A case analysis of institutional change and its relationship to conflict with a focus on policy formulation.

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A CASE ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE
AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO CONFLICT WITH A
FOCUS ON POLICY FORMULATION

A dissertation Presented
By
Richard Thomas Wotruba

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

June 1972

Major Subject Administration
PREFACE

This thesis had its genesis in the notes of the author as he was preparing and reviewing for his Comprehensive Examinations. That is, as the writer was taking his oral exam, it was suggested that this information should be pursued further and with more scientific backing. It was then decided to use the investigating material as a basis for my doctoral dissertation.

The past decade has witnessed a profusion of writing addressed to change. However, there exist hardly any studies suggesting that conflict between interest groups may be a factor that prompts changes in the policy formulation process. With these thoughts in mind and the realization that the writer's administrative experiences have been full of crisis situations it was decided that there could possibly be a linkage between conflict and change, provided the surrounding attitudes and procedures were open to this possibility.

In an attempt to join knowledge of the change literature with knowledge of conflict, the process of policy formulation in the educational setting was used as the link pin. The theoretical framework was then applied to an existing institution of higher education that has recently experienced a great deal of change, conflict and new policies. The overarching observation is that presently there is little infor-
mation that is dependably usable by practicing administrators to handle the phenomenal amount of change and conflict existing in institutions of higher education and especially when policy formation is involved.

The writer owes much to his committee for their guidance, encouragement, criticisms and recommendations during the initial stages of the research and throughout the writing of the final draft. Particular thanks go to Tom Clark, Bill Lauroesch and Emma Cappelluzzo for their desire to help me grow intellectually and emotionally so that this essay could become a reality.

My primary gratitude belongs to my wife, Patty Ann, and the children, Arthur, Thomas and Darlene, for the understanding and sacrifices in allowing me to devote "their hours" to the writing of this thesis. It is a pleasure to thank my colleagues who have helped my work by their interest and sympathetic understanding. I refer particularly to Jay Tierney, Dennis Golden and Matt Quinn for the times we spent talking, eating, drinking and writing about the topics mentioned within this investigation.

The author wishes to thank Assumption College and all those associated with the College who gave so much of their time and information to make the empirical part of this thesis a point of reference. I am especially grateful for the financial support that was provided by the College for the
undertaking of this study.

Last but not least, I want to express my appreciation to Jody Fisher and Pearl Jolicoeur for their editorial assistance, typing and help in making a clearer picture of my ideas in the final manuscript.

Richard T. Wotruba

June 1972
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INTRODUCTION

As the tides of progress flow forward to meet the complex needs of society, there exists a sense of impending and ever-continuing change. The extensity and rate of change in the modern world are greater than in most past periods, but, nowhere are these tides more strongly felt than on college and university campuses. Widening gaps between traditional goals and current practice are evident, as the struggle between divergent values and institutional expectations and acceptable ways of implementation increasingly influence the direction of changes. In this analysis, change is viewed as the significant alteration of existing institutional structures, policies, purposes, and programs through the development of new ones. Attention is focused on those changes that took place within an institution and have long-range and large-scale affects.

Another prominent characteristic in these academic institutions is conflict—conflict among the sub-populations within the institution and between these institutions and the larger society. Strife is generated by the disparity between the goals, standards and expectations of those who support and participate directly in higher education and by the varied purposes, multiple concepts of authority and decentralized power structures of the academic community.
The clash of values and interests, the tension between vested interests and new groups demanding their share of power, wealth, and status, can be productive and prevent accommodations and habitual relations by progressively impoverishing creativity. Thus, this analysis is concerned with those consequences of conflict which make for an increase in the adaptation of those involved in moving from the old to the new change.

In effect, this is the application of John Dewey's theory of consciousness and thought as arising in the wake of obstacles to the interaction of groups.

Conflict is the gadfly of thought. It stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates to invention. It shocks us out of sheep-like passivity, and sets us at noting and contriving ... Conflict is a sine qua non of reflection and ingenuity.¹

Eric Hoffer helps to illustrate some of the fears, frustrations and adjustments that surround change in stating,

how hesitant I was that first morning as I was about to address myself to the string bean vines. Would I be able to pick string beans? Even the change from peas to string beans had in it elements of fear.²

This paper is concerned not just with the view that conflict is a rejection of the old, but mostly with the idea that it can be the creator of the new-change.


Conflict theory has been a major part of sociological analysis since Marx made the point that what is diagnosed as disease (conflict) by most people regarding institutionalized patterns, is the first birth pangs of change. The "matters-of-fact" of a "given state of affairs" according to Marx contain the germs of a process that leads beyond them. Since the student uprisings of the early sixties, there has been a revival of interest in the conflict theory approach to social behavior. Many interpretations are being offered to explain the situation, but few are concerned with the type of conflict that develops when interest groups try to influence policy decisions. Far from being only a negative factor which tears apart, conflict may fulfill a number of determinate functions in these interest groups; it may, for example,

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contribute to the maintenance of group boundaries. To focus on the possible creative aspects of conflict is not to deny that certain forms of conflict are destructive. Such focusing might serve to correct a balance of analysis which apparently has been tilted in the other direction. Here in this study, the researcher is referring to revolutionary change as one which has its origin within the system and does not result in a radical overthrow of the existing structure or policies. It is more likely to be a type of revolutionary change that combines some of the old with the new and not just a situation which results in a either or policy.

Despite the rapidity of change on college campuses and the surrounding conflicts, not all academic institutions contain the same degree of conflict and strain. This, plus the fact that not only are the underpinnings of the traditional academic community being challenged by the characteristics of conflict and change, but many institutions are unable to find the means to resolve strife and at the same time, to maintain vitality, viability and educational relevance.

Recently, many articles have been presented concerning governance, authority, accountability, legitimacy and formalized power, but not much has been presented about the other types of power—power based on non-legalitimate threats, power based on appeals to emotion and sentiment, power based on expertise, and power based on the force of massive type
movements. Policy formulation implies that there is an allocation of power. The problem is that very seldom is there complete concordance between what individuals and groups within a system consider their just due and the system of allocation. Discontent is likely to ensue as long as we have groups or individuals making decisions (having more power) that affect the total community. If there exist no institutionalized provisions for the expression of such discontents, nonformal uses of power as previously mentioned will influence the policy formulation processes.

It can be said that conflict could be a source for positive change, negative change or more conflict. Thus, this study is concerned with developing procedures for formally channeling conflicts toward positive changes in the policy formulation process.

Since the private liberal arts college is usually steeped in tradition and in greater financial jeopardy than the public based institution, it is especially involved in this swirl of sometimes conflicting forces for change. With these thoughts in mind, plus the availability of empirical

5J. Victor Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971), is a good introduction for the reader interested in possible uses of power.

6This whole process is exhaustively discussed by Merton in his paper on "Social Structure and Anomie." Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1957), and he mentions it to illustrate some of the uses of power.
source material, the researcher chose the private liberal arts college as the place for studying the relationship between conflict and change.

The Problem

The purpose of this study is to investigate institutional change in the light of its relationship to the conflict processes, with a focus on policy formulation at a four-year private liberal arts college.

Specifically, the investigation has examined a major effort for institutional change in terms of the cycle of conflict and how closely conflict and change were interwoven as part of the fabric of policy formulation. The changes took place at Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, over the past three years. The researcher was a participant-observer at this institution.

Conflict is viewed as an inherent natural part of the on-going organizational process, both for the individual person and the group. In addition, conflict is seen as symptomatic of the need for integrative alternatives and reorganization within the institution. Sensitivity to the sources of conflict can disclose significant issues for investigation, but they can also provide administrators with the means for diagnosing dislocations and finding clues in the organization for change. This method has been used and advocated by the followers of "planned change," but from the
perspective of resolving conflict and developing better organizational management methods. This investigation approaches conflict from the perspective of creativity and how it can be a motivational force for change. An attempt is made to specify the process under which conflicts lead to inner adjustments within the institution or to the break-up of existing orders and the emergence of new ones within the institutional structure.

Definition of Terms

As stated earlier institutional change is defined as the alteration in the systemic attributes of existing policies and purposes through the development of new policies or the alteration of old ones. Any discussion or definition of institutional change must take into account the functions the institution performs, for as Merton has noted,

"to seek institutional change without due recognition of the manifest and latent functions performed by the organization undergoing change is to indulge in social ritual rather than true institutional change."

It is a general rule that the new is inevitably in conflict

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with the old. In practice, this means that the change itself is in conflict with traditions, with irrational ideologies, with vested interests which operate together as a great conservative force opposing change.\(^9\) There will always be differences in the degree to which individuals are conscious of the objective situation. This implies that a partisan approach is essential before the nature of reality and how desirable changes can be brought about are understood.

Given the fragmented nature of the academic community with the development of interest groups, and the need for interaction of these different interest groups, it is almost impossible to catalog the occasions for conflict. Thus, the conflict process is defined as a situation in which two or more persons/groups seek to block or to interfere with one another's purposes and interests. Crucial to this definition is the assumption that policy formulation is essentially a political process, not merely a bureaucratic one. It then follows that conflict is to be expected and is the natural result when competing groups struggle to influence policy. With the political viewpoint, these natural conflicts are transformed into changes in response to on-going tensions instead of win-lose situations. The challenge is to formalize

\(^9\)McLeish, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
these power influences into the policy formulation process in an open and accepting way.

Policy formulation refers to that subset of decisions which have long-range impact. It is the critical decisions that bind the organization to important courses of action. Since policies are so important, people throughout the organization try to influence them in order to see that their special values are implemented. Policy becomes a major point of change, a watershed of partisan activity that permeates the life of the academic community. Policy formulation becomes the center of the conflict and change analysis and gives reason and cause for their presence in decision-making settings.

Limitations and Strengths

This study will develop a theoretical framework based on the concepts of conflict, change and policy formulation. The theoretical framework will then be applied in the examination of a single case study. There will be no attempt to evaluate the resulting change, for this study is concerned with formulation of policy and not execution, implementation, or evaluation.

This investigation has two major weaknesses. First, concentration on only Assumption College makes it virtually impossible to apply to contrasting situations. When many organizations are compared the parallels and differences between
them often provoke useful insights. The second weakness is the problem of generalization. Researchers usually hope to find results that can be applied to many situations, not just to the one they are studying. There is no assurance that Assumption is representative of other academic communities.

The absence of contrasts and the problem of generalization are serious limitations to this study, however, there are several strengths that help to balance these disadvantages. First, the case study allows many different techniques to be applied in the same situation. That is, interviews, document studies, reports and observation techniques are all used in this study and the results integrated and compared.

The importance of the feel of the situation at Assumption cannot be overestimated. It is difficult to codify the precise factors that make the field experience so important, but anyone who has done field work knows that it is a vital part of the intellectual experience. The case study is perhaps unique in this sense.

A third major advantage of this study is the usefulness in exploring the processes of organization. Not only does it allow for the formal, but it makes available the informal and dynamic set of processes for change to the researcher.

The real value of this study is to provoke ideas about a new way of viewing conflict. It is intended to provide food for thought and to make suggestions about pieces of the
action that might be fruitful for study, not to prove conclusively that this particular approach has all the answers.

Method of Investigation

It appears that a good approach to move toward positive and creative change is to combine theory with practice. The method of integrating the analysis of the empirical events with the survey of the literature should help to draw closer the categories of change and conflict, and thus, help the policy formulation process.

Chapter One deals with a thorough search of the literature on organizational conflict and planned change theories relating to policy formulation. The purpose of this review was to clarify some of the assumptions regarding change and conflict. This was done to help develop a theoretical framework that could be used in comparing the empirical events that are mentioned in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two reports on empirical events that took place at Assumption College over the past three years. A brief history of the institution, listing its objectives, policies, and programs, is given. Examples of change were examined with an eye toward identifying the sources of conflict regarding interest groups and the political process. Records of specific events, reports, plans for organizational structures and devices, evaluation documents, focused interview records and participant-observation are used to help
identify and isolate the sources of conflict.

Chapter Three is concerned with integrating the theoretical framework with the case analysis. Through a content analysis of the available data the interaction of the types and conditions promoting active interest groups were observable. It was important to find out the readinesses and resistances to various possibilities of change and compare them to the theoretical reasons for existence in developing a possible correlation regarding causation. In order to clarify the special interest groups, the researcher refers to William Gamson's position on competition and partisan groups.10

Questions concerning goals, interests, actions, linkages and influences of partisan groups were taken from J. Victor Baldridge's book, Power and Conflict in the University.11

Chapter Four summarizes the study as presented thus far and draws conclusions from the findings and patterns that have developed. By comparing the empirical events to the theoretical insights the investigator was better able to interpret the concrete events and at the same time to refine the theoretical perspectives. Recommendations were made concerning the appropriateness of the theoretical framework and empirical events. An attempt was made to analyze the findings in view of this study for future investigations and possible implications.

11Baldridge, op. cit., p. 137.
CHAPTER I

Motivational Force of Conflict

There appears to be a basic ambivalence concerning conflict within our institutions of higher learning. This ambivalence applies both individually and collectively. Some people see words like violence, destruction, disorder, and aggression in a purely negative connotation; while others seem to see them in a positive one as movements toward adventure, opportunity, development, and excitement. There is, however, a third group—that collection of individuals who can remain neutral and can take workable constructive material from both of these concepts. One need only pause for a moment and examine reality to see that the latter attitude has much to justify it. Conflicts have, can and will continue to bring disorder, destruction, opportunity, development and growth to individuals and to institutions of higher learning. The task is to try to minimize the negative possibilities and to direct the energies toward maximizing the positive alternatives, so that collaborative climates will develop and result in group synergy.

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Essentially the significance of conflict resides in the fact that it is here to stay and it is up to those who are involved in the continuing growth of higher education to get outside their fears and/or exultation in order to estimate the nature and potential of these conflicts and to find the best deployment of resources for helping to actualize the good that is possible. Modern problems are too complex and diversified for one man or one discipline, particularly, when one is speaking of policy formulation.

One of the fundamental problems in unhealthy (or less than healthy) organizations is the amount of energy that is dysfunctionally used trying to work around, or avoid or cover up conflicts which are inevitable in a complex organization. The goal should be to move the organization toward seeing conflict as an inevitable condition and as an issue that needs to be worked on before adequate changes can be made. It is not participation in the final analysis which leads to involvement, commitment, and dedication rather, what produces these human motivations is challenging existing goals and objectives. The opportunity to contribute one's thoughts and energies toward their accomplishment can begin through

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dealing with these clashes of ideas.  

Sources and Solutions

Before finding out how conflict can be used for positive change, it is important to examine the sources of and resistances to change. (Figure 1.1) Sociologists, such as Moore, Coser, Merton and Nisbet talk about built in resistances to change and say that they usually surround one of the following theories or a combination of them—resurgence and decay, where at any given moment certain forces are developing while others are passing away; the theory of human needs and their satisfaction, based on the result of diffusion from peripheral cultures; the model of equilibrium and adjustment which results in a disturbance of conditions based on charismatic innovation; and the final theory which sees conflict between persons, instead of a clash between cultures or societal needs and nature's way of evolution as the basis for resistance. In reviewing Marxism, the endogenous processes are considered to be the normal vehicle of change.

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5 Blake, Mouton, op. cit., p. 5.

FIGURE 1.1

DYNAMIC FORCES FOR CHANGE OR CONDUCT

CONFLICT OR

CHANGE

= Congruency = Change

= Incongruency = Conflict

Social Setting (Values)

External

Internal

Institutional Aspirations

Personal Dispositions

↑↑

↓↓

---
There is a maturing of the "new within the womb of the old and this maturation process proceeds by the accumulation of small differences: this cumulative phase eventually reaches some kind of limit when there ensues a sharp qualitative change"—revolution.

When one person stands to win and the other lose, we have the revolutionary approach. The idea is to confront the one side in such a way that it is defeated, destroyed, or subdued. The tactic is usually characteristic of a battle in that one or both sides employ weapons of force, status, or direct confrontation, which result in destruction. This follows the revolutionary theories of Marx, that is, the battle of the haves and the have nots.

Several persons working together and pooling their resources toward a common task give us Durkheim's evolutionary approach to change. This approach relies on compromise and it sees merit in the collective process of existence, rather than the pure individualistic process. Supposedly, in this type of resistance to change both sides win and technically no one loses. Evolutionary changes are likely to be perceived and to take place one by one. Because they are adjustments with the status quo and take place one by one, they are un-

---

7 McLeish, op. cit., this is taken primarily from pp. 77-82.

FIGURE 1.2
POSSIBLE REACTIONS TO CHANGE—CONFLICT*

FAVOR
Identify New Needs Not met Readiness (Minority)

Interaction Influence

CHANG F O R C E S
Social Institution Personal

Interaction Influence

OPPOSE
Identify Old Needs Met Lack Readiness (Minority)

Control Problems—Needs Situation—Goals—Low Interdependence

CONFLICT

* Idea taken from David B. Truman, author numerous books on politics, governance, interest groups. Lecture at School of Education, University of Massachusetts in Ed. 945, December 7, 1971.
likely to promote either great enthusiasm or deep resistance. Figure 1.2 illustrates some of the possible reactions to change in an institutional setting that is struggling to establish a policy.

There is another approach to take in trying to solve the conflict or do away with the resistances to change and that is the *laissez-faire* approach. Time itself will work out the conflict--change situation. This approach will not be dealt with here in this study, for its merits are not acceptable in a society that is being confronted with knowledge, attitudinal and behavioral changes daily. The present models of governance that are generally used in decision-making settings are shown in Figure 1.3.

First Characteristic of Model*

Conflict has been defined as the interference of parts, actions, and reactions from one or more persons in a social system toward existing policies. The factors that result in conflict usually surround cultural values, institutional dispositions, personalistic dispositions, and interaction of these three. Concerning the personalistic dispositions factor, this study will not be concerned with the area mentioned because the researcher has taken for granted that most individuals are

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9Blake, Mouton, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-9.

* Here model means framework for analysis.
FIGURE 1.3

PRESENT GOVERNANCE MODELS TO DEAL WITH CONFLICT

**BUREAUCRATIC**
- Radical Intervention
- Task Oriented
- Power in Position
- Dehumanization
- Material Rewards
- Rules & Procedures
- Can Not Deal Rapid Change

**LAISSEZ FAIRE**
- Non-Intervention
- Anything Goes
- Power Hidden
- Self-Centered
- Survival
- No Rules
- Abdicates

**COLLEGIAL**
- Consensus Intervention
- Relationship Oriented
- Power in Majority
- Group is Everything
- Intrinsic Rewards
- Group Rules
- Procrastinates Change
psychologically fit. Briefly, the three approaches for dealing with conflict were mentioned and each was shown to have its limitations regarding positive change. Thus, it is important to develop a framework which capitalizes on conflict and sees it as a motivational force for change, especially now that we are into an era of plenty\textsuperscript{10} and as a result are higher up on Maslow's Hierarchy Needs of Person Scale moving toward self-actualization.\textsuperscript{11} For now man is more concerned with preserving his own individuality and doing his own thing rather than helping the corporation prosper. With this emerging individualism there is bound to be a clashing of ideas and disagreement as to what changes should take place, particularly, when one is associated with an academic community that does not have as its goal the financial profit motive.

It is clear that organizations are undergoing changes and any model dealing with decision-making of diverse interest and needs must deal with the phenomenon of conflict. This investigation views the academic organization as a social system with a structure of cultural, institutional and personal

\textsuperscript{10}Two recent books that help to illustrate this era of plenty are: Charles Reich, \textit{The Greening of America} (New York: Random House, 1970); Alvin Toffler, \textit{Future Shock} (New York: Random House, 1970).

elements in fixed relation to one another. Each element is liable to alteration in itself and exerts pressure and counter-pressure on the other elements. If one element changes, a series of pressures and counterpressures ensue. For example, society is placing a high valuation on minorities and poverty, thus schools are changing their programs and admissions accordingly and individual dispositions are being altered. The schools come under pressure for change. Roles may have to be reexamined, expectations redefined, individuals with other dispositions recruited. Likewise, if the change in values toward minorities and poverty sets off a chain of pressures for change, it also sets off a chain of counterpressures—that is, pressures against change. The status quo resists changes, individuals refuse to fulfill new expectations and as a result institutional alterations outrun cultural support. Now what do you do? Employ a bureaucratic or a collegial approach to change? The danger of the bureaucratic approach is that it attempts to maintain equilibrium or to alter it by rigidifying one of the elements. This is short-term security and leads ultimately to organizational inflexibility and it is only a period of time before the cycle starts again.

The collegial approach too entails some disadvantages and limitations. For one thing, there are or may be hasty

and indiscriminate acceptances of change so that conformity to fads is mistaken for progress. Another weakness of the collegial is that organizational change may result in congruence between institutional and cultural values but forget about the individual disposition, as a result there is a dis-equilibrium of elements and thus more conflict. Another big weakness of the consensus type approach to conflict is that majority participation is likely to produce action predicated on what is acceptable to a majority, but it is unlikely to get the minority's commitment and to result, therefore, in the kinds of conflicting views that stimulate people to think through the deeper wisdom that often lies embedded in minority thought. In addition, what is the criterion of agreement for a group of individuals in arriving at a majority decision? Is it through coercion, manipulation, fear, frustration, or acceptance of mediocrity?\textsuperscript{13}

The first characteristic essential to positive change is conflict. People involved in policy formulation at institutions of higher learning have to work with groups for common ends, but they also have to gain personally as others should within these groups.\textsuperscript{14} Just this contradiction alone justifies

\begin{itemize}
\item[Warren Bennis, Philip Slater, \textit{The Temporary Society}, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 105-106.]
\end{itemize}
that conflict will be a part of change. The next issue deals with trying to decide how conflict can be moved toward change in a non bureaucratic or collegial way.

Linkage of Bureaucratic and Collegial Approaches

McClelland provides an insightful overview of existing models for change:

It is premature to do more than wish for a general model, let alone a general theory of change. Accordingly, researchers have developed a variety of subsystem models, each of which deals with some aspect of the change process, or with some specific setting. Quite understandably, they vary widely in comprehensiveness, complexity and elegance.\(^{15}\)

One of the first attempts to depict the process of change was undertaken by Lewin. He postulated three steps in the process, "unfreezing," "moving" and "freezing of a level."\(^{16}\) He viewed behavior as a dynamic equilibrium of forces working in opposite directions. Behavior exists at its present level rather than at another level because the sum of the strengths of the restraining forces are equal to the sum of the strengths of the driving forces. When the sum of the strength of the forces are not equal, we have a situation of change and the new behavior that results will be the level at which the sum


of the strengths are again equal. Change occurs when there is an inequality between the sum of the strengths of the driving and of the restraining forces. Two methods for changing a level of behavior are generally employed. One works on either increasing the number or strength of the driving forces, or one works on the restraining forces. The first method of change from the original level to the new one usually is accompanied by a situation of more conflict or negative change. The addition of the new driving strength without any reduction in strength in the restraining side produces a higher degree of aggressiveness, higher emotionality and lower constructiveness. Here, you will find that usually position power, or sheer numbers is the influencing force rather than creativity. The second method is concerned with creating a reduction in the strength of the restraining forces. The goal is to transfer the competing forces to a new level that is better and more acceptable than the previous.

Thus, the second characteristic of the researcher's theoretical framework deals with combining the bureaucratic

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and collegial approaches. This combined approach is more flexible, adaptive, pluralistic and truly organic than either the other two.\(^\text{19}\) Yet, it allows conflict to enter the decision-making process and does not necessarily rely on consensus to push it toward change. Conflict starts out with competition between the old and the new idea. The trick then is to integrate this fragmentation of the social system. The approach is to admit that there are interest groups with contradictory goals and values, but they also have common values. With face to face encounters the open expression of conflict can allow genuine differences of interests to emerge. From the genuine differences they can begin to look at the system and to see if better alternatives are possible. In terms of philosophy—the parallel to this call for individual growth and development is that there has to be cultural pluralism for groups. Some institutions will not accept this, so they will have to be prepared to deal with incongruities of behavior concerning individuals, the institution and society. See Figure 1.4 to get an idea of what model of governance is being proposed.

The approach suggested here establishes a collaborative climate between the competing parties, allows conflict to enter the discussion, emphasizes that influence is based on knowledge and skills and not power. All of this starts once

\(^{19}\)Bennis, Benne, Chin, op. cit., especially pp. 147-191.
CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR DEALING WITH CONFLICTS

**Political Model (Integrative)**

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION ORIENTATION

CONFLICT SEEN AS CYCLICAL AND MOTIVATIONAL

COLLABORATION FOR DATA COLLECTING

TOLERATES AMBIGUITY

DECENTRALIZATION FOR RESPONSIBILITY (ACCOUNTABLE)

NEGOTIATES BY SKILL AND MAJORITY (NOT JUST POWER)

PLURALITY OF GROUPS FOR INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Rejects dehumanization, accepts reality of conflict, realizes political processes, allows individual growth, yet organizational identification, and tolerates ambiguity necessary for changes in society, institutions, and man today, finally has accountability.
one lowers the resistance forces for change. Minimal pressure is present in resolving the clash, thus, both parties can look at the situation with more depth and, hopefully, realize the importance of integrating individual needs with organizational goals.  

The justification for this approach is based primarily on Robert Terry's theory of just and unjust expressions of pluralism. According to Terry, unjust expressions of pluralism are alienation and assimilation. Pluralism emphasizes similarity and difference in tension together. Alienation stresses difference; assimilation stresses similarity. The difficult task is to maintain the proper tension, discerning what is absolutely essential for all (collegial approach) as distinct from what has only restricted significance (bureaucratic approach). In such decisions, conflict is inevitable as one tries to differentiate between these two approaches. On the other side of self-determinism, you have dominance and all its characteristics of alienation and closure. Assimilation and alienation avoid conflict. That is, assimilation absorbs it, and tries prematurely to resolve or sidestep it through appeals to harmony and unity. Alienation excludes conflict by separating the conflicting parties and ignoring

real issues. In this thesis, pluralistic associations are encouraged and welcomed and thus conflict is inevitable. In fact many of the upheavals at Assumption can be interpreted as the creative struggles for pluralistic structures and attitudes in the policy formulation process.

Implications

The significance of conflict and why people are concerned about it seems to suggest that things are happening. That is, there is an unfreezing of an existing policy, a movement toward a new policy and the need for the refreezing of this new policy. It is important for administrators to be well aware of the situational forces surrounding this unfreezing if they want to be a part of or to influence the movement. Their primary objective should not be stabilizing the conflict, but allowing the greatest amount of improvement and growth for everyone.


Many of the forces that work for change come as a result of the forces for resistance to change. It is important for administrators not to be afraid of conflict and to extend their awareness and their knowledge of what determines change.

The task of this chapter has been to build a framework that may offer some unity for seeing conflict as a part of change. The first area suggested that the present models of governance do not constructively deal with conflict. The models that rely on power, status and rules, are impersonal in their dealings, and appear to create negative or more conflicts in policy formulation instances. Secondly, they do not explain or account for the influence of unofficial interest groups in policy formulation. Third, these types of governance models say little about the process by which policy is established, even though a lot of explanation is given as to how these policies will be carried out in the most efficient fashion. Apparently, they do not take into account the feedback technique or acknowledge the idea that conflict and change could be cyclical in nature. Finally, they do not deal with political issues and the conflicts surrounding policy decisions.

The consensus models of Parson's\textsuperscript{23} professionalism and

Goodman's community of scholars are idealistic and do not utilize the maximum potential of conflict for positive change. Bureaucratic rule is not the essence of decision-making, but neither is consensus. Those who have experienced group decisions know that consensus occurs after prolonged battle and that many decisions are really instances of manipulation, fear, mediocrity or just plain tiredness from meeting.\textsuperscript{25}

In the next section, an alternate model is presented. The attempt is to present a framework that includes the bureaucratic process and the consensus factors to work with the conflict of cultural values, institutional expectations, and personal dispositions. This combination of approaches takes into account the conflict theory and the role interest groups and social factors have in influencing change. A glance at Figure 1.5 shows the conceptual steps of change, conflict and policy formulation. Notice the cyclical nature of change and how conflict appears to be at the origin of most movements toward it. That is, the institution is made up of diverse groups with different interests and many of these groups are struggling to maximize their own interests at the expense of their colleagues.

Once the diversity of the groups is recognized and they

\textsuperscript{24} For a review of Goodman's community, see Paul Goodman, \textit{The Community of Scholars} (New York: Random House, 1962).

\textsuperscript{25} Janis, \textit{Psychology Today}, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 74-76.
FIGURE 1.5

CONCEPTUAL STEPS OF CHANGE, CONFLICT AND POLICY FORMULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTITUTIONAL REACTIONS</th>
<th>INTEREST GROUP FORMATION</th>
<th>LEGISLATIVE PROCESS (PRESSURES)</th>
<th>POLICY FORMULATION RESULTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Incongruencies between forces for change; results in fragmentation</td>
<td>1. Favor change</td>
<td>1. Formal process for dealing with pressures for and against change</td>
<td>1. Policy execution by one of three models of governance or any combination of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Have to deal with fragmentation or organization will become totally dysfunctional</td>
<td>2. Oppose change</td>
<td>2. Informal process for increasing pressures</td>
<td>*Transferred pressures into change of a negative, positive or more conflict nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Indifferent to change</td>
<td>3. Attempted evaluation and reaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Now starts action to get needs met
are allowed to gather and influence, how do you bring them together for legislation? By following Lewin's model of lowering the sum of the forces of strength for resistance and adhering to the promotion of a climate of acceptance, confidence, openness, and mutual respect in running this policy formulation group, one should be able to move the conflicts of the interest groups toward change.26

The final stage in the combination model as illustrated in Figure 1.5 concerns itself with the implementation of the legislative results. This inevitably reverts back to the interest groups and thus the cycle of conflict starts again but this time, hopefully, on a higher level of growth and development than previously.

The next chapter will be concerned with presenting a case study of institutional change. The intent is to analyze the theoretical framework characteristics outlined in this chapter extensively by fitting in the data on Assumption College which is reported in Chapter Two. The purpose is to look at policy formulation and to see where conflict relates to change rather than to evaluate the change or to be concerned with the efficiency of goals. For a synthesis of the conflict and change cycle of policy formulation, the reader should refer to Figure 1.6.

FIGURE 1.6

CYCLE OF CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS

Identifies resistances, yet maintains necessary linkages by involvement, results in change instead of compromise.
CHAPTER II

History of Assumption College

Assumption College—for male students exclusively—was founded in 1904 by the Augustinians of the Assumption, a religious order of priests and brothers, in the Greendale section of Worcester, and in 1917 was authorized by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to grant the Bachelor of Arts degree. For many years Assumption College and Assumption Preparatory School shared the same campus.

In the early fifties there began an expansion in the number and quality of Assumption's educational offerings. In 1950 Assumption received its university charter, granting it power to confer both the Master of Arts and the Doctor of Philosophy degrees. In 1951 the College opened its Evening College and its Graduate School and the following year its Summer School. These three sections were coeducational from the start.

In 1953 occurred certainly one of the most consequential events in the history of the College. In minutes a tornado roared across the campus, toppling buildings and leaving in its wake a mass of rubble and masonry.

In the aftermath of this disaster it was decided to

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separate the College and the Preparatory School. After occupying temporary quarters, the College in 1956 moved in to its new suburban campus on Salisbury Street in Worcester. Its modern buildings and facilities located on an attractively landscaped tract of more than 140 acres was symbolic of the new spirit that infused the campus.

Two additional key decisions were reached in the middle of 1968. The College, until that time, solely under the control of the Augustinians of the Assumption, appointed a Lay-Cleric Board of Trustees made up primarily of laymen. Thus, Assumption became one of this country's pioneer Catholic colleges to invite laymen to serve on its governing board. And, at the same time, Assumption announced the establishment of a coordinate college for women.

The Coordinate College for Women opened its doors to a freshman class of 173 students in September, 1969. It shared all the accreditation and affiliations of the parent college. In addition, the College had been accepted as a member of the American Association of University Women.

Today Assumption College has a total enrollment of 1,700 students, of which a little more than half are in the Day College. The number of buildings on campus since 1956 has tripled. An undergraduate may major in one of eighteen areas. A graduate student may study for a Master of Arts degree in one of six areas, a Master of Arts in Teaching de-
gree in one of eight areas, or beyond the Master's degree for a Certificate of Advanced Study in psychology, counseling or guidance.

Re-Emphasis of the Purpose and Character

The identification and the purpose and character of an institution of higher learning is the act by which that institution chooses and, thereby, limits the alternatives which are to direct its life and growth. Assumption College has always been explicitly or implicitly guided by certain specific purposes, obscured as they often tend to be by the general confusion in higher education and the numerous changes which the College has undergone in the last three years.

1. Assumption College is a private institution of higher learning. As a community of scholars, it is engaged in the ongoing work of pursuing and communicating truth in a manner consonant with its classical and Christian heritage.

2. The community is guided in this endeavor by a faculty of teacher-scholars.

3. Student-scholars share in the life of the community by responsibly participating in the program of study organized or directed by the faculty.

4. The core of the educational process is a formal curriculum of liberal arts and sciences, which also serves as a foundation for the many other learning opportunities offered by an academic community.

5. A Catholic institution, Assumption College is ecumenically Christian. By reason of its academic character, the College encourages a critical examination of the relation of faith to the problems of human thought and action as a means of enhancing its life as a Christian community.
6. A Liberal Arts education is a self-rewarding endeavor. At the same time it provides a firm basis for the acquisition and exercise of such professional or technical skills as may contribute to the welfare of society.

The College welcomes all persons who share its purpose, respect its process, honor its policies, and wish to participate responsibly in its life as an academic community.²

The foregoing statement of purpose and objectives was prepared by the Vice President for the Board of Trustees during the summer of 1970. As such, the statement must be seen in the light of the many changes at Assumption during the last year and the somewhat confusing state of higher education in general. When the College was singularly under the administration of the Augustinians of the Assumption there was a common understanding of its nature, purpose, and goals. Consequently, there seemed to be no real need to put into writing what the Assumptionists intended when they founded and operated the College for more than sixty years. However, the great increase in lay faculty members, the establishing of a lay-cleric board of trustees, the change in the student population, and the challenges and ambiguities so much a part of higher education today made it imperative for the College to state for all to read and understand what the particular "Assumptionist" philosophy of education was all about.

In interviewing the Vice President, the researcher

found that he was the one responsible for writing this document even though it was endorsed by the Trustees. The Vice President searched the records of the Assumptionists and interviewed those whom he thought exhibited a dedication to Assumption. Supposedly, the foregoing statement was but an exposition of what had been the intention of the Augustinian as they labored to bring Assumption College to this moment of history.

Policy Statement and Social Setting

The Board of Trustees feel that only after an institution has clarified to itself the "non-negotiables" regarding what its life is based on can its administrators, faculty, and students, work with confidence and achieve personal and professional fulfillment. With this thought in mind the following Policy Statement was issued to the academic community. It was declared in order "to guarantee that Assumption College will be accorded its rightful freedom to pursue its stated purpose as an institution of higher learning."

1. Assumption College is a private institution of higher learning. As a community of scholars, it is engaged in the ongoing work of pursuing and communicating truth in a manner consonant with its classical and Christian heritage. It is a privately endowed and privately operated college, founded and conducted under the auspices of the Augustinians. According to its charter, the administration and

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3 Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Assumption College (June, 1970).
direction of the College are the ultimate responsibility of the Board of Trustees.  

2. As an academic community, Assumption expects the activities of its members to be consistent with its purpose and character.

3. Assumption College supports the philosophy of government by laws and principles, not merely by men. It proudly affirms its belief in individual freedom in correlation with responsibility. It recognizes the right of any citizen to criticize, to protest, and to attempt to change the law in accordance with constitutional procedures. It cannot, will not, censure or intimidate those who exercise their rights as citizens of the city, state, or nation. The exercise of such rights in no way relieves anyone of the responsibilities of his position in the academic community.

4. Assumption College welcomes all persons who share its purpose, respect its process, honor its policies, and wish to participate responsibly in its life as an academic community. Students, faculty and administrators voluntarily affiliate with this school. While all are expected to abide by the laws of our nation and comply with the rules and policies of the College, any member of the College is always welcome to offer, in a manner worked out by the community, criticisms of those rules, regulations or policies, and to make suggestions for their improvement.

No institution dedicated to specific objectives as is Assumption can allow those who have come to serve, study, teach, or learn to be denied their academic rights by a minority or even a majority. In view of the temper of the times, the Board of Trustees believes it proper to re-emphasize some of these fundamentals so that administrators, faculty, students, parents of students, alumni, friends, and interested persons may be duly informed of the College's firm resolve to defend its integrity and safeguard the rights of every member of the College community.


5 Ibid., taken in parts from pp. 4-10.
Administrative Organization

In analyzing the three organizational charts, it is important to note that Assumption is moving structurally from the limited and false views of human nature and motivation (Theory X), to the new and more valid views of human nature and motivation (Theory Y). 6 According to McGregor, Theory X assumes that most people prefer to be directed, are not interested in assuming responsibility, and want security above all. Accompanying this philosophy is the belief that people are motivated by money, fringe benefits, and the threat of punishment. Usually, this theory is associated with traditional bureaucratic organizations that have centralized decision-making and a superior-subordinate pyramid. Managers who accept Theory X assumptions, attempt to structure, control, and closely supervise their employees. In a world of plenty, this model of organization does not make for a high level of motivation, satisfaction or productivity.

McGregor's Theory Y assumes that people are not, by nature, lazy, and unreliable. It postulates that man can be basically self-directed and creative at work if properly motivated. Managers who accept the Theory Y image of human nature, do not usually structure, control, or closely super-

FIGURE 2.1
ORIGINAL ASSUMPTION ORGANIZATION 1968

RELIGIOUS ORDER

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

PRESIDENT

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

ATHLETIC DIRECTOR

ACADEMIC DEAN

DEPARTMENTS
EVENING SCHOOL
GRADUATE SCHOOL
ADMISSIONS
REGISTRAR
DEVELOPMENT
ALUMNI
LIBRARIAN

TREASURER

MAINTENANCE
CENTRAL SERVICES
PERSONNEL DIRECTOR
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DEAN OF MEN

STUDENT GOVERNMENT
HEALTH SERVICES
vise the work environment for employees. Instead, they attempt to help their employees mature by exposing them to progressively less external control, allowing them to assume more and more self-control. 

Assumption, like many other institutions, is struggling to provide an atmosphere whereby employees are able to achieve the satisfaction of affiliation, esteem and self-actualization. The ultimate authority for governing the College is vested in the Board of Trustees. Presently, the Board consists of one-third Assumptionists and two-thirds laymen. What the researcher will be looking at in this part of the study is to see if the top administrators have changed attitudinally in their outlook on man as much as they have apparently changed structurally.

The Board makes all policy decisions for the institution, whether these be academic, financial, political, or whatever. Information comes to the Board through the President of the College or by membership of the Trustees on standing and ad hoc committees with student and faculty members.

The following charts of organization are presented in order to illustrate the attempted changes from an autocratic to a participatory model. The latest chart, Figure 2.3, reflects in principle the new administrative organization for

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the College, even though it awaits final approval from the Board of Trustees.

The latest administrative organization chart is very new, but it is an attempt to overcome many weaknesses and deficiencies which plagued the school during the past two years. Assumption College is still in a period of transition between the times when the Religious ran the school and the current attempts to become more democratic and to make certain the legitimate voices are heard and considered in the decision-making processes of the College. The goal is to overcome the lack of communication which has hindered Assumption so much in the past.

Another area that has merited attention concerns the ambiguities which existed in the relationship of the Academic Dean to the Faculty Senate, in that the Academic Dean and Vice President were one in the same man. In addition the Dean of Students, who has doubled as the Dean of Men, and co-ordinator of all student life, has changed. Both of these reorganizations are illustrated by looking at Figures 2.2 and 2.3.

Presently, the administration is trying to find a way to determine when a duly constituted body is advisory or deliberative. It is also working on a definition of the relationship between the religious community and the corporation of the College. The financial situation of the College is not too secure and stringent economic measures have been taken to
PROPOSED ASSUMPTION ORGANIZATION 1971

President

Board of Trustees

College Council

Religious Superior

Religious Community

DEAN OF STUDENTS

Counseling Center

Director Residence Halls

Director Chaplains

Student Activities

Director Women Activities

Health Services

Campus Calendar

DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR

Public Affairs

Alumni Director

Volunteers

Security

Food Service

Central Service

Maintenance

Personnel

ACADEMIC DEAN

Departmental Chairman

Graduate School Director

Evening School Director

Registrar

Admissions

Athletic Director

Librarian

Director Media

Campus Planner

Research
bolster the financial aspect of the operation.

Personnel

Admission to Assumption College is limited to men and women of character, intelligence, and motivation, selected from applicants who have completed the prescribed secondary school requirements. No distinction is made on the basis of race or religious belief. The undergraduate population is made up of approximately 250 females and 700 males. Over 95 per cent of the total population are Catholic and approximately 70 per cent went to Catholic high schools.

The College, given its heritage and dedication, purposes to instill a sense of values within its students. Therefore, the College makes appropriate adjustments in rules, penalties, and out-of-classroom activities in accordance with the surrounding circumstances to ensure that the educational and human characteristics of daily living are integrated.

There is a definite movement toward giving students a greater voice in academic affairs, as well as in other institutional affairs.

The staff breakdown on campus is 75 full time faculty members of which 56 are laymen and 22 administrators with six of these belonging to the religious order. Out of the top ten administrative posts, seven are laymen. This is a complete reversal of three years ago when the religious filled all these positions.
Dilemmas that Must Be Faced

From observation and inquiry, Assumption College will apparently remain a small, private, liberal arts, Catholic college. The objectives aforementioned are to be realized or approximated within the context of such a commitment.

It is obvious that a challenge of significant proportion lies in the recruitment of all who come to share in the life of Assumption. As a result of the stated objectives there are being recruited for the College students whose vocational direction and/or inclination is accommodated within this thrust as a liberal arts school. Likewise, there is an effort made to bring qualified faculty who share the perspectives announced by the school.

Assumption shares with other schools genuine anxiety as to the sources of its support. Consequently, both in terms of the academic program and the public relation-development dimensions of the institution, new and creative efforts are being tried. It is resisting the temptation to accommodate programs that are not consistent with its purpose and which indeed could result in a diversification and proliferation which it cannot possibly sustain.

The history, purpose and character of Assumption College having been affirmed, it is imperative to analyze the reactions from those concerned about this academic community. The focus in the next chapter will be on the social structure,
the special interest groups and the political processes surrounding policy formulation.

The researcher is interested in determining the relationship of conflict to change surrounding Assumption's goal clarification, the authority-control organization, and the values issues. This is particularly relevant since the social setting has resulted in a clarification of Assumption's goals, an increase and diversity in its population, a more democratic authority structure and a resulting plurality. This becomes clearer when reviewing the Figure 2.4 and its changes. Some of these ends were intentional others happened, but whatever the case, there were changes. The point is were these changes because of tensions, pressures, conflicts or consensus? The political considerations involved in determining this answer are immense.
FIGURE 2.4

CHANGES, SOURCE, REACTION AT COLLEGE 1968-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANGES</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>REACTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lay Board Trustees</td>
<td>Social Setting</td>
<td>Positive Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-define Goals</td>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lay Administrators</td>
<td>Social Setting</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-education</td>
<td>Social Setting</td>
<td>Compromise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Regulations</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-arrange Finances</td>
<td>Social Setting</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase Out Evening School</td>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enter Consortium</td>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>Positive Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added Departments</td>
<td>Inst. &amp; Personal</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Studies</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase Enrollment</td>
<td>Social Setting</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-structure Govt.</td>
<td>Personal &amp; Inst.</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecumenical Venture</td>
<td>Personal &amp; Inst.</td>
<td>Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Capitol Fund Drive</td>
<td>Social Setting</td>
<td>Positive Change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III

Integration of Theoretical Framework and Empirical Events

Assumption College has gone through a period of great turmoil over the last three years, and this institution has not had enough time to stop and analyze the sources. While the scope and degree of the changes vary, all have in common the fact that they involve attempts to alter the basic policies of the College. This chapter is an analysis of the particular steps involved in the policy formulation process at Assumption. The analysis focusses on the processes that lead to institutional policy formation. The steps include:

1. identifying the forces for change in the social setting
2. the gathering together of interest groups and their reactions to these forces
3. examination of the legislative phase to determine how the pressure groups operate
4. to review the resulting policies to learn how the conflicts were bureaucratized
5. learn how the feedback cycle generates new tensions.

Each step is elaborated on by fitting in the theoretical framework offered in Chapter One with the empirical events that are listed in Chapter Two. The content analysis of the available data helps to bring alive the theoretical steps and it creates a conceptual framework in which change and conflict are not thought of as separate categories.
To attempt this type of analysis in such a complex process involves risk of oversimplification, due to the fact that it is not possible to separate these steps completely. In other words, while the elements of the process may be and were isolated for purposes of clarification, their interrelatedness at a particular place and time must always be recognized.\(^1\)

Social Setting and Forces for Change

Traditionally, most of the changes before 1968 at Assumption came about through noticeable processes of self-study, religious obedience, and debate rather than through visible confrontations and tension building scenes. However, lately there has been a widespread sense of urgency about change at Assumption, which has resulted in visible instances of group and individual conflicts. Many are alarmed and concerned about these conflicts, but they are also aware of the rapid changes that are going on around them. Thus, in order to allow Assumption College to maintain vitality, viability and educational relevance, attempts are being made to restore the congruency that apparently existed between the social setting and this institution before 1968. It is important to note in Figure 3.1 that the major impetus for

\(^1\)The reader is asked to refer to earlier comments of such an analysis as presented in the Introduction, pp. 4-6.
DYNAMIC FORCES FOR CHANGE AT ASSUMPTION COLLEGE FROM 1968-1971

SOCIAL SETTING
1. Vatican II
2. Competition Other Institutions
3. Cutting-off of Financial Support (Govt.)
4. Public Interest for Education Lessening

INSTITUTIONAL ASPIRATIONS
1. Financial Stability
2. Relevancy
3. Increase Enrollment

PERSONAL DISPOSITIONS
1. More Influence in Decision-Making
2. Religious Vocations Falling-Off
3. More pluralistic Approaches to Education

CHANGE IN POLICIES

FIGURE 3.1
change comes not from within the College, but from forces which have traditionally been viewed as external to the institution. The dilemma is that those inside the institution are fragmented as to what movements should be chosen to respond to these forces. This issue is confounded by the fact that the pivotal function of the College is changing from "institutional maintenance" to "institutional improvement." 2

The interdependency of institutions and groups within and related to Assumption College is increasing to an appreciable extent. There is some evidence to indicate that organizations which are highly interdependent are also innovative. This same evidence suggests, however, that high interdependency creates problems for the organization, such as an increase in problems of internal collaboration and coordination. 3 For Assumption, this has meant that it had to devise mechanisms for becoming more attuned to what was going on inside and outside its boundaries. No longer could it rely

2Interview No. 7, Tape 2, here the interviewee was referring to the fact that there had been four presidents, three academic deans, two deans of students, two registrars, two treasurers, two admission directors, and two counseling center directors in the last four years. Additionally, there had been close to a 20 per cent turnover in faculty and student enrollment annually. He claimed that this was due to Assumption's rigidity and lack of pluralism in tradition and heavy emphasis in the preservation of existing arrangements.

on good will or blind obedience in making changes.

Eric Hoffer, viewing the dimensions of change, has offered the following perceptive generalization, which help to illustrate some of the obstacles Assumption had to overcome in making the transition from good will and blind obedience to openness and self-determinism:

We can never be really prepared for that which is wholly new. We have to adjust ourselves, and every radical adjustment is a crisis in self-esteem; we undergo a test, we have to prove ourselves. It needs inordinate self-confidence to face drastic change without inner trembling. The simple fact that we can never be fit and ready for that which is wholly new has some peculiar results. It means that a population undergoing drastic change is a population of misfits and breathes in an atmosphere of passion. There is a close connection between lack of confidence and the passionate state of mind and . . . passionate intensity may serve as a substitute for confidence. 4

It is not very difficult to see why Assumption College has developed deep-set patterns of assimilation. This was due primarily to the fact that historically they had been able to stress relatively stable arrangements and practices. With the increasing interdependency of institutions and groups within and related to Assumption, it became more and more difficult for the administration to continue to press toward this sameness. How did the College meet these forces of change?

From its founding, Assumption offered educational

advantages to French Catholic males most of whom lived in Massachusetts. As part of its tradition, Assumption College was steeped in theology and philosophy which were taught in French. Its enrollment was under 300 and it had a reputation as an outstanding school at which to learn foreign languages. It was also an institution known for its religious vocation oriented graduates.

By the late 1960's times began to change and the image of Assumption came under the sway of dynamic forces. That is, Vatican II had taken place and its call for reform in the Catholic Church meant also that Catholic institutions of learning were expected to alter their dogmatic methods. More flexibility was called for and policies and laymen were expected to have a greater say and involvement in the programs of the Church.

To measure the magnitude of this event and the emerging pressures, one must realize what Assumption was trying to do up to 1968. Late in 1957, when the Soviet Sputnik took to the skies, an era began in American higher education such as there had never been in its history. It coincided with the rebirth of Assumption College at Salisbury Street from West Boylston Avenue as a result of the 1954 tornado. It was a time of growth and expansion fueled by a rapidly increasing

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5An account of this era in higher education can be found in The Academic Revolution by Christopher Jencks, David Riesman (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1968).
national population of college age youth and a system of
government priorities which gave higher education a very
generous slice of the budget. The decision-makers at the
College decided to ride this wave for all it was worth. The
student body more than tripled in the following decade. The
faculty grew proportionately in size and gained in diversity
and quality; the religious vs. the laymen ratio proportion
began to lean toward the laymen. The development of the
physical plant matched this growth.

The problem during this period of rapid expansion was
one of maintaining the identity of the small Catholic liberal
arts college. To maintain this identity, the decision was
made to erect a building which would be an outward symbol of
the College's desire to remain church affiliated. This
building was called the Chapel of the Holy Spirit. The cost
of this construction had to be borne by the operational in-
come of the College since no government subsidy could be ob-
tained for a religious building. The results were that the
College spent over one million dollars of its present and
projected income to construct this Chapel.

The second big gamble was to carry out the planned
expansion without going bankrupt. Assumption College decided
to sail as close to the wind as possible and ride the wave of
public support as long as possible. That is, the construction
of the dormitories for the women and of the expanded Taylor
Dining Hall was undertaken even when deficits had already begun to appear in the annual operating budget. It was felt that these residence halls and expanded dining facilities were essential to the launching of its coeducational program. The coeducational decision was based on the idea that Assumption wanted to increase the quality of its students and that there were only a limited number of qualified male applicants interested in the College. Competition from the public sector and from sister institutions was increasing at a faster rate than the increase in available male applicants. It was also decided that it appeared that there always would be a growing student population wishing to matriculate at Assumption. So, even if government funds were curtailed, they could rely on student tuition fees to pay for the educational programs.

By 1968, with the appearance of a new administration in Washington, the student uprisings coming to a head, and the public's questioning of the value of higher education, only the most myopic people could not see a financial crunch coming. Assumption's decision to go ahead with the women's dorms, the expanded dining hall, and the completion of the Chapel, while still rapidly increasing the student body and faculty, made the annual deficits reach alarming proportions for now the College had to rely on tuitions to meet operational costs.  

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In summarizing why Assumption decided to sail into a tunnel in spite of the fact that there was no light apparent at the other end, it might help to read what a top administrator told the researcher.

First and foremost was the conviction that our dual system of higher education—public and private—represented a fundamental value in our pluralistic society. Second was the conviction that the relative proportion of college students in private and public institutions would be maintained. Third was the fact that there was a perpetual shortage of qualified college faculty.\(^7\)

These are the conditions and assumptions which the College operated under during the decade from 1957 to 1968.

Apparently, the College embodied these convictions and facts in its "modus operandi." There was, it would seem, an availability of government grants and loans for everything from erecting dorms, dining halls, libraries, classrooms, and student centers, to initiating new programs and extending higher education to disadvantaged groups. This, plus the fact that these funds were indiscriminately distributed confirmed Assumption's conviction that private and public sectors were to be maintained in their present relative positions. The College hung on to this conviction and decided not to stop its growth. Instead, it referred back to the Vatican II idea and decided to improve the decision-making level of the College by inviting laymen to share with the Assumptionists the

\(^7\) Interview No. 19, Tape 4.
direction of the College in what would be a particularly difficult period. By its action of June 7, 1968, Assumption became the first Catholic college in the country to invite laymen to be active in its governing board. The following comments illustrate this further:

As President of the College, I see myself at the nexus of an hourglass. On one side, policy is being made by the Board of Trustees whose membership comes as close as an educational institution's governing board can to the proportion of laity to clergy in the People of God. On the other hand, I have a network of implementation which spreads out as wide as the People of God itself, with no man-made barriers to stymie the working out of the Holy Spirit's initiatives. This, I believe, is what an institution of higher learning must be in this post-Vatican II decades and I blush with pride as I think that Assumption College is the first to have taken the steps necessary to give organizational flesh and bone to this double partnership.8

This decision to "share ownership" by the Assumptionists resulted in their "authoritative" position being altered. The influence of Vatican II upon the Order and, indeed, within the Order (a great many religious left the Assumptionists' community) encouraged a plurality of views which was sometimes viewed by others as a manifestation of a lack of definitiveness or even direction. The lay faculty and students have felt the consequences of these changes within the religious community.

Reactions from Interest Groups

Internally many students, faculty and administrators favored these forces and provided an impetus for change, but just as many were not ready and provided a stand for the "status quo." The fragmentation of the Assumption community is illustrated in Figure 3.2. Given the strong "authoritarian" stance and posture of the Assumptionists, enhanced by the fact that they owned and ran the College, faculty and student "participation" was always ambiguous. The question as to whether the faculty senate or the student government were deliberative bodies or merely consultative bodies has been prominent during the last three years and is still unresolved. It was felt that "someone" behind the scenes would make the decisions anyway. Consequently, there is a strange spirit in the faculty—one group feeling that the authority should prevail "by decree" and another group seeking meaningful participation at least in the decisions governing the academic life of the College and yet never sure that such participation was possible.9

As was previously stated, there can be healthy and creative tensions existing between the self-determining and dominance models of governing change.10 That is, when the similarities and differences of these models allows for a

9Interview, No. 6, Tape 2.
FIGURE 3.2
DEVELOPING INTEREST GROUPS AND FRAGMENTATION

SOCIAL SETTING FORCES
1. Vatican II
2. Competition
3. Finances
4. Interest

CHANGES
1. Lay Board Trustees
2. Re-Define Goals College
3. Co-education
4. New Curriculum
5. Increase Enrollment
6. Administrative Reorganization
7. New Student Privileges
8. Black Studies
9. Ecumenical Institute
10. Additional Departments
11. Enter Consortium
12. Phase Out Evening School
13. Re-Structure Government

= United Stance
- - = Factionalism

FAVOR
RELIGIOUS
LAY FACULTY
STUDENTS
ADMINISTRATION

OPPOSE
RELIGIOUS
LAY FACULTY
STUDENTS
ADMINISTRATION
pluralism which is marked by variety, authentic options, diverse centers of power, and self-direction, there is no one set of pressures which is sufficient to suppress the full range of human possibilities in such a setting. The end should be higher results which neither one of the pressure groups originally had imagined. Thus, in this section the existing conflicts between these pressure groups was examined to determine if they are the sources that prompted the changes. It was important to look at the readineses and resistances to the various possibilities of change and compare them to the theoretical reasons for existence. The goal was to examine the internal consistency of each as well as the logical interrelatedness of all.

Such words as "indifference" and "frustration" were used to characterize the faculty in 1969. Concern, bewilderment, and anxiety was the experience of the Religious Order in 1970. Consequently, the community has been and still is open to polarization and politicalization. People began initiating changes not through persuasion or self-study, but through politics and special interest group tactics. With the increase in faculty and student enrollments, there came a plurality of needs, goals and values. The Religious Order could not envision a democratic process of decision-making by

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many who they "thought by temperament and training were not disciplined to discuss the issues of education from the perspective of the Christian faith and the classical tradition." Recognizing the validity of lay involvement and fearing the possible consequences of it at the same time, the Order earned the image of vacillating and even manipulating. The conflict, evident at Assumption College, was a product of Vatican II on the one hand, decision for lay board trustees, and a growing awareness of the limitations of Vatican II on the other hand, more participation, resulted in greater diversity and less certainty of goals.¹³

This fragmentation was stimulated further by the continued rising costs of education, the increased competition for students among educational enterprises, and the dwindling of public support for and interest in Assumption College. Various groups within the academic community were competing bitterly for recognition and for the limited resources. The students began realizing how much the financial operation of the College depended on them, so they demanded more freedom in out-of-classroom activities, particularly in those areas where the Religious had been able to hold such a hard line for so long—parietals, alcohol and the living conditions in

¹² Interview No. 24, Tape 5.
¹³ Remick, op. cit.
the residence halls. The students began to move with the faculty in demanding a greater voice in the governance of the College. The pluralism, resulting from the social forces, ensured that changes would affect subcultures differently and this provoked the political conflicts between and among these groups. For some, it was the fear of the unknown, while for others it was a desire for more and a willingness to risk security and status to get it.

The data in Figure 3.2, illustrate how many of the changes that were institutionalized by the external forces were having repercussions on the internal authority and power relationships. For example, in some areas there was increased centralization of authority, while in others new freedoms were gained. This helps to explain how so many of these programs were able to "come of age" in such a short period of time. By scanning the ways in which these programs became reality, it is important to see the part pressure politics played in bringing about change. There is little indication in this study to support the idea that the study-and-report technique was an effective way of gaining acceptance of the need for change or of creating enthusiasm for involvement in developing new policies. Where the study-and-report processes were intended primarily to challenge the status quo, they largely failed to do so. When the essential objective was to develop the details of a change in the status quo after the Assumption
community had already accepted the need for some change, the study-and-report processes were much more effective. An example of this is the change in the curriculum where everyone agreed that it must be updated.

In terms of the theoretical framework as presented in Chapter One it is critical to see that the plans for a different Assumption at this time in the study were framed from a political social context and that conflicts were surrounding the decision-makers everywhere. On the one hand, there were the internal tensions both favoring and opposing changes, and, on the other, there were the external challenges from the public and sister institutions, and the dwindling availability of financial support, with the result that confrontations were inevitable. Regarding policy formulation, it is interesting to note that the debate at this point involved the goals and long-range commitments of the College. The people, who were sitting around the bargaining table, were not talking about changes that would affect their behavior patterns, but about what new orientations to the future Assumption should take if it were to survive the Post Vatican II era and 1968's new down-look on private education.

A multitude of interest groups were arrayed on every side of these forces, and few decisions could be made without political cost to someone or some groups. Some were anxious to revolutionize the institution, with a modern concern about
the present and the future but little appreciation as to the views and perspectives of the past. An example of this is the hard push from some faculty and students for a 24 hour inter-visitation policy in the residence halls, when prior to this proposal there were no inter-visitation privileges of any kind. The Religious Order was not certain as to how or even whether its ministry at Assumption counted for anything significant. This resulted in a continual battle to hold on to the old. This was demonstrated by such actions as departmental revampings and the call for the Trustees to re-emphasize to the community what the goals for Assumption actually were. The Faculty began to show its factionalism on many issues. This was no doubt caused by the opening of the faculty gates to laymen of diverse backgrounds, a move necessitated by the increasing student enrollment and decreasing availability of religious faculty personnel. The Trustees were bewildered by the fragmentation and had no experience to refer to. The students were starting to wonder if they were getting any kind of education that was unique or consistent—an education for which they were paying a great deal of money.

Most of these interest groups were beginning to accumulate a varying number of grievances against one another, but it seemed to take a particular combination of issues to transform these hidden feelings of discontent or compromise into political action. The tuition increase, a black studies
incident, the added departments, the dismissal of faculty and administration, and the pulling back on student regulations were issues that generally affected large numbers of people and had overtones which were appealed to whenever the opposition presented barriers for change. Usually, these types of causes had a rippling and spiraling effect and resulted in increased numbers and expanded issues. The black studies issue started out as a difference over how much money should be allocated for this cause. Top administrators were pitted against the Black Studies Committee, which was made up of 10 students, faculty, and administrators. This debate resulted in a student-faculty strike against the administration and trustees, and the issue was not only racism, but mistrust, authority, power, and the goals of the College.

These special interest groups used a wide variety of tactics to influence the decisions. Some used bureaucratic power methods, including firings, control over budgets, appointment of officials, censorship, and the withholding of information. Others used collegial methods of committee meetings, self-studies, open debates and mass meetings with the entire community in attempting to arrive at conclusions. Some used pressure tactics on individuals, resolutions, anonymous communications and appeals. The importance of the "messianic" and "charismatic" appeal methods must not be
underestimated. This was illustrated when the goals of the College were presented to the community. What followed and is still going on was a debate centered around the questions and comments, "Who is going to run the College":

Certainly, the view of Liberal Arts within the tradition of the Christian faith is admittedly conservative given the pressures on education today, but if we value it, how do we institutionalize it? Thus, I am open to the charge of dogmaticism, arrogance or pride, but as long as I am here, we will be a Catholic Liberal Arts College.

The instances cited throughout this section are illustrated in Figure 3.3. What we see are the many forms of conflict that took place at Assumption. There was the conflict between one role and another—dean and department chairman, the conflict between the individuals' needs and the expectations held by the institution—students and regulations, conflict between cultural values and institutional expectations—Assumption College traditionally vs. emergent America in 1970, and finally the conflict between and within roles—the faculty factionalism on issues. Attention has been called

\[14\] Here the reader should refer to Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961). He helps illustrate how social action depends on power just as physical movement depends on energy. Decision-makers should strive to utilize power that is based on and guided by rationality, valid knowledge, and collaboration and to discount power based on and channeled by fear, irrationality and coercion. "The more transactional the influence, the more durable and genuine the change."

\[15\] Interview No. 2, Tape 1.
FIGURE 3.3

TYPES OF CONFLICT AT ASSUMPTION

SOCIAL SETTING

1. Conflict Society and Personal Values
2. Conflict Society and Institutional Needs

INSTITUTIONAL

1. Conflict Institutional Needs & Personal Needs
2. Conflict Institutional and Society

PERSONAL

1. Conflict one role vs. Another
2. Conflict Personal Needs, Institutional Expectations vs. Society

to the frequency of strains and conflicts at Assumption and also in most decision-making relationships, there are power dimensions, political tactics, structural dimensions involved.\(^\text{16}\) The types and sources of conflict have been placed in a single framework so that this phenomenon may be seen as symptomatic of the need for integrative alterations and reorganizations at Assumption. There are apparent conceptual and methodological advantages in dealing with conflicts as we move change toward policy formation. This next section explains how these conflicts were translated into policies.

The Legislative Phase

The relevance of the model as presented in Chapter One should become apparent when it is empirically seen that policy formulation should inevitably deal with the fulfillment of both institutional expectations and personal dispositions while the goals of society are being achieved. The task is to integrate the expectations of the institution and the dispositions of the individuals in a way that is at once organizationally fruitful and individually satisfying.

Conflict at Assumption has forced increased attention, energy, time and review on the meaning and purpose of the legislative phase of policy formation. In spite of many

attempts to employ methods of democratic governance and to proceed by consensus, this phase is still being criticized and even more than it was before 1968. Clark Kerr makes a cogent point in this regard:

Attempted solutions on the basis of ideology—all power to the faculty or all power to the students or all power to the regents who represent the people—are fraught with danger. There can be no clear preference for one solution versus another solution on principle, given the nature of the academic institution; and ideological solutions tend to be absolutist, authoritarian and occurs across-the-board in a situation that calls for tolerance, a large measure of individual freedom, and the precise fitting of governance to special situations. Attempted solutions on the basis of power alone—on who has the money or the votes or mob pressure—can tear a campus apart and once torn apart it is hard to put together again.17

Assumption is trying to abandon her old forms of organization in favor of those which promote initiative and free discussion and supposedly unite her divided allegiances to the point where everyone is able to function and strive to achieve their goals. Theoretically, the committee approach to governance looked like a fair way of arriving at solutions to problems, but realistically and actually this approach is generating more problems and presently defeating the purposes for which it was designed. What went wrong?

Structurally speaking, Assumption College operates under a bureaucratic model of governance. However, rather

than being a holistic enterprise, it is structurally a pluralistic system, fractured by conflicts along the lines presented in the interest group section, especially concerning attitudes. The so-called community is torn apart and there are few people in the system who can stimulate cooperation and unity. At this time the structure of the College is loose, ambiguous, shifting and poorly defined: the power base is also loose, ambiguous, shifting and poorly defined.\textsuperscript{18}

Despite these thoughts on the legislative phase, things still have to be decided. The questions are, "Who will decide?" and "How will he/they decide?" The dynamics of this section suggest the whole bases for this paper. Where does conflict enter into the policy formation process and is it interwoven with change? Traditionally, the President ran the College in whatever manner he saw fit. The power elite was based in the hands of the President and whoever else he decided to let in to the decision-making process. Since 1968, with the new and enlarged faculty and student enrollment, the competition from other institutions and the influence of Vatican II, Assumption has pushed toward creating a more democratic institution—in spite of some obviously oligarchichal factors. Today we have a campus of, individuals living together but not legally married. I envision the debate and the participation of dedicated individuals to be the most consequential in

\textsuperscript{18}Self-Study, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 75-90.
the history of this school— one which will truly be significant in shaping the procedures and programs envisioned as means to an educational product understood from the perspectives of a Classical-Christian heritage. Then and only then will we be legally married, for in place of direction by authority, there will be a purpose by a personal and voluntary commitment. Until then I will lead the change. 19

This should help to illustrate how the attitudes were not changing even though the structures and apparent openness of the system was. Figure 3.4 illustrates "who" decided "what" and "how" interested parties contributed to various major changes at Assumption. Notice that the traditional bureaucratic method of rationality is giving way to the pressure and negotiating methods that are associated with a political model. The inter-visititation proposal is a perfect example of how conflict was converted into the legislative phase in policy making through a pressure tactic and not a rational process.

It is no small wonder that only a few administrators can grasp the importance of the legislative process in the leadership and management aspect of decision-making when one reviews the following comments:

It seems like such a long time since Assumption College was a tranquil place when its inhabitants could look condescendingly upon the political turmoil prevailing elsewhere, even though it was less than two years ago. 20

20 Interview No. 12, Tape 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHO</th>
<th>WHAT</th>
<th>HOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Moderately democratic but decision process is diffused | 1. The consensus method vs. conflict of pressure tactics, results in major choice of what to look at in terms issues | 1. Political decisions model suggests:  
   a) attention cues  
   b) struggles over authority  
   c) pressures from interest groups  
   c) cycle change and conflict feed back |
| 2. Because interest groups' participation:  
   a) Authorities  
   b) Favor  
   c) Oppose  
   d) Indifferent | 2. Influence spheres with different authorities over different issues | |
| 3. Even though authorities make binding decisions  
   a) diversity authorities  
   b) Committees | | 2. Rational approach limited |

* Taken in part from J. Victor Baldridge's book, Power and Conflict in the University, pp. 194-196.
As compared to the reaction that finally, things are beginning to happen around here, and for the first time, Assumption is becoming politically relevant and meeting the demands necessary for an educational institution to survive in the seventies. 21

No matter which one of these perceptions is accurate, the administrator still has a task before him in trying to bring these opposite ends of the continuum into a common ground. How should he operate in the legislative phase of policy formation?

Concerning "what" decisions does the "who" decide, one need only look at the power elite and the sources of conflict to make this determination. At Assumption in each case the dynamics of conflict shook the spheres of influence to the point that change resulted. The important point here is that in a number of cases there was not enough change. That is, conflict was not moved to a higher level of growth and development, since identical confrontations are still going on, regarding such issues as governance, student regulations, curriculum and the role of the students in planning their own education. Spheres of influence are moved by crises, but how far and in what direction they move is another question.

Thus far, this section of the research has focused on who makes what decisions. The final question to be raised concerning the legislative phase is, "How are these decisions

21 Interview No. 33, Tape 7.
made?" Assumption College has the traditional bureaucratic model of governance that was outlined in Chapter One, but it also has the informal power bases of professional, coercive and personal influences that are found in complex organizations. In the past, prior to 1968, the major decisions were made by the rational method. That is, they were made by recognizing the need, analyzing the situation, assessing the possible courses of action and probable consequences of each choice, and finally choosing among the possibilities. Recently, this method has fallen short of reaching the best decisions. There is a movement at Assumption to try to use linear programming with "systems analysis" to come up with a model to help the President make the best choices.22

The researcher is not totally rejecting the existence


23 This was mentioned in my Interview No. 20, Tape 5, where the book by Robert F. Alioto and J. A. Jungherr, Operational PPBS for Education (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), was being studied as a means for decision-making. This text demonstrates how decisional technologies associated with the systems approach can be used to improve decisions. It is too early to assess the results.
of the bureaucratic type of decision-making theory at Assumption, but it appears that the political interpretation suggests several new visible influences that came into the "how" part of the legislative phase of policy formation. Earlier, it was mentioned that the traditional method of undertaking studies and then presenting the results for a decision had limited success in creating changes. Pressure tactics that involved visible conflicts and confrontations appeared to bring issues to the forefront more quickly than the collegial method of study. Concerning the who of decision-making, we learned that Assumption is becoming more democratic in its structures for this decision-making, but it was also concluded that the reasons for this came from the outward struggles for legitimacy and from the vested interests. Thus, certain attention cues force the power bases to react, to consider the conflict. If they do not, fragmentation will continue and operations will become once again dysfunctional as they did during the inter-visitation hours issue, the black studies strike, the Cambodian invasion, the budget cuts and the firing of certain professors.

Assumption College did not address itself sufficiently to the "informal" side of decision-making—legislative phase. Apparently, the administrators were too concerned with who has the formal authority and forgot to look at all the politicking that was going on with the religious, faculty and stu-
dent members. Decision-making, when it comes to formulating important changes that affect the educational policies of the College, can not be seen as an isolated technique that relies purely on rationality, legitimacy and accountability. In this study, the decision makers did not address themselves directly to the interest groups and types of conflict that resulted from the aforementioned forces for change. Committees, councils and meetings were held, but attitudes still remained the same between the competing groups and individuals. Perhaps this feeling can be conveyed by a comment from Dr. O. E. Remick,

Anxious to become more like other schools and to respond to ideals not fully evaluated, we began to change—and not for a minute could one deny that many of these changes were improvements in the means to that originally envisioned goal (one world.) But as I look back now on what has happened since 1968, I wonder if all the changes were made because they were regarded as better means to that important end? And now I feel we have more and more become a federation of approaches without a common perspective; a conglomeration of means without a common end.

Certainly, there was no change in O. E. Remick's attitude toward what the goals of the College should be. (O. E. Remick was the internal President of the College.)

Policy Execution and Feedback Cycle

Thus far, Assumption has been examined from the view-

\textsuperscript{24} Interview No. 2, Tape 1.

\textsuperscript{25} O. E. Remick, \textit{Provocateur}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 3.
point of how,

it changed from the uniqueness of a French boutique to the sameness of an American supermarket. The only uniqueness that Assumption presently has is its basketball team, the ecumenical institute of religious studies, and the institute of social rehabilitation. I'm afraid these characteristics do not affect very deeply the education that most students are receiving at Assumption.26

The steps that are being suggested in focussing on the processes that lead up to policy formation are, first to look at the forces for change from the social setting, then at the interest groups' reactions to these forces, and then finally, to examine the legislative phase to see how the pressure groups operate. The intent of this chapter was to expand on the merit of the political model that was presented in Chapter One. Figure 3.5 illustrates these steps as they apply to policy execution. There are many dangling threads and isolated ideas that can be woven together if the conflicts for change model presented in this study is followed.

The external forces stimulated the educational policy changes while the formal structure at Assumption generated conflicts. The administration was able to take the lead in implementing these changes, while the conflicts had repercussions on the authority and power relationship within the College. The controversy over the administrative reorganization shows how unprepared the College officials were in coordinating

FIGURE 3.5

STEPS IN POLICY EXECUTION OF POLITICAL MODEL

FORCES

SOCIAL SETTING
1. Vatican II
2. Competition
3. Interest
4. Finances

INSTITUTION
1. Financial Stability
2. Relevancy
3. Increase Enrollment

PERSONAL
1. More influence in Decision-Making
2. Religious vocations falling off
3. More pluralistic approaches to education

INTEREST GROUPS

FAVOR
1. Identify New
2. Needs Not Met
3. Readiness

INDIFFERENT
1. Apathetic
*This is area that other two groups struggle for

OPPOSE
1. Identify Old
2. Needs Met
3. Lack Readiness

LEGISLATIVE

1. WHO
2. WHAT
3. HOW

POLICY

EXECUTION

FEED BACK

NEW CYCLE OF CHANGE AND CONFLICT
the complex system needed for dealing with such issues. The situational improvisation that led to more conflicts was caused because of the reliance on bureaucratic methods.27

We have seen how Assumption, a small liberal arts college, has gone through a period of fragmentation that was caused by a complex bureaucracy, competing interest groups, and external forces of competition from other institutions, lack of funds and Vatican II. How did she try to get it back together again? How did Assumption bureaucratize the conflicts? Committees, study groups and task forces were appointed. Things returned to relative calm. Committees A and B were appointed to study the faculty's role in governance and evaluation procedures. This came on the heels of the firing of two professors. The Student Personnel Policy Committee was to look into residential life and make recommendations specifically concerned with the students' demands for 24 hour inter-visitation privileges. A pattern that became visible here is that the changeover from the revolutionary tactics to the institutionalizing of conflict usually meant a change in leadership in the interest groups. That is, the idealists and revolutionaries cannot lower themselves to compromise and they drift off to other activities. This can be considered an example of how pressures from the interest groups was not viewed as part of a movement aimed at changing

27Self-Study, op. cit., pp. 91-100.
the content of decisions, the incumbent authorities, or the policy itself.

Figure 3.5 illustrates the feedback cycle. Here is the execution of policy inevitably generating new tensions, new vested interests and a new cycle of political conflict. Instead of moving to a higher level of conflicts for a higher level of changes, "Assumption has not been able to move from the trust, authority, goals and expectations issues to ones that are needed for Assumption's survival." Without a doubt the changes hit the religious very hard. The turning over of the College to a Lay Board of Trustees, the hiring of a non-Catholic in a top administrative position; the dropping of many theology and philosophy courses, the introduction of females on campus; the increase of the lay faculty and their role in governing the campus; the increased diversity of backgrounds in the new faculty and students—all of these "losses" have to be turned into positive changes that take into account the perspectives of a Classical-Christian heritage. If these experiences of the past and the future are not joined together, a backlash will come, particularly, now that the College is so dependent on the contributory services of the religious to survive and the laymen cannot leave because of the job market.

At the other end of the feedback cycle there is increased

28 Interview No. 37, Tape 8.
participation being granted to the laymen and students and the resulting pluralism of needs and ideologies. Can these competing groups at opposite ends of the continuum come together regarding the programs of operation at Assumption? Oscar E. Remick says,

Yes, if we are daringly men and women of faith and conviction. Will the school prove relevant? Yes, if we avoid the trap of allowing the unwitting worship of foreign gods in our land to determine the criteria of relevance. Can we attract individuals to this kind of academic community? Yes, if we know what we are about and are gifted with the power to sell this to individuals who are seeking such an educational opportunity. Will there be public support for such a school? Yes, when we realize that our task is not only to sell a product but to educate the public and private resources into a realization of how important such a school is today. It is a sorry reflection here at Assumption that the deepest satisfactions experienced by some of our best students have come from untutored involvement in movements and issues which bear no direct relationship to the things they are made to study in college.29

It can be deduced from these comments of a high official at the College that the legislative process tends to be complex and highly diffuse. The aim of every decision-maker should be to transform interest group pressures into positive organizational policy. At Assumption the authorities have tried to reach workable decisions by balancing the many pressures against each other and against the needs of the institution. The trouble was that most of the time the decision-makers were more likely to consider the dysfunctions of con-
lict for the total structure, without giving attention to the functions of conflict for particular groups within it. This content analysis has shown that today no singly legislative body makes binding policy decisions, but instead a fragmented segmentalized process occurs as is evident by the actions over the last three years of Assumption's struggle for viability.
CHAPTER IV

Conflict for Change

This study began with a view of conflict as an inherent, natural part of the ongoing organizational process, both for the individual person and for the group. Nowhere has it been implied that conflict is inevitably an evil. In fact, the assumption was held that conflict is needed in any organization in order to sharpen the issues, refine the decision-making process, and instigate the search for change and innovation. The thesis is that groups faced with conflict tend to abandon the existing resources or policies and come up with solutions that none of the individual group members had originally perceived as possibilities. Dissatisfaction with the status quo rather than satisfaction with it is the mother of invention. This also implies that there are limitations on how much conflict can be allowed just as there are implications that too little conflict might create compromising and mediocre policies.

The desired outcome of this study was not merely the addition of data but the formulation of ideas. That is, the proper purpose of systematic inquiry, as the researcher views it, is not only to obtain the facts regarding the substantive problems which were presented in the Introduction, but to allow for second thoughts regarding the conceptual and
methodological choices that have been applied. Hopefully, the optimum results will not only be a conclusion regarding the events that took place at Assumption College, but a discovery of implications for further inquiry. Thus, the task of this chapter is to summarize the previous chapters, make observations, and to examine the findings to see what patterns have developed thus far. In the comparison of the empirical events with the theoretical insights, the research discovered that one could then better interpret the concrete events and at the same time refine the theoretical perspectives and, thus, be able to test the presented hypotheses through systematic empirical research.

Chapter Summaries

The goal of Chapter One was to develop a theoretical framework that could be used to interpret the events described in Chapter Two. This framework was derived from a review of the literature on change, conflict, and policy formulation. An in-depth analysis of change was undertaken concerning how it necessitates a dealing with conflicting values, ideas, and philosophies of learning. The literature revealed that most of the attempts to achieve change were generally made in accordance with a collegial tradition that assumed responsible members of the academic community would set individual and departmental interests aside and accept changes clearly needed
for the good of the entire institution. These processes assumed that the university was a place where change resulted from reasoned and reasonable discourse among peers.

It was discovered through the literature that change can come about through the evolutionary approach, the revolutionary approach, or the combination of these. Evolutionary changes are likely to be piecemeal and to take place one by one. They are adjustments within the status quo and are unlikely to promote either great enthusiasm or deep resistance. When change from one action to the action that replaces it contradicts or overturns status quo arrangements, the process of change can be regarded as revolutionary. A revolutionary change in contrast to an evolutionary change, causes a violation and rejection of old expectations and introduces new ones.\footnote{Robert Blake, Jane Mouton, \textit{Building a Dynamic Corporation Through Grid Organization Development} (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 3-5.}

This study was concerned with revolutionary change because conflict is involved, and it is important to learn how it is utilized for positive change. Three traditional models for dealing with conflict were presented. That is, the bureaucratic, the \textit{laissez-faire}, and the collegial models were discussed in terms of their strengths and weaknesses regarding the attaining of individual and institutional goals. It was concluded that a new model of governance was needed, one which
accepted and dealt with conflict as a force for change, one which recognized that in pluralism there is shared meaning, but never total overlap in meaning. Pluralism recognizes the connection between institutional and ongoing relationships and the importance of coordination and the setting of priorities in establishing policies. The dynamic forces of change, both internal and external, were identified and defined. With the stress on individualism and the need for collectivism, four types of conflict were developed. These types appeared to evolve from the forces for change and the interaction of the various interest groups with themselves, the institution and the society. This chapter approached change as a political phenomenon and utilized conflict as a motivational force in policy formulation. Conflict was not to be avoided by administrators. In fact, the challenge was to seek ways of channeling the energies of conflict toward the achievement of gains that would benefit everyone concerned.

Chapter Two reported on the field research at Assumption College. This part of the study was based on the reports and documents that are listed in the Appendices, on interviews, and on personal observations that the researcher participated in over the past three years. A brief history of the institution with its purposes, objectives, and programs was given. The major changes and sources were listed that have taken place over these same years. Many changes have
occurred at Assumption, but continuing unrest indicates that these changes were either not enough or were too much. It was decided that it could prove valuable to look at the formulation side of these changes rather than the evaluation side. The researcher felt that it was the dynamics of the formulation side of new policies which prevented the changes from moving to higher levels of innovation in the spiraling cycle for growth and development.

Chapter Three was concerned with integrating the theoretical framework offered in Chapter One with the empirical events listed in Chapter Two. Each step was elaborated on by filling in the theoretical discussion with concrete data from the events at Assumption College. The content analysis of the available data helped to bring alive the theoretical steps listed in Chapter One, and it created a conceptual framework in which change and conflict were not thought of as separate categories. Assumption College provided an excellent opportunity for the researcher to study why an institution's ability to respond to a need for change (except when faced with severe pressure or the threat of such pressure) was frighteningly limited.

First this required an analysis of the social setting of the College with its forces for change. Once these forces were identified, it was important to find out the readinesses and resistances to the various possibilities of change that
were present at Assumption. Most of the forces at the College came from external relationships—Vatican II, competition from other colleges, finances, the drop in educational influence, etc. However, there were types of conflict within the institution which were indefinable—purpose of the College, nature of authority, role expectations, and personal needs. The more one studied these types of conflict, the more he saw that conflict and cooperation were not separable things, but phases of one process which involved something of both.²

Secondly, the resulting fragmentation from the interest groups' reactions to these forces of change was studied. This proved to be a complex issue, for it dealt with the many ways in which special interest groups organize and use pressure tactics to influence politics. The content analysis helped to categorize the types and conditions promoting active interest groups. Basically, the conflicts stemmed from differences among persons and groups. Elimination of conflict would mean

²This thought goes back to the writings of early sociologists who say conflict is a fundamental part of social organization. Charles H. Cooley, Social Process (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1918), p. 39; George Simmel, Conflict, trans. Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 17-18; José Ortega y Gasset, "In Search of Goethe from Within," Partisan Review, XVI (1949), p. 1166. The difference between this thesis and the early sociologists, is that to them conflict was seen as inherent in the social structure, and those particular types of conflict which were evaluated negatively could be eliminated, they felt, only through structural change. This researcher is dealing with attitude change more than structural change.
FIGURE 4.1

INTEREST GROUP STYLES OF INFLUENCE AND POTENTIAL TENSION RESULTS*

A. Styles — Self Determinance

Combination

Dominance

Differences Allowed

healthy tension existence
(allow both differences and similarities)

Similarities Allowed

B. Results —
1. No structure
2. Self-determination
   for individual only
3. Stresses openness
4. Harmony and unity
   is good

1. Pluralism
2. Respect
3. Flexible
4. Self-determination
   for individual and
   others

1. Alienation
2. Assimilation
3. Rigidity
   (alternatives re-
   jected)
4. Closure for stable
   arrangements

*This idea was generated from Robert W. Terry's book For Whites Only, op. cit, by the researcher who concludes that the solution lies in maintaining a proper tension between what is essential for all and what has only restricted significance.
the elimination of such differences. The possibility of this happening at Assumption in the Seventies is minimal. Thus, the goal is to accept and enhance the differences to the point that they serve as stimuli for personal growth and social progress. See Figure 4.1 to get an illustrative idea of the existing tensions between these interest groups and the potential available.

In the third step, the legislative phase, consensus was not seen as opposed to conflict but rather as a condition necessary for its creative utilization. The legislative phase strives to convert the tensions and pressures into positive change. Here it was explained how the interest groups' stances were formally transformed into the decision-making committees of the College. The cyclical nature of conflict and change was mentioned along with the realization of the feedback cycle and its importance in the policy formulation process. Differences among the various interest groups have a direct bearing upon the problems of institutional purposes, but also upon the operational policies and must be dealt with accordingly, if conflict is to be moved toward change.
Observations

Various approaches to planned changes have been employed at Assumption to improve and update its vitality, viability, and educational relevance as an institution of higher learning in the nineteen seventies. Figure 4.2 indicates what approaches were used and the resulting issues involved. Those attempts to achieve changes which did not significantly affect individual behavioral patterns and value systems passed through the centers of decision-making without much opposition. People were willing to allow collegial or bureaucratic methods of initiating and executing to prevail regarding these issues.

On the other end of the scale there were those issues which directly affected specific individuals rather than affecting simply the College and its character, values, and goals. These attempted changes were not able to pass through the centers of decision-making as easily as did the former. In these instances a countervailing power was present and required more than the rational approach. Man was still viewed as a rational, intelligent being, but he was also an emotional person who was becoming less concerned with the institution and more concerned with his own self-actualization. Man was not only striving for survival alone, but also for recognition and interdependence. These conflict-packed situations
not only required changes in knowledge to become realities, but also changes in attitudes and in individual and group behaviors. That is, men are seen as inherently active, in quest of impulse and need satisfaction. The relation between man and his environment is essentially transactional. Man does not passively await given stimuli from his environment in order to respond. He takes stimuli as either furthering or thwarting the goals of his ongoing action. Intelligence is social as well as individual.\(^3\)

Thus, a major observation at this point is that pressuring for institutional improvement results without resolving the individual and human concerns, is avoiding the real issue of why the conflict exists at all. Success predicated on sound logic and techniques is not likely to be achieved in situations where conflict is not faced. Creativity can be stimulated by tension situations or conflict situations. However, if creativity is stifled, then dedication and commitment will also be reduced. The reactionary approach listed in Figure 4.2 illustrates how the external forces of change as described in Chapter One require the employment of a different model of governance rather than the collegial and bureaucratic models mentioned. For in the final analysis, it

FIGURE 4.2

APPROACHES TO PLANNED CHANGES THAT ASSUMPTION COLLEGE HAS UTILIZED SINCE 1968

I. TYPES

RATIONAL APPROACH
1. Self-Study
2. Research & Evaluation
3. Replacement Personnel

RELATIONSHIPS APPROACH
1. Outside Consultant
2. Structural Change
3. Integration of Difference

REACTIONARY APPROACH
1. Administrative Decrees
2. Influencing Power Elite
3. Non-Violent Situations

II. ISSUES and SOURCES

Lay Board Trustees (A)
Enter Consortium (A,F,S)
Phase Out Evening School (A)
Capitol Funds Drive (A)
Increase Enrollment (A)

Co-education (A)
Reorganize Administration (A,F,S)

Student Regulations (S)
Re-Arrange Finances (A,F,S)
Black Studies (F,S)
Add Departments (F,A)
Curriculum (F,A)
Re-Define Goals (A)
Ecumenical Venture (A)

A = Administration
F = Faculty
S = Students
is not participation which leads to involvement, commitment, and dedication. Rather, what produces these human motivations are challenging goals and objectives and the opportunity to contribute one's thoughts and energies toward their accomplishment. Conflict then is at the center of this model and not compromise nor majority rule, for it is these differences of view and clashes of thought that stimulate people to think through the deeper wisdom that can lie embedded in minority thought.

From Chapter Three we learned about the decisions to increase the faculty size and student enrollments. It was shown how the student market was dwindling and how religious vocations were disappearing. With these two thoughts in mind, it would seem inevitable that a greater plurality of viewpoints and attitudes would become involved in Assumption's policy formulation process. A new way was needed to deal with these fragmented groups if the College was to continue to operate, a new way that would move from the coercion-compromise model to the collaboration-consensus model. It would not see collaboration or consensus as opposed to conflict, but rather as conditions necessary for its creative utilization.

The financial issue at Assumption brought this point to the surface immediately. For both the faculty and administration believed that this conflict issue was unresolvable,
not only because of their past experiences, but as an ideological conviction—quantity versus quality. The students sensed that the way to move toward a problem-solving relationship was to initiate an effort unilaterally. This taught the researcher how important it is to understand win-lose dynamics, to invent procedures which prevent the sides from freezing into fixed positions, to help the parties focus on commonalities as the framework within which differences occur, and to help the initiating group to maintain perspective in order that its members can listen in an undistorted way and, finally, to understand the process in which they are engaged.

The conflict issues listed under the reactionary approach of change in Figure 4.2 illustrate the diversity of interest groups struggling to influence the policy formulation process. It is important to visualize that these conflicts are not necessarily occurring individually but collectively. Thus, the collegial and bureaucratic models, which were designed to do programmable things in a stable, predictable environment were not able to permit rapid adaptation to changing circumstance in society and at Assumption. Generally, the results were that the conflicts created more conflicts or negative changes instead of the desired goal of positive changes.

With all the changes at Assumption over the past three years another observable conclusion is that change is intermittent, rather than continuous and explosive, rather than a
simple accumulation of internal variations. This is where the leadership element of Assumption fell down. The administrators forgot to counter the pressure favoring the status quo with an atmosphere of receptivity to change. By not creating this accommodating atmosphere, things began to move in a disorderly fashion. The results were that issues appeared to be forced instead of evolving. There was no shared sense of purpose, which appeared to be so necessary to keep the disparate and individualistic groups together at Assumption. This might help to explain why it has been said that "Assumption College is a seedbed of conflict rather than an instrument of change."⁴ Apparently the successful and effective leader at Assumption would have been one who was able to perceive which forces were on the side of progress and which ones were not relevant any longer. This ability, plus the realization that there is something of the process of metabolism in the growth and decline, the disappearance and resurgence of organizational change and conflict, could prove helpful to those directly responsible for policy formation. It is very important for the capable decision-maker to identify these tension points quickly and to look upon them as probable sites for innovation before they become polarized into resistant forces. The next observation deals with the

⁴Interview No. 49, Tape 11.
idea that the point at which to begin change is in each of those areas of the organization where some stress and strain already exist. Figure 4.3 helps to illustrate this relationship of conflict and change and what can possibly happen if one does not intercede at these overlapping points.

Findings and Patterns

Assumption's central policy formulation problem has been the classical liberal dilemma of majority rule versus minority rights. In reviewing Chapter Three, one learns by playing on the power consoles of the administration to prevent a bringing about of change. One also learns how interest groups have further compounded the break between institutional goals and individual activities. In spite of the essential pragmatism of interest group pluralism regarding policy formation at Assumption, profound findings are evident.

First, the interest group pluralism has seriously warped the activities of the decision-makers by directing them to focus on whatever interest group has the most compelling force and, thereby, forgetting the total institution and what it stands for. Thus, in the last three years, decision-making groups have taken onto themselves virtually an unlimited scope of power, but at the same time they have affirmed and expanded the notion of interest group pluralism. The results of this contradiction are that the administration in trying to
SPIRALING CYCLICAL FORCES OF CHANGE AND CONFLICT IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND CONSEQUENCES

FORCES FOR NEW

New Alternative

FORCES FOR OLD

Unifying Issue
Compromise

POSSIBLE EXPANSION

NEGATIVE PHASE

PRESSURE INFLUENCE
FRAGMENTATION

INTENSITY ISSUE

CORE CONFLICT

MIXED CONFLICT

POSSIBLE EXPANSION

POSITIVE PHASE

PRESSURE INFLUENCE
FRAGMENTATION

INTENSITY ISSUE

POSITIVE CHANGE

FORCES FOR NEW

POSSIBLE EXPANSION

NEGATIVE CHANGE

PRESSURE INFLUENCE
FRAGMENTATION

INTENSITY ISSUE

MORE CONFLICT

More Conflict

FORCES FOR OLD
adhere to the bureaucratic model of governance has become powerful but formless, another victim of the pulling and hauling that comes from competing interest groups. In one sense this type of policy formation has substituted the requirement of participation for the requirements of standards. Something has to be done about this trend quickly or the zeal of pluralism for groups and its belief in a natural harmony of group competition will break down the very ethic of education by reducing the essential conception of administration to nothing more than another set of mere interest groups.

Once this happens, how can one develop the legitimacy of decision-making, have accountability, and get the public to finance all the interest groups equally? Perhaps there are more reasons for justifying conflict as natural and being built into policy formation, but it is pretty certain that conflict can help explain how individuals, groups, and institutions will be destroyed unless they have a common bond of identity or a process for integrating these differences.

Second, by observing the way the various groups handled conflict, it became clear that the long standing and established groups fared better than the ad-hoc groups. That is, the established groups appear to start with a greater intensity

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5 For an excellent discussion of the function of pressure groups in Policy Formation, see J. Victor Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University, op. cit.

6 Robert W. Terry, For Whites Only, op. cit., supports this hypothesis.
of conflicts and to fare much better than the groups with less conflict. Apparently, a wide variety of opinions proved to be beneficial to the established groups such as the standing committees, but disruptive to the ad-hoc committees or groups, for example, black studies. Could it be that differences of opinion are more likely to be seen as particularly threatening to a group that is not already established? Or is it possible that the conflicts are greeted as challenges and stimuli for change rather than occasions for compromise or polarization into win-lose relationships? This might be an interesting area for further study to determine if the established groups are more productive than the ad-hoc groups and also to measure the degree of change that results from each group to see which one reaches a higher level of achievement and why.

Third, conflict within a group may help to establish unity or to re-establish unity and cohesion where it has been threatened by hostile feelings among the members. This is not to indicate that every type of conflict is likely to benefit group structure, nor that conflict can subserve such functions for all groups. Those internal conflicts which concerned Assumption's goals, values, or interests and did not contradict the basic traditions upon which the relationship

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7 Irving L. Janis goes into this idea and its possible connection with compromising results in great depth in his new book, *Victims of Groupthink*, op. cit.
between the conflicting parties was founded tended to be positively functional for the structure. As was evident in the changes for greater participation in the decision-making, new curriculum, and more flexible student regulations. On the other hand, those internal conflicts in which the contending parties no longer share the basic values upon which the legitimacy of the structure rests threatened to disrupt the institution. Examples of this type of conflict were the Re-Defining Goals Booklet and Ecumenical Venture.

Fourth, group pluralism usually provided situations whereby the decision-makers were faced with high degrees of conflict. In most of these instances the high conflict situations tended to provide creative solutions--choices that some of the members originally had held individually--rather than compromises or win-lose policies. Perhaps this gives cause to why the mobility of persons, diversity of backgrounds, ideas and influences are associated with conflict situations and could prove healthy for the growth of the organization. One safeguard against conflict disrupting the consensual basis of the relationship was found to be contained

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in the institutional structure itself; it is provided by the institutionalization and tolerance of conflict. This came about as the administrators were faced with more and more conflicts, and by accident they began to allow greater expressions of differences. Thus more people felt safe to express antagonism and as a result the structure showed more tolerance for conflict. Experience showed that the more they allowed conflicts the more creative solutions came into existence.

Fifth, the interest groups' reactions to the forces of change taught the researcher that majority participation is likely to produce action predicated on what is acceptable to a majority and not necessarily on what could be the best solution. This illustrates the importance of allowing all significant interest groups to have a voice in policy formation so that one can get the clash of ideas that stimulates people to think through the deeper wisdom that often lies embedded in minority thought. Access to the decision-making apparatus should be the absolute minimum, but more important this access must be structurally built into the organization. Informal consultation can be helpful but it does not replace face to face confrontations. It is only in these types of situations that those involved with decision-making are able to correct misconceptions, and this is necessary for redefinition of the problems and to the uncovering of areas in which collaboration
would be fruitful. Many of the struggles at Assumption have come from efforts by various interest groups to gain access and influence to the decisions that individually will affect them. This is a valid effort, but would it not be more valuable for everyone for these people to concern themselves with particular issues rather than the authority-power issue itself? This idea is based on the thought that two minds thinking about creative solutions should create better alternatives than either one had originally perceived. Trustees, administrators, faculties, and students must come to realize that conflict-facing issues do not have to be ones of giving up or taking power, but rather ones where everyone can gain more of what he wants through allowing conflict-collaborative efforts.

Sixth, individualism with its resulting group pluralism has taught the researcher that the effective unit for academic change is no longer the individual but the group. Members of the collaborative team can improve the design of a project because each has insights and influences that others lack. Individuals can initiate and sustain change when acting in self-conscious groups, but they must abandon the myths of individual heroes or of total captivity by the "system." The resistant

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9 Kurt Lewin sheds some light on this idea in Resolving Social Conflicts, op. cit., plus Amitai Etzioni's Social Change (New York: Basic Books, 1964) helps to clarify this approach to changing perceptions.
forces of policy formulation will not disappear, but a team is not able to hide or to be as protected as a single individual can in a bureaucratic set-up. Finally, the process by which the American system of higher education has come to be differentiated from other parts of the society has been marked by considerable conflict. Consideration of these conflicts should open windows both on the process of policy formation itself and on the significance of the system's principal boundaries in relation to its sociocultural environment. Then the decision-makers can set their sails to allow for individual satisfaction as well as organizational effectiveness.

Seventh, influence which leads to rapid and major institutional reorganization is most likely to come from an alienated group or collection of groups which constitute a difference with an existing policy. The success of such a movement in bringing about change must be regarded, from the standpoint of the decision-makers, as a failure of control. If successful institutional control had been operating, then influence would have been creatively channeled. "Effective conflict regulation," Dahrendorf suggests, "serves to reduce

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the suddenness of change. Well regulated conflict is more likely to lead to very gradual change. This should help to illustrate the importance for decision-makers to know when to apply control methods for institutional change. If not applied properly, control methods might stimulate greater influences by attracting interest groups of a greater proportion than was present initially. Removal of certain administrators at Assumption from their present positions had the affect of backfiring, in that it was a rallying point for minority groups.

The present need for institutions of higher education is to create policy formulation processes which permit rapid adaptation to changing circumstances. The search is to find ways in which faculty, students, trustees, and administrators can organize for innovative, unprogrammable activities. An important point in this study is that all of these points are attainable, provided decision-makers begin to utilize conflict for change.

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CHAPTER V

Overview

The previous chapters have used hypotheses which were derived from the writings of various change and conflict theorists. This approach, plus the integration of the empirical events, allowed the researcher the opportunity to build up a systematic body of findings related generally to the theme that conflict has certain positive and essential functions in the development of policy. Conflict may be a result just as much as a source of change. That is, there are maladaptive as well as adaptive functions of conflict present in almost all change situations. The researcher decided to stress the adaptive functions of conflict to correct a balance of analysis which has generally been tilted in the other direction of resolution and elimination.

By exalting the cohesive against the disruptive value of the conflict process in its relationship to change in policy formation, the following major areas were examined: (1) that conflict preserves the decision-making group, (2) serves as a safety-valve, (3) specifies the range of group structures, (4) increases internal cohesion, (5) allows for a differentiation between creative and compromising solutions, (6) operates with coercive or consensus methods for change. The over-arching conclusion is that conflict
helps to create change and is basically a socializing, rather than a disorganizing, process.

Another over-all conclusion, was that the upheavals at Assumption were interpreted as creative struggles for pluralism. The difficult task in this struggle is to maintain the proper tension, discerning what is absolutely essential for all, as distinct from what has only restricted significance. As was evident in some of the unaccepted change at Assumption, pluralism can be replaced with seemingly incomprehensible alienative or assimilationist interpretations of events.

These conclusions helped the researcher to realize the importance of creating the proper priorities and developing the appropriate tensions between similarities and differences. Conflict within and between interest groups is one of the surest approaches to maintaining this balance, particularly if it is organized and institutionalized.

Conclusions

Pressures for innovation are likely to result in the emergence of conflicts within a system, particularly if the institution is interested in modernization. To consider only the internal consequences of conflict and of responses to it without paying attention to the groups' relations with the outside is to complete only half the evaluation of the conflict
issue. That is, intergroup contact may take on competitive and aggressive overtones. Most of the time these are aroused by external threats, but sometimes institutional forces can add fuel to the fire as was the case in the added-departments' issue at Assumption. To just focus on the forces for change, without looking at the resistances and possible reactions to change, could result in changes of short range durability and limited effectiveness. Analysis and identification of these phenomena must be dealt with by decision-makers before the issues at hand are moved into the legislative or policy execution phase of the political model presented in this thesis.

Organized conflict groups tend to use less violent means of combat than those that lack organization. The sect-type group committed to a politics of struggle, which uses unorganized tactics, tends to exert influences quite disproportionate to their insignificance. This is one of the reasons why administrators should not spend all their time only concentrating on the suppression of conflicts. Attention should also be focussed on the underlying systemic malfunctionings to which these conflicts attest. That is, if decision-makers bring the win-lose trap into the decision-making group, which should be made up of representatives from all groups, they usually will have more conflicts, as was illustrated by the re-financing issue at Assumption. Thus, even though this
paper argues for conflict as a vehicle for change, it does not intend to wish that institutions should be torn apart by ceaseless conflicts. As stated earlier, conflict can be and often is healthy, for it may revitalize an otherwise stagnant system. There is, however, also the danger that conflict may tear the organization apart, as it almost did at Assumption. It is, therefore, important to determine the fine line that separates a revitalizing reformation from a self-destructive revolt as the issues move through the different steps of policy formulation mentioned in Chapter One. For it is only after the events of competition have been placed in perspective, that the various modes of establishing intergroup collaboration can be settled.

This study began with the idea that conflict was a part of change. It was also decided that it was important to identify what elements helped to steer conflict towards positive change in the policy formation process. The analysis was intended not to pass judgment on Assumption College or on the merits of bureaucratic or collegial systems of governance. It is simply to establish the fact that change can come through conflict. A new definition of freedom and responsibility along with a combined model of governance will undoubtedly be needed in institutions of higher learning if this is to take place. The new definitions should help people face up to the situation in higher education as it has been for years.
Many things done in the name of learning and education are actually political in nature. The admissions committee operates politically, so does the faculty senate, the student government, and the committee that has been set up to search for a new dean. Just about everything in institutions revolve around political considerations and we must quickly realize that any policy formation, either inside or outside the walls of the university, will demand the mobilization of power. This mobilization has and will continue to produce counter-pressures and counter-power incidents. Thus, by changing attitude about conflict, it should be easy to underscore the lesson of the past, particularly the last three years at Assumption: shared leadership often means no leadership, and consensus can produce campus communities that are operating in organizational chaos. Conflict for change through political collaboration forces the colleges and universities to develop new leadership, new ideas, and a single-minded devotion to the notion of institutional integrity. The challenge is to create situations so that when new forces appear they will not find themselves blocked from entrance into the decision-making process.

Some may view conflict and change as distasteful and say that the salient feature of a successful institution of higher learning should be its stability. Others may view it from the other side and say that the salient feature is its
mutability. The type of organization being talked about throughout this paper is one that is constantly undergoing change in both its internal and external relations, while at the same time being seen as both static and dynamic. A danger that should be avoided is the belief that all relations and interdependencies in this organization are balanced and linear as is described more fully in Talcott Parson's equilibrium theory.¹ The following comments should help to pronounce this theory: a great deal of conflict, as exhibited by the black studies issue, makes for ineffective policy formation; less conflict, as exhibited by the re-arranging of financial issues, makes for more effectiveness in policy formation; and no conflict, as exhibited by the ecumenical venture, makes for effective policy formulation.

Chapter Three helped to demonstrate how this was not the case in these instances and that it is just as important to look at curvilinear relationships among variables—Vatican II and religious vocations—as well as the linear relationships, laymen and religious, in deciding what forces make for change. There is no evidence in this study which indicates that by having no conflicts one can have effective positive change. This becomes more understandable in our era when the pressure for change and updating is so unremitting and needs

to be responded to constantly with more dispatch and assurance than ever before in our history. Men, roles and institutions have a multitude of needs and aspirations which need attention. The expressions of change and conflict can help us to: (1) gain greater clarity about the meaning of pluralism and (2) discover the foundation, identify, define the reasons why there is disagreement.

Another danger in the equilibrium formulation theory of change and conflict is that these predominant concepts tend to become structural rather than procedural and to speak more to the statics than to the dynamics of an institution of higher learning. This is why it is important to understand the imbalances in organizations as well as the balances, the forces impinging on the institution from without as well as from within, and the forces and sources of change as well as conflict, if one seeks to decide on the best possible policies for a particular issue.

It has been stated earlier that a conflict is the co-presence of stationary and creative processes at the same time: this implies that the conflict will be unresolvable if it remains paradoxical in that it is understood solely on the level of its opposing terms. Conflict can be used for creativity if in its resolution the following items as outlined in Chapter One are covered: (1) forces for change, (2) fragmentation and interest group activities, (3) legislative
phase, (4) the policy execution stage, and (5) the feedback cycle. The call here is to use the conflicts to create effective models of policy formation based firmly on democratic principles. This political structure should be consistent with every concern for livability and not just the survival of the institution. It rejects dehumanization and provides for the sharing of power among all those who are concerned. Hopefully, it will be accountable to outside forces and influences and also will be able to demonstrate how it is possible to unite in an effort to gain ends in situations for which there is consensus as well as for those where no apparent solution seems to exist. The goal is to create a system which respects diversity and acknowledges pluralism yet holds itself accountable to all groups and willingly negotiates with the opposition. Conflict is inevitable and does not traumatize the concerned parties when it occurs. Rules are means, not ends, and subject to the dynamic forces of change mentioned earlier.

In this thesis, conflict contained the germ of association and stimulated group formation; but even where this was not the case, conflicts, by establishing a minimum of bonds between interested members, drew them, as well as their antagonists, into more participation. This prevented their withdrawal into the privacy of apathetic isolation and in some instances it lead to the creation of new associations which stimulated further participation.
Recommendations for further Inquiry

This study was intended to provoke ideas about a new way of viewing conflict, to make suggestions that might be fruitful for further study in expanding and enlarging upon the related theories of conflict and change. Change was approached as a social phenomenon and as a political phenomenon. Using these theoretical approaches to change, the researcher then tried to determine the relationship of change to conflict. This was done by identifying four sources of conflict: conflict over purpose, conflict over authority, conflict over role, and conflict within individuals.

In this study both of the conflict and change theoretical frameworks were applied to the decision-making process. It was concluded that conflict is related to change and that it should be built into the decision-making process. Change, then, is the working out of conflict. One group possesses the desired outcome and the other group is excluded from possession and, therefore, seeks to change the situation—usually the results are conflict for change.

The actual policy formulation process is more complex than the portrayal in this study. The advantage of describing each as a pure type is that it enabled the researcher to highlight what he believes to be the central issues in organizational functioning and in the philosophy and methodology of change and conflict. This should be the aim of a theo-
retical study such as this. Still there is a need for further study. Hopefully, this thesis and its findings will be the first approach and basis in developing an alternative model of governance.

The steps discussed through this paper must be considered exploratory investigations, important not so much because of the data presented or of any unalterable conclusions they provide, but because they bring significant issues for further speculation and systematic inquiry. There is, for example, an obvious need to repeat the study with samples drawn from other types of organizations and over longer periods of time.

Studies are also needed that do not stop with conclusions but go on to examine the effect of applying the conclusions. Specifically, administrators need to study the effect of introducing new administrators into an organization that is either high in conflict or low in conflict. How do shifts in the external forces for change affect the functioning of internal systems with which they are connected? Is there an optimum, rather than the generally assumed absolute minimum level of conflict, in the policy formulation process? When the patterns of structure and communication of an organization are altered, are there concomitant alterations in the patterns of perception among the conflicting members? There are probably many more issues to be examined in this area before this study can be scientifically documented and applied.
The assertion is that cross-sectional and case studies do not provide the continuous observations needed for tracing the effects of conflict and change on the dynamics of organizations. The immediate effects were observed in this particular case study, but the long term effects and the process of the effects must be observed longitudinally.

It is likely that conflicts will continue within policy formulation processes. It is likely that they will occur most often between administrators and other members of the community because these people are usually at the center of the decision-making process. It is suggested that those responsible for administrator preparation programs should recognize this and should seek alternatives to training procedures. Pilot programs of involvement with and without conflict should be developed and evaluated. Efforts should be made by everyone to develop constructive interaction procedures for those concerned and involved in policy formation. More tolerance and support for change and divergent views are badly needed.

The implications of these points are especially important considering the nature and tenor of the social milieu at the present time. People seem to be honoring decisions that are arrived at through consensus and collaboration. Effectiveness is presently being valued more than efficiency. Administrators must protect and strengthen human relationships. This means that they will have to be trained involve more indi-
individuals in the policy formation process. This involvement will be highly personal and often painful. However, conflict which moves from an emotional and intellectual level to a higher coordination of thoughts, attitudes, values, emotions, and goals can be a uniquely dramatic and life-directing experience. It is because of these intrinsic rewards and the potential that the researcher was convinced there was a need for improving on the analysis of conflict. This was done in this paper by creating conceptual frameworks in which change and conflict were not thought of as separate cycles or categories. Conflict can be desirable if it brings positive change and willingness to reform on the part of enlightened, responsive and responsible leadership.
APPENDIX

RESEARCH METHODS

A. MATERIALS USED:

The College Self-Study - 1970
*Minutes of Academic Senate - 1969-1971
*Minutes of Student Government - 1968-1971
*College Council Minutes - 1970-1971
Administrative Council Minutes - 1968-1970
Treasurer's Annual Report - 1968-1970
Presidential Reports to Trustees - 1968-1970
Catalogs of the College - 1968-1971
Bylaws of the College
Board of Trustees Minutes - 1969-1971
*Committee Meeting Minutes - 1969-1971
Assumption College Magazine - 1969-1971
Provocateur Articles - 1969-1971
Reports from Vice President - 1969-1970
Purpose, Policies and Objectives of Assumption College
*Minutes and Reports of Baker Lake Weekend - 1971
Alumni Annual Reports
*Report from Accreditation Team - 1971
*Report from AAC Consultant - 1969

*Personal observations by author being a member of these sources
B. QUESTIONS CONCERNING HIGHER EDUCATION AND ASSUMPTION COLLEGE PRESENTED TO ALL THOSE INVOLVED IN THIS STUDY PRIOR TO INTERVIEW

A prominent characteristic of the Assumption community is conflict—conflict among sub-populations within and outside the institution. Some say that this strife is generated by the disparity between the goals, standards, and expectations of the varied purposes, multiple concepts of authority and decentralized power structures within our community. The point is that Assumption has the means of identifying and debating issues, but it presently lacks the capacity for quick and decisive action on complex problems. The safeguards that have been developed to protect academic freedom have also made it very difficult to achieve rapid adjustment.

Conflict and change are challenging the very foundations of our institution. Dissident groups are charging that education at Assumption is not relevant. The results are that the very life function of this College is being endangered; namely, freedom to pursue knowledge in an environment in which human rights are respected and in which logic and reason are the means employed to resolve conflict.

Not only has the major threat been to the basic idea of this College, but there has also been frustration because we have been unable to find the means to resolve this dilemma and, at the same time, maintain vitality, viability,
and educational relevance. Many are asking, "How can we respond to these conditions?" After six months of soul searching, we appear to be heading toward a day of introspection and recollection. This researcher believes that we must begin this study by seeking answers to some significant questions—answers that have been formulated in the context of the needs of our society and Assumption College and of the capabilities and resources she has. Under the subthemes that follow, an attempt is made to present pertinent questions related to our educational purpose, the process of change and the role of the faculty, administration and students in the academic community: Hopefully, these questions will serve as a guide for formal discussion during our interview.

SUBTHEME I: Purpose of the Assumption Community: Conflicting Philosophies and Priorities.

Could it be that the basic reasons for conflict at Assumption are that there are divergent views concerning the purpose and mission of education? Some argue that Assumption should function as an academic cloister pursuing truth apart from society's problems. Others hold that this church affiliated approach is outmoded and unsuited for the complexities and demands of contemporary American life. They feel that Assumption should be actively involved in the life of the community and should function as a spiritual, social, political activist. They support partisan and direct involvement in community
problems and issues rather than the intellectual detachment of the more traditional institution. Still a third group believes that Assumption should be like a supermarket whose customers are always right.

Basically, the conflict appears to revolve around which educational model you pick: the model of liberal knowledge and the pursuit of truth; the model with emphasis on specialization, public service, and graduate, professional, and technical education; the model that incorporates both of these models; or finally the spiritual, social, political involvement model. These models represent competing views and dreams and stimulate the following questions:

A. What visions of true purpose are most consistent with the needs of the society and individual students and the capabilities of the academic community? Should Assumption function as an academic cloister, detached and removed from social-political problems in the community and just pursue the unknown? Should it contribute to the solution of social problems indirectly through the dissemination of information and through the process of education? Or should it discard its traditional commitment to the search for spiritual rewards, for truth, and intellectual detachment and become directly involved in social-political processes and problems? Basically, should it be an academic cloister or a social-political instrument, non-partisan or partisan, detached or passionate, non-involved or engaged? Can the models of intellectual detachment and social-political action be integrated? What are the implications of each model for the future of the Assumption community and the development of the society?

B. If it can be assumed that Assumption must be responsive to the needs of the larger community, what criteria should be used to determine the level and quality of response and to maintain its autonomy, integrity and intellectual freedom?
C. In light of its foundations and present resources, what purposes is Assumption best suited to serve? Is it reasonable to assume the institution cannot serve all purposes and that it must, accordingly, be selective in establishing objectives? If it must be selective, what criteria should be employed to identify central purposes?

D. In light of the need to educate increasing numbers of people as quickly as possible, should Assumption be open and accessible to all students? Should everyone be entitled to a four-year college education? What are the implications of selective admissions for meeting the long-range educational needs of the society and for educating disadvantaged and minority students?

E. What are the implications of the demand to establish within Assumption autonomous programs controlled by minority groups? How should Assumption respond to the charge that the curriculum is not relevant for minority groups and that, accordingly, special programs controlled by these groups should be established?

F. What are the implications of institutional direction for the work of the faculty? What responsibility do they have for helping the institution to clarify its mission, to remain true to it, and to evaluate it in light of changing needs and priorities? What should be the role of the faculty in sensitizing students and other members in the academic community to the goals and objectives of the institution?

**SUBTHEME II**: Change in the Academic Community: Evolution or Revolution?

Another important issue revolves around how Assumption should respond to change, create the conditions for change, and govern itself. In this regard the following questions emerge as significant:

A. In bringing about change should Assumption rely on evolution or revolution; on reasoned discussion or confrontation politics? Are force and violence ever justified in stimulating action on campus issues? What are the implications of force and violence for the maintenance of a community based on mutual trust and respect, intellectual freedom and the search for truth? Under what conditions
is non-violent disobedience justified? How does one define legitimate authority? Can we separate personal criteria from job duties and responsibilities here at Assumption?

B. Who should have the right to control the process of change and decision making and what criteria should be used to determine who is involved in the process? Is the traditional pattern of authority vested in a board of trustees the best approach? Are there more democratic structures that might be achieved to protect the interests of society and the integrity of the community within the community?

C. How much authority should be granted to groups within the community for controlling their own activities and for making decisions that directly influence their lives? When authority has been delegated to these groups to make decisions, is it reasonable to have some type of review? What are the consequences of such review for community morale and development and what are the consequences of no review? Is it desirable to grant complete self-determination in certain areas? What are the implications of such a plan?

D. How might the decision-making process be implemented to reinforce institutional objectives, the maintenance of a viable community of learning and the development of good campus morale? How might the various subcultures on this campus be blended together to form a viable community government that is relevant and effective and that stimulates mutual trust and respect for all?

E. What role should the faculty, administration, and students play in change and governance? How might they expedite decision-making concerning critical issues and problems and institutional response to change? Is there a need for more "Kleenex" groups that are only called in on matters and then thrown away when the matters are settled?

**SUBTHEME III:** The Role of the Administration in the Academic Community: Servant or Teacher?

The work of administration has become more and more challenging as institutions have experienced growth in population and expansion in educational programs. In the midst of rapid change,
it has been difficult to keep principles and values in focus and to play a vital role in the learning process. Many administrators have been challenged to clarify and redefine their roles and objectives, and in some cases, their claims to an educational role has been questioned (particularly, here at Assumption). Moreover, in many instances they have been faced with pressure to reduce their traditional involvement in the decision-making process.

How does the administration respond to these pressures and demands? Basically, they must begin with an appraisal of the assumptions, beliefs, and needs that determine their behavior, perceptions that others gave them, and role conflicts that might stimulate negative perceptions by others and interfere with their ability to contribute to the educational process. Administration must become more aware of their purposes and characteristics within the academic community, how it should be governed, and how they might create a viable learning environment. More specifically, administrators should consider the following questions:

A. Currently, does the administrator at Assumption tend to function as a servant or a leader, a conservator or a change agent, a manager or an educator, a controller or a liberator, a student advocate or a student antagonist? What expectations do others in the academic community hold regarding the role of administrators, and what implications do these expectations have for the administrators' professional behavior and job effectiveness?

B. Does the typical administrator perform conflicting roles at Assumption? Should some of their functions be eliminated or modified to reduce such conflict?
tralization) Should administrators assume that incompatibility of functions is inevitable and attempt to make the best of the situation?

C. What contributions, if any, can the administrators make to the learning process? What type of preparation and background should the administrators at Assumption have to function effectively?

D. Can the administrator function effectively as both a servant for the community and as an enforcer of policies? How can we allow for shared responsibility with accountability?

E. What patterns of interaction between members of the community and the administrators are most conducive to personal and intellectual development of all parties concerned?

F. How should the work of administrators be organized to maximize their contribution to student development? Should administrators be part-time faculty and part-time administrators? Who should they report to, the community or the trustees?

G. What is the role of the students, faculty, and trustees in making certain administrators are doing their jobs?

These are only a few candid remarks to get you thinking about your roles and how it is and what you would like it to be in terms of the part to the whole—Assumption College.

SUBTHEME IV: The role of the Students in the Assumption College Community.

Students have done more to higher education in the last ten years than any other group has done in the last hundred years. To say that they are destroying or helping the system is not the point. What we should be interested in is the reasons why the so-called lesser intelligenzia has been able to disrupt the world of the greater intelligenzia so swiftly and
with limited opposition. So this final section concerns the students and the tensions that exist between freedom and authority. It is also important to look at the reasons why we appear to be sold on the philosophy of increasing the student's freedom with the idea of increasing his responsibility and running the risk of decreasing his and our own security.

A. To what degree and for what purposes shall students be involved in the academic, social, spiritual and financial structure of this College? By what means is participation best achieved—consultation or confrontation?

B. Does the College exist for the growth of the students intellectually or for their professional training? Why are students more interested in social privileges than they are in academic excellence? Are there advantages to going to college in the 1970's? Name some:

C. Do you feel that the faculty at Assumption is aroused about the "art of teaching?" What type of reward system would you feel comfortable working under in terms of evaluating your academic achievement? Can you suggest some better and more efficient methods of teaching than are presently being employed? What about the curriculum, is it fitting your needs and interests?

D. What role do you believe the Student Government Association should play in the life of the student? How does one determine what areas of governance students should be involved in and then how does one devise ways of selecting students who have the time, inclination and ability to cope with these matters in a responsible fashion?

E. In viewing community life at Assumption College, not idealistically, but pragmatically and in view of your own personal experience, what role do you see for discipline in student life? Do you see a need for detailed, specific rules and regulations? How do you see the structure of discipline at Assumption College? What role do you see for the Resident Advisor in this structure? For the Office of the Dean of Students?

F. What is your interpretation of the phrase "Christian-Classical" tradition upon which Assumption College is founded? Do you feel that the purposes, goals, roles and
programs of Assumption College are consistent with these traditions and do you feel that these are relevant to your needs?
C. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WERE USED FOR THE FOLLOWING ASSUMPTION COLLEGE PERSONNEL. SOME WERE INTERVIEWED MORE THAN ONCE OVER THE LAST EIGHT MONTHS

Students 8
Faculty 14 Religious 5 Lay 9
Department Chairmen 8 Religious 2 Lay 6
Administrators 10 Religious 4 Lay 6
Trustees 6 Religious 3 Lay 3
Alumni 4

TOTAL 50

1. a) What do you feel are some of the biggest changes that have happened at Assumption over the last three years?
   b) What do you feel are the sources for these changes?
   c) What members of the College Community were deeply involved?

2. Can you think of any major conflicts that surrounded these issues? Could you pinpoint the sources of this tension? Who were the individuals involved and how do they solve or attempt to solve these conflicts?

3. What type of governance do you feel works the best at Assumption? Why? Has there been any changes in the decision-making methods over the last three years? Could you be more specific?

4. Do current arrangements for decision-making so diffuse the formation of policies that it is difficult to arrive at a decision? How can this be rectified? What specific role should faculty, students, and administrators play in decision-making? What is your idea about pressure groups?

5. Do you have any further suggestions that could step-up the transformation of new proposals and ideas? What about
strengthening human relationships and the changes that have gone on here at Assumption for the past three years?

6. Concerning special interest groups, what types do we have here at Assumption? How do they develop? How do they influence the decision-makers? What has been the response of the administration to these pressures?


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