' (rigorous) and 'soft' (less rigorous) researchers, not methods or disciplines. A qualitative method can be rigorously utilized given the researcher's conscious commitment to the logic of science in practice. A quantitative method can be less than rigorously utilized given the researcher's wholesale mirroring of surface natural scientific characteristics:

> All too often, the advocates of social science have fueled the debate through the blind emulation of the trappings and rituals of the established sciences. This has taken many forms: a fascination with laboratory equipment, often inappropriate uses of statistics and mathematics, the development of obscure terminology, and the wholesale adoption of theories and terminology from the physical sciences.[6]

Hence the issues of power, control and vulnerability have been seen to be reflected in: (1) the relationship between researcher and respondent, (2) the particular form and content of interview type chosen by the researcher, and (3) the debate over the "scientific" status of a particular method and/or discipline. Power, control and vulnerability are significant variables to study in explaining differences in the context, form and content of research.

A consciousness regarding the issues discussed above has provided this researcher with additional and significant insight into my status as researcher, colleague, teacher and employee at the college in which my research took place. Further, concern with my positions and the way in which they affected the present inquiry led to a consciousness regarding the shifting and varying ways in which campus constituents perceived me. The specific climate of the interviews for each group--administration, faculty and students--will precede the section detailing the patterned perceptions of each. Suffice it to say, at this point, that the regular variation in the way in which I was perceived by each group, particularly tied to the groups' varying definition of my power, led me to a consideration of the inherent dimension of power in the relationship between researcher and respondent, as well as to the power in choice of interview type. Additionally, it forced me to focus on this dimension of power and

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[6]Earl R. Babbie, The Practice of Social Research (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1975), pp. 25-26.

its place in the overall focus of the study, i.e., the place of power in the construction of consciousness between administration, faculty and students.

What follows is a description of one dimension of campus reality. The vantage points are those of administration, faculty and students. Each constituency's responses, though framed in the theoretical orientations developed in the study earlier, are their own. It is the hope of this researcher that a patterned picture of the consciousness of the three groups regarding their role and the role of the other--as well as the ways in which each group sees itself as being seen by the other--will emerge somewhat akin to a Polaroid snapshot, i.e., a patterned image of objects in relationship to one another developing before your eyes over the course of these sections.

The groups' patterned perceptions speak for themselves, and hence, the method of intersubjective presentation, each group's picture of their respective consciousness, is fitting.

Following a discussion of the specific climate of the interviews with administration and some additional comments on the interview climate in general, this section presents, through a patterning of the data on administration, a picture of the consciousness of administration emerging out of their subjective perceptions regarding their role on campus. Additionally, administrative perceptions of how they think of faculty and students as seeing them are patterned and discussed. Finally, the actual perceptions held by faculty and students of administration are presented as a measure of the degree of continuity and/or discontinuity in perception that exists between the groups in relation to administrative roles. The above will be discussed with an aim toward depicting the form of

administrative consciousness (habit of mind) and the content of this consciousness (world view) as rooted in the nature of their work within the bureaucratic framework of organization, itself tied to the broader social structure within which it operates. If each constituency can come to be conscious of one another's definitions of their own and the others' situation, a significant step in the direction of the creation of a community of more common meanings is, at least, possible. Without such consciousness, interaction proceeds based upon ignorance. With community consciousness there is the potential for communication with the other as they are, not merely as each group <u>thinks</u> the other is. Hence, while this researcher is generally uncertain as to the potentiality for progress, change is a constant, and informed and conscious rather than "natural" change is herein preferred.

In regard to the specific climate surrounding the interviews with administration, there existed one primary factor of concern among all administrators interviewed. This concern centered about confidentiality. Except for one person, the researcher was asked by all administrators whether or not they would be identifiable in the final research monograph. With regularity throughout the process of each interview, ranging in duration from forty-five minutes to two and one-half hours, the researcher found it necessary to assure administrative respondents that it was the patterning of collective perceptions, not their individual views (other than through their aggregation to describe the perceptions of the larger group to which they belong), that was of interest.

Using a sociology of knowledge approach to the research generally, and the interview particularly, was especially rewarding. Realizing the climate of the interview as a complex interaction, located in a given

historical moment within a given socio-structural context, proved invaluable. The researcher was able to build into the semi-standardized* interview format a significant amount of intellectual and emotional satisfaction, as well as elicit the altruism that cut across all three constituencies.

Interviews with administrators** were carried out in each person's own office, as it is the bias of this researcher that candor and comfort with everyday surroundings go hand in hand. As well, the use of less standardization necessitated that I be particularly well versed in the meanings of my concept. Thus, though some questions were situation-specific, a considerable number of probes and redirections of the interviewee characterized the interview.

The consciousness of the researcher during the interview process was necessarily oriented toward remembering responses at a later time--usually immediately after the interview--though jotted notes, little phrases, and key words were somewhat inconspicuously recorded during the interview. These notes did not in any crucial way impinge on the natural conversational climate created, and they proved invaluable as a means of preserving mental

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*For more detail on the specific interview used, see Chapter II, pp. 25-26.

**The ability to reliably interview three constituencies with disparate and often antagonistic views can be attributed to a variety of factors: the conversational form of the interview; the emphasis on patterned perceptions and not individual versions of reality; the creation of an interview climate characterized by altruism, intellectual and emotional satisfaction; and this researcher's willingness to listen to the individual versions of reality that clearly are rooted in broader contexts. Additionally, the integrity characterizing the personal reputation of this researcher as professor, colleague and chairperson allowed for the relatively smooth movement within and between the three constituencies under study. The strain of such movement, while real, was thus mediated by the aforementioned factors.

notes. Thus, jotted notes provided something physical to refer to when converting the interview into a running log of responses to probes and questions.

An interesting and integral notion emerged out of the process of interviewing that, while not crucial to the present inquiry, bears mentioning in light of the secondary theme of the present research. That one's skills at interviewing improve over time is both a reality and a potential source of unreliability. Interviewing is a craft which is acquired. This researcher, with some previous experience at interviewing, found himself improving (over a period of time) with regard to skill, question-probe development, and memory. Thus, the earlier interviews were less valuable in regard to material engendered, not as a function of the personalities involved, at least not as a function of anyone other than the researcher. One gets more facile, directed, thoughtful and generally "better at it" over time. Finally, there exists a point at which you have heard most all of "it" (whatever the topic at hand is), and at this point either as a function of replication or boredom the researcher tends to get "worse at it" and should curtail interviewing, as the chance of new discovery is set against boredom and the likelihood of alienating respondents--i.e., a point of diminished return. Hence, the middle group in the interview process provided this researcher with the most analytic material--as a function of no apparent factors other than those discussed above.

I. Administration

A. How Administrators View Their Role on Campus

"I don't need to be loved, it's not lonely at the top, the bottom line is power, . . . the final authority is here."[7]

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[7]Administrative interview.

The patterned perceptions of administration regarding their subjective perception of their own role on campus that are typical, i.e., regular, persistent (referenced repeatedly across all interviews), and transituational (held to in different situations), center about and emerge out of the bureaucratic frame of organization of the college, itself located in the broader structure which surrounds it. As we have seen in Chapter IV, administrative bodies have changed drastically with the dramatic growth in higher education between 1960 and the early 1970s. Such change has been seen in the preceding section to profoundly affect the organization of the college and significantly restructure the academic enterprise. Additionally, we have seen this period of relatively unbridled growth and the more recent promise of its antithesis, i.e., retrenchment, to yield new functions, structural arrangements, operations and perspectives.[8]

We have seen with the broadening of the context of administrative work the increasing bureaucratization, professionalization and rationalization of administration. Such change is a function of the college and its relatively new frames of reference--i.e., the enlargement of the setting of administrative work and shift in the context of answerability from local to more cosmopolitan spheres, the subsequent emergence of the administrator as management professional. This new variety of administrator is clearly reflected in the subjective perceptions held by administrators toward their own and one another's role on campus.

"We must have a global perspective, a broader view as we are doing twentieth century management."

"We see needs that faculty don't as we have a broader vantage point--we don't have time to fool around."

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[8]Michael Brown and Amy Goldin, Collective Behavior (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973), p. 250.

"We are managers, professionals, active facilitators in a watch-tower role, as we can see what's coming."

"We are leaders, determining priorities, getting countervailing forces to create a product . . . we are professionals, not displaced faculty."

"We must actively examine, lead . . . we need to be impatient. How are we going to keep bodies here? Higher education is different now, the college is enmeshed in larger spheres of influence--the state and federal level--it's very complex."

"A central casting college president in today's market should look like an executive at Proctor and Gamble."

This rationalization and professionalization of administration, internalized by administration as central to their role, affects the view held by administrators regarding the boundaries of the power and authority on campus. As Brown and Goldin note,

> . . . it appears that the redistribution of power within the universities in favor of administrators and the extra-campus constituencies is institutional, an irreversible consequence of recent developments within the academic enterprise and society.[9]

The emphasis placed by administrators interviewed on their professional managerial status and role reflects the enlarged practice of their work, which itself is tied to changes in the broader society. Further, such emphasis on active facilitation affects the distribution of power on campus and is reflected in administrative patterns of response regarding such distribution of power as they, uniformly, see as necessary.

"We are the ignitors of controlled fires--generating data, projecting into the future, developing programs--we are not passive facilitators merely keeping the lights on and the chalkboards clean."

"We not only keep things going, we determine where things are going--we not only support, we coordinate and control."

"We centralize the place, actively suggesting policy."

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[9]Ibid., p. 258.

"We need to be impatient--passive facilitating is no longer realistic; what is needed is a strong, central push from the top."

"We are willing to take on the tough ones."

Even amongst those who see the redistribution of power as problematic, the "broader view" of administration, evidenced in administrators' responses detailed previously, is seen to necessitate more power located at the top.

"It's too bad we have to, as it creates conflict and distrust, but we do have to have centralized leadership."

For most administrators, though, the redistribution of power and the perception of their role, as circumscribed by active facilitation, is rationalized with little dissonance.

"The final authority is here--our job is to supervise and delegate responsibility, not power."

"Some don't believe in hierarchically arranged power on campus. They prefer consensus government, on the lines of a town hall model. This is an untenable model . . . for a place of this size."

"Committees can have responsibility . . . and are worthwhile as a recommendatory body . . . to the final authority. Committees can't take or bear the brunt of success or failure--only individuals can. Ideas go into committees and disappear . . . there is no one to point to as responsible."

"I would like a participatory governance, but not necessarily one that is democratic . . . it's not one vote, one person."

"I believe in hierarchical organization and arrangement. . . . I know it can be frightening. . . . Across the country there are serious problems that necessitate this (hierarchy)."

One administrator succinctly summarized what appeared as a regularly referenced view regarding the consequences of increased professionalization and the necessity for a strong central administration:

"Eventually you are either beatified or burned at the stake, depending upon how your model works. . . . The third alternative is to slip away in the middle of the night."

E. How Administrators Believe They Are Viewed By Faculty

"I'm either a servant or a son-of-a-bitch . . . they don't see our goals as similar."

Administrative patterned perceptions are remarkably uniform in regard to how they believe they are viewed by faculty. With increasing professionalization and bureaucratization--as a function of the rootedness of administrative practice in extra-academic, broader political and economic affairs--a separation of interests, and its consequent climate of distrust, emerges:

> The division of labor each represents is based upon different functions, different methods of accountability, different preparation and recruitment, and a somewhat different reward system. Thus, the conventional 'community of scholars' has expanded to the point at which it can no longer accommodate those with administrative responsibilities; a fission has occurred.[10]

"Faculty are suspicious and paranoid because of the corporate model . . . it threatens the hell out of them."

"They (faculty) think we're arbitrary--they don't like having lost privileges, they don't like us having too much power . . . we have to have the final say."

"Faculty feel alienated; it's a real no-win situation . . . a union mentality will come to pass . . . and it will create institutionalized mediocrity."

"Faculty think we're stupid because we have a different, a long-range view. They don't see what we see."

"Faculty want us to be passive processors, servants, implementors of their decisions."

"Most (faculty) don't know what we do, but we are seen by them as a necessary evil. We are feared, not misunderstood. They are confused, they want us to be passive and to lead--they don't want to be bothered with details, yet they think we're arrogant."

"We're seen as management types, bureaucratic and authoritarian bosses."

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[10]Irwin T. Sanders, "The University as Community," in Perkins, The University as an Organization, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, California, 1973, p. 68.

It's adversarial--this relationship between us and the faculty. . . . It's (the conflict) over competition for funds and freedom and scarce resources."

"Due to the fact that we say 'no' we become the enemy."

"We're seen as incompetent as our mistakes are very visible; we are suspect due to the fact that we are not scholars."

"We're asked to treat the faculty as something different than a labor force, i.e., collegially, yet they don't treat me as a colleague."

C. How Faculty Actually View Administration

"Most of them (administrators) are failed or bored faculty members--pretentious people climbing the ladder because there is no place else to go--bureaucratic hacks. Who the hell would want to become a president or a vice president of a college anyway? I mistrust the intentionality in getting there."

Faculty, across all interviews, largely view the role of administration as "should be" machine oilers, i.e., passive facilitators. In reality, this image is portrayed in the following ways, rooted in a context that administrators see as long past.

"They fear flexibility--their priorities are misplaced."

"They're only interested in this place as a money-maker, a hotel, a restaurant."

"They should be keeping the blackboards clean and the chalk supplied--that's all."

"They must recognize that the college is not a corporation with bosses and menials--they don't."

"They do very little and draw large salaries."

"They should pay the bills and keep the parking lots plowed."

"They should provide services that will make my life as a faculty member enjoyable."

"They are not my bosses."

"They've got to look at their job as one that is a service. . . . I don't know what the hell they do."

"They should grease the wheels."

"They are here to make it possible for us to teach."

"They should passively manage and minister."

"They should do whatever we want them to do."

"A good parent loves and limits--a good parent allows the child to participate in the decisions, then you get a good child."

"They are the businessmen, they should keep the college afloat and not hassle me with money worries. That's what they get their nice, fat salaries for."

"They are cover-up artists who like power and like to tell people what to do--they are failures in the classroom who are conservative and like money."

"They should be ombudsmen."

Faculty, then, with little variation, view the role of administration very differently from administrators themselves. The emphasis is on passive definitions of administrative areas of work, with little if any recognition of the increasing influence of the larger structure on the practice of administration.

On the other side, administrators see faculty viewing them as adversaries, manipulators, enemies who are both feared and misunderstood--a view reflected in the narrow interpretation of administrative role evidenced in faculty responses. Yet this view of the administrator as enemy, characterized by suspicion, is exactly how faculty believe administrators view them. This inverse stereotyping, i.e., reversed group images of how each perceives of the other as perceiving of them, will be discussed further once faculty views regarding how they are seen by administrators are presented in the section on faculty.

To leave the reader with the impression that faculty see no place for active facilitation on the part of administration would be to create a false impression. That passivity is preferred (machine oilers, wheel greasers) is a function of the fact that the faculty view of administration

is based largely on experience with deans and other more functionary "managers" and facilitators, such as librarians, bookstore managers, film suppliers, purchasing departments, registrars and business office personnel, who in fact come to be seen by faculty as passively serving their needs and supporting their role. The passive facilitation evidenced in faculty response to their perception of the role of administration was not unilateral. Faculty did, on occasion, evidence a recognition of the active facilitating seen by administration as integral to their definition of their own role.

"Administrators can't be only custodial--I recognize this; in principle they're the enemy camp, but they do have to deal with the future."

"They're at least as insecure as we are . . . they have to look at things differently; they must be concerned with the academic side, yet should defer to our judgment."

"They can be a unifying-molding force--if this is a community, we can share power; if this is a state of nature, administrators need more power, but community is sacrificed."

"They need to oversee the academic part of the college--making sure it is alive."

"They should help set goals and then let people work on their own. . . . It's the same as being a good parent."

"A judicious combination of activity and passivity is necessary as they are in a better position to see what's going on."

"If the active role is productive, o.k., if not, they'd do better to leave us the hell alone."

D. How Administrators Believe They Are Viewed By Students

"They don't think about us; they don't know who we are or what we do."

Though there are a significant number of areas of contact between administration and students, administrative perceptions regarding the way in which students view them are unilateral perceptions which center about

the lack of knowledge students have of them. It is the bias of this researcher that it is the nature of most student-administration contact and not the contact or lack of it that explains the perceptions evidenced in the following ways.

"Students see us as rule-makers and disciplinarians, though most have no idea of what we do at all."

"The 'Watergate image' prevails--we are seen as corrupt, full of avarice and without credibility, as national events have colored their perceptions."

"We're viewed out of ignorance; they don't know what we do."

"As they only see us in a problem context, as a last resort, we are then seen as aloof, heartless and unreasonable."

"They don't understand the workings of the place or who we are, or what we do."

E. How Students Actually View Administrators

"They (administrators) are solely concerned with their own financial ends."

"I don't know what they do . . . they are contemptuous of us."

"They're ineffectual, disorganized and a hindrance."

"They should make everything run smoothly--the technical things like rooms, registration, food, etc."

"Their major role should be to serve us."

"They're too impersonal--who are they?"

"I see the president as sitting up in his office looking down on the campus with evil eyes--kind of like 'Big Brother.'"

"They should eliminate red tape, not make it."

"They are the great computer--too impersonal."

"They should be using thoughtful, not controlling guidance."

"Administrative effectiveness is being in touch with our needs--this should take precedence over efficiency."

Student perceptions regarding the role of administration reflect the position in which they find themselves. That such a consciousness, as is reflected in the above patterns of response, exists is no accident. The professionalization of administration, the increased use of technological solutions to personal problems, the widened arena of articulation between the larger social structure and the campus, and the increasingly disenfranchising and unequal distribution of power all contribute to this crystallization of positions. Hence, rather than ignorance of the other (though clearly, at least, in regard to the nature of the work, some ignorance exists), perhaps each group knows the other all too well. For now, let us be content with further depicting the perceptions that exist between and among the groups on campus, as additional analysis requires the complete portrayal of the inter-subjective perceptions, saving final analysis and prescription for the concluding chapter.

We have in this section presented a picture of administrators' perceptions of their role on campus and how they feel they are seen by faculty and students. Finally, we have compared their perceptions to the actual way in which they are perceived by faculty and students. Let us now scrutinize the patterned perceptions of faculty regarding their own role, how they perceive they are viewed by administration and students, and how they are viewed by these constituencies.

II. Faculty

A. How Faculty View Their Own Role on Campus

"We're here to turn them (students) on to life--to excite them with ideas, to offer them passion, creativity . . . a model, not the model, though for some this becomes a guru supermarket."

Faculty interviewed unanimously agree on one dimension of their role and view that dimension to be the central and primary one of teaching. That such a subjective perception exists is not surprising, since the majority of faculty spend a large proportion of their time directly or indirectly (class preparation and course development) in teaching. Researchers (Wilson et al.)[11] have found that faculty give the criteria of "effectiveness as a teacher" the highest importance regarding role definition. Additionally, Sanford[12] found teaching to be a source of great satisfaction in faculty perceptions of their role. However, the range of faculty response varies significantly as to just what one defines as teaching. Subtleties emerge that are themselves typical, persistent and transituational.

Additionally, the stress on effectiveness in teaching will be seen to be a stress of administration. Though clearly an expected response given the nature of faculty work--when seen in the light of the aforementioned individuation and alienation of faculty--such a focus on teaching as is reflected in the patterns of faculty response may be seen as a reflection of the reduction in faculty's power to effectively participate in the broader organization of the college. Faculty consciousness and faculty work have been seen to be divided and individuated by school, department and specialization. One effect of this individuation is dependency on managerial control--vulnerability and less power or control over a variety of dimensions of faculty life. This reality may be seen as contributing to a consciousness, albeit false, that one's classroom and perhaps one's department are the only legitimate arenas within which faculty

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[11]Robert C. Wilson et al., College Professors and Their Impact on Students (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1975).

[12]N. Sanford, unpublished paper (Berkeley, California: Wright Institute, 1971) as referred to by R. McGee, Academic Janus (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971).

power can be exercised.

Of particular interest is the fact that across all interviews the largest majority of faculty--in fact all but a few--do not acknowledge external sources of control as influencing the nature of their lives. An ideology of autonomy is regularly reflected in faculty perceptions regarding their role. They see themselves as "free-floating" intellectuals, at least as minimally anchored, relatively autonomous individuals who give some lip-service to the effect of trends in the economy but who in fact believe that the period of growth characterizing the 1960s and early 1970s still exists, or that harbingers of retrenchment and crisis are alarmist. A denial of sorts emerges out of the narrow concerns among faculty crystallized by discipline, department and specialization within department--a denial and lack of recognition of the college's ties to the economic and political sectors of the broader society. Such ignorance is itself a product of the shift in power accompanying the professionalization and increased bureaucratization of administration with its consequence of having significantly altered the division of power and autonomy on campus:

> Academicians, like other employees, are largely ignorant of the intricacy, strength, and scope of the university's links to the political and economic sectors of society and the extent to which those links affect the university. Academic life is a career for professors. It is not one of many equally potent and interrelated practices shaping their lives. They have had little involvement in the operations by which the links between the university and society were manifested. They are not in a position to evaluate, as a matter of the overall practice of their lives, the links between the university and society. Consequently, academicians regularly overestimate the extent to which universities can operate internally as autonomous systems of control. Moreover, what they do not see is the enormous range of implications following from the university's dependence upon the powerful sectors of society.[13]

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[13] Brown and Goldin, Collective Behavior, p. 273.

Such individuation with respect to the overall functioning of the college and the consequent lack of recognition on the part of faculty regarding the college's ties to the broader society leads faculty to both a narrow concern with their departments and a belief that concern with broader issues is unrealistic. Such beliefs are reflected in the faculty's perception regarding their own role--a perception which by the absence of reference to the effects of, and links between society and the college, evidences the "parochial" nature of their concerns. Consequently, while exceptions exist, the predominant pattern of response regarding faculty's definition of their role is narrow and isolating in its stress on the classroom as the arena of their concern to the almost total exclusion of reference to wider arenas of articulation and effect. When referred to at all, these wider "arenas" emerge as scholarly activity and community service--wherein even departmental involvement itself is secondary to these "discipline" and "community" concerns.

"Our central purpose is to teach and keep up in our areas; our primary responsibility after the classroom is to the department."

"Teaching is primary, all else secondary--I want to sharpen perceptions, arouse a respect for the rewards and excitement of the free intellectual life."

"The classroom is the major focus of my work--to get them (students) questioning and discovering."

"Faculty are here to teach, research and keep up in their areas. Isn't that enough?"

"After teaching, which is primary, we should keep our minds active in our discipline, develop courses, and do service to the college through committee work."

Such responses are the rule, though the emphasis upon teaching and the classroom can be patterned further into a range of definitions as to just what teaching entails. Hence, while teaching and the classroom are viewed as primary by faculty, it is important to realize that this view,

appearing on the surface to be a natural outgrowth of the expected parameters of faculty work and responsibility, is itself rooted in the increased bureaucratization of the college. That such a view of a narrowed range of faculty responsibility exists is a reflection of the consequences of professionalization of administration. This is itself an effect of the college's articulation with broader structural forces and influences either unrecognized or denied by the largest permanent group on campus--faculty.

Such perceptions regarding the private and autonomous sphere of the classroom are viewed in the present research as a reflection of a false consciousness on the part of faculty. This consciousness is a product of the alienation of faculty and is grounded in the increase in administrative-managerial authority. That the classroom has become the last bastion of faculty authority is no accident. That the classroom is viewed by faculty as their primary sphere of influence, i.e., that it should be so, is similarly neither accident nor solely an outgrowth of the normal parameters of faculty responsibility. In fact, that even the classroom is an autonomous sphere or province of faculty is a chimerical, though understandable, supposition.

The patterns that exist in regard to faculty perceptions of their own role within the broader definition of "teaching," discussed above as the last bastion of autonomy, center about teachers as (1) 'active facilitator and minister' on one end of the spectrum, and (2) 'information processor' on the other, between which exist in varying degrees all faculty interviewed.

The 'active-facilitator' as teacher sees him/herself as working <u>with</u> the whole student--i.e., the student as whole person. In this pattern, faculty view themselves legitimately involved in the life-cycle of the

student, as both formally and informally involved in the student's learning and growth. Hence, the student becomes, in degree, more than the occupant of a status--rather the relationship is characterized as one of reciprocity, primary and somewhat ministerial, as faculty across this pattern of response speak of their work as a 'calling' both in specific reference and in statements interpretable along these lines.

"We have a serious position--we must take intellectual risks with our students, cross bridges with them."

"We are here to help them find out how they want to express their life and now we can join with them in this process."

"I too am a student in this learning process."

"The classroom should lay a foundation for later life."

"We should inspire life-long self-discovery . . . these are whole people, not just occupants of seats."

"We are managers of an environment offering intellectual challenges, not dispensers of knowledge."

"We must primarily help the students find themselves by participating in the growth process."

"As faculty we should be people who relate ourselves in human ways, outside of our professional roles, to the human beings passing through."

"We should create enormous amounts of energy and interest about life, turning them on to life and growing ourselves in the process."

Consequently, the faculty within this more reciprocally defined and 'primary-like' relationship and pattern focus on the role of teachers as more all-encompassing and interactively defined.

Faculty within the pattern herein termed 'information processor' as well view teaching as their primary role definition, though the nature of this definition varies in form, content and degree from that of the teacher as 'active facilitator and minister.'

The faculty person as 'information processor' sees his/her role as teacher in a more formally and functionally defined sense. The preferred

nature of the relationship between such faculty and their students is less reciprocal and more status-to-status and role-to-role defined. Its qualities approach a secondary variety of interaction wherein passing on the information of one's discipline and specialization within that discipline form the primary reason underlying this more one-way relationship.

"I'm here to teach them my subject matter, to give them knowledge to function in that subject matter to develop their skills."

"I transmit a body of knowledge to them . . . that's what I should be doing."

"My absolute and primary responsibility is the teaching of a structured curriculum--I am not their equal and I deliberately formally instruct--I create a formal relationship."

"They are always at the same age and we are growing older--we interact with them from that perspective."

"First and foremost I am here to provide students with the opportunity to learn--but, they have to be ready and willing. I function best when a student is in the place where he wants to learn."

"I'm not primarily educating people to carry on their lives."

We have depicted modern administrative consciousness and practice (habit of mind and world view) on campus as rooted in the broader social structure, as contributing to a crystallization of statuses and a compartmentalization of roles. We have seen such effects to be supportive of the false consciousness of faculty expressed in their lack of acknowledgement of external sources of control and their persistence in maintaining a belief in their autonomy. Such practice maintains existing inequities in relation to the distribution of power and vulnerability on campus. Hence, the consciousness of faculty has been seen, both in form and content, to frame a view of teaching, the classroom, and to a lesser degree the department as being the only legitimate spheres of their activity.

An additional though no less significant outcome of modern administrative practice within the atomistic and alienating framework and

organization of bureaucracy is its internecine effect within and between groups. Faculty, as a function of bureaucratic atomism and its partial consequence of less availability of power in determining that which affects their lives, become workers subject to the discretion of management:

> The crystallization of statuses and the increased dependence of faculty members upon organizations that they cannot control have opened the way for a reinterpretation of the faculty role of teacher as employee. Because organizational control is in other hands and because many teachers have increasingly important off-campus economic interests, it is not surprising that faculty occupational identifications are moving toward an acceptance of Mills' (1951) judgment that: 'the professor is, after all, an employee, subject to what this fact involves, and institutional factors select men and have some influence upon how, when, and upon what they will work.'[14]

Such effects as are reflected in the role of faculty as employee are illustrated in the regular use by faculty of words such as isolation and suspicion in characterizing their relationship to their colleagues or co-workers. These are, from the bias of this researcher, accountable in regard to structure, and logical. Additionally, such within-group conflict as characterizes faculty interaction on most campuses is viewed as mutually destructive and supportive of existing power and privilege, as well as being no accident.

"There's no real participation (among faculty) in a collegial way--no real sense that we're engaged in the same enterprise."

"There is little sharing among us . . . we're fearful."

"We don't think much about one another, or really respect one another . . . it's 'catch-22.'"

"There's no real community of academic interest . . . we are cut off from one another . . . we should be collaborating more."

"The attitudes among us need to be more constructive, less picky--we end up acting destructively to each other and students. . . . I don't know why."

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[14]Ibid., p. 269.

"Our responsibility is to teaching and the department--we don't act responsibly to one another."

That faculty almost exclusively conceived of their role as classroom- and discipline-limited, and that there is uniformly little reference to collegial, i.e., peer, relationships, and that there exists internecine struggle throughout departments, have been analyzed as structurally based. Additionally, the patterns within faculty perceptions regarding their role as teacher have been discussed. How then do faculty believe they are viewed by administration and students, and how in fact are they seen by these groups?

B. How Faculty Believe They Are Viewed By Administration

"We are something less than precious to administrators."

Faculty, in response to conversation centering about how they believe they are viewed by administration, typically and persistently believe they are seen statically, not dynamically. That is, faculty believe they are seen uniformly, evidencing to administration little or no variance. Though differing degrees of intensity regarding faculty beliefs as to how administrators view them exist, the overall form and content of faculty consciousness in this regard is similar. Faculty believe themselves to be, in the eyes of administration, needful of control, troublemakers and agitators, as a necessary evil, as employees, workers who are lucky to have their jobs, as replaceable. Interestingly, in the light of the emphasis on power relationships, no faculty interviewed felt administrators to be fearful of faculty as a group. Perhaps as a function of the atomistic effect of recent developments in colleges, faculty is in fact not a group, and thus there is little to fear.

"We (faculty) can be pushed around more than in the past, we're all replaceable . . . they (administrators) don't have to 'tip-toe' around us, they don't have to worry about ruffling our feathers."

Additional patterns of response that reflect the unanimity of faculty perception regarding the way in which they are seen by administrators finds expression in the following ways--highlighting the image of faculty as employee.

"They see us as needing control and handling--as possibly making the 'plant' dysfunctional."

"In their eyes we're employees doing piecework . . . who can be laid off if necessary."

"They're confident that they can whip us into line."

"We're a necessary evil--lucky to have our jobs (they think)."

"We're purveyors of a product, viewed with contempt as something less than precious."

"They view themselves as the owners of this factory--we the wayward employees are seen as incompetent children to be put up with."

"Mostly we're enigmas--they don't know what teaching is about . . . they don't know us and they don't respect us at the same time."

"They see us as being out to 'rip off' the college."

"Some of us are seen as friends, responsible people--particularly when we agree with them--criticism is seen as destructive . . . most of us are seen as shysters and troublemakers . . . we're categorized."

"One thing, they're not afraid of us."

The regular use of the factory metaphor reflects a view of reality that, while expressed 'wryly,' is real in regard to both the structure of contemporary academia as well as its consequences. If faculty are acting as if they are being defined as employees--devalued, not respected, and interchangeable--such prophecies have ways of fulfilling themselves regardless of their basis in reality--a basis in reality, that has, in fact, been previously analyzed and documented.

C. How Administrators Actually View Faculty

"Faculty speak the rhetoric of the collegial model of forty years ago . . . higher education is a middle-class job, not a calling . . . goodbye, Mr. Chips."

Persistent and typical responses of administrators in regard to their perception of faculty generally and the role of faculty particularly, like faculty, stress the teaching function as primary and other organizational concerns as unrealistic. Their stress on teaching fits neatly with the faculty pattern of 'active facilitator.'

"Their role (faculty) is to be a professional and personal educator . . . doing teaching that is not confined to the classroom or the material they're dealing with."

"Faculty are central and crucial as academic and personal educators. They should also be learning from one another."

"They should be imparting the ah ha! experience to students."

"Faculty occupy the crucial position on campus, and anyone who perceives differently is crazy. . . . They don't need more power . . . and they should not get involved in areas not directly concerned with the classroom."

"Teaching is primary; they don't have the time to worry about institutional survival--they should be taking care of students."

"They should be impeccable role models, mentors, active producers, they've got the time . . . it's easy to prepare notes and teach."

"Curricular development is secondary."

"Things don't overlap as much as they (faculty) think . . . faculty should trust and have confidence in us . . . I don't know if there is enough trust left to see us through the problems on campus."

D. How Faculty Believe They Are Viewed By Students

"They want to be excited, turned on by us, and to figure out with us what they want to do with themselves in the future; they want us to provide some sense of the possibilities."

Faculty responses that are persistent and typical in regard to how they believe they are seen by students can be patterned much in the same

ways that we have previously depicted faculty in regard to their view of the classroom--active facilitators on the one hand and information conduits on the other. One of the systematic descriptions faculty give in response to conversations about how they think students view their role is centered about their being seen as suppliers of information.

"They want (students) to make it easy for them to get through; they want me to assume most of the responsibility for their learning."

"They want (students) the complete recipe--exact quantities, when to take the cake out, how to test it--and they want to eat it. . . . Yet they're wanting a mix, not a cake from scratch . . . because they're here to get through."

"I sometimes walk into class and it's as if my students were sitting there with empty pitchers instead of heads, and I'm supposed to fill up the pitchers."

"Their attitude toward us is that we should show them how to get a job, give them a skill they can sell, give them a grade, let them enjoy themselves, and get off their backs."

"We are banks of knowledge; they want their money's worth."

Additionally, there are those faculty who view students' perceptions of them as active and facilitative.

"They (students) want good teachers and personalized relationships with us . . . many of us are seen as less concerned with them than they'd like."

"They have a high level of regard and respect for those of us that regard and respect them as people."

"They see us as hard working and they see us as committed."

"They see us as stimulating and curious."

"They see us to be helpful and they want to know us as persons."

"They see most of us as challenging."

"They know more about us than we think."

One final and persistent pattern emerges out of faculty response in regard to how they believe students see their role. This pattern is of

particular interest as it reflects, once again, the variables of power and vulnerability which regularly emerged in the course of the present research as key determinants of consciousness.

"They want us to be the parents they never had."

Views from faculty that emphasize the faculty member as parent were regularly referenced in the responses of the faculty.

"They (students) want us to be their fathers, mothers and psychiatrists."

Such views, from the bias of this researcher, deny the structural sources of these supposed attributes of students. The circumstances within which students find themselves, structured largely by those who administer the college and additionally by those with whom students have the greatest contact (other than with their peers), i.e., the faculty, have a great deal to do with creating the context that allows faculty to project upon students the perception of themselves as parents. If the only avenue of authority available to faculty is the classroom, and the only object of that authority is the student, the likelihood of parental imagery is increased. Hence, the source of such perceptions as referenced above is rooted in the circumstances within which faculty, students and administration find themselves, and not in the psychological processes of the individual.

E. How Students Actually View The Role of Faculty

"There is a split between those (faculty) who are concerned with students' ideas and are bridging the gap between their roles, redefining them, and those who don't give a shit--they perpetuate the power structure inside and outside the classroom."

"In school the person is just a name . . . the first step to being a name and a number . . . then just a number. We are not seen as whole persons in and of ourselves. We are to many faculty another mind to teach

until next semester when some other mind will occupy the seat, preferably in someone else's body."

Students' persistently patterned perceptions regarding their view of the role of faculty centers about the view of faculty represented by selected comments presented above. For the largest part, students view faculty as either "student defined" or "non-student defined," with the largest number of students much preferring to 'work' for faculty whom they view as being "student defined." Operationally, what is meant by students in using the notion of a "student-defined" faculty member is similar to what faculty perceive of as active participation, reciprocity, and other primary qualities when describing their role. That is, those faculty who view themselves as active participants in the learning process, interested in the student as a whole person, become what students view to be the ideal.

We have seen in the preceding chapter, in relation to the specific effects of the academic bureaucracy on students, a sense of the student as being locked into a position. Student perceptions of faculty role, in their stress on what is herein termed the desire for a "student-defined" faculty role relationship, are a reflection of the structurally rooted, overdetermination by status that most students interviewed experienced:

> This shared sense may be characterized as a sense of being locked into a position, that is, of being overdetermined by a status that gives its members a highly generalized social identity and at the same time deprives them of the opportunity to exercise control over the conditions of that identity.[15]

Hence, for most students across all interviews, the faculty person who is actively concerned about them as whole persons becomes the predominant way in which students wishfully view the role of faculty. For those faculty seen as "non-student defined," the bitterness is apparent.

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[15]Ibid., p. 300.

"Faculty should be learners like us--all of us together in this community."

"Faculty should teach with us, not at us."

"Together (with faculty) we should be learning to question reality."

"The split is very clear--some care, some don't. . . . I study with those who care."

"Too many of them (faculty) are limited to the classroom . . . they are not actively concerned (a minority are) with us and the issues we are concerned with."

"Their (faculty) first responsibility is to students--teaching in a holistic way."

"Faculty should provide guidance, be receptive to our needs, interests and concerns."

"Faculty should challenge us--we'll work for those who do that and who see us as people."

"I want faculty who have a whole person orientation to me, who are rigorous and can accept more than one world view."

Those faculty who are seen to be "non-student defined" are judged harshly by students who it appears know not only what they want in a relationship with faculty but, as well, what they don't want.

"Faculty think that if students were good students they wouldn't be here . . . they fulfill that prophecy in their actions toward us."

"They think we're trying to fool them, get over on them, yet it's them that have lost their excitement about teaching, if they ever had it."

"To many their work seems like drudgery."

"Some (faculty) really fake interest in the students' development."

"They spoon-feed us ideas that others want to perpetuate . . . as if we're babies."

III. Students

A. How Students View Their Role on Campus

"There is a big discrepancy between the ideology of the school and that which we actually confront."

In the preceding chapter we have seen student consciousness to be linked to the circumstances of the structure within which they find themselves. Located in an environment of atomized and hierarchically arranged positions, students have been viewed as the least permanent group on campus, outsiders to the operation of the college, and "functionally strange."[16] Additionally, we have seen in detail the ways in which such a position provides students with a relatively homogeneous experience of the organization and a subsequent consciousness that reflects such an experience. Hence the form (habit of mind) and the content (world view) of student consciousness is seen to be inextricably linked to their position in the college and the particular circumstances that circumscribe that position. Further, the position occupied by students within the organizational framework of the college is itself a reflection and replication of broader socio-structural circumstances that provide the largest stage and scenery for the unfolding drama.

Patterns that are typical (i.e., regular) and persistent (i.e., appear repeatedly over time), in regard to students' perceptions of their own role on campus, center about two modes of consciousness, one largely a more passive, vocational, and future-oriented mode, the other a more active, humanist and political one. The more passive definition views the role of student as a means to an end, i.e., career training. The more active definition is circumscribed by involvement, a more cosmopolitan orientation which acknowledges, to a greater degree than do faculty, the external sources of control operating on their lives. In this sense, those students who view their role more actively are closer to administration in the form of their consciousness, if not in power. All students view their role as a form of

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[16] Ibid.

self survival, though the degree to which they see themselves as controlled, in transition, manipulated and involved varies significantly.

Students who view their role actively do not maintain the consciousness and ideology of autonomy present among faculty. The priorities of these students, and the circumstances within which they find themselves, order their interests and perceptions.

"We are learners . . . we should be and are searching out new ideas--learning how power is distributed and how we can change this."

"We are learning to live in a community responsibly."

"I am learning how to change."

"There is a split between students who want to learn and take initiative and those who only want to absorb for some job."

"This is our campus too . . . we must study to become aware of its political structures--toward the end of change, not idle bitching."

"This is not a vocational experience for me; I see this as an end in itself (learning)."

"College experience is too much like real life in that power distribution is inequitable--without learning how to change power relations we have no knowledge to change that on a larger social scale."

Students who view their role in a more passive way see themselves as absorbers of training for careers. The degree of variance between these modes of consciousness is great. For both, the primary goal is learning and personal survival, though the nature, form and content of this learning distinguishes the range. Somewhat like faculty perceptions in regard to their role, students too view their role in terms of partial or complete involvement. For the more 'passive recipients' the college is a series of means to an end--going to class, memorizing, doing assignments and regurgitation--all leading toward the 'degree' when 'real' life begins.

"I am here to get the skills I can use in a job."

"I don't know if it was worth it; I'll tell you in ten years."

"Our concern is what directly affects us--classes, tests, grades . . . this is not the outside world."

"Most of us have nothing more to do with the college than going to classes for four years."

"Our role is to get most knowledge with the least pain."

"I see the role of student as 'an absorber'; I'm not a 'curer' of world ills . . . I should assimilate what is being offered."

"My role is to get my work done, get my degree, and find a job."

"My role is to come to class, take tests, etc.--I've got no power to do anything else . . . except to party."

B. How Students Believe They Are Viewed By Faculty

"Some have a genuine respect and concern for us . . . most think we're children . . . I've got more than enough parents already."

Students uniformly view two major categories of faculty perception in their regard. Patterns center about faculty who see students as whole persons, i.e., 'student-defined faculty,' and faculty who view students solely in terms of their status as student, interacting with them in a role-to-role capacity, i.e., 'bureaucratically-defined faculty.'

An often cited characteristic in regard to the 'student-defined faculty' pattern is the importance of out-of-class interaction, though it is essentially the nature of this interaction, i.e., personalized and primary, that is stressed.

"There are faculty who see us as people . . . and those who see students as a 'tabula rosa' upon which to inscribe ideas."

"There are a minority of faculty that don't think they only exist in the classroom and refuse to accept that limitation, they see us as people and are involved in relationships with us."

"These faculty (student-defined) see us as bright people struggling with new ideas."

The perceptions held by students regarding the way in which they are

seen by the more 'bureaucratically-defined faculty' center about being viewed as a collectivity to be impersonally interceded with and patronized.

"They see us as sponges, absorbers of what they have to offer—we may grow like the sponge but we shouldn't overflow in class."

"They see us as a group in learning--and not individuals."

"They see us as trivial and unimportant--we're not special."

"They see us as children--they don't really listen to us."

"Those faculty that act superior, they look down on us, they scorn us . . . they make fun of our mistakes."

"We are bodies to lecture to until the class is over."

"We are xerox copies of each other to the faculty."

"They keep us busy so we'll stay out of their hair."

"We are to them naive, mindless, and they take out their frustration with the administration on us."

While most students explained the sources of the perceived faculty responses referenced above as located in the individual, i.e., a product of the 'personality' of the faculty members being used by them to frame their response, a number viewed faculty as responding out of the broader circumstances surrounding their world.

"They are just perpetuating the power structure of the larger college in the classroom."

"We're the only group they have any power over so they take it out on us."

C. How Faculty Actually View The Role of Student

Faculty consciousness, specifically regarding the role of students, and students in general, is reflected in two basic patterns of response that are very true in relation to the students' actual beliefs as to how they think they are seen by faculty. There exists one mode of faculty

response that views students in a widely defined and actively engaged way--i.e., using the college and the classroom as seedbeds for personal and intellectual growth. A second mode, more traditional in its focus, views the student and his/her role as one-dimensional in its focus on the students' transitional, immature, and career-oriented nature. The latter is reflected in the following expressions of faculty perception and consequently in the action implied therein.

"I'm a foreman, grinding piece-work out of them."

"They're the lower echelon beings . . . they're really children in need of our guidance."

"They're not experienced, wise or mature--I don't share any common goals with them--I am clearly superior, professionally . . . they should not participate in departmental decision-making--they can express their point of view, i.e., input, but they shouldn't have a vote."

"Their course evaluations damage our collegiality."

"Most are terribly career-oriented and should be."

"They should do what I ask them to do . . . oh yes, they should be trying to grow and all that stuff."

"They are here to find their place in the world on the other side of the college's door."

"They should be trying to get the best grades they can, learning, getting saturated and looking to the future."

"They are here to grow up, find a place in the world--they're really here to get a degree, a career, and to get out."

"They should have a professional orientation--everything is secondary to that and not even necessary--they should not have to be involved in anything else--the other stuff just happens."

"For them school politics should be as a recreation; they don't have any obligation or responsibility to straighten out the school."

Such a consciousness which defines student role in the above ways reflects the distribution of power on campus and serves to define legitimate and illegitimate spheres of student activity. This consciousness finds its expression, both typically and persistently, in faculty whose

habits of mind and world view center about the exclusion of the student from the process of his/her learning. The student becomes, as a function of this consciousness, the transitional, non-participating, future-oriented sponge--to be 'saturated,' degreed, and goodbyed:

> Students are enjoined to be local in the site to which they refer their activities and non-serious with regard to that site, in the sense that they are obligated to recognize their studenthood as a transitional condition--important only for its bearing on their future. This construction of the student position is not compatible with the cosmopolitan and serious perspective of those students whose practice defines the university as structurally related to society and subject to the political operations inherent in that relationship.[17]

Faculty whose consciousness constructs a student position that is more widely defined and actively engaged approaches that definition held by those students who see themselves similarly, i.e., as active participants, rather than passive and transitional recipients in the process of their education. Such a habit of mind (form) and world view (content)--termed herein student-defined faculty consciousness--finds expression in the following pattern of responses of faculty that were persistent and typical across the interviews.

"They are here to find out how they want to express their lives . . . to experiment intellectually and politically, to take risks and make commitments."

"They are here to ask questions, synthesize and analyze--to develop imagination."

"This (school) is not the key to a job nor primarily preparation for a job--it's a time for personal discovery and the excitement that comes from it."

"They should be applying their learning to their lives outside of the class."

"They should be doing--not merely studying a discipline--applying their learning to their life."

"They should be developing assertiveness and problem-solving skills--they should be involved in campus politics."

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[17]Ibid., p. 290.

"They should be here in an egocentric way--developing excitement and capabilities, learning their strengths and weaknesses, through lots of involvement and activity."

D. How Students Believe They Are Viewed By Administration

"I think they're frightened of us--or maybe I'd like to believe that."

It has been maintained, in the preceding chapter, that students are, for the most part, determined by their status, i.e., position defined and acted toward. Additionally, students have been viewed as transitional and disenfranchised in regard to authority and control. Finally, students have been seen, as a function of the circumstances of the structure within which they found themselves, to develop a consciousness constructed out of their generalized social identity. Such a consciousness, both in form and content, has been seen in the present section to be reflected in their perceptions regarding their own role. Additional indicators of this consciousness, rooted in position, are highlighted in the patterned perceptions held by students in regard to how they believe they are viewed by administration.

"Most (administrators) have no idea whatsoever as to who we are . . . we're this group called students—out there moving around."

"We're a group of numbers to funnel through the system."

"To most we're dollar signs . . . and a group of children unable to think for ourselves . . . not mature enough to have more power . . . they see us as needing more control."

"We're an investment not unlike their investments in South Africa--we too are capitalized upon as a minority group."

"They are happy if we drink beer, play sports and do campus things . . . that they like."

"They are constantly limiting our power, so they must be afraid of us."

"They don't consult with us, so they must see us as insignificant--it's really condescending."

"They see us as mindless and thoughtless--and that we should be grateful to be able to even talk with them . . . what are they so busy doing?"

"They see us as naive . . . they make us naive."

"To them we are a group called students . . . the kids--they get away with it."

E. How Administrators Actually View Students and Their Role

"Everything is so organized now, the summer has allowed me to catch up and get everything in its place . . . we're really ready for them . . . though everything is so in order it's almost a shame that they have to come back."*

Administrative perceptions regarding student role unanimously stress the student as in transition, career-oriented, "maturing." Additionally, administrators emphasize the ways in which college is not the real world and that students are in school to grow up so as to "start life" when they graduate. Involvement in campus activities is emphasized, though the nature of this involvement is in what was seen in the preceding chapter to be administratively sanctioned organizations.

"Students should study . . . they have immediate needs to meet . . . they don't have the foresight or background to plan the future of the institution."

"It's (the school's and its needs) impossible for students to understand--given time limitations."

"They're here to learn--in and out of class--they should be involved in academic committees and with the student congress."

"They should be career-oriented and doing everything that they can while they're here to develop for the future."

"They should be studying, going to class, reading, doing assignments . . . this is not the real world--they have an amazing amount of leisure time--freedom from the necessity of making a living and freedom from the watchful eye of their parents."

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*Administrator responding to the approach of the new fall semester.

"The kids should be getting information, the ability to use it, and the desire to acquire more of it."

"They're not informed or inquisitive about what's going on--they operate totally in the dark--they don't articulate their problems."

"They are here to get an education and a career--they tend not to be concerned about the education they're getting. They are concerned with food, clothes, sports, social stuff, and when the bars are going to be opened."

"They should prepare themselves to make a living."

"Frankly, I feel they should be career-oriented--sooner or later the educational process has to prepare the person to assume adult roles."

This chapter has characterized the relationship between the larger order, bureaucracy, and role through an intersubjective portrayal of the public statements of the constituencies of administration, faculty and students. Such patterns as emerged serve as illustrative data for the preceding theoretical framework and as a bridge toward the implications of these portrayals in the conclusion which follows.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND PRESCRIPTIONS

The present research, in stressing the intrinsic relationship between institutions and consciousness, has explored and detailed the general and specific effects of the structure of bureaucracy on the consciousness of its constituents. The link between the college and the broader social structure has been seen to be a particularly crucial one in regard to the determination of both the form (habit of mind) and the content (world view) of such consciousness. Specifically, both the immediate context of the college, and its rootedness in the larger social order, have been portrayed as the foundation for the consciousness of administration, faculty and student groups. Additionally, the unique nature and practice of the occupation, or craft, of administration, faculty and student work are depicted as relatively autonomous contributors to consciousness. Hence, the consciousness of the constituencies of the college has been seen, in both its form and its content, as more than an appendage to the structure within which it exists and out of which it largely emerges. Such consciousness as depicted in the preceding chapter has been seen to be a product of reciprocal relations of causality.

Additionally, the sociology of knowledge, in combination with a role-theoretic methodology, accounts for the intersubjective portrayal of the consciousness among and between administrators, faculty and students that is typically, persistently, and transituationally patterned in Chapter V. Such patterns, while serving to reflect the social reality between these

groups, become, as well, indicators of the essential elements of the consciousness of each. Hence, consciousness, both in its form and its content, has been seen to be empirically determinable.

The primary question facing the researcher now becomes, in light of the above, the ways in which, if at all, the depiction of these constellations of consciousness can be utilized as sources of prescription. The intersubjective, structurally rooted portrait that has emerged from this research appears to depict a pathology in the relationship between campus constituents that is imperative and inexorable, as its roots have been seen as running deeply and holding fast to the broader institutional order within which it abides.

At this juncture, does the curtain come down on the foregoing drama with its players described, its 'sets' depicted, and its script analyzed--only to be raised again and again--repeated, if you will, as destiny? Or, on the other hand, are there choices to be made? Can the constituencies and their described perceptions, as well as the structure depicted as integral to those perceptions, be seen as less than imperative or fixed?

While the first task has been accomplished, i.e., the description and sources of campus consciousness, there remains the question of what can be done--a question which itself reflects the consciousness of this particular researcher. It has been maintained earlier that this researcher values the application of research towards change. Policy implications have been seen to be implicit if not made explicit in all empirical generalizations. This assumption, coupled with others previously discussed--that the social order is fluid and dynamic and social life is process; that individuals can be active participants in the construction of reality, not mere passive recipients of it; that humankind is capable of both self

and social change, all tempered by the recognition that conflict is imperative--leads naturally to prescription. Berger, Berger and Kellner, in their insightful analysis of modernization and consciousness, speak to the question of possible alternatives to the existing forms of modernity and modernization. Their concern and subsequent analysis find replication in the present research, particularly in regard to the question of prescriptions for change. In reading the following passage it is useful to substitute the word bureaucracy for modernity, particularly since the importance of recognizing the alternatives possible, within that which appears as imperative in its existing form, is being stressed in the present chapter:

> The question of alternatives can be approached in terms of two polar opposites. Modernity may be understood as an indivisible unity, and modernization, therefore, as an inexorable destiny, in which case there are no alternatives at all. Or, modernity may be seen as a freely manipulable complex of ingredients, in which there is a near infinity of alternatives, as the packages of modernity can be taken apart and put together in new ways at will. It seems to us that both these positions are patently untenable, and that little is gained by raising questions in these terms. The more interesting question is that of the parameters of choice, that is to determine when modernity can be manipulated and when it cannot, and thus what chances may be assigned to specific alternatives.[1]

Hence, this research, while having characterized the relationship between the larger institutional order, the college bureaucracy and consciousness, is not content with concluding at this point. Rather, the present chapter has as its aim the investigation and depiction of the range of manipulation possible within the bureaucratic organization of the college. Such policies as are suggested by the structural and occupational realities that frame the consciousness of administration, faculty and students are herein the focus. Additionally, as stressed in Chapter IV, this

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[1]Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger and Hansfried Kellner, The Homeless Mind (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 19-20.

researcher is guarded in his optimism regarding the potential for progress, though certain that choice and change exist. While in agreement with Berger, Berger and Kellner in regard to the structural determination of the parameters within which choice is possible, this researcher believes that in acting 'as if' the status quo is destiny, one is manifesting 'bad faith'--i.e., pretending something is necessary which is in fact voluntary--a bad faith which, while understandable, given the complexity and power of that which presently exists, is not immutable.

Just as the larger order has not been seen as the sole determinant of consciousness, as consciousness has been viewed in this research as capable of acting back on that order, i.e., in a dialectical way, so too are institutional factors seen herein as neither necessary nor imperative in their present form. In agreement with Berger, Berger and Kellner then:

> Clearly the parameters will be determined by such institutional factors as economic and political power, but the question can also be put in terms of the intrinsic relations between institutions and consciousness. The limits of what are possible are set not only by the external requirements of institutions but also, and fundamentally, by the structure of the human mind.[2]

Through a summary, then, of the collective constructions of consciousness between and among the constituencies of administration, faculty and students, and the sources of the respective constellations of this consciousness, the primary intent of this conclusion is to provide extensions and implications in the form of policy alternatives and prescriptive strategies. Such alternatives and strategies are founded in the belief that consciousness regarding the bureaucratic organization of the college, its links with the broader social structure, and the world views and habits of mind of its constituent parts are both possible and necessary.

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[2]Ibid., p. 20.

The meaning of the college is, as has been depicted, significantly different for administrators, faculty and students, though points of intersection exist among the collective constructions of reality of each group:

> As a plural setting in which practices have crystallized, the university is characterized by the co-presence of different collective constructions of the situation. That these constructions are also mutually exclusive is indicated by the discussion of the links between the university and society, particularly the links that engage administrators and faculty in cosmopolitan enterprises; the power structure of the university; the shifts in occupational identifications of administrators and teachers, and the practical differences in the conditions of students, faculty and administrators.[3]

While we have seen much exclusivity, further and in addition we have seen that there exist, within groups as well as between groups, differences in the social constructions of consciousness that evidence themselves. Hence, what occurs on campus is not solely a function of what the group wishes and demands vs. what another group wishes and demands. There exists inter- and intra-group pressure and doubt across the constituencies under study. The recognition of the points of convergence between administrative, faculty and student perspectives is important as a source of potential articulation between these groups. Yet the awareness that each group is more a group in the consciousness of the other than each is in reality is of particular importance. The three constituencies under study exist in a precarious state of balanced tension, a tension that has been attributed to a variety of organizational and structural sources, not the least of which is the dimension of power. Yet while the more different than similar perspectives of each group are a reflection of the overall distribution of power on the campus, what exists is an interaction based more on how each

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[3]Michael Brown and Amy Goldin, Collective Behavior (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973), p. 290.

group thinks the other is than how in reality they are. Such interaction is then characterized in the largest degree by an ignorance of the other. Such ignorance, while understandable in relation to the stratification of power on campus, is no less a determining factor of the tension which exists because of it.

The concept of the other as 'caricature,' persistently reflected in the perspectives of each constituency, is largely linked to existing power arrangements on campus and the ways in which power and its differential allocation serves to define the work and hence the consciousness of administration, faculty and students. That the recognition of the perceived and very real differences, evidenced by the range of perceptions within each group, is virtually absent in the expressed consciousness of each group in regard to the other, is not accidental. That students view administrators largely as a group, that administrators similarly perceive of faculty in this way, etc., has been explained in relation to a variety of structural factors within the college and its increasingly complex ties to the broader structure of society. In agreement with Berger, Berger and Kellner, this research finds an overriding element in the form, or habit of mind, of bureaucratic consciousness to be one of 'orderliness.' Such orderliness seen in the context of the existing distribution of power can be seen to explain the pigeon-holing of identities that takes place between and among administration, faculty and students, a categorizing which, while leaving little room for the subtleties of within-group differences that exist, is attributable to the structural penchant for impersonal, formalized, and hence stereotypical responses of each group in regard to the others:

> Every bureaucracy must produce a system of categories into which everything within a certain jurisdiction can fit and in terms of

> which everything can be handled. There must be clear and concise definitions of every relevant phenomenon or situation . . . more specifically, this orderliness is based on a taxonomic propensity . . . the bureaucrat is typically satisfied once everything has been put in its proper box.[4]

Hence the power structure of the college is reflected in the perceptions held by its constituent parts--people, as well as phenomena and situations, are taxonomically viewed and thus the use of caricature across all groups is not accidental. There exists an intrinsic relationship between the organizational structure of the college and the consciousness of its constituents.

Further, the view of administrative, faculty and student groups, colored by this taxonomic propensity, i.e., as caricatures in one another's consciousness, is both descriptive of that which exists on campus and a useful source for prescription. Caricatures, like general stereotypical response, provide a clear, though projected, picture of the group doing the caricaturing or stereotyping, i.e., its perceptions, needs, fears, and their sources. Rarely does the caricature describe the group to which it is ostensibly directed. Thus we can more fruitfully employ these characteristics that typify, to the exclusion of the recognition of much difference, in an understanding of the structure of the college and the needs of its constituents, rather than as a description of how the other really is. Additionally, such caricatures, based in the bureaucratic frame of organization, and in the largest part false depictions of the other, are used as a basis for interaction between groups on campus and are thus real in their consequences. The consciousness of each group and the caricaturing of the other, which is reflected in the interviewing, are but one product of the bureaucratic structure of the college, itself rooted in and

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[4]Berger, Berger and Kellner, The Homeless Mind, pp. 49-50.

determined by the broader context of political and social within which it exists.

The intersubjective picture of the campus depicted in the previous chapter is crucial to an understanding of campus reality. In detailing this picture, the present research has described and attempted to explain the realities of administrative, faculty and student consciousness. The picture of the campus which emerges out of the patterned perceptions of its constituents is real, at least to the extent that such perceptions may be seen as a basis for the consequent actions of each group.

The preceding discussion depicting the other as 'caricature' is cited as a crucial indication of one specific element in the consciousness of the groups under study. This is crucial, as this researcher views such caricaturing as an exemplar of the ways in which the distribution of power on campus is replicated in the beliefs which circulate among its constituents and reflective of the ways in which the contemporary academic enterprise is increasingly enmeshed with the life of the broader society.

Further, the status of each of the constituencies on campus has been seen to be crystallized as a function of the increased rationalization and professionalization of administrative practice. Additionally, faculty, students and administrators' perceptions of one another are seen as caricatured. Such caricature is an outgrowth of the atomistic compartmentalization of roles on campus, and the hierarchical arrangement and differential allocation of power that accompanies the aforementioned shift in the practice of administrative work. We have seen in detail that faculty are individuated as a function of the increased managerial function of administration. Their consciousness reflects a faculty work seen in this research as divided and compartmentalized by school or division, department, and

specialization. While increasingly subject to external authority, faculty perceptions regarding their own role and that of the administration reflect a denial of such control. This denial is more in the form of their consciousness, i.e., their habit of mind, than in its content, i.e., or world view. That is to say, faculty express a view of themselves as generally autonomous and relatively unaffected by ongoings at larger organizational or societal levels, while at the same time they view the classroom, and to a lesser extent the department, as the only sphere of legitimate faculty activity. Faculty are herein seen as increasingly dependent upon managerial control while denying this control through an ideology of departmental autonomy. Such false consciousness serves to immobilize and isolate faculty from one another as well as from the source of potential power through collective action, reinforcing the tendency to caricature. We have seen that students, like administrators, acknowledge to a greater extent than do faculty the external sources of control that serve to limit their autonomy. Student perceptions have been seen to reflect a recognition which locates control in the college administration--though not recognizing the broader social context within which the college exists as the determinative factor. The students' generalized, distinctive and shared social identity (emerging out of the practice of student work) is seen herein as reflecting a sense of the college that is more true to its reality than that of the faculty. It appears that both the top (administration) and the bottom (students) of the campus hierarchy have a more clear sense of its operation than does the middle (faculty).

What ultimately emerges is the recognition that the primary goal of this research is as well the source for its prescriptions. Having as its aim the creation of institutional and organizational consciousness and

critical awareness, this study has attempted, through an intersubjective portrayal of the perceptions of the constituents on campus, to develop such crucial consciousness. The aim herein has been to have administrative, faculty and student groups recognize and understand the objective conditions within which they exist and the myriad ways in which these conditions determine the nature of their respective perceptions and actions. The organization of the college has been placed against the backdrop of the organization of the society within which it exists and has been seen to fuse with that society. The everyday reality of campus life has been seen to reflect the material conditions of the historical moment within which this reality is played out. The social location of each group and the nature of its work within a broader context of political and economic determination has been additionally viewed as a determinant of perception and action.

The goal of organizational authenticity, group and individual consciousness, and critical awareness that has circumscribed this study has come to view the structure of society to be reflected in the structure of the college, a framework which inhibits the emergence and development of critical consciousness through the creation of the habits of mind and world views peculiar to the constituencies of administration, faculty and students. It has been seen to be no accident that a class divided, impersonal, materialistic, and characterized by competitive social structure finds replication in the organization of the college. Such differential allocation of power, such mistrust, fear, ignorance and paternalism as is reflected in the perceptions of the college's constituents, is intrinsic to and normative within the value structure of the larger society.

Through this attempt at a critically conscious analysis of the contradictions on the campus and their rootedness in both the practice of

work and the ideology of the larger order, this research has led to question the imperative or inevitable nature of that which exists at present. Clearly, the present mode of institutionalized social arrangements in society and on campus is not the most facilitative form possible for actualizing individual growth. The alienation reflected across all groups attests to this. The ignorance and caricaturing reflected in the perceptions of each group regarding the other, as well as the fear, distrust, group narcissism, and the internecine climate of the campus, additionally reflect individuals expressing themselves against a broader alienating context. Purpose and policy then come together. Determining the parameters of choice, the range of manipulation in the larger order and within the organization of the college begins with critical consciousness; the creation of a more authentic environment necessitates such consciousness. Present policies and institutional strategies serve to alter the content of the structure while its form remains intact. Hence, such policies regarding 'new' structures on campus largely serve to rationalize that which exists. Without critical consciousness regarding the nature of campus reality, we are engaging in sisiphysian labor, as the stone will continue to roll back down on us. Through critical consciousness we begin to recognize the active part we may play in the construction and/or reconstruction of reality. Though no small task, the fact that social life is inexorably process and change allows for guarded optimism. The present research is at best a piece of this critical consciousness.

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