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COLLEGIAL BUREAUCRACY: A STUDY OF POWER AND

CONFLICT IN ACADEMIC SELF-GOVERNANCE

IN A NEW CANADIAN UNIVERSITY

by

© RAJINDER SINGH PANNU

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Sociology

Department of Sociology

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING, 1973

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend
to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a
thesis entitled COLLEGIAL BUREAUCRACY: A STUDY OF POWER
AND CONFLICT IN ACADEMIC SELF-GOVERNANCE IN A NEW
CANADIAN UNIVERSITY submitted by Rajinder Singh Pannu in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology.

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Date .... March 6, 1973

ABSTRACT

This study examines organizational governance -
especially university governance - as a political process. It is a
case study of institutional change in university governance with
special reference to faculty participation and faculty conflict in the
organizational development and policy-formulation of a new
Canadian university - the University of Lethbridge.

The governance and organization of the modern
university has been conceptualized in this study in terms of what
we have called the political process model. Central to this
conceptualization is the assumption that university governance
is basically a political process, not merely a collegial or a
bureaucratic one. Within this perspective, institutional development
and policy-formulation emerge from the interplay of a complex set
of political processes in which different actors and their interests
and ideas compete with each other for influence and dominance.
In this process, power contests and conflicts are to be expected
as a natural outcome of the actions of different groups and
individuals struggling to influence critical developments and decisions.

The findings of the present study clearly suggest the
validity of our conceptualization of university governance and

organization as a political process, dominated by conflict rather than consensus. It was found, for example, that the institutional goals and policies as well as the organizational structure and operating procedures of the University developed out of the power struggles between the competing groups in the faculty and their complex political schemes. As far as factors internal to faculty were concerned, power relations and group pressures more than anything else influenced the institutional development and characterized the faculty governance.

On the basis of this study, it is suggested that we must extricate ourselves from the strait-jacket of functionalist framework which has dominated in recent years both the sociology of complex organizations and the sociology of professions, if we are to further our understanding of not only academic governance, but the governance of "autonomous" professional organizations in general. The use of the political model in the present study has been an attempt in this direction. Its applicability to larger and older universities and other professional organizations needs to be explored.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my gratitude to those who, in varying capacities, have made possible the present study through the various stages from preparation to completion.

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Chapter 1

DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE INTERNAL
STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY
IN CANADA: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

The modern university, since the 1950's, has emerged as

one of the major institutions in all industrial societies of the West. In

Canada, as elsewhere, this new position of the university has meant

for it an unprecedented degree of expansion and prosperity, as well as

a puzzlingly high level of internal turmoil and conflict. The small

university of yesterday has mushroomed into a sprawling campus

hosting tens of thousands of students, thousands of teaching faculty and

large contingents of other personnel to provide essential services for

everyone on campus. The small community or junior college has

grown into a new university, both to meet the ever-rising influx of

students and to satisfy the professional aspirations of its faculty. The

relatively simple structures of decision-making and control in the

small university of the past have mushroomed into complex bureau-

cracies in the multi-versity of today. Consequent upon this unprecedented

expansion and change has come to the academic community a perpetual

feeling of deep disquiet that every now and then breaks out into open

conflict and confrontation between different groups on the campus.

Yet it would be a mistake to think that the turmoil and conflict in the modern university is due merely, or mainly, to the increased size of the modern campus, and to the impersonality which is inevitable in a large and complex organizational structure. For even on the campuses of smaller universities, there has been ample evidence of intense conflict. If it is true that, regardless of its size, the modern university experiences internal conflict, then it is also true that this conflict is centred largely on the nature of its governance. Different groups in the academic community assert their right to influence the course of change that is overwhelming the university. They struggle with each other to change its governance and decision-making procedures, and to gain control over its destiny.

Much of what has been written on university governance in the past has failed to capture the real nature and complexity of the internal conflict in the university. The major concern has been with tensions and conflicts arising out of an artificial distinction between financial and academic matters, with the boards being responsible for the former and the academic senate (or equivalent body) for the latter. Because of the boards' control over financial matters, it has been emphasized, they were able to influence and exercise control over matters of academic policy and academic planning. This has been seen to lie at the root of faculty-lay board

conflict. Another major cause of conflict in university government has been seen to lie in external threats to academic freedom. Yet little attention has been given in either general writing or empirical research on university governance to conflicts and struggles centering on matters related to the internal structures of authority or coordination, or to faculty participation in decision-making processes which also comprise critical aspects of faculty self-government in the university.

The changes in the governance of the modern university which have overtaken it during the last decade or so are related to precisely these internal structures of self-governance. And all the turmoil and conflict are at once the "cause" and consequence of changes in the internal structure of the University. And yet, idealized portrayals of the university faculty and its social organization as a "community of scholars" or a "company of equals" pervade most of the literature - even the social science literature - on the subject. They color some of the current conceptualizations which see the social organization of the faculty as a "colligium".[1] However, such conceptualizations are not adequate to advance our understanding of the governance of the modern university undergoing change and transformation. Much of this change within the university, especially in Canada, is closely related to, among other factors, the process of democratization of Canadian universities during the 1960's.

A. Recent Developments in University Governance in Canada: The Role of the Faculty

John Porter has recently observed that an important

development regarding university governance in Canada in the 1960's

"was the change from elitist, hierarchical and oligarchical internal

structures towards democratic ones."[2] This change started in

response to a growing faculty demand for active participation in the

governance of Canadian universities. The first major landmark

in this process was the publication of the report in 1966 of the

Duff-Berdahl commission on university government. This commission -

formed in 1963 under the joint sponsorship of Canadian Association of

University Teachers (C.A.U.T.) and Association of Universities and

Colleges of Canada (A.U.C.C.) - was specifically charged with

examining

> ...the charges that one so often hears today, that
> universities are becoming so large, so complex,
> and so dependent upon public funds that scholars
> no longer form or even influence their own policy,
> that a new and rapidly growing class of administra-
> tors is assuming control, and that a gulf of
> misunderstanding and misapprehension is widening
> between the academic staff and the administrative
> personnel, with grave damage to the functioning of
> both.[3]

As the preceding statement indicates, there were mounting

criticisms of the undemocratic nature of traditional university

governance in Canada in the 1960's by faculty associations and

individual academics.[4] In A Place of Liberty, several prominent

Canadian academics subjected to penetrating analysis and criticism

the traditional pattern of university government.[5] Furthermore, the

visits by members of the commission on reform of university govern-

ment to university campuses across the country, to receive and

discuss briefs prepared by faculty associations, administrators and

other interested groups and individuals, stimulated a strong interest

and debate, especially among academics, on this question. The

urgent need to democratize and extend faculty participation in

university governance emerged as the focal point of this debate.

The Duff-Berdahl Report made various recommendations

for reform including the continuance of a considerably reformed two-

tiered system of government (involving the Lay Board and Senate as

two separate bodies), and emphasized the need for greater faculty

participation at the departmental, faculty and Senate levels of

government. It recognized that the distinction between financial

matters and academic affairs was no longer tenable, and for that

reason called for close cooperation between Board and Senate.[6]

In addition to pointing to the need for greater faculty

participation at the departmental, faculty and Senate levels of

government, it made an important set of recommendations regarding

the selection and tenure of academic deans and departmental chairmen,

an area of central concern to the faculties of Canadian universities.

The recommendations on faculty participation at all levels

in the university's internal structure and on the selection of academic

deans and chairmen proved particularly crucial to the process of

democratization affecting the future role of the faculty in governance

of Canadian universities. But, according to Porter, Duff and Berdahl

were scarcely interested in democratization, their major concern

being with efficiency and reduction of tension in a period of rapid

expansion. However,

> ...once the process of democratization had begun,
> its pace like that of decolonization; steadily
> accelerated until now we see the possibility of a
> change at Canada's largest university from a
> hierarchical and oligarchic structure to a decen-
> tralized system with the supreme policy-making
> body having a majority of students and staff.[7]

The process of democratization, though it had already

begun before Duff-Berdahl Report was released, received a clear

focus and strong impetus after its publication. It provided faculty

associations and individual faculty members with a concrete program

and an avenue for collective action and they actively pressed for a

wider and democratized faculty participation of their own campuses,

with vigour and militancy.

However, this process of democratization has not gone

forward without opposition and resistance or turmoil and conflict.

The University of Toronto, to which Porter refers in the earlier

statement, has experienced a highly intense and prolonged period

of conflict and instability and numerous major confrontations among

various groups and constituencies on its campus during the process

of the institutionalization of internal democracy. [8] Similarly, in

many of the new Canadian universities which have been established

during the 1960's - a period of major changes in university

government - faculties have been deeply influenced by Duff-Berdahl

recommendations and sometimes by even more radical views

regarding the faculty's role in the internal structures of the

university. [9]

In this study it will be argued that all of these changes in

the university during the last decade or so have left the social-science

observers somewhat puzzled and frustrated. For the pace of change

has far outrun our ability to conceptualize and explain the forces and

processes at work in the "academic community". We are handicapped

in our ability to understand the dynamics of the modern university's

organization because of our worn-out assumptions regarding the

consensual nature of faculty self-government, the relative paucity of

systematic empirical evidence to guide us in our conceptualization,

and the limited relevance of existing organizational modes con-

structed from observation of relatively stable and different types of

organizations. This difficulty is further aggravated by the fact that

most empirical studies of complex organizations - even those that

are somewhat similar to the university, at least with respect to the

levels of technical training and special expertise of their key

personnel - do not focus on the most critical aspect of an organization.

That is, organizational research, by and large, has not dealt with the

processes of policy formulation, the dynamics of creating through

deliberate action basic coordinating and decision-making structures,

and the articulation and determination of long-range goals. These

are the kind of decisions which are at the heart of the process of

governance.

B. The Nature of the Present Study

The present research examines university governance in

a process of change. This examination is delimited to the involve-

ment and participation of university faculty and administrators in

the internal structures of decision-making, including the establish-

ment and development of the latter. The present research studies

these aspects of organizational change and development by analyzing

the development of internal structures of decision-making and the dynamic aspects of policy formulation in a new university. We therefore emphasize the historical, developmental, and sequential rather than static aspects of the internal structures of university governance. The democratization of the Canadian universities starting in the 1960's, and the changes in the nature and organization of the academic profession, provide the broader contextual framework within which we examine the nature of governance in the modern university by focussing on faculty participation. In addition, it may be noted that the relevance of the more general socio-historical context of the Canadian society and the major social changes in its social structure since World War II for the study of changed character of the Canadian universities is recognized. However, these factors are not seen as impinging directly on the objectives of this research. They are, therefore, not systematically considered.

This research has three major foci. The first major emphasis is on the nature and processes of policy formulation in a modern university. In the present research, we shall study the dynamics of (1) deliberately creating coordination and decision-making structures and (2) of the process of goal-setting in a new university. Policy formulation in an organization - especially in one that is new - is of the utmost importance because it commits the organization to a

long-range course of action, and is also of critical importance to the

realization of diverse and often conflicting goals of individuals and

groups constituting its membership. Policy formulation, following

Selznick's distinction, refers to the "critical" decisions rather than

the "routine" decisions.[10]

The second major focus is the study of conflict processes

in the university, including the origins, sources and resolution of

conflict. We shall focus on intra-faculty (including administration)

conflicts regarding policy formulation, that is, goal-setting and

development of coordination and decision-making structures and

procedures. The study of conflict processes and their relationship

to the development and change in social organization is one of the

central objectives of this study. The study of conflict in organiza-

tions - especially in professional organizations - suffers from the

narrowness of exclusively normative perspectives on social

organization. This study will attempt a different conceptualization

by drawing on the general analytical perspectives of conflict theory,

especially its implications for a sociology of organization and

professions.

The third critical concern is to examine organizational

change with reference to the organizational evolution from the

College to the University. Much of the theoretical literature on

sociology of complex organizations can conceptualize organizations only as static structures and therefore has discouraged studies focussing on organizations in a process of change and development. However, sociologists have occassionally attempted studies on organizational change, but only by abandoning the framework of traditional organizational analysis.[11] The establishment and development of a new organization in the context of a sweeping ideological change regarding institutional structure, e. g. the development of powerful pressures for the institutionalization of internal democracy in the university -- presents a particularly challenging organizational context for the study of change dynamics in the university. The focus on the dynamics of policy formulation, the development of rules and procedures for coordination and decision-making structures under conditions of broad recognition in the academic community of the undemocratic nature of the traditional structures of university governance, will permit us to study the nature of change processes in the organizational context of a new university. Understanding these processes is closely related to the first two objectives of this research.

C. The Organization of This Study

The report of this research has been organized into three

sections keeping in mind the internal unity of each section as well as

its relation to the report as a whole. Chapters 2 and 3 comprise

Section One; Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7, Section Two; and the concluding

Chapter 8, Section Three.

Section One examines, first, the major models of organi-

zational analysis and focusses on their inadequacy and limitations in

the conceptualization of the kinds of concerns which are basic to the

objectives of this study. Then it examines the theoretical as well as

the empirical literature on conflict and change in organizations; it

lays bare the reasons why in the study of conflict, particularly in

professional organizations, emphasis has most often been on

normative types of conflict alone. Then it introduces a different

type of conceptualization or an organizational "model" - different,

that is, from the one which has been frequently used in organizational

research - to explain conflict in terms of policy-making and change.

Although focussing on faculty participation in university decision-

making, it attempts to integrate recent perspectives on the nature

of professional organizations. The brief overview of the theoretical

model offers a framework, albeit a bare one, that will be filled

in with empirical research.

Section Two consists of the report on a field study of the

University of Lethbridge. This part focusses on the historical

development in this University of certain patterns of norms and

structures regarding processes of policy formulation, the "appropriate"

type of faculty participation in the decision-making processes, and the

development of internal organization and procedures. The process of

the institutionalization of internal democracy in the new University

provides a fruitful focus for viewing the above developments in a

larger perspective of institutional change. The formulation of the

theoretical model which has been used to organize this report

developed in a relationship of active reciprocity with the field study.

Section Three attempts a reexamination and elaboration of

the theoretical model developed in Section One drawing on the data

from the field study. The concluding chapter then does two things:

(a) it presents a general summary of the conclusions of the field

study regarding the dynamics of academic self-governance; (b) it

discusses the general adequacy and implications of the conflictive

theoretical framework used for organizational analysis and general

sociological theory and following this, it will be argued that the most

appropriate focus in the empirical study of academic governance

would appear to be the processes of policy formulation, conflict and

change. It will also be argued that the study of professional

organizations - especially those approaching the academic model -

could profit from the use of the theoretical model used in this study.

FOOTNOTES

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Chapter 2

TOWARDS A CONCEPTUALIZATION
OF ACADEMIC SELF-GOVERNANCE: A
CRITICAL REVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

Introduction

The present study is premised on the view that much of

modern organization theory--as a sub-field of Sociology--is of

marginal usefulness in the development of an adequate conceptual

framework for the study of academic self-governance. The task of

this chapter is to put together a theoretical framework that may

assist in the systematic analysis of the emerging patterns and pro-

cesses of the internal organization of the modern university as

outlined in Chapter 1. The chapter is organized into the following

parts: first, following a brief introduction, the predominant models

of organizational analysis are reviewed; second, inputs to the new

conceptual framework are discussed; and, finally, the outline of a

theoretical model is sketched. This chapter represents the first

part of the discussion which contributes to the theoretical frame-

work for the present study. Chapter 3 concludes this discussion

of the theoretical model to be used.

Complex organizations dominate much of social life in

modern societies. A complex organization is a bureaucratic social

arrangement in which certain activities of some persons are systema-
tically planned by other persons in order to achieve some specified or
special goals. When one person or a group are in a position to plan
a part of the activities of another person or a group, sociologists say
that the first one has authority over the second one.[1] Thus authority
and planning in complex organizations are closely intertwined.

Members of complex organizations differ from each other
as to whether they plan their own work, or their activities are planned
for them. Different types of organizations also differ from each other
with respect to the extent to which their members may plan their own
activities. This implies that authority relations are of key importance
in the study of internal structure of a complex organization.

But more important is the mode or nature of social arrange-
ments made up of authority relations to achieve the planning of social
activities in an organization. For the mode of social arrangements
for the planning of social activities of members in bureaucracies
such as public administration agencies is likely to be markedly
different from that in professional organizations. The mode of
organization of authority relations and therefore of planning social
activities is closely related to the "doctrines of legitimacy" underlying
different types of authority or authority relations.

Planning of social activities in organizations consists of two major sets of activities. First, it refers to policy-formulation, goal-setting, and the establishment or alteration of the coordinating structures and procedures. Second, it refers to the decisions with respect to the implementation of policies and specific goals. In some types of organizations, the policy formulation and goal-setting activities are the exclusive responsibility of the top management; or the organization simply does not have to bother with the aspect of planning because policies and goals are determined by authorities outside the organization. In others, some key segments of the membership may share a collective responsibility for such aspects of planning. Planning with respect to implementation most often is the responsibility of either the top management or the membership of an organization in general and is seldom done by any outside authority. The first set of planning activities may be referred to as management.

Modern organizational theory has primarily addressed itself to the second set of problems and therefore has directed attention largely to questions of management and efficiency. Little systematic theoretical or empirical work has appeared until recently on how organizational structure and the control or directive processes arise and develop in relation to the goals and the more

proximate values of individuals and groups within an organization,
and how these are related to processes of governance.

In the present study, we take the view that modern
organizational theory particularly ceases to be relevant for studying
organizations that enjoy a high degree of self-government. As
suggested earlier, modern organizations differ from each other
with respect to the extent of freedom they enjoy in establishing their
own internal structure and the rules and procedures for the operation
of this structure. Following Weber, complex organizations (as a
specific type of corporate group) can be distinguished into two types
of organizations--autonomous and heternomous. An autonomous
organization is a corporate group whose legitimate order "has been
established by its own members on their own authority...."[2] A
heternomous organization is a corporate group whose legitimate
order "has been imposed by an outside agency."[3] In this view,
modern organizations that enjoy a high degree of self-governance
can be seen as autonomous corporate collectivities. These include
all kinds of modern corporations, but particularly professional
organizations like hospitals, research organizations, colleges and
universities.

Professional organizations are organizations that
typically pursue professional goals, that is, the production, appli-

cation, preservation, or communication of knowledge.[4] In them,

members of one or more professional groups are the "key

operatives". That is, they carry out the central tasks to achieve

the major organizational goals. In autonomous professional organi-

zations, the professional employees not only perform the central

tasks related to professional goals, but also have the full responsi-

bility for planning and structuring, formally and substantively, their

social activities related to the major organizational goals--including

formulation of policy, goal-setting, and establishment and operation

of legitimate organizational structure.

The governance of an autonomous professional organization--

including its internal structure and processes--is assumed to be much

different from that of an organization whose "key operatives" are not

highly professionalized workers. Perhaps because of the steadily

increasing number of such organizations in industrial societies,

increasing effort is being expended by sociologists and other analysts

in studying the nature of their organizational structure and governance

processes. In the present study, an empirical analysis of the

governance, that is, the processes of policy formulation, goal-setting,

and the establishment of decision-making and co-ordinating structures

in a modern university--an autonomous professional organization--is

undertaken. In the next section of this chapter we review and assess

the relevance of the prevalent models in organizational analysis to

the present study - the empirical analysis of academic governance.

A. Policy-Formulation and Goal-Setting in Complex Organizations and Modern Organizational Analysis

Dynamics of policy-formulation and goal-setting activities

in complex organizations have received scant attention by sociologists.

In other words, these activities have not been viewed as "problematic"

in modern organizational theory. This, in our view, has severely

stunted the development of organizational theory capable of explaining

the dynamics of the structure and operation of concrete organizational

systems. The main reasons for the lack of attention given to the

critical organizational processes of policy formulation and goal-setting

seem to lie in the nature of the prevalent models of organizational

analysis. A brief analysis of what it is in the nature of these models

that lies at the base of this particular weakness in modern organiza-

tional theory is attempted in this section.

In his analysis of the historical development of organizational

analysis Gouldner discerned two distinct approaches to the study of

organizations in the work of sociologists, represented separately in

the Rational Model and Natural System Model of the organization.[5]

The Rational Model, exemplified by Weber's ideal-typical formulation

of bureaucracy, relates to an earlier stage in the development of organizational theory while the Natural System Model represents the dominant trend of conceptualization in the modern organizational theory, related directly to Structural-Functionalism in modern sociological theory.

Influenced by these two approaches, organizational analysis has been concerned with two basic types of problems: (a) with the problem of efficient goal attainment and technical rationality, and (b) with the problem of organizational survival and self-maintenance. The problem of technical rationality and efficient goal-attainment has been the central focus of the Rational Model Approach. The problem of organizational "survival" and self-maintenance, through successful adaptations to the changing environment which surrounds every organization, has been the key concern of the Natural-System Model approach. However, the primacy of goals and their attainment in complex organizations is fully stressed by the Natural-System theorists also. Thus, the problem of goal-attainment emerges as a common concern of both approaches in organizational analysis. Another feature that is common to them is the tendency to take organizational goals as given or, to treat goal-setting as "neutral" and unproblematic activities.

Activities related to policy formulation and goal-setting are viewed in organizational theory premised on the Rational Model approach as clearly separate from and outside the domain of administrative activities in an organization. For example, one of the defining criteria of Weberian model of bureaucracy is the "separation of policy and administrative positions".[6] It pertains only to the command-obedience sequences by which already formulated policies are translated into routine operations and continually maintained in effect. For this reason, it ceases to be relevant at the level of "the actions by which general rules are initially established or intentionally changed".[7]

Further, with respect to goal-setting, Selznick concludes that "...so much of administrative analysis takes the goals of the organization as given, whereas in many crucial instances this is precisely what is problematic."[8] Thus, organizational analysis using the Rational Model approach tends to direct analytical focus away from such key processes as determination of policy, goal-setting, or legislation of rules and regulations concerning organizational structure and operation.

By leaving out of consideration these important questions, the Rational Model approach denies the possibility of the existence of internal tensions and conflicts as manifestation of differences in

the ends of individuals and groups, or the reality of power relations

in organizations. And viewing organizations as merely technical and,

therefore, expendable instruments designed as means to definite and

'given' goals obscures the reality of the structure and operation of

concrete modern organizations. The primary emphasis in this

approach on organizational efficiency, Selznick has suggested, "induces

in the analyst a trained incapacity to observe the interrelation of policy

and administration"[9] and to comprehend the significance of power and

conflict in the determination of goals and policy. Consequently,

political aspects of organizational control are seldom explicitly

recognized and systematically incorporated in studies of concrete

organizations influenced by this perspective.

Selznick has noted the above difficulties in the Rational

Model approach to organizational analysis. Recently, in a somewhat

polemical reiteration of his view, originally stated in Leadership in

Administration, he noted that

> ...I located the apolitical bias of organizational
> theory in the tendency to focus on "neutral"
> organizational processes, to take ends as given,
> to slight the relation between structure and policy,
> to be insensitive to the institutional character. It
> is precisely when these matters are ignored that,
> as so often happens in institutional life, political
> problems are reduced to "administrative questions,"
> to be solved by administrative methods.[10]

Selznick in applying a political perspective to the study of large scale

organizations conceived the political

> not as power conflict alone, or the pursuit of
> parochial interests, but in classic terms as a
> realm where the ends of group existence are
> defined. [11]

Thus Selznick emphasizes the problematic nature of goal-setting in

organizations and recognizes the role of power in this process.

In sum, the Rational Model approach--because it takes

goals as given, assumes separation between policy and administra-

tion, views environment only as something the organization has to

be insulated from, and emphasizes formal structures and mechanisms--

is unable to draw attention to the dynamic aspects of modern organiza-

tions. It leads to theoretical statements primarily involving efficiency

as a dependent variable which can "explain why a certain organization

is or is not efficient, but hardly why its structure and internal

processes are as they are. "[12] In other words, the Rational Model

generates propositions which have little explanatory power for

understanding an organization's internal structure and the nature of

internal sources and processes of organizational change.

If the Rational Model approach fails to award important

analytical status to policy formulation and goal-setting, etc., in

organizational analysis, the Natural-System approach, taking a

"systems" view of organizations, does not do much better in this respect. This approach in organizational analysis, like Structural-Functionalism in sociology, is based on the "system" concept. Viewing organizations as "systems" entails some fundamental theoretical implications for the analysis of their structure and operation. These implications have been examined in considerable detail by numerous writers in recent writings.[13] However, our interest is limited to those implications that this approach might have for drawing attention to the analytical importance of the above mentioned activities in the study of the development and the dynamics of the internal structure of organizations.

Underlying the "system" concept used in Natural-System Model approach in organizational analysis is the organismic analogy. Because of this, there is a tendency to view an organization as an organism gifted with a will of its own, or even to attribute to it human motivations and tendencies. For instance, organizations viewed as systems are attributed with goals of their own. They also have certain "needs", like all other social systems, which must be met if their efficient goal-attainment and "survival" are to be secured. Having thus assumed that organizations have "goals" and "needs", just as human actors have their "goals" and "needs", analysis proceeds by focussing on the adaptive mechanisms by which survival

occurs. Instead of empirically settling the question as to why

organizations have the goals which they do, how such goals are

determined and by whom, the researcher proceeds by accepting the

goals as given, to the examination of mechanisms and the organiza-

tion of means activities which it strives for their attainment. The

Natural-System Model approach tends to give equal analytical

emphasis to problems of organizational survival and goal-attainment.

Parsons treats "the primacy of orientation to the attainment of

specific goal" as the central analytical property of an organization.

Therefore the survival of an organization is closely linked to its

efficient goal-attainment. In the absence of the latter, survival

would be threatened.

Insofar as goal-attainment is analytically a central

organizational problem in the Natural-System Model approach, it

remains confined to examining the effectiveness of organizational

mechanisms used for this attainment. Goal-setting obviously is

not subject to influences by members of the organization. For

instance, Parsons defines an organization "as a social system

organized for the attainment of a particular goal"[14] and views the

attainment of an organization's goals as "the performance of a type

of function on behalf of a more inclusive system, the society".[15]

These goals, therefore, must be legitimated in terms of the societal

value system. Consistent with his "total commitment" to a "system"

concept in sociological analysis, he would find it difficult to agree

with Etzioni who emphasizes that,

> in practice goals are often set in a complicated
> power play involving various individuals and
> groups within and without the organization, and
> by reference to values which govern behavior
> in general and the specific behavior of the
> relevant individuals and groups in a particular
> society.[16]

Goal-setting, for Parsons, is not problematic in Etzioni's sense, for

he deals with the question of goals in only a generic way from a purely

"cultural-institutional" perspective.

The problems of goal-setting and policy formulation are

closely related to each other. And these, in turn, stand in close

relationship to the nature and dynamics of an organization's internal

structure. This relationship remains largely unexplored in

organizational analysis. Selznick's study of the T.V.A. is perhaps

the single best known attempt to examine this problem. But even in

the T.V.A. study, the emphasis was on the influence of the environ-

ment on the goals, policies and the internal structure of the

organization. In a recent work, Silverman evaluates this state of

the modern organizational theory. He claims that

> ...nobody has considered seriously in what sense
> organizations have goals, or, to put it differently,
> how it is that members of organizations are able

to perceive organizational goals toward which
they orient their actions. [17]

Then he follows this observation with the suggestion that

> ...to answer this question one might examine
> how organizational goals arise as symbols to
> legitimate the actions of certain actors in the
> eyes of others. Viewed in this light, then,
> goals may be placed in the category of cultural
> symbols which members use to make their
> actions accountable. [18]

The foregoing analysis of the functionalist-perspective on

organizational goals has a specific purpose. It is to argue that the

way these goals and goal-setting activities in organizations are

conceptualized has important implications for how policy formulation

processes and the phenomena of power and conflict are conceptualized

with respect to the internal structure of organizations. Parsons, for

example, viewing an organization internally integrated by its value

pattern, treats its goals as given. Thus his analysis focusses

mainly on the problems associated with task-performance and self-

maintenance, that is, the organization of "means" activities.

Organizational goals, he argues, are attained through "the adaptive

mechanisms which concern mobilization of resources, the operative

code concerned with the mechanisms of the direct process of goal

implementation, and finally the integrative mechanisms." [19] "Policy

Decisions", thus become only decisions about how the goal is to be

attained, the nature and quality of the product, change in scale of

operations and "organization-wide problems of modes of internal

operation". [20] Most of these decisions are to be made at the level

of "management" or above in the organization.

In Parsons' work, this leads to what Chandler Morse has

called the blurring of the distinction between "administration and

policy--that is, between task-performance and system-maintenance,

on the one hand, and over-all direction of society as a whole on the

other." [21] Parsons was led into this difficulty by his conception of

power as a capacity of the system rather than a property of social

relations, that is, his tendency to regard power as an interesting

side-phenomenon rather than a central feature of all social systems. [22]

Had he regarded power as a central property of social relations,

> ...Parsons might have seen that effective social
> goals are of necessity those that are desirable
> from the standpoint of the powerful. This might
> have led him to see that hierarchical definitions
> and enforcement of social goals diminishes in
> proportion as the distribution of power is
> equalized, and to enquire into the process by
> which the devolution of power from the few to
> the many changes the character of effective
> social goals.... He might have then seen in
> this a clue to the meaning of policy-determination,
> as something must stand outside and above the
> essentially administrative process of task-
> performance and system-maintenance. (Emphasis
> added in the last sentence.) [23]

The difficulties associated with this way of conceptualizing

such organizational processes as policy formulation, goal-setting,

power and conflict result from the tendency of Natural-System

approach to reify the organization. The tendency to reify the

organization is related to the organismic analogy which underlies

the "system" concepts used in functionalist theory for analysis of

social systems.[24] The consensual framework of value theory of

social organization also contributes to the weaknesses of Natural-

System Model approach to organizational analysis.

B. Summary and Implications

The Rational Model approach and the Natural-System

Model approach in organizational analysis provide inadequate

conceptualizations for the analysis of the dynamics of organizational

structure and process. Both approaches treat organizational goals

as given. Further, they assume that these goals are invariant,

necessarily identical, and equally salient for all strata of member-

ship within an organization. Treating goal-setting as non-problematic

and assuming consensus on organizational goals, each approach tends

to direct attention primarily to those aspects of organizational

structure and activities which are related to efficient task-performance,

goal-attainment or self-maintenance. Little attention tends to be given

to problems of goal-setting and policy formulation and their relation-
ship to the dynamics of organizational structure. Consequently,
organizational studies influenced by either of these approaches have
generally failed to give systematic attention to conflict arising over
matters pertaining to goal-setting and policy formulation including
the establishment, operation and control of the decision-making
structures for the purpose. It is because of the general neglect of
such key problems and processes in modern organizations, that
modern organizational analysis has failed in developing an adequate
conceptualization of the dynamics of institutional structure and
dynamics.

In our judgment, it is of crucial importance that these
neglected problems and processes in modern organizations be
systematically studied if organizational theory is to escape its
rather narrow concerns which are ultimately reducible to problems
of "operative efficiency". Further such a refocussing is necessary
for it to become truly explanatory in nature. However, as soon as
our analytical interest in the study of organizational structure and
process moves from the problems of operative efficiency to those
of formulation of policy and setting of goals, we need a radically
different conceptualization of institutional structure and dynamics
from those discussed so far in this section. It must draw attention

to questions like how the ends of different people, or the typical ends of different groups within the organization on the one hand, and power and authority as part of the internal structure, on the other hand, are linked to the problems of goal-setting and policy formulation. How is it that the actions of some individuals and subgroups ramify but little into these processes, while those of others - whether playing official or non-official roles - have important impacts on them?

C. An Alternative Conceptualization of Organizational Structures and Dynamics

In an attempt to develop a conception of the processes whereby sociocultural structures, or institutions, are developed, maintained, elaborated, and changed, Walter Buckley has argued for the replacement of an equilibrium or a natural system model by the complex adaptive system model.[25] In our view, the use of this model in organizational analysis can result in the kind of refocussing we have argued for in the study of organizational dynamics. In this section we shall first present the main features of this general theoretical model of institutional structure and dynamics. Then we shall discuss, more specifically, its implications for organizational analysis.

The complex adaptive system model is based on a number

of important assumptions which distinguish it from the equilibrium

model of the functionalist theory. [26] It will be readily evident from

an examination of these assumptions that Buckley has leaned heavily

in developing this model on the insights of the symbolic interactionist

perspective, the process and social exchange models but also, although

somewhat less so, on the coercion and conflict perspectives in socio-

logical thought. First, Buckley has argued that the degree of common-

ness and specificity of norms and values in a society is empirically

problematic. Therefore, whatever control or order characterizes

the working sociocultural structures and processes cannot be explained

in terms of assumed consensus on values and norms. Second, norms

and values, and hence roles and institutional structures generally, do

not specify concrete behaviors because they are only more or less

general rules or guides for action. Third, whatever control, order,

or disorder there is at any time in a social institution or society is

a function of the interrelations and interactions of the components of

an ongoing system process. "Groupings of individuals seeking

material and social goals...generate meanings, interaction patterns

and ecological arrangements that are more or less tentative adjust-

ments always open to redefinition and rearrangement."[27] Further,

these social and cultural patterns involve, in varying degrees, an

internal component of voluntary, informed self control and an external component of direct or indirect constraint. That is, legitimate authority and coercive power are both normally present in society, but one or the other may predominate at times."[28]

The complex adaptive system model, based on these assumptions, therefore, denies that a sociocultural system can be adequately characterized as a pre-programmed machine or an organism with a strong tendency towards homeostasis. It suggests rather the generation of alternatives which are continually being selected during the process of operation by decision-making units.[29] In this process of the generation and selection of alternatives, the sociocultural structures of all levels of complexity may be generated, maintained, elaborated, or changed. A key feature of such a system is its capacity to persist or develop by making changes in its own structure, sometimes in fundamental ways.[30]

Since this model views sociocultural structures as more or less tentative, it directs analytical focus on the folowing features of the institutional structure and dynamics:[31]

1. <u>The Nature and Sources of Variety in the System</u>:

    It suggests that "in addition to the unmapped

    "exigencies" of the external and internal environment,

    the normative ambiguity, and the range of permissive

alternatives," attention should be given to "planned

and unplanned innovation, random and structured

deviance, and social and cultural differentiation of

many kinds."

2. Tension as Dynamic Agent: It suggests that tension

be viewed "as a normal, ever present dynamic agent"

and as contributing to the viability of complex socio-

cultural structures.

3. Selective and Transactional Processes: It emphasizes

the importance of the selection processes "whereby

the perceived variety, showing up as uncertainty,

ambiguity, or conflict, is sorted and sifted in intra-

individual and interpersonal interchanges. Communi-

cation networks and information flows can be seen as

vehicles whereby tensions, intentions, and expectations

are communicated as social pressures or interpersonal

influences, and whereby selective responses are made

whose sum total at any period contributes to the

"institutional" order (or disorder) at that time." Out

of this transactional process of exchange, negotiation

or bargaining emerge "relatively stable social and

cultural structures; that is, definitions, expectations,

motives and purposes developing within (and outside)

a given institutional framework act to reconstitute,

elaborate and change it by a complex of various levels

of feedbacks."

4. Processes of Perpetuation of the Institutional Order:

Whatever relatively stable accommodations and

adjustments occur or emerge from the continuous

transactional processes are perpetuated or supported

by generally two types of mechanisms: (a) "There are

sometimes consciously negotiated, sometimes

fortuitously found, congruencies or symmetries of

coorientations within interpersonal role matrices -

as suggested by the interaction models of Newcomb,

Secord and Backman, and others, and by the role

theories of Turner, Goode and Strauss et. al." These

constitute the foundations of a legitimate order and its

normative system of authority and control. (b) On the

other hand, "the primary stabilizing mechanism may

be a differential power distribution within "role

matrices" such that patterns of compliance are

institutionalized on the basis, ultimately, of coercive

sanctions - despite the persistence of "incongruencies

and asymmetries of coorientation" within "role

matrices". This lies at the basis of what we may

refer to as a non-legitimized order of institutionalized

power. These two general types of mechanisms

embrace, of course, a continuum of varying subtypes

that concretely merge into one another. "

The conceptual framework of the adaptive systems model

clearly rejects the assumptions of the structuralist "consensus"

theory which has dominated general sociology as well as organiza-

tional analysis in recent years. It denies that social order and social

integration are necessarily based on "stable sets of expectations",

normative consensus, and legitimacy. Rather, it systematically

draws attention to the fact that "a great deal of dissensus, ambiguity,

conflict, and change in actual operating rules"[32] lies at the core of

social structures. In so doing, it emphasizes the role of non-

normative as well as normative factors in social control or

integration.

Further, it emphasizes the principle that norms and

values alone do not specify action, that it is the norms and values,

plus the interactions of those differentially interpreting them, that

generate social behavior in social structures. But it also incorpor-

ates in its framework the insights of the exchange theory, conceived

broadly. Therefore, it treats existing norms and values not just as given but directs attention to the origin and development of norms, values including opposition values, and power relations as they are given form and content by the exchange relations themselves. The fact that this approach gives systematic attention to the social psychological processes underlying structural elements like norms or roles etc., enables an analyst to conceptualize structural terms like legitimacy and institutionalization - key concepts in sociological theories of social control or order - in a dynamic perspective. Such a reformulation would seem to be particularly useful in the analysis of the dynamics of organizational structure.

Building on these assumptions and principles, and drawing on well-known empirical studies of goal-oriented behavior - and of social cooperation and competition - in small groups and modern organizations, Buckley has proposed a redefinition and reconceptualization of such terms and phenomena as power, authority, legitimacy, and institutionalization.[33]

The relevance of these terms in the analysis of the dynamics of control and coordination in sociocultural structures in general, but modern organizations, in particular, is readily obvious. Organizations are deliberately created systems of control and coordination of actors and their activities for the pursuit of

specific goals. Therefore, the nature of the relationship between the phenomena of power, authority, legitimacy and institutionalization - that is, social control - on the one hand, and the pursuit of goals in organizational context, on the other, are of central importance in organizational analysis. The complex adaptive system model approach - through creative systematization of the insights of many available empirical studies and conceptualizations of organizational and sociocultural phenomena - offers a new general theoretical orientation and a rather different reformulation of these terms. It gives equal status to both legitimate and non-legitimate - or normative and non-normative - sources of social control. This represents, in our view, a theoretical advance, however modest, and a promising alternative for the study of organizational structure and internal processes.

D. Authority, Power, Legitimacy, and Organizational Goals

Since the publication of Max Weber's incisive theoretical analysis of the principles of bureaucracy in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft about half a century ago, it has had a profound influence on almost all subsequent thinking and research in organizational analysis. His analysis of formal organization was an integral part of his theory of authority structures, or systems of legitimate control.

He made an important distinction between two sources of control - power and authority. He defined power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance."[34] Thus, power relationships are characterized by "involuntary compliance," that is, the control, direct or indirect, or behaviour of members of a group, against their "will" or without their informed commitment or understanding. Authority, according to Weber, was "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons."[35] Thus, authority relationships are characterized by "voluntary compliance," that is, the control, direct or indirect, of behaviors of members of a group, with their informed or committed "consent" or consensus. Viewed thus, authority relationships alone constitute a legitimate system of social control.

In his well-known typology of authority, Weber distinguished between three types of authority - traditional, charismatic, and legal--each with its own distinct basis of legitimacy.[36] The legal authority, in which we are presently interested, is based on a belief, including that of subordinates, in the right of those in higher offices to have power over subordinates. Weber's conception of bureaucracy as a legitimate organizational form of social control was directly related to his concept of legal authority.

Social relations in a bureaucracy, according to Weber,
are based on rational-legal authority. The legitimacy of control in
this type of organization rests on the belief of the members of the
corporate group in the validity and primacy of legal norms esta-
blished by following formally correct procedures and of technical
knowledge. Legality as a source of legitimacy of bureaucratic
authority orients a bureaucratic functionary to observe strict
discipline, to accept and apply bureaucratic rules without deviation,
that is, by suspending personal judgment. This, in Weber's view,
is one of the important factors which make a bureaucracy "effective".
Thus he wrote:

> The effectiveness of legal authority rests on the
> acceptance of the validity of the following....
>
> 1. That any given legal norm may be established
>   by agreement or by imposition, on grounds of
>   expediency or rational values or both, with a
>   claim to obedience at least on the part of the
>   members of the corporate group. [37]

Another factor which makes bureaucracy particularly
rational and, therefore, effective or efficient, according to Weber,
is the fact that it means fundamentally the exercise of control on the
basis of technical knowledge. He claimed:

> The choice is only between bureaucracy and
> dilettantism in the field of administration. The
> primary source of bureaucratic administration
> lies in the role of technical knowledge.... [38]

He reiterates this point, this time emphasizing its rationality:

> Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge. This is the feature of it which makes it specifically rational....[39]

Thus, in Weber's view, the legitimacy of bureaucratic control lay primarily in two factors: its legality and its reliance on technical knowledge. Weber apparently did not see any contradiction in his conception of rational-legal authority - so important a component of his theory of bureaucracy. But, as Parsons has pointed out, Weber confused two types of authority: (a) authority which is based on "technical competence", and (b) authority based on "incumbence of a legally defined office."[40] In this light, then, Weber's bureaucracy, on the one hand, "was administration based on expertise; while on the other, it was administration based on discipline. In the first emphasis, obedience is invoked as a means to an end; an individual obeys because the rule or order is felt to be the best known method of realizing some goal."[41] In the second emphasis, Weber held, "that bureaucracy was a mode of administration in which obedience was an end in itself. The individual obeys the order, setting aside judgments either of its rationality or morality, primarily because of the position occupied by the the person commanding.... In the first pattern, then, the individual obeys,

in part, because of his feelings about the rule or order; in the second,

he obeys regardless of his feelings."[42] The important point that

emerges, here, is that Weber did not give explicit attention to the

"feelings" of members of a bureaucracy about either its goals or

the bureaucratic rules in relation to the legitimacy of bureaucratic

authority and the problem of efficiency - the latter being central to

his theory of bureaucracy. Because of his primary interest in

comparative historical analysis of social structures, he apparently

decided to dwell on only the historically "unique" characteristics of

bureaucratic administration to emphasize the fundamental differences

between this and earlier types of administrative organization. To

Weber, the rationality of bureaucratic administration - the dominant

mode of organization of our age - stood out in striking contrast to the

lack of rationality and predictability found in patrimonial or other

types of organization. It is because of his interest in general his-

torical analysis, that he failed to analyze, in more substantive

terms, the relevance of such factors as the nature of goals and rules

in organization to the problem of legitimacy and efficiency. Never-

theless, the neglect of such factors in organizational studies in the

tradition of Weber have tended to over-emphasize the role of

legitimate power in modern organizations.[43]

However, a number of writers have systematically explored

the role of the feelings of members regarding (a) organizational goals

and (b) bureaucratic rules in relation to the dynamics of bureaucratic

organization. In Gouldner's view, for example, it is of critical

importance to know whether bureaucratic rules are agreed upon by

members or imposed by the officials.[44] It is of equal importance,

to know, to whom do the rules have to be useful, if bureaucratic

authority is to be effective? Further, in terms of whose goals are

the rules a rational device?[45] Weber, apparently, did not consider

such questions of substantive importance in his search for the

conditions of legitimacy and effectiveness of bureaucratic structure

of control. He tended to assume that the ends of different groups

and strata in an organization were identical, or at least highly

similar.[46] The kind of refocussing that Gouldner has called for

suggests that the ends of different people, groups, and strata in an

organization may vary and, in fact, may be conflicting.[47]

If, however, the ends and interests of different people

or strata in an organization are, in fact, contradictory, then the

legitimacy of control and, more substantively, of bureaucratic

rules tends to become problematic. Since bureaucratic rules act

as a means for realizing certain ends in an organization, given

disensus on ends, interested groups are likely to attempt to control

or influence the development and operation of these rules. Thus

developed, bureaucratic rules can be legitimate only for some,

not all, strata or individuals in an organization.

Gouldner's research, informed by such considerations,

led him to distinguish between what he termed "representative"

bureaucracy and "punishment-centered" bureaucracy, each repre-

senting, respectively, one of the two conceptions of bureaucracy

implicit in Weber's work: the one based on technical expertise, and

the other based on discipline or strict obedience.[48] One or the

other pattern may be found to predominant in any particular

organization. In the industrial organization studied by Gouldner,

he found, "representative" bureaucracy was characterized by an

integration or coordination of the goals of both the officials and the

workers. Consequently, the bureaucratic rules were supported by

both groups, satisfaction was high, and tensions low. "Punishment-

centered" bureaucracy, which also existed in the plant, manifested

the opposite characteristics. The control in the "representative"

bureaucracy was primarily based on legitimate authority. While

in the "punishment-centered" bureaucracy, it was primarily based

on power. On the basis of his findings from this study Gouldner

has suggested that there is a strong link between power, authority,

legitimacy, and goals in an organization. We shall use two rather

long quotations in which he clearly states his position regarding

these points. First with reference to "representative" pattern he

says:

> ...it was noted that expert or representative
> bureaucracy was not legitimated solely in terms
> of the possession of technical skills. Examina-
> tion of the safety program suggests several other
> conditions that must be satisfied before those who
> possess technical expertise will be acknowledged
> as legitimate authorities. One of these seems to
> be a consensus on ends or values. From this
> standpoint, it is not an irrelevant detail to note
> that both management and workers valued and
> sought accident-curtailment. If "voluntary con-
> sent" is vital to this pattern of authority, it
> would seem that his, in turn, rests on the
> subordinate's belief that he is being told to do
> things congruent with his own ends and values....
>
> If this view is correct, then it would appear that
> representative bureaucracy, or Weber's admini-
> stration by the expert, entails a proto-democratic
> process of legitimation.... The expert's authority
> is validated only when used to further the workers'
> ends, and when workers have a say-so in the
> enactment and administration of the expert's program.
> This would hardly be worth making such a point of,
> were it not for the fact that the role of "consent" and
> of democratic processes is blurred by Weber's theory
> of authority....
>
> For Weber, authority was given consent because
> it was legitimate, rather than being legitimate
> because it evoked consent. For Weber, therefore,
> consent is always a datum whose sources had to be
> traced. In consequence, he never systematically
> analyzed the actual social processes which either
> generated or thwarted the emergence of consent.[49]

Then, commenting on the other pattern Gouldner writes:

> In the punishment-centered pattern, then, the rule is
> treated as an end in itself. By contrast, however,
> the safety program, the prototype of representative
> bureaucracy...was designed to bring about another
> end, accident-curtailment. Obedience was sought
> and given the safety rules, on the grounds that they
> would effectively lead to desirable consequences
> beyond themselves....
>
> It may be that 'consent', springing from a consensus
> of ends and values, also provides a clue for further
> investigations of punishment-centered bureaucracy.
> More specifically, it seems possible that this pattern
> arises not merely along with, but partly because of
> a dissensus in ends; that is, obedience would tend
> to be stressed as an end in itself, and authority tend
> to be legitimated in terms of incumbency of office,
> when subordinates are ordered to do things diver-
> gent from their own ends. If the no-absentee-ism
> rule had furthered workers' ends, for example, it
> could have been justified on these grounds. At
> best, however, this rule is related to management's
> need to regularize production and to make it more
> predictable - ends which are not salient for workers.
> It is in part for this reason that supervisors had only
> an authoritarian legitimation for the absenteeism
> rule....[50]

These statements strongly suggest that "incumbency of a

legally defined office" and technical expertise may be necessary but

not sufficient conditions for legitimacy of control in modern

organizations. Consensus, or lack thereof, on goals and values and

the manner in which bureaucratic rules are initiated, established,

and operated - are of critical importance to the structure and

operation of organizations.

Gouldner's conclusions are supported by a number of other studies which have examined the social processes of cooperation and competition and their relationship to the process of institutionalization in collectivities ranging from small groups and modern organizations to whole societies.[51] From an excellent review of Gouldner's and these studies, Buckley concludes:

> ...the control, or directive processes of a group or organization are intimately related to, and must be studied in close conjunction with the goals and more proximate values of that group or organization, the procedures by which the goals have been arrived at, the spread of participation in their implementation and the distribution of their benefits.[52]

If the control processes of an organization are as intimately related to its goals and values as we have argued, then it seems necessary that the important concepts of power, authority, and legitimacy etc., be revised in the light of the above conclusion. Buckley has attempted this revision which, in our view, is consistent with his complex adaptive system model and supplements it in the conceptualization of the dynamics of organizational structure.

He suggests that power and authority - as the two aspects of control - be conceptualized as polar types defining the ends of a continuum. Thus, he defines "power as control or influence over the actions of others to promote one's goals without their consent,

against their "will", or without their knowledge or understanding...."[53]

The two key elements in this definition are: (a) the lack of ascertain-able "consent" considered as something socially and psychologically deeper than mere acquiescence or overt compliance; (b) the primacy of private and competitive goal-orientation rather than collectivity goal-orientation. "Authority is the direction or control of the behavior of others for the promotion of collective goals, based on some, ascertainable form of their knowledgeable consent."[54] The two key elements in this definition are: (a) an informed, voluntary compliance by subordinates; (b) a coordination or identity of the goal-orientations of officials and subordinates. As defined, Buckley suggests, authority is not legitimated power, nor is power a sub-type of authority. These are polar concepts, "with the various institutional areas of actual societies represented somewhere along the adjoining continuum."[55] In terms of this conception, democratization can be seen as a move-ment along the continuum toward the authority pole, that is, "toward the institutionalization of a process of informed, consensual determi-nation of the whole."[56]

Of specific significance and usefulness to the analysis of modern organizations, is the explicit introduction, by Buckley, of the concept of "formally institutionalized power" as a polar type over against that of "formally institutionalized authority."[57] This

distinction suggests that power does not become legitimized authority

just by being "clothed in institutional forms."[58] It is quite possible

for small groups to exercise control over large collectivities by

securing control of the normative or institutional apparatus. It is

important, therefore, that the mere existence of established organi-

zational positions and roles is not taken for their legitimacy.[59] This

raises the second important question, that of the relationship between

the terms of "legitimation" and "institutionalization."

Generally, in sociological literature, these terms are

treated as referring "to role-structures of activities and inter-

relationships based on norms or standards internalized in the

constituent role-playing actors, and thus representing a general

consensus...as to what is right and proper."[60] Such a conception

of these important terms, however, predisposes an analyst to

conclude too readily that any concrete social structure that manages

to persist long enough must therefore be institutionalized into or

embedded in a system of consensual authority. Buckley rightly

suggests, however, that

> ...there is a very wide gap between large-scale
> participative, voluntary, informed consent to the
> role demands, on the one hand, and overt opposi-
> tion to them, on the other. We cannot rule out
> the very real possibility that for a large percentage
> of actors in any social system the norms are
> accepted and obeyed merely as given conditions of

> action...; and that another sizable percentage
> feels oppressed by the norms and follows them
> unwillingly because no other course of action
> seems realistically open. [61]

If we accept these possibilities as suggested by Buckley, the implica-

tion is:

> ...that a social structure may be "legitimized"
> or institutionalized only from the point of view
> of a small minority of the members of the
> system. As a general proposition we are forced
> to allow that, inasmuch as power and authority
> are relational concepts, what may be a system
> of authority to some actors may be a system of
> power to others. [62]

The following main points emerge from Buckley's

reformulation of the above terms: (a) "institutionalized power" may

be "legalized," but "institutionalized authority" alone is "legitimized."

Thus "legality" and "legitimacy" are not coterminous. Hence the

difficulty with Weber's concept of legal authority; (b) "legitimation"

and "institutionalization" cannot always be equated and, therefore,

should not be used interchangeably; and (c) to define authority in

terms of power or vice versa tends to blur the important distinction

between "legitimation" and "institutionalization."

Summary

In this section, we have argued that the complex adaptive

system model of sociocultural systems offers a more adequate

conceptualization of organizational dynamics. Because of its focus

on the psychological and social-psychological processes underlying

the structural elements as well as these elements themselves, it

enables the analyst of organizations to direct his attention to social

processes related to conflict and change while at the same time

accounting for social control and order. Emphasis in this model

is on seeking the sources for change internal to the socio-cultural

systems of all levels of complexity. This conceptualization, it

was suggested, incorporates important insights of social interaction-

ist theories of institutionalization and the institutional process, the

exchange theory, and various theories of conflict. Finally, Buckley's

reformulation of some major concepts related to social control -

especially in complex organizations - were discussed. We suggested

that these reformulations of terms like power, authority, legitimacy,

and institutionalization are consistent with the assumptions and

elements of the complex adaptive system model approach to

organizational analysis. It was suggested that these terms, in their

newer version, would supplement and enhance the adequacy of the

adaptive system model approach - especially in its application in

the present study.

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Chapter 3

TOWARDS A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF
UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE

Introduction

In Chapter 2, we discussed and evaluated in general

theoretical terms, the suitability of the two dominant approaches

in organizational analysis for studying organizational dynamics -

especially the problem of organizational governance. It was

concluded that these conceptualizations were inadequate. We then,

went on to discuss an alternative conceptualization - the complex

adaptive system model. It was argued that this model would offer

a more adequate theoretical framework for organizational analysis

in general, and for the study of governance of modern organizations,

in particular. In this chapter, we shall concentrate on the specific

task of developing an adequate conceptualization of university

governance. In addition to guiding analysis of data in the present

case study, this conceptualization will hopefully also assist in

combining and integrating the insights of diverse statements and

studies on academic organization, faculty authority and university

governance.

The development of this conceptualization will be as

follows. After presenting an overview of observations on the nature

of academic organization and governance, we shall review the

major approaches to the study of professions and professionals

in organizations. Then we shall evaluate previously used

organizational paradigms in analyses of university governance.

Finally, an alternative conceptualization will be presented, based

on our discussion here and in Chapter 2.

It should be noted here that we view the modern

university as an "autonomous" professional organization. It is

the basic premise of this study that its organization and govern-

ance are influenced and "shaped" in important ways by the

processes of bureaucratization and professionalization.

A. Current Conceptualizations of University
Governance: A Brief Note

At the center of the present inquiry is university

governance - that is, the way in which policy-formulation and

goal-setting activities in the modern university tend to get pat-

terned - with special reference to faculty authority and faculty

participation. The modern university, like other complex

organizations, must be governed. That is, its policies must be

formulated, goals set, and their execution planned and carried

out. To handle these "problems", the "key operatives" of the

university - that is, its faculty - play a role in the development
and operation of its organizational structure along with the
formally-appointed administrators. In the Western societies, the
university has had a long institutional history which emphasizes
the tradition of self-government. This tradition continues to
influence the organizational structure and processes of the modern
university today.[1]

However, there are two other major, contemporary
social processes at work in most modern and modernizing
societies - the twin processes of bureaucratization and profession-
alization - that have had an important impact, in recent times, on
the university's organization and governance.[2] These two
processes along with the tradition of self-government with its
emphasis on collegiality - operate in the governance of the modern
university in complex ways that defy conceptualization in terms of
the prevailing paradigms of social organization found in modern
organizational theory.

Indeed, many observers or analysts of university
organization and governance have been perplexed by their
complexity and uniqueness. Some of these analysts have viewed
the university predominantly, as a bureaucracy,[3] or collegium.[4]
There are others, however, who have preferred to steer a middle

course in seeing it as a semi-bureaucracy[5] or, to stress its uniqueness by describing its organization as federated-professionalism.[6] It is evident from the diversity of models used that there is no real agreement among the various analysts regarding the nature of the university's organizational structure and internal processes. However, it is noteworthy that all but one of the conceptualizations depend, in varying degrees, on one or both of the two basic paradigms in organizational theory: bureaucracy, emphasizing legal authority and hierarchical relationships; and collegium, stressing professional authority and formal equality in social relationships.

The only exception just referred to is the paradigm of federated-professionalism. Although it emphasizes professionalism in the university, the conception of professionalism used here is not of the functionalist variety. The conception of a process underlying this model stresses diversity and divergence of subcultures, values, and interests within the academic profession rather than intra-professional homogeneity and consensus. If university governance is essentially collegial in nature, then in terms of this model, "collegiality" needs a conceptualization quite different from the one implied in the functionalist theory.

Because of the primary importance of these two polar organizational paradigms - i.e., bureaucracy and collegium - in the sociologically-oriented organizational theory, they continue to

figure prominantly in the analyses of professional organizations.

The strengths and weaknesses of the bureaucratic and the collegial

paradigms with special reference to university governance have

been recently reviewed elsewhere. [7] We shall briefly deal with

that review later in this chapter. Suffice it to say, here, that

both of these paradigms, and others based on them, provide some

valuable insights into the processes of university governance. But

each has serious limitations as well which are rooted primarily

in difficulties inherent in the respective theories on which they are

based. A systematic evaluation of these paradigms requires an

extended examination of the underlying theories. The bureaucratic

paradigm is based on the Weberian theory of bureaucracy which

has already been examined in Chapter 2 with reference to

governance of organizations. The collegial paradigm is based on

the functionalist theory of professions. A critical review of the

sociology of professions and the organization of professional work

is undertaken next. An evaluation of the two paradigms, per se,

will follow this review.

B. Prevailing Approaches to the Study of

Professionals in Complex Organizations:

A Brief Overview

Two distinct approaches to the study of professional-organization relations are discernible in sociological literature. The first, and the more popular one, uses the conceptual framework of the sociology of the professions (functionalist in orientation) and the bureaucracy (the Rational Model).[8] This framework focusses on the fundamental incompatibility between the structural features of the professional and the bureaucratic models of the organization of work relationships. We shall, therefore, identify it as the structural approach. The second, a somewhat more recent one, is in the tradition of symbolic interactionism in sociology and applies the "process" or "emergent" perspective to the study of professions. It studies professional-organization relations by focussing upon the transactional nature of organizational behavior, conflicting interests of professionals, and change.[9] The structural approach and the process approach represent respectively the normative-structural and the exchange-processual conceptions of social organization in sociological theory.[10]

The structural approach to the study of the relationships between professions and organizations has been inspired by

Parsons' interpretation and critique of parts of Weber's work

relevant to these relationships.[11] It has been especially influenced

by Parsons' and, later, Gouldner's, criticism of the equivocal

nature of Weber's concept of rational-legal authority - the hall-mark

of a bureaucratic form of organization. Both Parsons and Gouldner

have drawn attention to an implicit contradiction in Weber's

conception of bureaucracy. From the analysis of Weber's

formulation of the characteristics of bureaucratic organization,

Parsons concludes that it does not differentiate between the

principle of authority underlying the organization of professional

services and that underlying the hierarchical organization of non-

professional occupational roles. It throws together two essentially

different and analytically separate types of social structures.[12]

Gouldner also observes that "On the one side, it was administration

based on expertise; while on the other, it was administration based

on discipline."[13] Both Parsons and Gouldner suggest that Weber

confounded two distinct types of authority - that is, professional

authority which is based on "technical competence" or expertise,

and bureaucratic authority which rests on "incumbency of legally

defined office" or, discipline. Consequently, he failed to

differentiate between the social structure based on professional

authority and the social structure based on bureaucratic authority.

Inspired by this critique and extension of Weber's work, the structural approach to the analysis of the relationships between professions and organizations strongly emphasizes the fundamental conflict between the respective principles underlying bureaucratic authority and correlatively between professional and bureaucratic roles.

In this perspective, then, professions and organizations are assumed to represent two institutional systems based on two fundamentally different and inherently incompatible principles. The relationships between them are, therefore, marked by conflict. At the core of professional-organizational relationships, according to Kornhauser, lies the conflict between the two control structures: the professionals' colleague control structure and the organization's hierarchical control structure.[14] The professional colleague control structure, being based on professional authority, is influenced by other components of professionalism. Full-fledged professionalization entails also such components as a self-governing association of professional peers, professional standards of workmanship and ethical conduct, and an orientation toward service. Professionals therefore tend to develop role orientations which conflict with bureaucratic authority and the disciplined compliance required by it. The bureaucratic control structure, on the other

hand, follows a pattern associated with the well-known principles

of bureaucracy included in Weber's well-known model.[15] It

emphasizes rule-based hierarchical authority, that is, disciplined

compliance with rules established by organizational superiors.

By juxtaposing these two "incompatible" principles of

organization, the structural approach has drawn attention also to

the conflicting demands that the norms underlying each institutional

system, the professions and the bureaucracy, make on professional

employees in modern organizations. The conflicting demands find

expression in various types of role conflicts and role orientations

of professionals. The sources of role conflicts experienced by

professionals have been subjected to theoretical analysis as

well as empirical study. These are summarized in the following

Figure:[16]

Figure 3-1. Comparison of Sources of

Professional-Bureaucratic Conflict in Organization

Marcson[a]	Kornhauser[b]	Scott[c]
1. Goal conflict	1. The goals of the professional versus those of the organization	1. Professional resistance to bureaucratic rules
2. Role conflict due to different norms		2. Professional rejection of bureaucratic standards
3. Uncertainties of research	2. Locus of control (hierarchy versus colleagues)	3. Professional resistance to bureaucratic supervision
	3. Incentives as professional rewards versus the organization's values	4. Professionals' conditional loyalty to the bureaucracy
	4. External versus internal influence	

Sources:

a. Marcson, 1960: 147-149.
b. Kornhauser, 1962: 12-13.
c. Scott, 1966.

The sources of conflict suggested by Marcson and by

Kornhauser rest directly on their research findings and have specific

relevance to professional scientists working as employees of

industrial research organizations in the United States of America.

Both of them are in essential agreement on the sources of role

conflict for professional scientists working in non-professional

organizations. For example, both note differences between the

professional scientists and the administrators (or corporations) in

reference to their respective goals. Similarly, both agree that

professional scientists and their employing organizations pursue

divergent values: the former giving primacy to professional

recognition and scientific values, the latter to economic values

and profit. Both of these analysts find empirical evidence to

show that underlying the professional-bureaucratic relations is

the normative conflict rooted in the incompatibility between the

two models.

Scott's classification of the sources of role conflicts

experienced by professionals in organizations is of a more general

theoretical nature. But it also seems to focus exclusively on the

sources of normative conflict experienced by professional employees.

Implicit in his theoretical formulation is the model of professional

conduct generally associated with the work of _solo_ practitioners who

are members of the so-called _free_ professions. Two incompatible

normative structures - the one underlying the professional model

and the other underlying the bureaucratic model - are juxtaposed

with each other. It is assumed that homogeneity of outlook, norms,

and values prevails among professionals regarding their social

relations in worksettings. Thus role-conflicts and their sources

and resolutions become the object of focal interest in the analysis

of the behavior of professional employees in organizational contexts.[17]

Another emphasis in the structural approach is on the

analysis of role adaptations that professionals make in response

to role conflicts and organizational pressures. Under the pressure

of conflicting role demands, a variety of role orientations and role

adaptions develop among professionals working in professional as

well as non-professional organizations.[18] In academic organizations,

specifically, the existence of different role orientations and sub-

cultures among the academic faculty have been noted by a number

of analysts. The following Figure[19] represents three such

observations:

Figure 3-2. A Summary of Faculty Orientations

Cultures[a]	Orientations[b]	Roles[c]
1. The teacher	1. Locals	1. Scholar
2. The scholar-researcher	a. the dedicated	2. Curriculum adviser
3. The demonstrator	b. the true bureaucrat	3. Entrepreneur
4. The consultant	c. the homeguard	4. Consultant
	d. the elders	5. Administrator
	2. Cosmopolitans	6. Cosmopolitan
	a. the outsiders	
	b. the empire builders	

a. B. R. Clark, "Faculty Organization and Authority," pp. 37-51 in T. F. Lunsford (ed.) The Study of Academic Administration. Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1963.

_____, "Faculty Cultures," in The Study of Campus Cultures, Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1963.

b. A. W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Towards an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," Part I. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1957, Vol. 2 (December): 281-307.

_____, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Towards an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," Part II. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1958, Vol. 3 (March): 444-480.

c. John W. Gustad, "Community, Consensus, and Conflict," The Educational Record, 1966, Vol. 47 (Fall): 439-451.

In his typology of role orientations of faculty, Gouldner

stresses the importance of three organizationally relevant variables:

(a) loyalty to the professional organization, (b) commitment to

specialized or professional skills, and (c) reference group orienta-

tion. Underlying Clark's typology of faculty orientations is the

concept of faculty subcultures. This concept refers to the existence

of varying reference groups, each with a distinctive orientation to

academic roles and organization. Similarly, Gustad identifies

diverse roles and role orientations among faculty members. Also

each locates, implicitly or explicitly, the sources of tension and

conflict within faculty but more importantly between faculty and

administrators in role conflict and the diversity of role orientations

which exist in colleges and universities. These writers seem to

agree that in professional organizations generally, the existence

of conflicting bureaucratic and professional roles and professionals'

diverse adaptations to role conflict is the primary source of

organizational tension and conflict.[20]

Thus, whether professional-organizational relationships

are the object of study in a non-professional or a professional

organization, the structural approach directs attention to problems

confined to professional-administrative conflict and role conflict

only. Within this framework, it is difficult to conceptualize

organizational tensions and conflict - and their relation to the

dynamics of organizational structure of professional organizations -

as rooted in conflicting values, professional ideologies, interests,

and goals that different groups of professionals may hold and pursue

in a competitive relationship with each other in organizational

contexts. It tends to overlook the existence of conflict and power

relations among professionals themselves when they plan and

execute their social activities collectively in an organizational

context. This difficulty is due to the fact that the structural approach,

apart from its almost exclusive emphasis on the inherent opposition

between the professional and the bureaucratic principles of

organization, is heavily dependent on the functionalist professional

model. And the professional model, built as it is on the paradigm

of medicine,[21] assumes a high degree of societal and intra-

professional value concensus.[22] Such a view of professions when

applied to an analysis of professional-organizational relations

focusses on standard occupational roles and, on roles generally

as "static" components of a social system. At the same time, it

directs attention away from the dynamic aspects and the develop-

mental nature of role playing in organizations.

Because of these difficulties inherent in the structural

approach, its relevance for studying the dynamic aspects of the

internal structure of modern professional organizations is limited.

The social organization of professional work appears to have been

noticeably affected by intra-professional segmentation.[23] Modern

professions are characterized not by internal homogeneity of values

and role-related norms but by diversity, ambiguity, and divergence

with respect to professional "ideologies" and role conceptions.

Hence a different conceptual model of a profession - a model which

emphasizes diversity and divergence of professional values - would

appear to be necessary, at least as a supplement of the functionalist

model, to understand the nature of the internal structure and process

in professional organizations. It is especially necessary if

organizational analysis is to focus on problems of governance.

It is our view that the analytical approach to the study of

professions and the organization of professionals' work represented

in the "process" model of a profession offers a more fruitful

conceptualization for this purpose. Unlike the professional model

of the functionalist variety which portrays a profession as a

collectivity whose members share common identity, values,

interests and role-definitions, the process model emphasizes

intra-professional diversity and conflict of interests, heterogeneity

of values and role-definitions, and a multiplicity of identities

related to divergent professional ideologies.[24] In this view, then,

professions are seen as loose amalgamation of segments with

diverse or divergent identities and multiple and often conflicting

interests which tend to assume the form of social movements

within the larger profession.[25] It is readily obvious that the

process model views a profession distinctly differently from the

"functionalist" model. The process approach to the study of

professions and professional organizations is based on this "process"

view of a profession.

Viewing professions as congeries of "segments" with

distinctive identities and conflicting interests has important impli-

cations for the study of the dynamic aspects of the structure of

professional organizations. For instance, the process approach

leads an analyst to see such organizations as "not simply places

where people of various occupations and professions come together

and enact standard occupational roles, either complimentary of
conflicting. These locales constitute the arenas wherein such roles
are forged and developed."[26]

Further, the process approach focusses attention on the
dynamic and developmental aspects of roles and role-playing. Roles
in an organizational context are viewed as subject to continual
"negotiation" and change. It directs attention, therefore, to the
processes of "role-creation" and "role-making" rather than con-
flicts between "staticly" conceived roles in organizational analysis.

It views organizational structure at any given time as an
"emergent" or "negotiated" social order. It suggests that in
professional organizations the intra-professional diversity and
divergence, that is, segmentation as a necessary aspect of
professionalization, may often take the form of power struggles
aimed at securing control over the organizational arrangements
for policy-formulation and decision-making. It treats conflicts
of interest and power and "ideological" struggles for "legitimacy"
among competing segments or groups as basic to the internal
structure and process of professional organizations.[27] Thus, the
internal structure of a professional organization at a given time
is seen as the outcome of the competition and conflict and/or
tentative "agreements" and "understandings" reached among

various segments. It also reflects the relative status of competing

professional values and doctrines as well as segments.

Using a model of a profession which emphasizes hetero-

geneity rather than homogeneity of professional values and norms,

the process approach leads one to view the dynamics of organizational

structure in terms of intra-professional diversity and divergence.

Thus, in the analysis of professional-organizational relationships,

especially in professional organizations, an analyst, using this

approach, tends to give systematic and primary attention to conflict

of values and interests, power, and change and their relation to

policy-formulation, goal-setting and, role-creation rather than

role-conflict. Changes in professional values, identities, and

ideologies - and in their relative status with respect to each

other - are also viewed as likely to affect a professional organiza-

tion's structure and internal processes. Organizational tensions

and conflict arise not merely from the contrasting bases of

professional authority and administrative authority but also, and

perhaps more importantly, from the competing values, identities,

and movements characterizing a profession itself.

In our judgment, it would be highly fruitful to use the

process perspective in the study of the internal structure and

processes of professional organizations. The general emphasis

of this approach on intra-professional conflict over values, goals

and interest is particularly appropriate for the study of governance

processes in such organizations. Processes of policy-formulation,

goal-setting and the development of rules and procedures for

decision-making in general in professional organizations such as

universities are usually associated with conflict among various sub-

parts or sectors of the faculty. Such conflicts and their relationship

to the organizational structure and process can be better understood

in terms of the heterogeneous values and identities held by important

subgroups of professionals in the organization. This framework

effectively draws attention to the key role of conflict and power

struggles aimed at controlling the policy-formation processes in

professional organizations. However, it is much less successful

in drawing attention to the role and influence of the elements of

formal structure in determining the outcome of such conflicts

especially when they take the form of power struggles.

To conclude, two points are worth reiterating. First,

the functionalist model of professions logically implies that there

is a strong tendency for professional organizations to develop a

"collegial" structure, a "company of equals" - characterized by

consensual decision-making and absence of conflict. The process

approach, on the other hand, implies that professional organizations

tend to be torn internally by conflict and to develop a pluralistic

structure, segmentalized by transactional relations and political

processes of decision-making. The two models are obviously

mutually incompatible and we find the functionalist model untenable.

Second, while the process approach locates the primary sources of

organizational conflict in intra-professional heterogeneity, the

structural approach locates it in the incompatibility between the

bureaucratic and the professional norms, values, and authority.

With respect to sources of organizational conflict, then, it appears

to us that the functionalist model supplements the process model.

Each draws attention to merely different, not contradictory,

sources of conflict. In the study of the organizational dynamics of

professional organizations, therefore, the insights of the function-

alist model can be used to supplement the primary analytical

orientation of the process model. We see no logical difficulties in

combining the two approaches in the suggested manner.

It follows from these conclusions that the primary

characteristic of the social organization of professions is not a

high degree of normative consensus but conflict of interests and

ideologically-oriented (normative) conflict. Thus a suitable

conceptualization of the governance of professional organizations

like the university must focus on conflict and political processes,

for these, and not consensual relations, constitute the central

elements of the governance process. Insofar as the professional

aspect of the university organization is concerned, it will be

conceptualized primarily in terms of the "process" model of

professions. Unlike the functionalist model of professions which

strongly tends to exagerate the "collegial" aspects of professional

organizations, the process model will effectively draw attention

to the elements of power and conflict and the role of power struggles

aimed at securing control over policy-making in professional

organizations.

In critically examining the theoretical origins of the

bureaucratic and professional models of social organizations, we

have already specified their major foci and their weaknesses. Here,

we shall, therefore, be deliberately brief and use two separate

figures to summarize and compare the main emphases and weak-

nesses of the two models of university governance specifically.

Figure 3-3 compares their main emphases.

A quick examination of this Figure reveals some

important similarities in their emphases despite the basic dis-

similarity of their theoretical foundations. For example, each

model guides an analyst along the same direction in respect of

the processes of change and conflict, and the conception of the

social structure of the university. In our view, the essential

similarity in these respects is bound to narrow the differences

between the two models regarding their respective orientations to

decision-making processes and the primacy of either formulation

or execution of policies and goals. This appears to be the case

when we compare their respective weaknesses. The major

weaknesses of the two models of university governance tend to

overlap considerably as Figure 3-4 indicates.

This analysis of the weaknesses of the two models has

been intended to show merely the inadequacy, not the complete

irrelevance, of each as a guide to the study of university govern-

ance. Both the collegial patterns of organization and bureaucratic

processes and procedures of operation are found at some, if not

all, levels of the university's organization and governance. But

the elements of bureaucratization and professionalization that the

respective models draw on are not the only elements constituting

these processes. Therefore, these elements are not the only

aspects of these processes which affect university organization

and governance. There are other conceptualizations of bureau-

cratization and professionalization - that have already been

discussed - which emphasize quite different consequences or

implications of these processes for university organization and

Figure 3-3

Comparison of Bureaucratic and Collegial Models of University Governance

	Bureaucratic	Collegial
Basic Image	Hierarchial bureaucracy.	Professional community.
Change Processes	Minor concern.	Minor concern.
Conflict	Viewed as abnormal: to be controlled by bureaucratic sanctions.	Viewed as abnormal: eliminated in a "true community of scholars."
View of Social Structure	[a]Unitary; integrated by the formal, hierarchial authority.	[b]Unitary; integrated primarily by the exchange of "influence" and commitment to professional values.

Source: J. Victor Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University, Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1971, Figure 2-3, P. 26. The part of this figure that we are using has been slightly modified in parts which are indicated by the small alphabetical letters a, b, c, and d. In original these items appear as: (a) "Unitary, integrated by the formal bureaucracy"; (b) "Unitary: united by the "community of scholars"; (c) Human relations approach to organizations. "Literature on professionalism"; (d) "Unclear: probably more emphasis on formulation."

Figure 3-3 (cont.)

Basic Theoretical Foundations	Weberian bureaucratic model. Classical formal systems model.[c]
View of Decision-making	Rationalistic, formal bureaucratic procedures.
Goal-setting and Policy: Formulation or Execution?	Emphasis on execution.[d]

[c]Human relations approach to organizations. Functionalist literature on professionalism.

Shared, collegial decisions.

[d]Unclear: probably more emphasis on formulation. Lack of clear-cut distinction between policy-formulation activities and task-performance activities.

Figure 3-4

Comparison of the Major Weaknesses of the Bureaucratic and Collegial Models*

	Bureaucratic Model	Collegial Model
Authority	Emphasis on the role of "institutionalized power," that is, legal authority. Pays little attention to other forms of authority and power in university governance.	Emphasis on professional authority over legal authority. Ignores the role of differential distribution of power and under-estimates the importance of administrative authority.
Formal Structure	Emphasis on the role of formal structure. Ignores internal processes related to organizational dynamics and change.	Emphasis on informality and formal equality in collegial decision-making. Hierarchy of authority, oligarchy not seen as important elements in university organization.

*The Figure summarizes the major points covered in our extensive discussion of the respective theories underlying these models. Baldridge (op. cit.: 9-14) evaluates these models with specific reference to university governance.

Figure 3-4 (cont.)

Goals

Goals setting assumed as "unproblematic." Goals set at top of organizational pyramid by those legally responsible. Unable to direct attention to the relationship between goals and organizational dynamics.

Consensus on academic values leads to consensual determination of goals by the "community of scholars." Fails to draw attention to intra-professional heterogeneity and its relation to the "problematics" of goal-setting.

Policy-formulation

Emphasis on execution, not formulation of policy. Hence political processes related to policy-formulation completely ignored. Organizational conflict viewed as related to the problem of compliance with bureaucratic rules. Cannot handle important aspects of conflict.

Ambiguous on whether policy-formulation and task-performance activities require separate attention. Informal collegiality based on normative consensus seen to influence policy-formulation. Fails to dea with problems of conflict rooted in divergence of values, interests, and goals. At best, handles professional-administrative conflict or role conflict.

governance. They point to the political nature of governance, to power struggles, conflict, and change in the modern university. What is needed therefore, is a model which includes, not just both of the bureaucratic and collegial factors but also other elements of bureaucratization and professionalization that direct attention to conflict and political processes in professional organizations like universities.

In our view, the type of refocussing of Weberian theory of bureaucracy discussed in Chapter 2, originally suggested by Gouldner, and the "process" model of professions discussed earlier in this chapter - represent attempts to apply the conflict theory perspective to the processes of bureaucratization and professionalization respectively. Thus conceptualized, the professionalization of an organization like a university, need not lead to its becoming less bureaucratic - as clearly implied in the concept of "professionalization" which underlies the collegial model. It is so because professionalization implies, among other things, conflict resulting from diversity and divergence of professional identities, values, and interests; and conflict is one of the conditions encouraging bureaucratization. Clark has stressed the importance of bureaucratization for the institution-alization of conflict in the university[28] while Gouldner underlined

the relationship between conflict and bureaucratization in his

empirical study of the gypsum plant.[29] What is needed, therefore,

is to study the "pattern" of bureaucratization in university organi-

zation rather than viewing the latter as either a bureaucracy or

collegium only. Hence, our premise that both of the processes of

bureaucratization and professionalization affect the organization

and governance of the modern university.

Furthermore, bureaucratization and professionalization

are multi-dimensional concepts.[30] Therefore, the degree of

bureaucratization and professionalization on each of their dimensions

could possibly vary within a given organization. For instance, it is

possible that a given organization is not equally bureaucratized along

all the dimensions of this process. And the same can be true of

professionalization. This suggests that the debate about whether

university is bureaucratic or collegial type of organization is

somewhat misconceived and needs to be abandoned in favor of a

dimensional approach to study the relationship between the two

processes in organizational contexts.[31] In our view, the relationship

between bureaucratization and professionalization should not be

assumed to be inverse, as the functionalist approach does. Rather,

it needs to be treated as problematic.

C. An Alternative Conceptualization

of University Governance

So far we have done three things in this chapter: (a) we

have briefly discussed the importance of bureaucratization and

professionalization to university organization and governance;

(b) we have discussed the two major sociological approaches to the

study of professions and professionals in organizational contexts;

and (c) we have reviewed the bureaucratic and collegial paradigms

of university and suggested alternative theoretical approaches to

bureaucratization and professionalization which might be useful in

developing an alternative conceptualization of university organization

and governance. In this section, we elaborate our conceptualization

and outline the major features of the model.

It has been already indicated that the alternative "model"

that we intend to use in this study is inspired by the conflict

perspective on social organization. We have also shown how such

a model is implicit in the conflict perspectives on bureaucratization

and the sociology of professions. The consideration of these

theoretical statements combined with our discussion, in the last

chapter, of the complex adaptive system model and its possible

use in organizational analysis, strongly suggest that a "political

process" model is needed for the study of university governance

specifically, but also for the governance of professional organizations,

generally.

The political process model views the social structure of

university's "key personnel" not simply in terms of administrative

and academic roles but, primarily, in terms of groups, or quasi-

groups and their interrelationships. The social structure is viewed

as constituted by groups and individuals having differential control

over decision and policy-making as well as differential access to

organizational resources. Thus one of the major emphases is on

the role of power - different types of power at the disposal of

individuals and groups - in goal-setting and policy-formulation. It

suggests that "the distribution of control over resources and over

the behavior of others, and the ensuing formation of interest

groups - competing with each other in their attempt to preserve

or change in their favour the above distribution, are crucial clues

for understanding organizational reality."[32] The significance of

interest groups in an organization's social structure for its general

decision-making and control processes has been suggested by the

process model of professions and demonstrated empirically in their

studies by Dalton and by Crozier.[33]

The political model views decision-making in the

university as characterized by transactional and exchange processes

of negotiation, bargaining, and compromise, but also by conflict and

power struggles aimed ultimately at gaining effective influence or

control over policy-formulation and determination of goals. Since

policy-making in the university is done through legislative bodies

following standard parliamentary procedures, the legislative process

becomes closely intertwined with the struggle for power. The formal

structure of the university is a legal order. Because authority in a

legal order "is embodied in the rule of law, success in the struggle

for power becomes manifest in decisive influence upon the enactment

of binding rules."[34]

The political model approach also draws attention to the

form that conflict between interest groups might take once the

policies have been legislated and rules enacted. Bendix draws

attention to the fact that interest groups continue to make attempts

to either oppose by whatever means the execution of certain policies

or modify the application of rules. Such groups it is suggested,

"try to modify either the detailed application of rules or the rules

themselves, in order to make them conform more closely than

they otherwise would to particular interests. Ordinarily the

procedure of rule-making itself is not called into question, although

all conflicts of interest verge on this possibility to a greater or

lesser extent."[35] In the analysis of university governance, thus,

different groups try to influence policy-formulation and rule-making

through various means, including entering into coalitions with other

groups and individuals. But failing in these influence attempts does

not end the matter. The legitimacy of enacted rules and decisions

continues to be questioned, and the execution of enacted but "non-

legitimized" policy (in the eyes of at least some individuals and

groups) generates further cleavage and conflict.

To conclude: up to this point, it may be recalled that the

major theoretical influences that have guided the development of the

political process model of university governance are the general

perspectives of the complex adaptive system model and conflict

theory. In addition, conflict-oriented theories of bureaucracy and

professions and the interest-group theory oriented empirical

analyses of industrial and other organizations have also influenced

this coneptualization. The major emphases of our conceptualization

of university governance as a political process are the following.

> (a) The university's social structure is made up of
> groups and individuals with divergent interests,
> values, and goals.

> (b) Organizational roles are subject to and the
> result of bargaining, negotiation, compromise
> and conflict between individuals and groups.

(c) Policy-formulation, goal-setting and rule-
making are the primary focus of governance.

(d) Decision-making is characterized by trans-
actional processes, coalition strategies,
and power struggles.

(e) The role of power in governance is central,
and the legitimacy of formal authority,
decisions, and rules is problematic.

(f) The formal structures of control and
decision-making are objects of competition,
influence, manipulation, and control by
divergent interest groups in the university's
social structure.

The conceptual orientation of our framework diverges

sharply from those which underlie much of modern organizational

theory and analysis. By thrusting policy-making and goal-setting

activities on center stage, and emphasizing their close relationship

to the university's social structure (that is, of the faculty and

administration), it leads to raising such questions regarding the

processes of organizational dynamics as could not be raised in

other approaches. These questions ask:

(a) What kinds of social processes and factors
promote the segmentation of the social
structure of the modern university's faculty
and how it shapes the formal structure of
the university.

(b) How do the formal and informal groups
articulate their value and interests, that
is, employ different strategies of conflict,
generate multiple pressures, use bureau-

cratic and professional resources, in order
to translate their professional ideologies
and values, group interests, and their aca-
demic and private concerns into official
ideologies, policies and goals, and missions?

(c) What concrete forms do the interpenetration
of the administrative and the academic sides
of the university's organization take, and how
do they influence the complex policy-forming
processes?

(d) How are power struggles handled and conflicts
between different interest groups resolved?

(e) Who are the real decision-makers and how do
they respond to pressures from different
segments or, in fact, articulate their interests
and influence legislative processes to reach
decisions which reflect political reality rather
than manifest cognitive rationality in the
organization?

It is questions of this type which have guided our analy-

sis of the development of the organization and governance of the

University of Lethbridge.

FOOTNOTES

1. Burton R. Clark. "College Teaching", in Howard M. Vollmer
        and Donald L. Mills (eds.), Professionalization,
        Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.,
        1966, pp. 282-291; "Faculty Authority" in A. U. P. P.
        Bulletin, XLVII (4), 1961, pp. 293-302, Gerald L. Platt
        and Talcott Parsons, "Decision-Making in the Academic
        System: Influence and Power Exchange," in
        C. E. Kruytbosch and S. L. Messinger (eds.), The State
        of the University: Authority and Change, Beverly Hills,
        California: Sage Publications, 1968, pp. 133-180.
        N. J. Demerath et. al., Power, Presidents and
        Professors, New York: Basic Books, 1967. All of
        these authors recognize and emphasize them, in fact
        the continuing influence of the tradition of "collegiality"
        in faculty self-government.

2. B. R. Clark. op. cit.

3. Herbert Stroup. Bureaucracy in Higher Education, New York:
        Free Press, 1966.

4. Platt and Parsons. op. cit.,; Demerath et. al., op. cit.
        John Millet, The Academic Community. New York:
        McGraw-Hill, 1962. Talcott Parsons, "Introduction"
        from Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic
        Organization. New York: Free Press, 1947,
        pp. 58-60, footnote 4.

5. Logan Wilson. The Academic Man. New York: Oxford
        University Press, 1942,

6. B. R. Clark (1966). op. cit.

7. J. Victor Baldridge. Power and Conflict in the University:
        Research in the Sociology of Complex Organizations.
        New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970.

8. Mary E. Goss. "Patterns of Bureaucracy Among Hospital
        Staff Physicians," in Eliot Freidson (ed.), The Hospital
        in the Modern Society. New York: Free Press, 1963,

pp. 170-194; W. Kornhauser, Scientists in Industry:
Conflict and Accommodation. Berkeley: University of
California Press, 1962; S. Marcson, The Scientist in
American Industry: Some Organizational Determinants
of Manpower Utilization. Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1960; W. R. Scott, "Professionals in
Bureaucracies - Areas of Conflict" in Vollmer and
Mills, op. cit., pp. 265-275.

9. Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss. "Professions in Process",
The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 66 (4), 1961,
pp. 325-334; R. Bucher, "Pathology: A Study of Social
Movements in a Profession." Social Problems, Vol. 10,
1962, pp. 40-51; R. Bucher and J. Stelling, "Character-
istics of Professional Organizations." Journal of Health
and Social Behavior, Vol. 10, 1969, pp. 3-15.

10. The process conception of social organization has developed in
constant opposition to the conventional structural
conception. See Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern
Systems Theory, Englewood Cliffs: New Jersey,
Prentice-Hall, pp. 145-146, for a succinct and clear
statement regarding this question. The structural
approach places emphasis on the stable or "fixed"
elements (e.g. culture, norms, roles, etc.) that given
coherence to the social relations of any group. Thus
in the analysis of social systems, Parsons and Shils
write that "(for) most purposes the conceptual unit of
the social system is the role." See in Talcott Parsons
and Edward Shils (eds.), Towards a General Theory of
Action, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press,
1951, p. 9, in the section entitled "Values, Motives,
and Systems of Action". The process approach
emphasizes change and flux in social relations and
therefore "dynamic" concepts like, role-distance,
role-making, and role-bargaining replace "static"
concepts of role, status, and norms, etc.

On the more fundamental and general question of the
role of normative, exchange, and coercive factors in the
establishment of social order, cf., Desmond P. Ellis,
"The Hobbesian Problem of Order: A Critical Appraisal
of the Normative Solution," American Sociological Review,
1971, Vol. 36 (August). pp. 692-703.

11. Parsons, for example, is critical of Weber's primary concern with "the modern economy as a system of market relationships," and of failing to give necessary amount of attention to the characteristic feature of the "organization of the productive enterprise" (Weber, 1947: 54). He suggests that Weber thought of a society as dominated by the 'economic system' as a more or less, autonomous entity. Parsons traces this apparent bias in Weber's work to his tendency "to take the Marxian form of statement of the problems implicitly for granted." Therefore, unlike a different mode of approach well established in more recent sociology, Weber did not view a society primarily as a "system of differentiated and co-operating roles." "This emphasis on the economic rather than the occupational," suggests Parsons, "perhaps tends to account for... Weber's...failure to bring out the structural peculiarities of the modern professions and to differentiate between the organization of professional services and what may be called the 'administrative hierarchy' of occupational structure types. His 'bureaucracy' is a composite of both." See, Parsons' "Introduction" in Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons (trans.) and Talcott Parsons (ed.), New York: Free Press (Paperback edition), pp. 54-55.

It should be noted that Parsons himself is responsible to a considerable degree in the establishment of a conception of society as a "system of differentiated and cooperating roles" in recent sociology - especially American sociology. In this conception he emphasizes the Durkhiemian conception of diversion of labor in the study of occupations. It is interesting to note that Parson's own work on the theory of professions which emphasizes the role of professions in modern societies has come under strong criticism for its implicit (capitalistic, conservative) ideological bias just as he traced the lack of emphasis on the professions in Weber's work to Marxist bias in the latter's thought. See A. W. Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970, pp. 154-156.

12. Max Weber. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,
A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons (trans.), New York:
Free Press, 1947, footnote 4, pp. 58-60.

13. A. W. Gouldner. Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, New
York: Free Press, 1954.

   Implicit in Weber's formulation of bureaucracy, accord-
   ing to Gouldner, were not one but two distinct patterns
   of organization: (a) the "representative" form of
   bureaucracy and, (b) the "punishment-centered"
   bureaucracy. The representative bureaucracy is "based
   on rules established by agreement, rules which are
   technically justified and administered by specially
   qualified personnel, and to which consent is given
   voluntarily" (Gouldner, 1954: 24). Its hall-mark is
   authority legitimated by technical competence - the
   professional authority. The punishment-centered
   bureaucracy is "based on the imposition of rules, and
   on obedience for its own sake." (Ibid.: 24). Its
   hall-mark is rule-based authority based on incumbency
   in a hierarchical office - the bureaucratic authority.
   It should be noted here that Gouldner's two types
   correspond to Weber's distinction between autonomous
   corporate group and heteronomous corporate group
   respectively.

14. Kornhauser. op. cit., pp. 11-13.

15. Not all the components of the professional model and the
   bureaucratic model stand in a divergent relationship
   to each other. Only some do. Professionalism and
   bureaucracy have in common such norms as impersonal
   detachment, specialized technical expertness, and
   rational decision-making based on universalistic
   standards. The professional model diverges from the
   bureaucratic model in the former's emphasis on pro-
   fessional autonomy (both collective and individual) as
   opposed to disciplined compliance and, on professional
   authority as opposed to bureaucratic authority. For
   various statements on the similarities and differences
   between the two models, see, Peter M. Blau and
   W. R. Scott, Formal Organizations, San Francisco,

California: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962, pp. 244-245.
W. R. Scott, "Professionals in Bureaucracies - Areas
of Conflict" in Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills
(eds.) Professionalization, Englewood Cliffs (N. J.):
Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966, pp. 265-274. Peter M. Blau,
"The Hierarchy of Authority in Organizations,"
American Journal of Sociology, 1968, Vol. 73 (January):
445-457.

16. This Table appears here in a slightly modified form. In its
original form it appeared in Carlos E. Kruytbosch and
Sheldon Messinger (eds.) The State of the University:
Authority and Change, Beverly Hills, California: Sage
Publications, 1970, (Paperback ed.), p. 123. For
complete reference to the works cited in the Table, see
the preceding footnote 8.

17. This is certainly true of the selections included in the section
on "Professionals and Complex Organizations" in
Vollmer and Mills, op. cit., pp. 264-294.

18. A number of researchers have empirically studied the types of
role adaptations usually made by professionals working
in a variety of organizational settings. For a useful
review of these studies see, Peter M. Blau and
W. R. Scott, op. cit., pp. 64-66.

19. This Table has been taken from Kruytbosch and Messinger,
op. cit., p. 125.

20. Clark's formulation of the problem in terms of diverse academic
subcultures, however, does challenge the assumption of
homogeneity of professional values and outlook implicit
in the professional model. His emphasis on diversity of
values in and segmentation of the academic profession
suggests that he views conflicts of goals, interests, and
values of especially governance.

21. Parsons, for example, used the medical relationship as the
archtype of professional authority. To bring out the
analytical distinction between professional authority
and bureaucratic authority, he contrasts the doctor-

patient authority relationship with the superior-subordinate authority relationship. See, Talcott Parsons' "Introduction" in Max Weber, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 58-60. Parsons' writings on the professions have greatly influenced later analytical as well as empirical work on the professions. Such influence is seen in Ernest Greenwood, "The Elements of Professionalization," in Vollmer and Mills, op. cit., pp. 9-18; William Goode, "Community Within a Community,' American Sociological Review, 1957, Vol. 22 (April): 194-200.

22. Dietrich Rueschmeyer. "Doctors and Lawyers: A Comment on the Theory of the Professions," in Ronald M. Pavalko (ed.), Sociological Perspectives on Occupations, Itasca (Ill.): F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1972, pp. 26-38.

23. B. R. Clark (1966), op. cit., discusses the phenomenon of segmentation and the development of multiple and divergent value systems in the academic profession; Bucher and Strauss (1961), op. cit., "The Segmentation of the Medical Profession."

24. Bucher and Strauss. op. cit.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., p. 194.

27. Ibid., pp. 194-196.

28. Clark. op. cit., pp. 297-298.

29. Gouldner (1954). op. cit.

30. Richard H. Hall. "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," American Sociological Review, 33 (February, 1968), pp. 92-104.

31. Ibid.

32. Nicos P. Mouzelis. Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories, Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, p. 158.

33. Melville Dalton. <u>Men Who Manage</u>, New York: John Wiley, 1959.

34. Michael Crozier. <u>The Bureaucratic Phenomena</u>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

35. R. Bendix, Rienhard Bendix: <u>Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait</u>, Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1962, p. 439.

36. <u>Ibid.</u>, footnote 15, p. 483; Emphasis added.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE
PRESENT STUDY

Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodological aspects of

the present research, a case study of the development of the

organization and governance of the University of Lethbridge--an

emerging organization. First, the appropriateness of the case

study approach to the present research is examined. Second, the

types and sources of data used and the techniques employed to

collect them are briefly discussed. A detailed description of the

techniques used for analysis of questionnaire data obtained from

faculty respondents will be presented in Chapter 7. The findings

from these data are also discussed there.

A. The Case Study As a Research Strategy

in The Study of Organizations

A commonly used classification of study designs in

social science literature distinguishes three types of designs:

exploratory, descriptive, and hypothesis-testing.[1] In an exploratory

study, the primary objective of the researcher is to gain familiarity

with some problem and to obtain new insights which can direct future
analysis. In a descriptive study, the major focus is on delineation
of the relevant characteristics of the object of research and
examination of their inter-relations. These two designs of research
can be and are often combined in actual practice. An important
feature of an exploratory-descriptive study design is the fact that it
does not "prove" anything--that is, a theory or an hypothesis. The
primary importance of this design lies in its ability to provide a
detailed description of an analysis of social phenomena which is
usually undertaken to clarify some theoretical question, to "try out"
a new conceptualization of a phenomenon, or to provoke new
perspectives. A hypothesis-testing study, on the other hand, centers
on collecting data intended to "prove" a theory by confirming or
rejecting a specific hypothesis or set of hypothesis. A case study
of field methods approach is most suitable for the general objectives
of exploratory-descriptive study design. This design has been most
commonly used in the study of organizations.

A case study is an investigation in depth of one
organization in a field setting. It uses a variety of sources of data,
techniques of observation and data-gathering, and analysis of
various types of materials. The kinds of data that an investigator in
a case study can use may come from interviews, participant

observation, documents and records, informant reports, and

questionnaires completed by individual respondents. Historical

data, cross-sectional data, and data obtained from continuous

observations of selected groups and activities, hopefully permit

the researcher to put together a wholistic picture of the organiza-

tion and its internal processes. There is agreement among

different writers that a case study in field setting represents an

effective "way of organizing social data so as to preserve the

unitary character of the social object being studied."[2] Thus one

of the major strengths of the case study, as an essentially

exploratory research, is that it permits, through the use of a

variety of sources of data and techniques of data-gathering, an

in-depth study of an organization.

A second major strength of a case study lies in the

fact that it permits the researcher to explore the dynamics of

organizational structure--the internal processes of an organization.

Much work on organizational structure following the survey approach

has concentrated on the elements of formal structure. It has led to

a sort of formalism which is unable to advance our understanding

of how concrete organizational structures operate or function.[3]

The sample survey approach may be effective in the development

of a formal theory of organizational structure, but it is no substitute

for such techniques of data collection and observation as direct

observation, sustained participation, and depth interviews, only

whose use permits "getting at" and understanding dynamic

organizational processes. Thus, when a researcher is concerned

with organizational dynamics, development and change, as we are

in this study, the case study approach offers distinct advantages.

The possibility of selecting among a variety of sources

of data-gathering in a case study has another strength. It means

that:

> ...the investigator can select from his research
> repertoire those methods that are the most appro-
> priate for the study of a given problem. Should
> the field researcher desire data on patterns of
> social interaction, he can directly observe them;
> should he require information about the distribu-
> tion of sentiments, he can inquire about them. A
> variety of approaches allows him to examine subtle
> differences which otherwise would escape attention,
> like that between private feelings and public
> behavior. Interlocking methods also provide a
> check on bias by bringing into juxta-position two
> or more sets of data on the same problem.... [4]

This effective check on bias in data used in case studies contributes

to the validity of the conclusions and correlatively the insights that

might result from such studies.

But the case study approach has also some major

weaknesses. The most serious weakness of this approach springs

from the question of the "representativeness" or "typicality" of the

one case studied. The problem of "representativeness" is related
to the question of the "generalizability" of the conclusions of case
study type of research. In a case study, it cannot be claimed, as
a rule, that the organization chosen for study is representative of
other similar organizations. Most organizations have their own
histories and operating environments which often lend them their
unique character. Sometimes, in fact, an organization may be
"chosen" for study (although often it is "picked" for overriding
considerations of expedience), precisely because of its uniqueness,
as is, by and large, the case in the present study.

The problem of generalizability is, thus, endemic to
case study approach. However, some writers have suggested that
it can be circumvented to a certain degree. Lipset el. al. hold
that the case study approach need not automatically oblige the
research not to attempt generalizations of any sort from his find-
ings.[5] They suggest that the case study approach does permit
analysis at two levels: (a) "particularizing" analysis, which
focusses on "description and explanation of the single case, to
provide information concerning its present state, and the dynamics
through which it continues as it does,"[6] and (b) generalizations or
theory through the analysis of a single case, using it not to discover
anything about it as a system but an empirical basis either for

generalizations or theory construction."[7] Comparisons done

between the subunits of the organization at one point in time, or

the study of the same organization over time, can provide the

basis for the latter type of analysis. However, in our view, there

is really no satisfactory solution to the problem of generalizability

from a case study. The usefulness of the case study approach lies,

we suggest, in the ability it gives an investigator to view an

organization "wholistically" and its ability to generate valuable

insights and new ways of conceptualizing social phenomena--and

not in the generalizability of conclusions of studies conducted by

using this approach. We tend to agree with Baldridge that "in the

history of organizational theory entirely too many presumptuous

claims have been made for theories on the basis of a single case

study."[8] Such a temptation will be avoided in the present study.

But, such problems notwithstanding, the advantages

of the case study approach in the study of organizational dynamics

outweigh the disadvantages. What is a best study design, and the

methods of data-gathering associated with it, depends on the

nature of the problem under study and the objectives of a specific

inquiry. It may be well to recall Homans' statement regarding

this question:

> People who write methodology often forget that
> it is a matter of strategy, not of morals. There
> are neither good nor bad methods but only methods
> that are more or less effective under particular
> circumstances in reaching objectives on to the
> way to a distant goal. [9]

Thus, we think, that the case study approach is likely to be particularly fruitful in research that is (a) basically exploratory and therefore requires in-depth analysis, (b) deals with a relatively unexplored topic or theoretical perspective, and (c) is concerned with the understanding of dynamic processes associated with organizational development and change. The present research is characterized by all of these features. It is the empirical examination of the development of the organization and governance of a new university which was taking shape in the context of a pressure towards the democratization of Canadian universities. The case study approach was, therefore, thought to be particularly appropriate for this research.

Furthermore, given the general lack of substantive theory dealing with the structure and internal processes of modern organizations[10] the role of exploratory-descriptive studies using field methods of research seems to be of central importance in the development of organizational theory. Scott rightly suggests that:

...as organizational theory develops, the
researcher should be less and less inclined
to think in terms of one or more hypotheses
guiding his inquiry and begin to work with
theoretical models which generate numerous
implications, each of which becomes a
proposition guiding field observation. To the
extent that the models developed focus on social
processes, the most important contribution of
field research in the future may be the collec-
tion of detailed descriptive information. [11]

Having examined the general logic and appropriateness

of the case study approach and field research with reference to

organizational research of the type undertaken here, we examine,

next, the sources of and techniques used for gathering information

for the present study.

B. Data-Gathering Techniques and Sources

of Data in the Present Study

On receiving the permission to conduct the research

from the "host" university, the researcher took up residence near

the campus and spent the next three months on the campus inter-

viewing faculty, attending faculty meetings, and meeting the faculty

and the administration in formal as well as informal settings. The

field work was conducted from the beginning of February to the end

of April, 1968.

During this period the specific techniques used for

data-gathering were (1) informal and partially "non-directive"

interviews with selected members of the faculty and with the

administration; (2) attendance at meetings of all the important

policy-making faculty and university-wide councils and committees

during the period of observation; (3) examination and analysis of

documents and official records, and finally, (4) circulation of a

self-administered questionnaire which was given to all faculty,

except the president of the university.

At the start, the necessary information on the formal

organizational structure of the university, i.e., the number of

faculties, their organization into academic departments, the

number and structure of all the committees at different levels of

the organization and their terms of reference--was obtained. This

information quickly led to further valuable information on the extent

of involvement of individual faculty members in the decision-making

processes and the power structure of the university.

Next, attention was directed to pinpointing the various

important organizational issues relating to broader organization

and adaministrative policy. The university had been in operation

for less than a year as an autonomous institution at the time of the

research. The peculiar circumstances resulting in the formation

of the university allowed very little time for the faculty and admini-

stration to plan ahead of time the structure or policies necessary

to carry out the functions of the university. Therefore, the faculty

was still engaged not only in dealing with issues arising from the

day-to-day functioning of the organization, but also with issues of

long-range policy affecting the internal structure of the faculty,

the general philosophy of the university, and the formation of the

long-term goals of the organization.

Since the focus was on the issues as they arose and

developed through the year, the interviewing of the faculty followed

a rather informal course. Depending upon the particular issue at

a particular time, the members of the committee or committees

formally responsible for handling the issue were interviewed. From

them, the interviewing extended to other members of the faculty who

were known to be involved in some way or other in the process of

decision-making. Thus the interviewing followed what may best be

termed as a "chain-reaction" pattern, i.e., contacting more

informants on the basis of information received from other

informants. The interviews were not recorded verbatim; only brief

notes were taken during an interview which were written up, in

much more detail, immediately after.

The information obtained during the interviews led to the examination of past records such as minutes of committee meetings, and formal statements made by individuals or groups. Going from interview to documents and vice versa served two purposes: cross-checking the accuracy of interview data and amplification of the original information. The examination of documents, thus at least initially, was prompted by the interview data relative to the issues selected for intensive study. An intensive examination was, later, undertaken of the minutes of the past meetings of the Faculty of Arts and Science Council and some other key committees.

The investigator's attendance at the meetings of the relevant committees or of other decision-making "bodies" of the University was fairly regular and was a source of considerable data. Direct observation at these meetings provided valuable checks on the accuracy of information collected from other sources and sometimes valuable insights into the rationale underlying the positions of different groups and individuals on various issues of policy.

A questionnaire[12] was administered during the last two weeks of the field work which was designed to secure information on the following aspects: the degree of bureaucratization of the

university's organizational structure as perceived by the faculty,

the degree of professionalization of university teaching as

perceived by the faculty, and background data on each respondent.

Hall has developed and used two separate instruments,

one for measuring the degree of bureaucratization and the other

for the degree of professionalization, in his research on a wide

range of professional organizations.[13] The bureaucratization

instrument measures the degree of bureaucratization along each

dimension of the bureaucratic model by means of a series of

items which form a Likert-type scale for each dimension. Like-

wise, the professionalization instrument measures each of the

five attitudinal dimensions of the professional model by means of

a series of items forming a Likert-type scale for each dimension.

To gather data on the degree of professionization and bureaucrati-

zation in the University's organizational structure, we used those

instruments, designed by Hall.

Both of these instruments needed minor changes so as

to make them suitable for use with the university faculty. These

changes that were made were of a minor nature. The discussion

of what was changed in these scales and why, and the information

on their reliability based on our sample is presented in Chapter 7.

Here, only a general commentary on the scales and the changes in

them is included. In Hall's research, each sub-scale in the two instruments (6 in Bureaucratization Inventory; 5 in Professionalization Inventory) attained a reliability coefficient of .80 or higher with the use of split-half method of determining reliability and the Spearman-Brown correction formula.[14]

In adapting the Hall professionalization instrument, all but one of his fifty items were used. Five were very slightly modified by adding, changing, or dropping a word or two. The item that was completely dropped was no. 40 in Hall's version of the instrument. The items numbered 1, 6, 24, 30, in Hall's version had to be slightly modified, but appear in our instrument with the same numbers. Item no. 43 in Hall's instrument was also modified and appears in our instrument with the serial number 42.

Hall's bureaucratization instrument consisted of sixty-two items. In the modified form, used in this research, there are fifty-nine items. The three items that were dropped were, in the original version, numbered 5, 34, and 57. Items in which any significant changes had to be made were numbered 1, 30, and 44. These modified items, in our instrument, are numbered 1, 29, and 42. In a few other items the only modification made was to change "employee" to "faculty member", "boss" or "supervisor" to "administrator."[15]

The minor changes made in Hall scales and the use of these scales on our sample which was quite different from that of his research made it necessary to make an independent check of their reliability. The reliability computations were made by using Kudor-Richardson Formula 20.[16] The reliability coefficients for the two sets of scales were as follows.

Bureaucratization Sub-Scales   Professionalization Sub-Scales

Sub-Scale	Number of Items	KR-20 Reliability Coefficient	Sub-Scale	Number of Items	KR-20 Reliability Coefficient
1.	12	0.834	1.	10	0.730
2.	10	0.545	2.	10	0.768
3.	8	0.731	3.	10	0.643
4.	10	0.807	4.	10	0.777
5.	9	0.554	5.	9	0.635
6.	10	0.871			

C. Validity and Reliability of Field Data

The validity of data in field studies is generally taken to mean the accuracy of the information obtained, i.e., the "external validity" or "response validity."[17] In a field study, the use of interlocking sources of information and methods of data-

gathering provide a check on validity and reliability of reports.[18] In

the present research, the investigator had free access to official

records in the form of the minutes of past meetings, the written

reports of various committees, memoranda issued to meetings of

various committees, and to members of the organization at all levels.

This access was of extreme assistance and usefulness in checking

the validity of reports from the respondents. A considerable reliance

was placed on the written proceedings of official records, especially

if some inconsistency, either in the reports of the same respondent

or in the reports of many respondents on the same issue, was

detected. This should increase the reliability as well as the validity

of our data.

Some difficulties with respect to the validity and

reliability of field study data may arise from "over-rapport",[19] or

the dilemma created by the efforts of the researcher to assume

"neutrality" in a research situation ridden with factional conflict.

Other difficulties may originate from the "response set" of

respondents and involuntary as well as intentional distortion by

informants.[20]

Although the difficulties originating from "over rapport"

or "over-identification" constantly threaten the objectivity of the

observer and should not be underestimated, they can easily be

exaggerated. We agree with Gouldner that "it is sometimes

indispensable to develop friendly ties with certain kinds of respon-

dents in order to obtain their cooperation. "[21]

In the matter of preserving his "neutrality" and

"objectivity", this researcher was helped by the type of organization

studied. During the course of field work, it became clear to him

that the faculty, despite their strong commitments to and involvement

in the "hot" issues within the organization, were highly committed,

at least verbally, to the professionally desirable norm of objectivity

in social research. The possibility of bias in their own reports was

frankly admitted and need for the essential neutrality of the

investigator was readily recognized, and indeed stressed, by many

respondents.

To sum up the discussion on the methodology of this

study, we have stated the appropriateness of the case study approach

for studies dealing with the dynamics of organizational structure.

Then a brief description of the sources of data and the various

techniques of data-gathering used in the present study has been

given. Following that, we have discussed the problems of validity

and reliability as they affect the data in a field study.

In the next chapter, we will present the historical

background dealing with the circumstances which led to the establish-

ment of the university.

FOOTNOTES

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2. W. J. Goode and P. K. Hatt. Methods of Social Research, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, p. 331.

3. Michael Crozier. The Bureaucratic Phenomenon, Chicago, Illinois: Chicago University Press, 1963, p. 175.

4. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott. Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962, pp. 20-21.

5. S. M. Lipset, et. al. Union Democracy, New York: Doubleday and Company (Anchor Books),1956, pp. 470-493.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. J. Victor Baldridge. Power and Conflict in theUniversity, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1971, p. 33.

9. George Homans. "The Strategy of Industrial Sociology, American Journal of Sociology (54), 1949, pp. 330-337.

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11. W. R. Scott. "Field Methods in the Study of Organizations," in James G. March (ed.), Handbook of Organizations, Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1965, pp. 268-269.

12. See, Appendix A.

13. Richard Hall. "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," American Sociological Review, 33 (February, 1968), pp. 92-103.

14. Ibid.

15. The two instruments (i. e. , Professionalization Inventory and
     Bureaucratic Inventory) appear in the "adapted" form
     in Appendix A as the first two parts of the questionnaire.
     Both Inventories, in their original form (i. e. in the
     form in which Hall used them in his research) appear
     in Appendix A.

16. The reliability coefficients of our scale data were computed
     through the use of Kuder-Richardson Formula 20.
     For complete information on Kr-20 reliability
     coefficient computation, see, J. P. Guilford,
     Psychometric Methods, New York: McGraw-Hill,
     1954, p. 383. For a recent re-assessment of Hall's
     Professionalization Scale, see William Snizeck,
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     Reassessment," in American Sociological Review
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17. Morris Zelditch, Jr. "Some Methodological Problems of Field
     Studies," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (March, 1962),
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     American Sociological Review, 17 (February, 1962),
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Chapter 5

HISTORICAL ANTECEDANTS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

Introduction

The university which formed the object of this study was

a new Canadian university. The field work, as indicated earlier,

was conducted during the second semester of the first year of its

operation as an autonomous provincial university. Prior to 1967,

the year of its establishment, however, what was now an autonomous

university had been functioning as part of the Junior College esta-

blished in 1957[1] in the same community by the provincial

government, in response to growing popular demand in the local

community and the surrounding rural areas for starting post-

secondary and technical education facilities in the community.[2]

Governed by a Board appointed by the provincial government, the

Junior College had been organized, ever since its commencement,

in two sections: the University Section, and the Technical

Vocational Section. It was the University Section of the Junior

College which, on January 1, 1967, was formally established as

an autonomous university.

This chapter presents a brief history of events and

developments which led to the establishment of the University.

After a short sketch of the governing structure of the college and subsequent changes that took place in it, we will turn (in Part A) to the examination of the patterns of growth of the academic programs and the Faculty of the University Section of the College. Subsequent to this, we will focus (in Part B) on the general relationship between the Junior College Board--the legally constituted ultimate governing body--and the Faculty of the University Section, the role of the Faculty in the eventual establishment of the university, and (in Part C) the emergence of the organizational structure of the new University.

Before discussing the establishment and important phases of the development of the Junior College (hereafter the College) from which the University of Lethbridge developed, certain provisions of the Public Junior Colleges Act of 1958 (as amended thereafter) governing establishment of junior colleges in the province will be discussed. The amendments in this Act were necessitated, in part, by structural changes in the provincial university system which have taken place, primarily since 1965. The discussion of some selected provisions of the Act will provide the necessary background to the materials to be presented in this chapter.

Legislation for the Establishment

of Public Junior Colleges

Legislation to provide for the Establishment of Public

Junior Colleges (The Public Junior Colleges Act) was passed in

April, 1958. The Public Junior Colleges Act as subsequently

amended provides that Junior Colleges may be established for the

purpose of (a) teaching subjects of University level not higher than

the level commonly accepted for the first year beyond matriculation

into a university, in a course leading to a bachelor's degree;

(b) teaching with the approval of the Provincial Board[3] in consultation

and agreement with the Co-ordinating Council,[4] subjects in a course

of study for a year other than the first year beyond matriculation

into a University; and (c) teaching other subjects of a general and

vocational nature...."[5]

A College may be established by a school board or under

an agreement among several school boards, only after (a) the

Minister of Education "has given his consent thereto on recommenda-

tion of the Provincial Board; and (b) the Provincial Board, in

consultation and agreement with the Co-ordinating Council, has

approved the application for affiliation with one or more universities."[6]

It is important to note that affiliation with University is one of the

conditions of establishment of a Junior College.

Every College is to have a board of trustees whose members hold office for three years after which they may be reappointed. The officers of this governing body of a College are appointed by the board from among its members. The board's duties include the determination of "the general policies with respect to the organization, administration, operation and courses of instruction," and "responsibility for the operation of the junior college, from the funds provided."[7]

The Act provides that "students desiring to attend a junior college for University courses are required to meet such admission requirements as may be prescribed by the Provincial Board in consultation and agreement with the Co-ordinating Council."[8]

Another important provision of the Act which is worthy of note is in regard to the recruitment of instructional staff for the teaching of University courses. A college may "engage instructors of University courses, whether full or part-time, in accordance with requirements set out by the Provincial Board in consultation and agreement with the Co-ordinating Council."[9]

Most of the major amendments in the provisions of the Public Junior Colleges Act of 1958 were necessitated by the structural changes which took place in the provincial University System in 1965-66. Until that year, university education in the

province was the sole responsibility of the single provincial

University. This University, pursuant to the University Act and

the Public Junior Colleges Act, exercised control over all of the

junior colleges in the province with respect to the teaching of

university courses. The regulations governing the affiliation of

junior colleges to the University of Alberta as set out in the

University Calendar, revealed the nature of this control.

> Thus, by the authority of the highest academic
> legislative council of the University, junior
> colleges may be recommended to the Board of
> Governors for affiliation with the University
> under the following conditions:

1. Staff

   a. Number of staff: A minimum staff of six
      teachers giving the major part of their
      time to junior college work must be
      maintained.

   b. Qualifications of staff: The members of
      the staff should hold at least the Master's
      degree of its equivalent in the main field
      of instruction. All staff must be approved
      for appointment by the Committee on
      Junior Colleges of the provincial
      University.

2. Curriculum

   Courses and programs of studies for university
   ity credit must be approved by the University
   Committee on Junior Colleges.

3. Equipment

Library and laboratory facilities must be
adequate in the subjects taught in the
junior college.

4. Admission

The conditions of admission to university
courses and programs at junior colleges
will be those which obtain in the
University of Alberta.

5. Examinations

The examinations of the junior colleges in
courses offered for university credit will
be the regular University examinations
for the first year.

6. Financial Support

The University of Alberta assumes no
responsibility for the financial support
of affiliated junior colleges.

7. Affiliation with Other Institutions

Junior Colleges affiliated with the University
of Alberta may not have or enter into
affiliations or accreditation arrangements
with other colleges or universities without
the permission of the General Faculty
Council.

8. Period of Affiliation Agreement

The period of any affiliation agreement
shall be five years.

9. Public Announcements

>All documents which an affiliated institution
>proposes to issue for public information and
>which purport to contain a statement of the
>institution's relationship with the University
>or other universities shall be submitted
>before printing for the approval of the
>President of the University.[10]

This review of the selected provisions of The Public

Colleges Act and the regulations governing affiliation of Junior

Colleges with the University indicates that Junior Colleges are to

be closely controlled and supervised in their operations concerning

the teaching of University courses by the affiliating University

pursuant to the provision of The Public Junior Colleges Act.

What reasons did the authors of the University Act

and the Public Junior Colleges Act have for specifying terms of

affiliation which would allow little autonomy to the colleges in the

determination of policies for admission of students, recruitment

of faculty, and administration of the academic program? In a

charitable vein, a Faculty Brief speculated that "the over-

riding consideration must surely have been the insurance of high

academic quality in the college program and satisfactory performance

of students leaving the College to attend Alberta Universities and

universities elsewhere."[11]

PART A

a. Establishment of the Lethbridge Junior College

The College was established under The School Act,

prior to the passage of The Public Junior Colleges Act in 1958. It

began operations in 1957-58 with eight participating school districts

and divisions. Its instructional staff of nineteen was organized into

two sections: the University section with a faculty of eleven including

the Dean with responsibility for both sections, and the Technical-

Vocational Sections with eight staff members.

Between 1957 and 1962 the major concentration was on

the teaching of first-year University courses in several fields such

as Arts, Science, Agriculture and Education. Though the enrolments

in the University Programs had been growing steadily over the past

years, the Vocational program did not start attracting comparable

numbers until 1963. In that year was appointed the first Principal

of the College. With the appointment of the Principal as the chief

administrator of the College, the Dean of the College was appointed

by the College Board to the office of the Dean of the University Section,

a new administrative position. The administrative staff of the College

in 1964-65 consisted of the Principal, Dean of the University Section,

Director of the Technical Vocational Section, Bursar, and Purchasing

Agent.

The University Programs continued to expand. "In 1964-65, the University Section was authorized to give courses in the first year, for admission to the B.A. and B.Sc.; B.Ed. B. Com.; B.Sc. (Agric.) and B.Sc. (H.Ec.); B.P.E. There were 19 members on the instructional staff; and the calendar listed 30 courses."[12] Student enrolment in University Programs which had been experiencing steady increases during past years also approached the 200 mark for the first time in that year.[13]

b. Proposals Seeking Degree Granting Status for the College

While the University Section was experiencing rapid increase in enrolments and expansion in its programs, local groups in the community, namely, the College Board, the City Council, and the Chamber of Commerce were actively engaged in making feasibility studies for the development of the College into a degree-granting institution as soon as possible. Representations supporting such a development were being made to the provincial government on the basis of these feasibility studies. At the same time, the system of post-secondary and university education in the province was receiving close scrutiny by several committees on behalf of the government or other agencies. The government was moving toward the decision to transform the second campus of the provincial University, located

in Calgary the second largest city of the province, into a second

autonomous provincial university.

The Provincial Government was engaged, at this time,

in amending the existing legislation regarding higher education, in

order to incorporate in it the impending changes in the structure of

the system of post-secondary and university education. The future

growth and development of the University Section of the Junior College

was included in the terms of reference of Special Study on Junior

Colleges in 1965 initiated by the Provincial Government. This study

recommended the establishment of a degree-granting institution and

that "plans should proceed to offer courses to complete the require-

ments for some degrees at an institution"[14] in the community where

the college is located. Thus, the upgrading of the University Section

of the college into a degree-granting college or university in the not

too distant future appeared all but certain.

As an immediate measure, however, provincial

legislation was amended in early 1965 to permit Junior Colleges in

the province to offer University Courses beyond the first year. At

the same time, the University Act was also amended so that the

provincial University would accept, in the final year of a degree

course, students who had completed two-year studies at a junior

college. In May, 1964, the General Faculty Council of the University

had already authorized the Junior College to offer second-year courses,

subject to the following principles:

(a) Students should be limited to registration in two years at the Junior College. The present statement in the General Section of the University Calendar that "A student proceeding toward a first degree will normally be required to attend at least one academic year as a full-time student" should be amended to specify that a student from a Junior College must spend at least the final year at the University of Alberta. The Calendar of the Lethbridge Junior College should include a statement to the effect that a student would be granted credit in no more than ten courses, plus physical education, toward a degree at the University of Alberta.

(b) The usual practice of examining and approving books available in the library, and the laboratory facilities, equipment, and materials should be repeated when second-year courses are added.

(c) The courses offered in the second year at Lethbridge Junior College must have their counterparts in the Calendar of the University of Alberta (Calgary Campus).

(d) For the present, Lethbridge Junior College should not offer Honors programs or Honors courses.

(e) Candidates for appointment as Junior College instructors in courses beyond the first university year must possess qualifications substantially beyond the masters degree in the subject of instruction.[15]

c. The Introduction of Second-Year University Studies

(1965-66)

Thus, the way was now open for the College to introduce

second year of the University Programs. With the expansion of

programs of studies in 1965-66, the enrolment in the University

Section increased to 296 (from 191 in 1964-65), with 74 students in

the second year alone.[16]

The internal administrative structure of the College was

very simple until 1965. The Faculty of the University Section, except

for the Dean as its administrative officer, had remained formally

undifferentiated either by rank or by departmental or divisional

organization. Several members of this Faculty, including the Dean,

had been recruited from the teaching staffs of the participating School

Boards during the first few years of the commencement of the

College.

In 1964-65, all the faculty members held a Master's

degree in their areas of specialization--the minimum qualifications

required by the University for appointment to a junior college faculty,

and one held a Ph. D. This relative homogeneity in level of

professional training and past career experiences, the small size

and ingroup identification of the University Section Faculty vis-a-vis

the college as a whole, permitted a conflict-free administrative

process, despite the diffuseness of the internal authority structure,

lack of autonomy of the Faculty in the determination of programs of

studies, etc., and the relative concentration of authority and control

in the College Board. There is little evidence of any serious

questioning on the Faculty's part of the role of the College Board in

relation to the internal administration of the College, or the control

of the University over policies of the College concerning administration

of academic program, faculty recruitment, or admissions.

The introduction of the second-year university studies,

however, meant (a) a substantial increase in enrolments, (b) an

immediate increase in the size of the faculty, and (c) recruitment of

new faculty with "qualifications substantially beyond the master's

degree" to teach courses beyond first-year level in university

programs. To meet the needs of increased enrolments, particularly

due to expanded University Programs, fourteen new full-time faculty

were added to the University Section instructional staff.[17] Five of

the new faculty had Ph. D. degrees, with another completing his Ph. D.

within a few months of joining the College staff. Formal academic

ranks were introduced for the first time along with changed require-

ments for recruitment to the College faculty.[18]

The recruitment to the Faculty of new members, several with Ph. D. degrees and previous experience in teaching and research at universities, had significant organizational implications for the College. Many of these faculty members must have been, and indeed were, attracted to the College by the almost certain prospect in 1965 that the College in a few years would become an autonomous university.[19] The possibility that they would be called upon to participate in the advance planning necessary for the development of such an organization and in the formulation of its academic and curricular policies without external interference must have been an important factor in their decisions to join the College Faculty. Our interviews with several of the faculty members who joined the Faculty in 1965 confirm the importance of the foregoing expectation in their decisions to come to teach at the College.

Organizationally, the changes outlined in the two preceeding paragraphs meant structural changes at three different levels: in leadership roles within the Faculty; in relations between the Faculty and the College Board; and in relations between the University Section and the provincial University. The changes in the Faculty size and in the professional training and other background characteristics of faculty members were also likely to encourage changes in the internal structure of the faculty.

During 1965-66, the Faculty organized itself into various committees to deal with different questions facing the organization. The two most important committees were: Curriculum Committee, "acting somewhat in the role of an executive group of the Faculty";[20] and a Committee on Faculty Organization. The Faculty as a group functioned informally during the year as the Faculty-Council of the University section to receive and approval recommendations of its various committees. The council, on recommendations from its committees, took the following important decisions:

    (a) It prepared a detailed plan for the development of the College into liberal arts University primarily concerned with undergraduate studies. According to this plan, the proposed University would award its first degrees in the Spring of 1970.

    (b) It proposed important changes in the administration of the College in view of the proposed development in (a) above. The proposal asked for two separate governing bodies (i.e., two separate Boards of Governors), one for the University Section, and one for the Technical-Vocational Section of the College. The College board initially declined to accept this proposal.

    (c) The Faculty Council decided that temporarily, the faculty should organize internally into four divisions, namely, Humanities, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Education, each division to compose of a number of neighboring disciplines.

(d) It also proposed a change in its affiliation.
The second campus of the provincial
University was about to be established as
the second provincial University beginning
in 1966. The Faculty decided to seek
affiliation with this new second provincial
university. [21]

These were decisions of major significance portending

future developments and the Faculty provided effective leadership

and initiative as a decision-making body in the College. These

developments culminated, at the end of 1965-66, in another important

change: the incumbent Dean, who had been in that position since 1957,

not forgetting some changes in the nature of this office itself as

indicated earlier, resigned from the position of the Dean. Following

his resignation, one of the new faculty members, recruited in 1965,

was appointed as Dean of the University Section by the College Board

with effect from August 1966. This new Dean was an experienced

academic who had been engaged in full-time teaching and research at

another Canadian university for ten years before moving to this

College.

During 1965-66 the College moved from an informal,

loose, and diffused internal structure towards a relatively defined

and differentiated administrative organization. For the first time

in the history of the College, its Calendar for 1966-67, included the

following description of its internal organization:

The Principal is chief administrator of the
College. The University Section is under
the direction of the Dean and is organized
for academic purposes in four divisions.
(1) Humanities, (2) Social Sciences,
(3) Natural Sciences, (4) Education and
Special Courses. The first two divisions
include all courses generally considered
as Arts, while the third includes all
courses normally called Science. The
fourth deals with courses that are specific
for Education and any others that do not
fit into other categories. Within this
framework, faculty committees in conjunc-
tion with the Dean and Principal deal with
such matters as promotions, admissions,
curriculum, campus planning, scholarships,
etc.[22]

d. The Faculty and the Problem of Autonomy

Increase in the degree of professionalization of the

Faculty, resulting from higher academic qualifications of several

of its members, and its resolve to seek university status for the

College brought into focus the problem of the lack of autonomy

experienced by the College. The Faculty expressed its deep concern

in regard to this issue throughout its deliberations and activities

during 1965-66. The Faculty Association, a voluntary body

representing the University Section faculty members, in its brief

in November, 1965, to a Commission set up by the provincial

government to study the future of junior colleges in the province,

demanded complete autonomy for the College within the provincial

system of higher education. Furthermore, it requested a high degree

of faculty participation based on democratic representation in the

administration of the College.[23] The brief concludes by pointing

out that at this College,

> there is the opportunity to adopt at the outset
> an administrative process which allows for the
> real participation by Faculty in the affairs of
> the institution. We believe that such an
> environment would attract a first-rate faculty,
> despite the isolation and meagre facilities of
> the young institution and the community.[24]

This brief articulates the important belief of the College

Faculty that an administrative process characterized by active and

direct faculty participation based on democratic representation is

basic to the development of a university of distinction and a faculty

of high quality and merit. In addition, and perhaps even more

important, the Faculty Council expressed its serious concern over

the issue of autonomy. In its proposal for the development of the

College into a "liberal university", the Council stated that such a

university

> should be of high quality emphasizing critical
> examination of fundamental humane and cultural
> values.... Such quality could only derive from
> full professional responsibility and competence.
> A new undergraduate university would be
> seriously inhibited were it required to copy or
> mechanically imitate existing institutions....[25]

Further, that,

> the growth and quality of a small but vital
> university cannot be effectively accom-
> plished by remote control.[26]

Locally, the Faculty was engaged in serious debate with

the College Board aimed at establishing a completely independent

Board of Governors for the University when it becomes a reality.

The intention of the Faculty was to seek for the new university an

identity completely separate from and independent of the essentially

technical-vocational college which has had its own Board of Trustees.

Furthermore, the Faculty sought statutory provision for the inclusion

of its elected representatives in the membership of such a governing

body of the University-to-be.

However, the College Board had taken an equivocal

position and was non-commital with respect to the nature of the

relationship between the College Board as presently constituted and

the governing body to be constituted for the new university. In fact,

the issue of two separate governing boards became a point of

prolonged controversy between the Faculty and the College Board

and was resolved only after the Minister of Education made a

statement in July of 1966 regarding the government's intention to

establish an autonomous university in the Community by 1967.[27]

The College Board, following the Minister's statement, decided to

recommend two separate Boards of Trustees/Governors--one for the
University and another for the College.

The Faculty's concern for autonomy, however, was not
confined to insuring complete independence from external control for
just the University once it was established. It was equally strong
with regard to the current operations of the College. The first Dean
of the Faculty observed in this connection that,

> ...When we introduced our second year, it
> became a senior year. This was beyond a
> junior college and we had to get better
> qualified faculties (Sic.). They immediately
> felt their academic status was being questioned
> when they had to write the same examinations
> as Alberta or use the same textbooks, even
> though we had been quite happy to give the
> same examinations, even though we marked
> them ourselves. The university was very,
> very careful to let go a little bit at a time
> until we had established ourselves and were
> able to prove that the product which we sent
> to the University of Alberta was as good as
> the product which they were turning out them-
> selves. Now we are finding greater pressure
> as we have applied for affiliation with the new
> University of Calgary, for more separation
> especially on the senior course level in the
> choosing of courses, the picking of textbooks,
> the setting of the examinations. A lot of
> people, you see, feel that their academic
> qualifications are being questioned. [28]
> (Emphasis our own.)

In its brief, in the summer of 1966, seeking affiliation
with the newly established second provincial University, the College
asked for autonomy in certain matters such as those contained in the

foregoing remarks of the Dean. Consequently, in 1966-67, during its last year of operation as part of the College, the University Section was authorized by the new second provincial University to exercise autonomy in matters relating to academic appointments and the administration of its academic program.[29]

Strictly speaking, the problem of lack of autonomy for the Faculty of the College was imbedded in the existing provincial legislation concerning Public Junior Colleges and the Universities. However, it did not become salient for, or was not clearly articulated by, the Faculty until the introduction of second-year University courses in 1965-66. The "autonomy crisis", as the preceding remarks by the first Dean suggest, was ostensibly linked to the recruitment of new faculty members who, because of higher academic qualifications and different conceptions of the occupational role compared with those of junior college-oriented faculty of previous years, had presumably significantly different orientation toward external control over the College affairs.

e. Towards Faculty Control of College Affairs

During 1965-66, the locus of authority and control tended to shift away from the external sources including the College Board and towards the Faculty as a body, as is indicated by the various

decisions taken by it. The process of internal organization of the

Faculty had been set in motion; the divisional organization had been

approved by the Faculty Council as a temporary measure while the

question of developing a suitable committee structure for the coming

year was continuing to be under consideration. The Faculty's

proposal for a carefully phased development of the University Section

into a University had already been accepted by the College Board. The

recruitment of additional academic staff for next year in view of the

above plan was in progress, under the charge of the new Dean of the

University Section. The Faculty of the University Section was

striving to devise internal structures which would give its members

a major role in the governance of the College expected to become a

university in the near future. This Faculty, in short, fully expected

to be the Faculty of the University they themselves were trying to

help create.

f. The Year of Transition: 1966-67

The decision of the Provincial Government to establish

the third provincial university in the city in which the College was

located came sooner than was expected by the Faculty of the College

or any other group in the community. On July 28th, 1966 the

Minister of Education made public in the meeting of the College

Board, the Provincial Government's decision to establish a university

in the community. A spokesman for the Government who was in

attendance at the Board's meeting stated that an "agreement in

principle" had been reached that the College will become a university.

He added that "Tonight's meeting is the first of a series of meetings

which will eventually culminate in the appointment of a board of

governors for the university."[30]

The Minister's announcement regarding the establishment

of the Province's third university in the near future was warmly

endorsed by the College Faculty and other groups in the city such as,

the City Council and the Mayor, the Chamber of Commerce and, last

but not least of all, the management and the Editor of the local

Daily which had been actively working for its establishment for the

last few years. In a statement congratulating the Minister on his

decision, the Faculty offered its fullest cooperation in working out

the details of the organizational transformation and presented the

following recommendations for the consideration of the Minister:

1. That the university at Lethbridge be esta-
   blished under the provisions of the
   Universities Act of 1966.

2. That the technical, vocational, and other
   non-university programs of the Lethbridge
   Junior College be maintained and further
   developed under the capable jurisdiction of
   the present College Board.

3. That in order to provide the necessary
means for the urgent planning of academic
programs and related physical facilities,
the university be established at the earliest
possible date, with a Board of Governors
to be appointed and a General Faculty
Council functional by October 31st, 1966 at
the very latest.

4. That the Faculty of the University Section
be amply represented at any future meetings
designed to deal with organizational details
in the interim period.

5. That until a General Faculty Council as
defined by the Universities Act, comes into
being, the faculty of the University Section
be involved in a meaningful way in important
decisions regarding the new university such
as the nomination of faculty members to the
Board of Governors and the appointment of
the President and other senior administrative
officers.[31]

The first two recommendations simply reassert the

Faculty's point of view, discussed earlier, concerning two separate

governing boards. The College Board, it may be noted, did not

accept the College Faculty's recommendations in this regard the

previous year. However, subsequent to the Minister's announcement

concerning the development of the University Section into an autonomous

university and the Faculty's recommendations following that announce-

ment, the College Board decided to recommend to the Minister

separation of the Technical-Vocational Section and the University

Section into separate entities with separate administrations. This

decision appears to have been an unnecessary formality in view of the fact that the provincial legislation regarding establishment of universities and of colleges had no provisions for a joint governing body responsible both for a junior college and a university. This was the culmination of the debate concerning the administration of the College in which both the Board and the Faculty engaged last year.

The last three recommendations emphasize the renewed determination of the Faculty to participate in all major decisions regarding the transformation of the College into a university. Specifically, the Faculty wanted to have a say in the appointment of the Board of Governors and of the President of the new University. The foregoing recommendations assume special significance in view of the fact that the Minister's announcement made no reference whatsoever as to the role of the College Faculty concerning the matters raised in its recommendations. The Faculty appeared also to be expressing concern over the influence that the College Board might exert in determining the governance structure of the new University.

g. Appointment of the Board of Governors

Acting on its own recommendations, the College Faculty nominated two faculty members for membership on the new Board of Governors soon to be appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Universities Act of 1966. The Dean and another faculty member were duly elected by the Faculty for this purpose. In addition, the Faculty struck another three-member committee, two of its members being the Faculty's nominees to the above Board of Governors, and directed it to participate in meetings to be called by the Board "to plan the forthcoming institutional changes."[32]

The Faculty's recommendations and subsequent actions notwithstanding, the College Board, acting without consultation with the Faculty, prepared a list of nominees to the new Board of Governors of the new University and sent it to the Provincial Government in September 1966 on behalf of the College. This action of the College Board led to the first open split between the College Board and the Faculty on the issue of appointments to the Board of Governors of the new University. The Faculty regarding the College Board's action as unilateral and passed a motion in its first meeting in September 1966 informing the Provincial Government that the College Board had not consulted the Faculty regarding nominations to the new Board of

Governors and, therefore, the Faculty was not a party to the

submission made by the College Board. In a meeting of the Faculty

Council, the Principal of the College, it is to be noted, supported

the College Board's action, but "reiterated the right of all faculty

members to indicate to the Government their preference for indi-

viduals to serve on the new Board of Governors."[33]

On October 17, 1966, after a considerable period of

waiting in the hope of being consulted by the Government, the

representatives of the Faculty arranged to have an informal meeting

with the Minister of Education, who was visiting the city in connection

with some other political event, and "expressed distress and

dissatisfaction at the way in which the University development has

been initiated in Lethbridge in that, despite repeated offers and

requests by this Faculty to help in this exciting work, our sources

of information remain by the rumor route...."[34]

The Minister noted that in his view the Government was

proceeding duly with urgent matters concerning the establishment of

the University. He disclosed that seven members had been appointed

by the government to the Board of Governors and that it would "appoint

a President probably within a month" on the advice of a committee

chaired by himself and consisting of the two Presidents of the two

provincial universities, newly appointed members of the Board of

Governors and Senior Education Officials. As to the status of the

College Faculty or of faculty members individually vis-a-vis the

new University, the Minister declined to make any commitments,

or even a statement of intention. He indicated that the appointment

of both the Board of Governors and the President of the University

would be made soon by a single Order-in-council. This Board -

designate would then "select the persons it wishes to appoint to the

Faculty of the University, and would appoint the necessary Deans and

other officers. Then, the General Faculty Council of the new

University, once set up, would be entitled to nominate two of its

members for appointment to the Board.[35] He stated, further, that

the two members of the Faculty already nominated by it to the Board

of Governors had not been considered for appointment by the

Government.

These facts further aggravated the fears of the Faculty

concerning its status with respect to the new University, let alone

the nature of its participation in the latter's development. This led

the faculty to express its grave concern over these matters publicly.

Its letter of protest addressed to the Premier of the Province and

signed by thirty-three of the thirty-eight faculty members stated:

> We the undersigned, being faculty members of
> the Lethbridge Junior College, wish to register
> our sincere concern regarding recent events
> relative to the creation of a University in

Lethbridge. We consider actions such as the
naming of a Board of Governors, the appoint-
ment of a President and the faculty to be of
greatest importance to the academic quality
of the new university. We also feel matters
of this magnitude should demand that
appointments and policy-making decisions
transcend political considerations and that
the successful nature of the new university be
the sole criterion of judgement in all decisions. [36]

The demand of the Faculty for meaningful participation, while ignored

thus far by the Provincial Government, received strong support from

local groups, namely, the Chamber of Commerce, the Students of

the College, the local daily paper, and influential individuals in the

community. Despite the fact that the Faculty had made it unmistakably

clear that it was opposed to the appointment of members of the present

College Board to the Board of Governors of the new University, five of

the seven government nominees to the University Board were the

members of the College Board including its Chairman.

It appears that there was considerable sentiment, among

various groups interested in the university, against the appointment

of members of the College Board to the new University's Board of

Governors, a fact which reinforced the Faculty's position.

Interestingly enough, the Principal of the College was reported to be

"extremely pleased with the choices" and thought "the background of

the board members is excellent for their new positions."[37] He

feared that "if dissatisfaction is expressed by others it may hold back

the progress of this University...the government may rescind its

decision."[38] The position taken by the Principal on this issue further

weakened his already rather precarious authority vis-a-vis the

College Faculty.

Following the announcement of appointments to the

Board of Governors of the new University, the representatives of the

Faculty[39] (representing Faculty Council and Faculty Association) held

a series of meetings with the Board-designate concerning matters of

immediate concern to the Faculty. The Board on the basis of these

negotiations agreed:

> (1) To request to the Minister of Education that
> the Order-in-Council incorporating a board
> of governors for the University...include
> authorization for the present full-time mem-
> bers of the faculty of the university section...
> to be appointed as full-time members of the
> academic staff of the university....
>
> (2) To ask the faculty of the university section
> of the...Junior College to name two members
> to sit with the Board members and to partici-
> pate in all activities of the Board.
>
> (3) That the Lethbridge representatives to the
> committee charged with advising the
> Government regarding the appointment of
> the President of the university...consist of
> three representatives nominated by the
> Board designate and three representatives
> nominated by the Faculty Association of the
> University Section....[40]

These decisions represented an attempt on the part of the

Board-designate to accommodate the positions of the Faculty Council

and the Faculty Association on these matters. The Board-designate

had implicitly recognized the principle of faculty participation which

the Faculty was striving to establish firmly in the new University.

h. The Issue of the Appointment of the President

The appointment of the first President of the new

University was also an issue of crucial importance for all concerned.

The decision of the designated Board of Governors to include three

representatives to the Faculty Association helped to insure some

place for the Faculty's point of view in the selection of the President.

But the immediate concern of the Board and the Faculty was the

appointment of an Acting President as an interim measure so that

work on the University planning could commence at once.

The Principal of the Junior College, who had extended

public support to the Provincial Government's decision on appointments

to the Board of Governors, expressed strong interest both in the

position of the Acting President and eventually the Presidency of the

University, the strong probability of the Faculty's opposition to his

appointment notwithstanding. The Board of Governors (designate),

acting by virtue of the limited powers given it before its actual

incorporation by the Provincial Government, recommended to the

Government that the Principal of the Junior College be named Acting

President until such time as a new President is named. However,

the Provincial Government did not accept the Board's recommendation,

and an Order-in-Council of December 6, 1969 appointed an official of

the provincial Department of Education as the Acting President of the

University as of January 1, 1967. The Board's decision to recommend

the name of the Principal of the Junior College for Acting President

did not help the relations between the Faculty and that body, but the

appointment of the Acting President from outside prevented further

aggravation of those relations.

PART B

a. The Development of Internal Self-government of

the Faculty: The First Systematic Attempt

Before examining developments in the internal organiza-

tion of the Faculty, a few important events that took place during the

Summer of 1966 are recounted briefly. As stated earlier, the College

Board appointed a new Dean of the University Section as of August 1966.

The appointment was made on the advice of a joint Committee of the

College Board and Faculty on the understanding that the appointment

would be for a limited term. Further,

In the course of negotiation leading to this
appointment, the definition of the Faculty was
explored and the terms of the office of Dean
were laid down. The Dean was to be respon-
sible for the day-to-day administration of the
University Section and the students and Faculty
therein, subject to the authority of the
Principal of the College. It was indicated that
two prime areas of responsibility for the Dean
were in the recruitment of new Faculty and in
the internal organization of the Faculty leading
to the decentralization of administration which
everyone agreed was necessary. In addition it
was directed that the Dean play a leading role
in Academic Planning both of the College and of
the University-to-be. [41]

Another important development during the summer was

the recruitment of additional faculty. About a dozen new members

were recruited, five of whom had Ph. D. 's and who received

appointments at relatively senior levels. The total number of

full-time faculty members during the fall of 1966-67 grew to

thirty-eight from twenty-six during the previous year. [42] During the

summer recess, following the Minister's announcement concerning

the establishment of the university in the city, the old as well as

the new faculty members who were available on the campus,

frequently met and acted upon issues as representatives of the

Faculty of the University Section.

With these changes in the background, the Faculty

recommenced its efforts concerning its administrative organization

with renewed vigor. At its very first meeting in September 1966, the

Faculty Council elected an important committee called the

Co-ordinating Planning Committee, and charged it with the job of

preparing reports on the following topics for the consideration of

the Council: (a) internal organization and, (b) proposal for Academic

development. The Committee had nine elected members including

the Dean, three of the members including the Chairman of the

Committee being new appointments to the Faculty. [43] The Chairman

of the Faculty Association was also a member of this Committee.

Although the terms of reference for the Co-ordinating

Planning Committee included both the problems of internal organization

and academic development, the major effort of the Committee was

expended on the preparation of its Report on Internal Organization,

which was formally approved without any amendments by the Faculty

Council at its sixth meeting on October 25, 1966. [44]

In relation to academic development, the Committee

made four recommendations as part of its interim report. These

recommendations were approved by the Faculty Council at its second

meeting on September 20, 1969. The recommendations were:

> (a) that a decision to develop a new campus and
> a campus master plan for the new university
> be taken in accordance with the qualified
> technical and professional advice;

> (b) that money be provided for scholarships,
> research and visits to the campus by
> outstanding academicians;

(c) that the University Section should be "phased
out" of the College at the earliest and that
students registered in its programs come
under the direction of the university faculty
as soon as possible; and,

(d) that a third year of university, to offer
complete degree program, be added to the
program as soon as possible.

These recommendations were later communicated to the university's

Board of Governors-designate.

Returning to the question of the internal organization,

it should be pointed out that there was widespread and strong support

in the faculty for devising a structure of self-government based on

fully democratic and grass-roots faculty participation in decision-

making. The Committee's recommendations on internal organization

were based on two draft proposals, one prepared by the Dean, and

the other drafted by another member of the Committee on the request

of its Chairman. Each draft proposal incorporated in its recommenda-

tions the principle of democratic and grass-roots participation. Thus,

both of them were in agreement on, and endorsed, four key points, to

be outlined later, including the Elective Principle regarding the

selection of Chairman of Departments and Divisions. On the basis

of these two draft proposals, the Co-ordinating Planning Committee

prepared its own recommendations to the Faculty Council. Within

a few weeks of the submission of his own draft proposal, however,

the Dean developed misgivings about the implications of the Elective

Principle for the structure of authority within the university. In a

letter written to the Chairman of the Committee a few days before

its recommendations were approved by the Faculty, the Dean noted,

> ... that the basic deficiency in the report is
> the inherent weakness in the position of
> Departmental Chairman. As set up in the
> report, the Chairman is not only responsible
> by election to other members of the
> Department, but is subject to any impulsive
> whim which might overcome those members,
> and is virtually handcuffed when he comes to
> independent exploratory discussion on behalf
> of the department. Furthermore, this
> position of weakness with respect to the Dean
> and other higher administrative officers is a
> factor which I have not heard discussed in this
> committee. [45]

The Committee, however, did not modify its stand on

the Elective Principle and submitted its recommendations to the

Faculty Council which approved them in a unanimous vote without

any amendments.

The unanimous endorsement of the Elective Principle

by the Faculty, including the right of recall in the selection of

Chairmen of Departments and Divisions, was expressive of its

attitude toward bureaucratic authority and bureaucratic control

structure. In endorsing the Elective Principle, the Faculty rejected

hierarchical control structure in favor of collegial control structure

insofar as the operation of Departments and Divisions was concerned.

The Chairman of a Department or a Division was to derive his authority from the consent of his colleagues, not from delegation of powers by the Dean as chief executive of the Faculty. The legitimacy of his authority was to be rooted, not in the legality of his position, but in the democratically-based selection by professional colleagues who were by and large equals.

Moreover, the Faculty's approval of the Elective Principle - especially associated with the right of recall - implied more than merely a rejection of the bureaucratic form of control relative to departmental and divisional levels of organizations. Implicit in it was a model of self-government, of "participatory democracy" rooted in the classical theory of democracy.[46] In this model, a departmental or division chairman is treated as a "representative" or a "delegate" of his group and not even as a Burkean leader, much less a bureaucratic official. Furthermore, full participation in self-government structure is central to this type of representative democracy. The split in the faculty which followed its initial unanimous approval of the Committee's recommendations regarding internal organization was partly a result of the differences which developed among its members over type and extent of democratic participation to be instituted in its decision-making structures.

On the other hand, at issue in the foregoing remarks of the Dean is a conception of the role of the Chairman of a Department in the bureaucratic structure of the university. In this view, since a Chairman is to receive his mandate from the members of his department and to enjoy no fixed tenure, his position is weak and unstable. That is, it lacks the "authoritarian power of command." Thus, it facilitates collegial decision-making and weakens centralized authority. Thus, the debate on the internal organization of the Faculty, culminating in a report to be discussed shortly, gave rise to conflicting conceptions of the role of Chairmen of Departments and Divisions. Indeed, for the first time the question of bureaucratic control vs. collegial control relative to internal organization emerged as a central issue.

Following this issue, the Faculty began to polarize into two groups. One group led by the Dean and supported by some new but mostly senior faculty members was opposed to the degree of decentralization and the form of democratic participation permitted by the Report on Internal Organization. Their conception of democratic participation appears to have been closer to the model of responsible government which is based on the modern theory of democracy. The second group organized itself around the Faculty Association's leading members and supported the principle of

"horizontal administration" and grass-roots participation. This

group, although led partly by relatively new faculty members, drew

its support mostly from the "old" junior college - oriented faculty

members.

As mentioned earlier, the recommendations of the

Co-ordinating Planning Committee's report on internal organization

were based on four key points which, in the judgement of the

Committee, were related directly or indirectly to academic

functioning. These points were: (a) The proposed organization was

recommended for adoption on an experimental basis, to operate

until December 1st, 1967. (b) Formation of departments, based

on recognized academic disciplines, would allow for delegation

of administrative responsibility as far as possible to the persons

most intimately concerned with the day-to-day on-going operations.

The recognition of the need for decentralization of administrative

responsibilities was the principle underlying this recommendation.

(c) The report retained the concept of divisional organization as

previously espoused by the Faculty, and recommended the formation

of Divisions to serve primarily in the field of forward academic

planning including curriculum. The proposed Divisions were to

be formal planning groups directly responsible to the Faculty.

(d) Finally, it recommended the adoption and institutionalization

of the Elective Principle including the provision of recall whereby

the Chairmen of Divisions and Departments were to be selected on

a democratic elective basis.

Within the general framework provided by these guide-

lines, the formation of seventeen separate departments was

recommended. All of these departments, excepting those of Education

and Physical Education, were to be organized into three Divisions,

each consisting of the members of the Departments indicated below:

Natural Sciences	Social Sciences	Humanities
Biological Sciences	Economics	English
Chemistry	Geography	Modern Languages
Physics	Political Science	History
Mathematics	Psychology	Philosophy
	Sociology	Music
		Art

Each of the seventeen Departments and the three

Divisions was to have a democratically elected Chairman. The

functions and rules of operation of these organizational units were

clearly specified in the report on Internal Organization.

It should be noted that the Departments of Education

and Physical Education, following a considerable debate within the

Committee and informal consultation among faculty members, were

not recommended for inclusion in any of the proposed Divisions.

However, provision was made to the effect that "Members of the

Faculty who are not associated with a Division may, if they so wish,

request membership in the Division which is most closely associated

with their individual interests."[47] Thus, it was left to the individual

members of the two afore-mentioned Departments to negotiate their

membership with a Division. Subsequent to the approval of the

foregoing proposals by the Faculty Council, the members of the

Department of Education succeeded in negotiating their membership

in the Division of Social Sciences. The Department of Physical

Education, however, remained outside the divisional structure.

Soon after the approval of the Report, the Faculty

organized itself into the various Departments and Divisions in

accordance with the recommendations contained therein. Thus, by

December, 1966, the Faculty's organization into seventeen

Departments which were further grouped into three Divisions, was

formalized. Each Department and each Division was functioning

under an elected Chairman.

The Committee structure for the Faculty was also

being developed. On the recommendations of its Committee on

Committees, the Faculty Council decided to establish four faculty

committees:

(a) Curriculum and Development Committee;

(b) Studies Committee;

(c) Student Affairs Committee; and

(d) Promotion and Tenure Committee.

These Committees, established as they were with their specified

terms of reference, functioned as committees of the Faculty Council

till the end of December, 1966. The work and status of the

Curriculum and Development Committee and of the Promotions and

Tenure Committee acquired special significance for the social

structure of the Faculty. These are therefore discussed next.

b. Curriculum Development and Planning

The Faculty Committee on Curriculum and Development

was charged with the task of producing an academic development plan

for the new University to begin its operation in the fall of 1967. The

Curriculum and Development Committee consisted of the Dean as

Chairman and the three Divisional Chairmen. In its final report

called "Requirements for Academic Development at the University

of Lethbridge, 1967-68", it made detailed recommendations with

regard to the programs of study, curriculum, additional faculty

requirements and other related matters in order to provide the

third and terminal year of a degree program in Arts and Science at

the University during the year 1967-68. This report received approval

of the Faculty Council of the University Section of the College and the

Board of Governors designate during the last week of November, 1966.

The recommendations contained in it became the basis of further

planning which was commenced as soon as the Acting President of

the University assumed office in January, 1967. However, the

status of this Committee was thrown into confusion at one stage

during the course of its deliberations by an important decision

discussed in the following section. This development also pointed up

the emergence of two antagonistic groups in the social structure of

the Faculty and a development of struggle for power between them.

c. Appointment of Academic Planning Committee

by the Board of Governors

Relevant to the discussion on the Faculty's Curriculum

and Development Committee is the decision of the Board of

Governors-designate whereby it appointed an Academic Planning

Committee of its own in November, 1966. This Committee, was

appointed by the University Board of Governors-designate on the

request and recommendation of the Dean. The terms of reference

of this Committee were similar to those of the Faculty Council's

Curriculum and Development Committee, which was already in

existence and operational.

The membership of the Board's appointed Academic

Planning Committee consisted of nine faculty members, including

the Dean as its Chairman. The Dean and three other members of

this Board-appointed Committee, i. e., the three Divisional Chairmen,

constituted the Faculty's Curriculum and Development Committee as

well. The remaining five members were all those in the Faculty who

held the rank of Associate Professor or Full Professor. Three of

these five members had joined the Faculty in the summer of 1966.

Thus, the membership of the Committee included "representatives"

of the Divisions which were responsible for academic planning for

the Departments represented by them, the faculty members recruited

in the summer of 1966 and the continuing members of the Faculty.

d. Faculty Split and Polarization

To understand the dynamics of the organizational

development at that time, it is important to note that the appointment

of the Academic Planning Committee by the University Board on

recommendation from the Dean took place at a time when the

Faculty had begun to polarize as mentioned earlier, into two rival

groups following the approval, by Faculty Council, of the Report on

Internal Organization. In this context, the appointment of this

Committee appeared to one group of the Faculty as an attempt by

the Dean to enlarge the Faculty's Curriculum and Development

Committee in order to strengthen his own position in this Committee.

Of the five senior faculty members who were added to the Academic

Planning Committee, four were looked upon as the Dean's allies.[48]

Such interpretation does not appear to be completely without

foundation in light of the observations of the operation of rival

factions of the Faculty made during the course of our field work.

A detailed analysis of the reasons underlying the Dean's recommen-

dations to have the Academic Planning Committee appointed, and the

opposition of one group of the Faculty to it, is beyond the scope of

the present discussion. However, it is worthy of note that, as the

Faculty became increasingly sharply divided into two factions, the

Dean was at best the leader of the minority faction and, therefore,

tended to avoid working strictly within the framework of the Faculty

Council. The Faculty Council, in the view of the Dean and his

allies, was controlled by and large, by the "college-oriented" faculty

members with lower academic qualifications and competence, and,

therefore, could not provide the necessary leadership in academic

planning for the University.

The Board-appointed Academic Planning Committee

received strong opposition in the Faculty Council. Its status vis-a-vis

the Curriculum and Development Committee of the Faculty came

under attack. In view of this opposition, the University Board saw

fit to dissolve its own Academic Planning Committee appointed less

than two weeks previously and agreed to receive the proposals for

academic planning and development of the University prepared by the

Faculty's Curriculum and Development Committee. These proposals

were approved by the Board-designate "in principle"; later they became

the basis of further planning which took place following the appoint-

ment of the Acting President of the University.

The split in the ranks of the Faculty resulting from the

foregoing actions in regard to planning and development grew into

open conflict between the Dean and his allies as one group, and those

who were opposed to the Dean as the other. This conflict resulted in

weakening of the legitimacy of the Dean's authority vis-a-vis the

Faculty, and in the breakdown of communication. Commenting on

the intra-faculty conflict and resultant breakdown in authority, the

Dean observed in December, 1966,

> ...there has been a breakdown in communication
> at all levels during the last four months, com-
> pounded in our case by the existence of two
> Boards--one now a legal entity and one to have
> future responsibilities.[49]

In connection with the nature and extent of his own authority, the Dean

found it necessary to remind the Faculty of the formal statement on

the authority of the Dean as outlined in the Faculty Handbook. The

Dean brought it to the attention of the Faculty that,

> ...matters that concern the Faculty member
> in his relation to the College administration
> are the immediate responsibility of the Dean.
> I do so because it has been learned that some
> members of the faculty have referred their
> problems and grievances with the administra-
> tion of the campus to places other than the
> Office of the Dean, and sometimes even to
> repositories off the campus, a practice that
> is tantamount to institutional suicide. These
> events have led (sic) to the generation of a
> great deal of misunderstanding and a number
> of rumours and inuendoes that have served to
> augment the anxieties of the Faculty. Those
> few members of the Faculty who have chosen
> to bring their complaints directly to my office
> have, I believe, either received satisfaction or
> have been encouraged to go to the next step in
> the administration--the Principal.[50]

Further,

> ...that the proper administrative route for
> a faculty member to pursue is to his
> Department's Chairman, thence to the Dean,
> and ultimately to the Principal. If a grievance
> or issue survives this process, the Faculty
> Association remains a suitable place for the
> member to seek the advice and support of his
> academic colleagues.[51]

These remarks reveal the Dean's concern over the

weakening of his authority resulting, in his view, from the confusion

caused by (a) the existence of two Boards with overlapping member-
ships and common jurisdictions with respect to the Faculty's
decisions and (b) the anxiety caused by the uncertainty regarding
the transition from University Section to university status. They
also appear to express the Dean's conviction that intra-faculty
disputes or conflicts should be aired and resolved within the
framework of the internal organizational structure of the College
and not be taken to the lay College Board. The administrative
structure of the College is interpreted, however, in terms of a
chain of command. That is, as chief administrative officer of the
Faculty, the Dean asserts his authority essentially as an appointed
official, his authority essentially as an appointed official, his
authority deriving from incumbency in that office.

But bureaucratic authority does not command automatic
compliance by those over whom it is exercised. Authority is defined
by Weber as "the probability that certain commands (or all commands)
from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons."[52]
He distinguishes bureaucratic authority from other types of authority
by the rational belief in its legitimacy and by "a certain minimum of
voluntary submissions"[53] of the subordinates. This suggests that
"the superior's ability to exercise authority depends," to some degree,
"on the willingness of his subordinates to obey him, he not only
controls them but is, in fact, also controlled by them."[54]

Bureaucratic authority has had a precarious career and status in the college especially since the spring of 1966. The Faculty had been acting as a collegial body under the leadership of the Dean himself in matters discussed earlier. Its approval of the Elective Principle in the selection of Departmental and Divisional Chairmen represented the culmination of its attempt to democratize the decision-making structures and institutionalize the principle of collegial authority. The acceptance of the "Elective Principle" by the Faculty, apparently, meant a serious lack of support for the legitimacy of bureaucratic authority within the existing organizational structure. It would appear that the Dean's opposition to the "Elective Principle", and his approval and active support for the Academic Planning Committee appointed by the Board-designate, resulted in the withdrawal of "a certain minimum of voluntary submission" to his authority by a relatively large segment, probably two-thirds, of the Faculty. Intra-faculty conflict, thus, led to the loss of legitimacy for bureaucratic authority vested in the Dean.

e. The Nature of the Authority Crisis

To understand the dynamic nature of this "authority crisis", it must be seen in the larger context of the phenomenon of "role transformation" in reference to the incumbent Dean and the

general strain toward changes in the existing power structure of the Faculty.[55] A brief account of the incumbent Dean's activities with respect to the Faculty and other external agencies is necessary to understand what is meant here by role transformation.

The incumbent Dean was appointed to the office from August, 1966 for a limited term. At the time of the appointment, the Dean enjoyed strong support of the Faculty. The Faculty's support for the Dean was predicated on his effective leadership role as a professional colleague during the preceding year, when, for a limited period, he worked as the Acting Principal of the College. His leadership role represented, in part, exchange of the authority vested in his bureaucratic office for the "voluntary" loyalty of his colleagues--the faculty members. That is, his leadership became established not only by virtue of an "appointment" but also by virtue of being "chosen" by his colleagues as well.[56] In this role, the Dean provided leadership to the Faculty in its attempts to attain internal as well as external autonomy.

However, as the problems of internal organization became central, conflicting positions on the issue of internal control structure brought about a transformation in the role of the incumbent Dean. The Dean's stand in favor of a more bureaucratic internal structure than that recommended by the Committee, and the issue

of the appointment of the Academic Planning Committee without its

reference to the Faculty Council appeared to a segment of the Faculty

to emphasize his bureaucratic authority. It was a departure from the

"dependency relationship" with colleagues which characterizes

leadership role;[57] it was perceived by a part of the Faculty as the

incumbent Dean's unwillingness to submit to the control of the Faculty.

This transformation of the Dean's role was associated

with another structural factor, that is, the strain towards change in

the existing power structure within the Faculty. The change in the

power structure was due to factors such as increased Faculty size,

the role that the new faculty members were beginning to play in the

Faculty Committees, and, above all, the organizational transfor-

mation of the University Section into a university. These and other

factors discussed earlier led to the conflict on the issue of internal

control which developed into the "authority crisis."

While the Board of Governors-designate of the

University was engaged in taking decisions, during the fall of 1966,

concerning the incorporation of the new University in January, 1967,

including the reappointment of the College Faculty as the Faculty of

the University--the Board of the College at its meeting on

December 7, 1966 adopted a resolution "that the designation of the

Dean of the University Section be terminated as of December 31, 1966."

It is to be noted that the Order-in-Council establishing the University,

including the incorporation of the Board of Governors and the appoint-

ment of the Acting President as of January 1, 1967, was issued on

December 6, 1966. This Order-in-Council made no reference to the

status of the Faculty and the students of the University Section of the

College vis-a-vis the new University. The College Board's decision

to abolish the position of Dean in the University Section within a day

of the issuance of the above-mentioned Order-in-Council was

apparently prompted by political consideration. Not the least of

these considerations might have been (a) the intense intra-faculty

conflict and (b) the pressure on the Board to so act which was

probably exerted by the incumbent Dean's opponents on the Faculty

who out-numbered by far his allies. Thus, the Dean and his allies

suffered a temporary setback in their attempts to gain power and

consolidate their leadership and control of the Faculty Council and

its operations. It would appear that the Board's decision to abolish

the office of the Dean in the middle of the school-year further

contributed to the deepening of the "authority crisis", because it was

followed by a widening of "hostilities" between the two groups in

the Faculty.

For example, within a week of the Board's decision to

abolish the office of the Dean for the University Section, the Chairman

of the Faculty Association (of the College Faculty) received a letter

signed by seven members, all of them being allies of the incumbent

Dean, requesting a special meeting for the purpose of discussing the

following issues:

> (1) Apparent irregularities that have recently
> come to light regarding the granting of
> tenure and the apparent urgency that
> necessitates such irregularities.

> (2) The possibility of a motion instructing
> the Chairman of this Association to
> consult, by letter, the national office of
> the Canadian Association of University
> Teachers for guidance with respect to
> procedures that this Association should
> follow if it becomes evident that unethical
> irregularities exist in the relationship
> between individual Faculty members and
> Board members.

This request for a meeting was made on December 13,

1966--less than a week after the December 7 decision of the College

Board. It would appear to have been attempted as a retaliation by

the Dean's allies against those faculty members who were alleged

to have instigated, directly or indirectly, the College Board's

decision to abolish the office of the Dean in apparent hurry. During

the course of our interviews, it became clear that the Dean's allies

saw the Chairman of the Faculty Association as one among those

faculty members who had allegedly collaborated with the College

Board.

It must be noted here that the Faculty Association was

dominated by the so-called "old" segment of the Faculty, many of

whom, following the events of the fall of 1966, found themselves

opposed to the Dean and his allies and their policies regarding the

institutional development of the new University. However, the

Chairman of the Association was not from the "old" Faculty; he had

joined the College Faculty in 1966 and had been recruited under the

guidance of the new Dean himself. But he was the only one of the

more than half a dozen or so faculty members recruited that year

who did not become an ally of the Dean following the Faculty split

that has already been discussed. It should also be mentioned,

perhaps, that the newly recruited faculty members did make an

attempt early in the fall to secure some representation for themselves

on the Executive of the Faculty Association, but apparently failed in

getting a person of their preference elected. With the deepening of

the "authority crisis" in the Faculty, therefore, they began to express

increasing distrust of the Faculty Association's Executive, especially

of its Chairman, who had also emerged as a strong spokesman for

greater "internal democracy" in the decision-making and co-ordinating

structures for the Faculty.

Under these circumstances, it would not have been

difficult for the writers of the above letter to know in advance about

how the Chairman of the Association was most likely to respond to

their request for an early meeting of the Association. It would have

hardly come as a surprise to them when the Chairman wrote back

the same day, saying:

> Only if you first provide a specific statement
> of the irregularities charged, including not
> only the substances of the charged irregularities,
> but the name or names of those involved, will
> I consider calling a meeting such as you
> requested.
>
> So long as I am Chairman, I will not permit
> the Association to be used to provide a forum
> for levelling charges, without providing full
> opportunity for the person charged to respond.
> Such response is not possible unless the
> charges are known in advance.

From a survey of these developments, especially those

that took place in December, 1966, it appears that not only had the

Faculty split into a "pro-" and an "anti-" Dean factions but the

"anti" faction had been in the ascendency since the split came into the

open. Further, that although the split had originally arisen over

policy issues regarding internal organization of the Faculty and

curricular policies, etc., it had begun to crystallize by December,

1966, in the form of two factions--one identified with the incumbent

Dean and the other with the incumbent Chairman of the Faculty

Association. This had the apparent consequence of leading each

faction to take uncompromising positions with respect to almost

every new organizational issue. It is in the light of this sort of

information regarding the social structure of the Faculty--which

later becomes part of the founding Faculty of the new University--

that some selected developments and issues that arose following

the incorporation of the University in January, 1967, but before the

appointment of its founding President in July of that year, are

examined in the following section.

PART C

a. Incorporation of the New University

On January 1, 1967, the University of Lethbridge, came

into existence as an autonomous, co-educational, non-denominational

provincial university. Academic operations began in July of the

same year. By the transfer of staff, students and facilities from

the University Section of the College to the University, and through

agreement between the two institutions for facilities such as space,

library and other matters, the University was able to initiate

undergraduate degree programs in Arts, Science and Education in

the fall of 1967.[58]

The Acting President of the University, who also took

office on January 1, 1967, as indicated earlier in this chapter,

immediately started action to bring into being a new organizational

structure for the University. To begin the task of organizational and

academic planning, he immediately sought the participation and

involvement of the academic staff of the University Section of the

College, who were all too ready to cooperate.

The Faculty of the University Section of the College

was not formally designated as the Faculty of the new University

until July, 1967. However, it functioned in that capacity for all

intents and purposes between January and June of that year, for it

fully participated in the planning of the scheduled opening of the

new University in the fall of 1967 under the guidance of the Acting

President and the Acting Dean of Academic Affairs.

The Acting President, thus, started the work of the

new university with the complete cooperation of what, strictly

speaking, was still the Faculty of the Junior College governed by

a Board of Trustees of its own--a somewhat peculiar circumstance.

Soon after taking over the control of the new University, he

established a number of Ad Hoc Committees in consultation with

the College Faculty and appointed faculty members to these

committees.[59] Pursuant to the Universities Act, the highest

legislative academic body of the University was established on an

interim basis, and appointments were made to it. The Dean of

the University Section, who had been relieved of the Deanship with

effect from December 31, 1966, ostensibly because the office of the

Dean was abolished by the Junior College Board, was appointed the

Acting Dean for Academic Affairs of the new University. These

executive decisions of the Acting President, by formalizing the

status of some already operating Committees of the College Faculty

and by establishing additional bodies or offices and making appoint-

ments to them, created the interim structure to begin planning the

Academic Programs and the Physical Plant necessary for opening

the doors of the new university to students in the fall of 1967.

Confronted with the reality of having to work with a

Faculty split assunder by the intra-faculty conflict discussed in the

preceding pages, the Acting President acted with considerable

caution in making decisions regarding appointments of faculty

members to various committees and the Interim General Faculty

Council.[60] He appears to have been successful in establishing

decision-making structures with full faculty participation. His was

a temporary appointment to the office of the President of the

University, and his mandate, for this reason, was not only short

but limited. During the first few months of his brief tenure in

office, the intra-faculty conflict tended to shift somewhat into the

background and the Faculty's collective efforts in the task of planning

appear to have proceeded without much overt conflict.

The development of Academic Programs was the most
immediate task. The Faculty Planning Committee appointed by the
Acting President submitted its First Interim Report within a month.
This Report contained recommendations relative to Academic Program
of Studies to be offered in the 1967-68 session, faculty and staff
requirements to support the program, and other facilities required
to support the operationalization of the program. In making these
recommendations, the Committee, as directed, made specific
reference to initial plans for Academic Development prepared by
the Faculty of the University Section.[61] The new recommendations
were, thus, considerably influenced by the earlier plans drawn up
by the Faculty. However, a number of new decisions of the Interim
Faculty Council--especially those (a) concerning the organization of
the curricular offerings on a semester basis; and (b) the
establishment of a separate Faculty of Art and Science, and a
School of Education (soon after to become a Faculty)--required
fundamental changes in the recommendations regarding Academic
Programs and the structure of courses to be offered by departments.

The job of planning the Academic Programs and the
development of courses needed for this program for the Faculty of
Education was undertaken by the Acting President himself almost
single-handed, since there were only a few members of the Faculty

of the University Section who were involved in the teaching of

Education courses and who were fully committed to the field.

For the Faculty of Arts and Science, however, a new

Curriculum Committee was appointed by the Acting President,

consisting of two members of the Committee on the Establishment

of the Semester System, two members of the Faculty Planning

Committee, and chaired by the Acting Dean of Academic Affairs.

After considerable work by individual academic departments and

the Committee, the Curriculum Committee of the Arts and Science

Faculty presented a final report to the Interim General Faculty

Council containing detailed recommendations on Curricular

Requirements for the B.A. and B.Sc. Degrees and Programs and

Courses of Instruction for 1967-68. The Interim General Faculty

Council acting as the final legislative academic body of the University

passed the new proposals without any major changes. Similarly, it

established the general Admissions Requirements for the academic

programs of the Faculty of Education and the Department of Physical

Education.

It should be pointed out, here, that the Interim General

Faculty Council, with a few ex officio members and the rest appointed

by the Acting President, was the only legally constituted academic

body for making decisions on matters of academic policy during the

first six months of the establishment of the University. Under the

general direction of the Acting President, this Council functioned

for nearly five months but without any set of clearly established

working procedures. Although the existence of conflict within the

Faculty he had to work with - might have constrained the Acting

Presidents freedom to act on its behalf, the unclear legal status of

the Faculty during his tenure in office appears to have given him

considerable leeway in dealing with it. A number of faculty members

especially those who supported the Dean of the University Section--

later the Acting Dean of Academic Affairs during interviews with

this investigator, praised the administrative style of the Acting

President. In reference to this, it was emphasized by them that the

Acting President knew how to "get things done", that he carefully

prepared for the meetings of the Interim General Faculty Council

and directed the discussion during its meetings effectively, that he

was not afraid of making decisions, etc. The Acting President was

also commended for his decision to appoint the previous Dean of the

University Section to the office of the Acting Dean of Academic

Affairs for the new University.

This particular decision of the Acting President had a

number of consequences. On the positive side, it insured well-

organized and energetic leadership, in the person of the Dean for

academic planning which required urgent attention. It also acquired

for the Acting President the support of a small but highly organized,

solidary and experienced group of faculty members. On the negative

side, the same decision appeared to have solidified the factional

divisions in the Faculty, except, perhaps, for a short period at the

beginning of the Acting President's term of office. The faculty group

opposed to the Dean began to see the Acting President as seeking to

ally with those in the Faculty who favoured a more bureaucratic

internal structure for the new University. Thus, the flexibility that

the Acting President enjoyed at the beginning as a non-partisan chief

executive of the university was eventually eroded. Whether or not

the Acting President did, in fact, ever act in a partisan manner is

of little interest to the present inquiry. Of importance is the fact

that a considerable number of faculty members perceived him in that

manner and proceeded to fashion their own organizational behavior

accordingly. They expressed their criticism of the Acting President

in moralistic language. For example, they accused him of "oppor-

tunism", "lacking integrity" and of "selling out", to the Dean's

group.

b. Curricular Policy Issues in the Faculty

of Arts and Science

Here a reference must again be made to the work of

the Faculty Planning Committee appointed by the Acting President.

In its Interim Report, this Committee made recommendations regard-

ing Academic Program of Studies including departmental majors and

minors, number of courses to be offered, staffing needs, and

admission requirements at the university for 1967-68. In making

these recommendations, it carefully followed the general principles

underlying an earlier plan for academic development prepared by

the University Section Faculty. It suggested only minor changes.

The part of the report dealing with internal organization did suggest

the abolition of the Divisional organization of departments discussed

earlier. But, this recommendation represented the only major

change in the earlier plan.

Later, the adoption by the Interim General Faculty

Council of the semester system of organizing the school year, and

the decision to establish separate Faculties of Arts and Science and

of Education, necessitated some fundamental changes, particularly

in the structure of Academic Program of Studies of the Faculty of

Arts and Science. An Arts and Science Curriculum Committee

appointed and chaired by the Acting Dean of Academic Affairs

developed an entirely new Program of Studies, which was subsequently

adopted by the Interim General Faculty Council. It appears that

relatively extensive consultations, debates, and negotiations between

the Committee and academic departments took place, so that the

final statement was contained only in Fourth and Fifth reports of

this Committee.

In addition to the more general changes in the structure

of departmental course offerings affecting all departments, the new

Program of Studies changed some of the Faculty Planning Committee

recommendations, as to which departments would offer major or

minor (or both) programs in their respective disciplines. Two

departments--Geography and Biological Sciences--were especially

affected by these changes. The Geography department, previously

offering a major, was now to offer only a minor program. Secondly,

although previously it had two of its courses at the introductory level

listed as Natural Science courses and the remainder as Social Science

courses, all of its courses were now to be listed as Social Science

courses.

As for the Biological Sciences department, the

Curriculum Committee ruled that between the twin fields of Zoology

and Botany, the former would be offered as a major and the latter

only as a minor. Thus, the Committee's report adopted by the Interim

General Faculty Council in June 1966 states that "The Department of

Biological Sciences offer a major in Zoology and minors in Botany

and Zoology. Biology as such does not constitute a subject in the

Faculty of Arts and Sciences, so Biology courses are only taken as

constituents of the Botany or Zoology programs".[62] Furthermore,

another curricular policy decision of the Committee which had to do

with Introductory courses in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences had

direct bearing on the Biological Sciences department's proposal

regarding its curricular offerings. In terms of this decision, one

of the proposed courses, "Introductory Biology" was to be described

in the Calendar as a "pre-university" course. This meant, that

unlike other Introductory courses in the department, a student

taking this course would not receive a "credit" for it without meeting

certain other specified curricular requirements. It was especially

this latter decision of the Curriculum Committee which led to

prolonged controversy between the chairman of the department of

Biological Sciences and the Curriculum Committee and was brought

to the attention of the first President of the University shortly after

he took office in July, 1967.

These decisions of the Curriculum Committee were

challenged by the respective departmental chairmen as to their

legitimacy on academic grounds and with respect to the manner in

which they were taken. These matters also helped to underline the

critical importance of curricular policy for academic departments

and their interests within the organization of the University, and

tended to crystallize the differences between different groups in the

faculty with respect to general curricular policies to be instituted

in the new University, admission requirements, the nature and range

of academic degrees to be offered and, indeed, the kind of university

they wanted to develop. Some of these concerns and issues were

reflected in the reactions of the departments of Geography and

Biological Sciences, which are briefly reviewed below.

Let us turn to the department of Geography first. Both

the Curriculum Committee, and by implication the Acting Dean, and

the Interim General Faculty Council came under severe criticism by

the chairman of the Geography Department for acting arbitrarily in

using their recommending and legislative authority respectively in

prescribing for the discipline of Geography its status as a Natural or

Social Science, and for infringing upon the autonomy of the department

in making decisions regarding its academic programs. In his letter

of June 14, 1967 to the Council, appealing its decision, the chairman

of the Geography Department made the following points which are

worthy of note in view of their direct bearing on (a) curricular policy

and (b) the role of academic departments in the determination of

such policy:

1. The decision was made without a true
   understanding of the nature and field of
   Geography--the fact that it is both an
   arts and a science. One of the main
   objectives of Geography is to interpret
   man's habitat and to show his relation-
   ship to it. This involves a careful study
   and analysis on the one hand of the physical
   or natural elements of the environment and
   on the other hand of the cultural or human
   elements.

   Geography with its distinct method of study
   and analysis of the natural elements (land-
   forms, soils, weather and climate, natural
   vegetation and animal life) is just as much
   a natural science as geology, pedology,
   meterology or even biology, each of which
   has its own distinct approach, analysis and
   interpretation of a particular part of the
   natural environment. Geography in its
   study of the natural elements is in fact
   earth science.

2. It is the intention of this Department to
   offer not only a B.A. but also a B.Sc. in
   Geography as soon as possible. This was
   clearly indicated when we presented our
   program just after Christmas last. Most
   reputable Geography departments offer
   both of these degrees. Natural science
   courses in Geography are necessary to
   carry out this program and if the courses
   are not recognized as such (this) will
   result in students who want a B.Sc. in
   Geography going elsewhere to obtain their
   degree.

3. The decision undoubtedly will cause those
   students whose interests are not inclined
   toward physics, mathematics and chemistry

> to gravitate to biology to fulfill their
> natural science requirements. The
> natural science Geography courses at
> least provided an alternative to biology
> for the aforementioned students. Thus
> the decision of the Curriculum Committee,
> if put into effect, will restrict the students'
> choice of courses in the sciences rather
> than enlarge it and will in part defeat the
> purpose of the semester program or liberal
> arts ideal.

He concluded his letter by registering his objections to

the manner in which the Curriculum Committee proceeded in making

decisions affecting the department. He pointed out:

> ...that not once was I invited by the Committee
> nor by individual members, exclusive of
> Dr. _____, to meet with them to present
> my views concerning their decisions. In all
> instances I was informed only by Dr. _____,
> that the Committee had made certain decisions
> and then it was necessary for me to seek out
> individual members of the Committee to find out
> what was going on and to present my views and
> debate the issues of concern. This basic lack
> of communication and issuance of information
> on the part of the Committee has been most
> unsatisfactory and highly undesirable.

The Committee's handling of the brief presented by the

Geography department was unsatisfactory from the point of view of

the department for some additional reasons as well. In its

deliberations before the final report, the Committee, according to

the Chairman of the department, at one time had, classified as a

Natural Science at least one of the two courses so proposed by the

department. But the request of the department asking the Committee

to review its decisions and accept both courses as proposed resulted

in the Committee's final decision to withdraw Natural Science status

from any Geography courses. Further, the Geography department

proposed in its brief to offer two courses at the Introductory level.

This conflicted with the general policy of the Curriculum Committee

according to which each department was to have only one Introductory

course in its course offerings. Thus while the departments of

Biological Sciences and Philosophy were permitted by the Committee

to have two Introductory courses in their respective programs, the

proposal of the Geography department was turned down.

The decisions of the Curriculum Committee were

perceived as arbitrary by the Geography department, because they

were seen as infringements on the legitimate powers of an academic

department--an important part of of the internal structure of the

university. The Curriculum Committee of the Faculty of Arts and

Sciences--that is, the structure and composition of this Committee--

became one of the central organizational issues during 1967-68. This

will be examined at some length in the next chapter.

As regards the curricular changes in the department of

Biological Sciences, the Curriculum Committee's decision to label

its "Introductory Biology" course as "pre-university" particularly

affected the chairman of the department. He was mainly responsible

for the preparation of the departmental curricular proposals, and as

such they reflected his thinking on what was the best way of presenting

the discipline to students. But, even more important, he was to be

responsible for teaching the Introductory Biology. He was unable to

explain or present in person to the Committee the rationale underlying

his department's proposals because of his prolonged absence from the

university at the time that the former had been engaged in reviewing

departmental briefs. While making the changes mentioned earlier,

the Committee consulted the Acting chairman of the department who

was persuaded to accept the changes that were eventually made. But

it did not seek the chairman's own reaction or advice. Consequently,

when the Chairman learned of the changes on his return to the

University during the summer, he expressed strong disagreement and

unhappiness with the Committee's decision. He severely criticized

the Commitee for failing to communicate with him before making

changes of such importance to his department and to him personally.[63]

He felt that the Committee's decision was inspired by political rather

than academic considerations, was arbitrary, amounted to telling an

academic department how it ought to present its discipline, and,

furthermore, was inconsistent with the university's admissions

policy. For these reasons, he argued for reversal of the Committee's

decision through presidential intervention, if necessary, and a return

to his original proposals.

In response to this request of the chairman of the

department of Biological Sciences to the President of the University

to intervene on his behalf, the President wrote to him on

August 17, 1967:

> In essence, my reaction to this issue and to
> the discussions that I have heard is that you
> have considerable logic on your side in the
> recommended changes (return to the original
> proposals). Indeed, on the basis of the
> evidence that I have heard, I would very
> probably vote in favor of the changes that you
> proposed were I required to do so at this
> moment. However, despite my awareness
> that you consider the procedures by which
> the curriculum was created somewhat suspect,
> I am not prepared to recommend changes
> without regular consultation and representative
> faculty participation in such changes. This
> means that I have passed your proposal along
> to the Dean of the Faculty with a copy of this
> letter, and am suggesting that it be treated
> with all dispatch by Council of the Faculty of
> Arts and Science as quickly as possible.
> Obviously, this will not be prior to the start
> of the fall term.

As is apparent from the President's remarks, the

President was unwilling to by-pass the formal decision-making

procedures of the Faculty, and rightly so, in order to resolve this

issue. His emphasis on the use of "regular consultation and

representative faculty participation" in the settling of curricular

policy matters redirected attention to the question of the representa-

tiveness of important decision-making bodies such as the Curriculum

Committee. The lack of success in the efforts of the departments of

Geography and Biological Sciences directed towards seeking redress

of their grievances either through an appeal to the Curriculum

Committee or to the President of the University, probably also led

a considerable number of faculty members to question the

representativeness of the Curriculum Committee and the legitimacy

of some of its decisions.

It was perhaps because of a fairly widespread feeling

of this sort that in the fall of 1967, contrary to the recommendation

of the nomination committee of the Faculty of Arts and Science to

its Faculty Council to elect a curriculum committee composed of

six or seven council representatives, the Council resolved instead

to strike this committee to be composed of one representative from

each of the Faculty's 14 departments. Only such a committee was

probably seen to be adequately sensitive to diversity of departmental

interests and as such representative of the Faculty as a whole.

Although the President had hoped that the council of the Faculty

of Arts and Science would deal with the pending as well as newly

arising curricular issues with dispatch, with the commencement of

the fall term, the new curriculum committee became a new arena of

fierce intra-faculty conflict. It grew into a serious crisis affecting the social structure of the faculty and the internal structure of the university. All of this is discussed in the next chapter.

The preceding examination of curricular policy issues has been undertaken to show the streadily growing importance of the curricular matters and the development of academic programs, as the new University was moving towards the commencement of its first academic term. If in the first part of the 1966-67 year, the issue of central concern to the faculty was that of internal democracy in the organizational structures related to its self-governance, in the second part of this year the more central issue came to be the determination of curricular policy within the broader context of the (as yet) only vaguely defined educational philosophy of the University. Underlying the differences and conflicts over curricular matters between different segments of the faculty, there appeared to be more basic differences in the educational philosophies and goals considered worthy of institutionalization in the university.

Almost everyone in the faculty agreed that their university had to be uniquely different from the other sister universities, especially those in the province. But there appeared to be important differences within the faculty with respect to the concrete form this uniqueness should take. The two major groups in the

faculty which came to surface over the issue of the internal structures

of self-governance appeared also to disagree over the question of

educational philosophy generally, and over the question of curricular

policy more specifically. According to the Acting President of the

university, these two groups differed also on some other more

concrete aspects of academic organization and planning such as

(a) the introduction of the semester system, (b) admission

requirements and, (c) Program of Studies in the Faculty of Arts

and Science.

The first President of the University was appointed at

the end of May, 1967 and assumed his formal duties about a month

later. The curriculum policy disputes were in their full swing at

the time. The intra-faculty conflict was again beginning to develop

a powerful expression - only this time around the program of studies

and curricular policies, matters that are vitally linked to the

university's central concern of the pursuit of knowledge or, more

approximately, "the management of knowledge". His first major

decision was to make two key administrative appointments. He

appointed the Acting Dean of Academic Affairs as the Dean of the

Faculty of Arts and Science, and appointed the Acting President of

the University who had just vacated that position, as the Dean of the

newly created Faculty of Education. The organizational structure of

the university, thus started taking formal and a more enduring shape

during the summer of 1967. To recapitulate, the following table

summarizes the chronology of the major events and decisions

regarding the establishment of the University and its organizational

developments:

Decisions	Date
1. Announcement of Provincial Government's decision to establish the University.	July 1966
2. Announcement of Provincial Government's decision in regard to appointments to the Board of Governors (designate) of the University.	October 1966
3. Negotiations between the faculty of the University Section of the Junior College and the Board of Governors Designate with reference to the status of this faculty vis-a-vis the new University.	Continued from October 1966 to Spring of 1967
4. Incorporation of the University of Lethbridge; the appointment of the Acting President of the University.	January 1, 1967
5. Appointment of Acting Dean of Academic Affairs.	February 1967
6. Establishment of the Interim General Faculty Council of the University.	February 1967
7. Action taken to establish a Faculty of Education in addition to a Faculty of Arts and Science at the new University.	February, March 1967

Decisions	Date
8. Appointment of 32 members of the Faculty of the University Section to the academic faculty of the new University effective July 1st, 1967.	March 31, 1967
9. Announcements by the Board of Governors on the Appointment of the President of the University. The appointment to take effect from July 1st, 1967.	May 1967
10. Re-appointment of Acting Dean of Academic Affairs to the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science.	July 1967
11. Re-appointment of the Acting President of the University to the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Education.	July 1967
12. Commencement of the First Summer Session of the new University.	July 1967
13. Academic Planning Conference "to initiate the process of determining the basic philosophy and academic objectives of the University of Lethbridge."	August 1967
14. Commencement of the First Year of Operation of the University.	September 1967

Summary and Conclusion

The present study examines the development of self-governance in a new Canadian university with special reference to faculty participation. The university studied grew out of a Junior College--out of its University Section, to be precise. The faculty of the University Section had played a central role in the development of this university. Following the incorporation of the university in 1967, this faculty was transferred en bloc to its academic staff. Due to this transfer, a considerable continuity was maintained in academic and, more generally, institutional planning and development. This was also the case with respect to the available "mix" of academic philosophies or ideologies competing with each other in order to influence the future institutional development of the new University. Hence a detailed examination of some of the important historical antecedants to the development of the university was undertaken in this chapter.

In the preceding review of these developments, it has been indicated that some key faculty concerns regarding its role in college and university governance had begun to surface in 1965-66, with the introduction of the second-year university courses in the College and the associated changes in the social structure of the

faculty. The most keenly felt problem by the faculty at the time had to do with the lack of autonomy experienced by it in its relation with the then only provincial University and the College Board. This had the effect of binding the faculty into a relatively cohesive and somewhat militant group, vigorously demanding complete autonomy from the two agencies in matters of academic policy.

Internally, the faculty made significant progress in the establishment of a viable committee structure and began detailed academic planning with the strong expectation of growing into a university in a few years time. Questions regarding an acceptable educational philosophy for such a university, academic plans and programs consistent with such philosophy, and a desirable form of internal organization premised on grass-roots faculty participation in self-governance were being thoroughly examined and debated. These debates were clearly influenced by a prevailing mood, in Canada and elsewhere, of critical examination of existing university governance structures and the "multi-versity" character of the modern university. In keeping with the critical temper of the time, the tone of the faculty debates was such that it underlined a need for radical reform of the university including both its governance structure and its goals and emphasis. There was an inclination to reject the prevailing model of the university in favor of a humane "community"

model. In this sense, then, the faculty of the University Section

tended to act somewhat like a utopian group engaged in a social

experiment in the creation of a democratic, humanized, person-

oriented, student-centered, liberal arts university.

As the establishment of the hoped-for university became

a certainty in August, 1966, the militancy of the faculty grew stronger

as it endeavoured hard to impress upon the Provincial Government and

the College Board the need for, indeed its right to, full participation

in all aspects and phases of the development of the new University.

The faculty was still fighting "external enemies" and thus retained

its group cohesiveness.

But as soon as the faculty began developing organizational

and academic plans for the new University, differences among its

various segments over matters of faculty self-governance, grass-

roots participation in academic planning and administration,

internal democracy, academic programs and curricular policies and

the educational philosophy underlying them, began to develop and

deepen. Differences over these vital issues led to the emergence

of two antagonistic groups. It should be recalled that this faculty

acted in the recent past with a strong and shared sense of mission.

Thus once the faculty split occurred, the power of the antagonisms

was such that each side tended to see the positions taken by the other

side as evidence of betrayal of ideals once shared. Therefore, the

ensuing power struggle tended to be bitter and total. Under these

conditions, different sub-groups in the faculty tended to align with

one group or the other. These developments, thus, led to a total

polarization in the faculty, depleting its resources of trust, and

hence reducing the faculty's capacity as a group for co-operative

action.

The polarization of the faculty into two combatant

groups resulted in a further crystallization of the variant positions

that the members of the two groups held with respect to the nature

and mode of faculty participation in decision-making, centralization

vs. decentralization in academic planning, admission policy,

curricular policies and academic programs, etc. Interestingly

enough, differences on these matters in the faculty tended to be

patterned along departmental lines. As a final point, it should be

noted that on the important issue of internal democracy and faculty

participation, differences among the faculty were not so much on

the principle of it but rather on the premises underlying participation.

The Dean and his allies favoured participation based on the notion of

representative democracy. The members of the opposing group, on

the other hand, seemed to favour participation based on the concept

of participatory democracy. Hence the variant positions taken by

these two groups on issues related to internal organizations.

The organizational and academic developments that

took place--following, first the appointment of the Acting President

and, later, the President of the university--were considerably

influenced by the nature of the social structure of the faculty and

the factors underlying the intra-faculty conflict. These developments

are examined in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. This Junior College was the first public institution of its own kind
     to be established in the province. Legislation directly
     governing the establishment of such an institution was
     not in existence in 1957. Therefore this college was
     established pursuant to The School Act of the province.
     However, on April 14th, 1958, "An Act to provide for
     the Establishment of Public Junior College" received
     royal assent and came into force on that day. The
     Junior College established in 1957 was deemed to have
     been established pursuant to this Act.

2. For an historical account of the development of this Junior College
     in response to public demand for such an institution in
     the district, see, Alexander G. Markle, "Genesis of the
     Lethbridge Public Junior College", unpublished Master's
     Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1965.
     Omission in the title of the thesis is intended to preserve
     the anonymity of the organization studied.

3. "Provincial Board" means the Provincial Board of Post-Secondary
     Education established under Section 2a of The Public
     Junior Colleges Act of 1958 (with amendments up to and
     including 1967), Government of the Province of Alberta.
     "Co-ordinating Council" means the Universities
     Co-ordinating Council established under The Universities
     Act of 1966.

4. The Public Junior Colleges Act, op. cit., Section 5.

5. Ibid., Section 3.

6. Ibid., Section

7. Ibid., Section

8. Ibid., Section 35(1).

9. Ibid., Section 37(1).

10. The University of Alberta, Calendar 1964-65, pp. 678-79.

11. "A Brief from Lethbridge Junior College to the University of
       Calgary on Affiliation of the College with the University",
       July, 1966, pp. 2-3.

12. Andrew Stewart, "Special Study on Junior Colleges", p. 26.

13. Ibid., p. 26.

14. Ibid., p. 49.

15. Ibid., p. 70.

16. Ibid., p. 69.

17. Annual Report of the Principal of the Junior College for the College
       Board of Governors, 1965-66, p. 1.

18. Ibid., p.

19. Stewart, op. cit., p.

20. Annual Report of the Principal, 1965-66, op. cit.

21. "A Proposal for the Development of a University" in the Report of
       Lethbridge Junior College Board, 1965-66, pp. 17-20
       and pp. 20-21.

22. Calendar 1966-67, Lethbridge Junior College, p. 9.

23. Brief prepared by the Faculty Association representing the
       University Section Faculty of the Junior College, p. 19.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. "Annual Report", op. cit., p. 2.

28. "Community Colleges in 1966: A National Seminar on the
       Community College in Canada", Toronto: The Canadian
       Association for Adult Education, pp. 44-45.

29. Principal's report to the Faculty of his meeting with the President of the second new provincial University, Ibid.

30. Lethbridge Herald (The Daily Newspaper).

31. Statement issued by the Faculty of the University Section of the Junior College, August 1st, 1966.

32. Faculty Council, Minutes, 1966 (Summer and Fall).

33. Faculty Council, Minutes, 1966 (Summer and Fall).

34. Faculty Council, Minutes, op. cit. These remarks were taken from the Dean's written report to the Faculty on the meeting with the Minister of Education.

35. Ibid.

36. Faculty statement protesting the Minister's Action on Faculty Participation in matters relating to the establishment of the new University, September, 1966.

37. Lethbridge Herald (The Local Daily), September, 1966.

38. Ibid.

39. There were three representatives in this Committee struck by the Faculty Council on October 24th, 1966: the new Dean, the Chairman of Faculty Association, and another faculty members.

40. Faculty Council, Minutes, Fall, 1966.

41. Quoted in the Memorandum from the Dean of the University Section to the Faculty regarding Administration of the Section, December 5th, 1966.

42. "Calendar 1966-67, The Junior College".

43. The "new" faculty members were those who were appointed during the summer with effect from July, 1966.

44. The report was not accepted by the Faculty before six drafts one
    after the other were prepared and discussed by the
    Faculty.

45. Dean's letter to the Chairman of the Coordinating Planning
    Committee, dated (Fall, 1966).

46. The following Table clarifies what is meant here by terms sections
    "Classical Theory of Democracy", "Modern Theory of
    Democracy", "Burkean Representative", "delegate",
    etc. It is based on two major sources: (a) C. Pateman,
    Participation and Democratic Theory. Cambridge
    University Press, 1970, pp. 1-44. (b) G. W. Ostergaard
    and A. H. Halsey, Power in Cooperatives: A Study of
    the Internal Politics of British Retail Societies,
    Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965, pp. 203-228.

-main emphasis - self-government - participation central to it	-main emphasis - responsible government - participation not central to it
1. It is a method of government which realizes the common good by a system, in which people themselves decide political issues.	1. Responsible government made possible through the institutionalization of competition for leadership.
2. Decisions thus taken can be said to represent the "will of the people."	2. Main functions of people not to make, either directly or indirectly, the multitude of decisions involved in government, but to make one big decision - to produce by means of periodic elections, either a government or an intermediate body which will produce a government.

3. So stated, the presumption is that: all people participate in decision-making, i.e., the system is one of direct democracy.

3. This model avoids the problem of representation which arises only in the case of self-government.

4. However, the notion of representation and thus of indirect or representative democracy is recognized. Representation is seen as an important device to enable democracy to be applied in large scale groups. It changes the form but not the content of direct democracy.

4. Exercise of leadership as distinct from the expression of the wills of others is emphasized.

5. Elected representatives are not expected to exercise leadership as distinct from expressing the will of the electorate. To be precise, they are delegates, not representatives enjoying considerable autonomy from the people.

5. In the exercise of leadership phrases like "the common good", "the will of the people" and relegated to the background. Autonomy of representatives form the electorate (Burkean representative.)

6. Institution of the recall, the referendum and the initiative as a means of correcting the defects of a representative system.

6. Groups and pluralism are built into the model.

47. Dean's letter to the Chairman of the Coordinating Planning Committee, dated (Fall, 1966).

48. The Dean played an important role in the recruitment of new faculty members for 1966-67 year. He enjoyed stronger support among these new faculty members, especially those in senior academic ranks.

49. The Dean's Memorandum to the Faculty, op. cit. (December 5th, 1966).

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Weber, 1947 (Trans. ed. Parsons), p. 324.

53. Ibid.

54. Peter M. Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, p. 161.

55. Elihu Katz and S. N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy and Its Clientele: A Case Study", in A. Etzioni (ed.), Readings on Modern Organizations, Free Press, 1969, pp. 231-240.

56. Ibid., p. 240.

57. Ibid.

58. University of Lethbridge, Calendar 1967-68, p. 11.

59. All of these Committees had advisory status and were charged with making recommendations to the Interim General Faculty Council in specified areas. These Committees were: (1) Committee on Admissions; (2) Committee on Semestering; (3) Committee on Extension Courses; (4) Committee on Summer Session for 1967; (5) Faculty Planning Committee on Proposed Curriculum for 1967-68; (6) Promotions Committee, etc.

60. The Acting President was careful in appointing representatives of the rival factions of the faculty to various committees and to the General Faculty Council established by him. The interim General Faculty Council was fairly representative of the faculty groups and also included two students representatives.

61. These intitial plans were presented in "Requirements for Academic Development at the University of Lethbridge, 1967-68", prepared in November 1966 by the Academic and Planning

Committee of faculty of the University Section on the
request of the Board of Governors designate of the
new University.

62. Fourth Report of the Curriculum Committee of the Faculty of Arts
and Science, June, 1967, p. 15. In the official University
Calendar for 1967-68, however, Zoology and Biology are
both listed as fields in which majors are available, while
Botany remained a minor; see p. 157. It is not clear
whether this change was approved by the Interim General
Faculty Council or instituted by the Acting President
himself.

63. The Chairman of the department was, of course, overseas at the
time that the Committee was dealing with its brief.
According to the Chairman, a junior member of his
department who was looking after the departmental
business at the time was wrongly persuaded by the
Committee to accept these changes in the brief.

Chapter 6

FACULTY PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING:
THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AND POLICY-FORMULATION

Introduction

The task of this chapter is to discuss and analyze faculty

action and participation in critical decisions concerning the general

institutional planning of the new University and the establishment and

operation of the internal structural mechanisms of decision-making.

Most of the events or decisions regarding important organizational

developments to be discussed here, began to unfold or took place

between August and December of 1967. Our analysis does not follow

each one of these to its final conclusion. Our data which are meant

to be only illustrative of some of the rather broadly hypothesized

features of the process of academic self-governance generally pertain

to selected developments and issues that occurred during 1967-68.

The historical antecedants of several of these have already been

discussed on considerable detail in Chapter 5.

It should be briefly recalled that "from January 1 to

June 30, 1967, some thirty members of the Faculty of the University

Section, while still retaining appointment with the Junior College,

engaged in significant University planning in a consultative and

advisory fashion to the University Board and the Acting President.

Functioning as the interim General Faculty Council, several members

of the Faculty debated and formulated policies that have profoundly

influenced the Faculty (of Arts and Science)"[1] and the academic and

organizational planning of the University as a whole during 1967-68.

This Faculty in general, but the interm General Faculty Council,

in particular, had also begun to underline the need for developing a

clear statement regarding an appropriate educational philosophy, and

a set of values and objectives. Such a statement was deemed necessary

for intelligent and coherent educational and organizational planning.

To this end, the Council had already begun to plan a conference before

the first President was appointed. After his appointment, the

President's own efforts gave an added impetus to these efforts, and a

conference to develop coherent "philosophy" for the University was

held in late August, 1967. This conference was an important prelude

to the commencement of the University's first year of operation, for

its deliberations marked a carefully planned attempt to set the

direction of planning and development of the fledgling institution

under the leadership of its first President. Certain aspects

concerning the organization and deliberations of this conference will

therefore, be examined first.

Then, the emerging trends in the development of the

internal structure of the University will be examined, especially

with reference to the changes in the social structure of the faculty.

These began to take place during 1967 summer due to (a) large

additions to the faculty, with a special emphasis on the recruitment

to senior ranks and (b) the resurgence of intra-faculty conflict,

partly brought about by the alterations in the departmental curricular

proposals which were discussed in Chapter 5. In this analysis,

special attention will be given to the legislative policy - and

goal-setting processes and the participation in them of various

faculty groups and administrators.

Because of the newness of the University's organization,

the legislative policy-setting processes and those concerning enact-

ment of organizational procedures and regulations, were at the center

of the organizational development that had been taking place during the

period referred to above. Thus it is that our examination of the

internal organizational structure,[2] undertaken here, focusses mainly

on the legislative actions and processes that were of vital interest to

the faculty and the administration.

Before concluding out introduction, however, a comment

must be made on the following two factors with respect to their

relationship to the organizational developments of the University:

(a) Pressure for reforms of university government in Canada during
the 1960's; and (b) Changes in the Province's legislation regarding
university government in 1966.

Following the major social changes in the Canadian
Society during the 1950's,[3] the early 1960's witnessed the emergence
of forces for change and reform in the government of Canadian
Universities. A need for changes in university government was
recognized, in varying degrees, by members of Boards of Governors,
university administrators, faculty, and others, and resulted in the
establishment of Duff-Berdahl Commission in 1964.[4] Particularly,
the Canadian Association of University Teachers (C.A.U.T.) had
been concerned for some time with the need to reform university
government, especially to provide greater faculty participation. The
C.A.U.T., in fact, had begun to assume a militant position on the
question of faculty participation quite early during this period. For
instance, a report prepared in 1960, by its Committee on university
reform, was highly critical of the "authoritarian" nature of the
internal government structure of Canadian Universities.[5] The
university faculties were restless and in one or two campuses "a
state of crisis could be said to exist."[6]

The Duff-Berdahl Commission and its Report provided
the further stimulus for a thorough examination of university govern-

ment in Canada by all segments of the membership of the university.

The academics, under the leadership of their professional association,

actively participated in this examination and focussed on the necessity

of full faculty participation in the processes of university governance

at all levels.[7] This contributed to increased faculty activism on

Canadian Campuses and to a radically changed climate of opinion

concerning the role of faculty in university governance. Thus, the

early 1960's were characterized by a general mood of university

teachers favouring major modifications in University structures and

procedures - especially increased faculty participation and authority

in decision-making. A concrete manifestation of the climate of

opinion favouring change was discernible in the willingness of

decision-makers at all levels to seek revision of university statutes

of established institutions or to enact statutes for new institutions

in the process of formation in order to accommodate the pressures

for such change.[8] The new Universities Act of 1966 in Alberta was,

in some measure, a manifestation of such change.[9]

In this province,[10] all universities operate as public

corporations under the provisions of the Universities Act. Therefore,

all the provincial universities have basically identical internal formal

organizational structures. The key administrative offices--their

powers and duties, the major academic councils and bodies--their

membership, powers and functions, are specified by this legislation.

Within the common framework provided by these statutes,[11] each has

the freedom to develop its own structures and procedures.

Compared with its predecessor, the new Act introduced

a number of changes in the internal organizational structure of the

university.[12] In general terms, it was intended for defining more

precisely by statute the functions and relations of the various units

or structures of the university organization in order to improve

communication and decision-making. It was also intended for

decentralizing the governing process of the university in part, by

giving the President powers of delegation denied him in the former

Act.

Specifically, with reference to faculty representation

and participation in various decision-making bodies, the new Act,

compared with the former one, provided for their liberalization and

widening of scope, especially at the Faculty Council level. Under

the former Act, membership on Faculty Council was largely tied

to seniority, although it was possible to appoint some assistant

professors. The new Act has extended membership on the Council

to all full-time academic staff of each Faculty.[13] The Faculty

Council, has, additionally, the power to appoint representatives

of other groups. Similarly, the new Act removed any restrictions

pertaining to rank or seniority with respect to faculty representation on the General Faculty Council. Another notable feature of the new Act was the fact that under it, many areas which formally were not clearly specified as to responsibility, or were solely under the jurisdiction of the Board, were now subject to the statutory recommendation by the General Faculty Council. This tended to enhance the scope of faculty participation and authority with respect to matters of vital academic concern.[14] It should be mentioned also that the new Act made a provision for the appointment of two representatives of the faculty from the General Faculty Council membership to the Board of Governors - the latter to consist of fourteen members in all.

To the degree that the new Act permitted a wider faculty participation (at the Faculty Council level) and stronger faculty influence on policy (at the General Faculty Council level), it reflected the influence of national forces for changes in the university governance in Canada. Also, because of the fact that it opened up membership of the Faculty Councils to all members of the Faculty regardless of seniority or rank, the Act went towards democratizing participation of faculty in the decision-making processes in the university.

Thus, the Act had two important implications for the internal structure of the university: (a) it gave faculty as a whole greater authority and influence over the determination of general university policies; (b) it made wider faculty participation on a democratic basis possible. In this sense, then, the provisions of the new Act were instrumental in undermining, to some degree, the oligarchic and gerentocratic nature of internal university structure in Albera. In so doing, it is probable that the Act, in conjunction with the Canada-wide value-climate favouring democratic participation in university government, strengthened even further the support for greater democratization of university structures and procedures among university teachers in Alberta.

However, two important points regarding the internal organizational structures of the university, as envisaged in the Act, are worthy of note. First, the Act empowers each constituted body in the university to establish the necessary regulations and operating procedures with respect to the conduct of business. This means that each council or body of the faculty must establish these regulations including the establishment of its own committee structure, etc. Second, the Act provides no specific prescriptions for the organization of academic staff belonging to a Faculty into any given type of divisional and departmental structures. Within

the formal structure of the university, such decisions must be made by the General Faculty Council--the senior academic body of the university. Thus, given the statutory framework, the institutionalization of (whatever degree of) democratic faculty participation in the internal structure of the university is the joint responsibility of the faculty and administration.

Clearly, a central feature of the development of the internal structure of a new university would be the establishment of such procedures and structures as just outlined. At least, such was the case at the University of Lethbridge. The establishment and formalization of procedures to conduct the business of the constituted bodies responsible for academic planning and policy at the Faculty and the University levels was treated as a highly urgent matter. Equally important--but perhaps somewhat less urgent because of the already existing departmental structure, at least so far as the Faculty of Arts and Science was concerned--was the matter of the development of suitable structures (i.e. departmental) for each Faculty. The attitudes and actions of the faculty of the University of Lethbridge related to the development of these internal structures and procedures seemed to have been influenced by the values associated with and expectations aroused by the Canada-wide movement for reform of university government and the Universities Act.

A. The New University and its Founding President:

The Quest for a "Reason for Being"

During the first six months from the incorporation of

the University as of January 1, 1967, several necessary and important

decisions concerning short-term organizational and academic planning

had been taken as a prelude and in preparation for the commencement

of the operation of the first academic year on July, 1967. These

decisions were quite naturally expected to influence later organiza-

tional and academic planning. However, because of the pressing

circumstances attending these decisions, they were taken in the

absence of a clear-cut statement of philosophy of principles guiding

policy development for the fledgling University. Before the long-

range planning could begin, the development of a philosophy to

provide a clear direction for such planning and policy-formulation

was considered of utmost importance by all directly concerned

and responsible.[15]

The President, on his appointment therefore, took

expeditious action regarding preparations necessary for holding the

conference, which was already being planned, "to develop a

philosophy out of which guiding principles should emerge" for the

development of the University. A Steering Committee consisting

of four faculty members, previously members of the University

Section Faculty, the President, and his Executive Secretary was set

up and charged with the task of detailed planning of such a conference.

A three-day Academic Planning Conference, as planned by this

Committee, was held in the third week of August, 1967. Selected

representatives of the University faculty, members of the Board,

interested citizens of the region, and invited guests met together and

tried to come to grips with the question of basic values, philosophy,

and objectives of the University of Lethbridge. The Steering

Committee, mentioned above, played a central role in the develop-

ment of the over-all theme for the Conference and the selection of

the faculty delegates to it. Because of the critical importance of

the outcome of this Conference in terms of its implications for future

academic and organizational development of the University, the

selection of faculty delegates to the Conference was of considerable

interest to the faculty. But it was of crucial political importance for

the members of the Faculty of Arts and Science for reasons to be

discussed shortly. Before dealing with the Conference and its

outcome, it is necessary to briefly examine the politics of the

selection of faculty delegates to this conference.

B. The Politics of the Selection of Faculty

Delegates to the Academic Planning Conference

It will be recalled that at the onset of the President's

term of office as of July 1, 1967, all the thirty-one members of the

University Section Faculty had formally become the staff of the

Faculty of Arts and Science. During the summer months, thirty-one

new appointments were made to this Faculty, thus doubling its size.

The four faculty members who were on the Steering Committee for the

Academic Planning Conference belonged to that segment of the staff

of the Arts and Science Faculty which formerly comprised the

University Section Faculty. The faculty membership on the Committee

reflected to some degree the bi-polar nature of the social structure of

this segment.

The Steering Committee experienced serious difficulties

in coming to an agreement on the selection of faculty delegates to the

Academic Planning Conference.[16] It spent long hours in attempts to

arrive at mutually acceptable criteria for the selection. According

to one Committee member, a complete deadlock developed over the

selection of one faculty member, that is, the Chairman of the

Department of Biological Sciences and immediate past president of

the Faculty Association of the University Section Faculty. The

deadlock was reportedly the result of factional competition and

conflict continuing under changed circumstances but, nevertheless,

with unabated vigour.

The two factions in the University Section Faculty,

whose structure and operation has been discussed in Chapter 5, were

continuing to compete with each other with the only difference that

now they were part of the Faculty of Arts and Science. The Chairman

of the Steering Committee was a close associate of the Dean of the

Faculty of Arts and Science and was a powerful leader of the faction

which was allied with the Dean (the, the Dean of the University

Section) during the "authority crisis" of 1966 Fall. With the appoint-

ment of the Dean of Arts and Science and subsequent to the new

appointments to that Faculty, noted earlier, this faction had begun

to emerge as the "dominant" faction. The other faction which was

definitely more powerful than its competitor during Fall 1966, and

apparently held its own during the Acting President' tenure in office,

had now been reduced to a "dissident" minority. The Chairman of

the Department of Biological Science was a leader of this faction.[17]

Each faction attempted to mobilize maximum support

to exert pressure on the Steering Committee and, especially, on

the President to secure the decision favoured by it. Partisan

pressures were mounted through representations to the President

by individuals as well as groups in the Faculty. Despite his consider-

able skills of persuasion and attempts at a mediated or negotiated

settlement, the President was unable to achieve a genuine compromise.

Because of the strong opposition to this selection, the faculty member

under question was not invited to attend the Conference as a Faculty

delegate.

During his opening remarks to the Conference, the

President publically acknowledged the misgivings of some staff

members and the unpleasantness associated with the Steering

Committee's work. He expressed the hope:

> ...that the Conference would not be a
> mechanism for the emergence of any
> so-called "in-group" with a grotesque
> and exclusive sense of identity which
> would exclude participation from all
> members of the academic community.
> This is a difficult point to make without
> sounding defensive, and indeed I have
> already been taken to task by some
> members of the staff for my letter of
> invitation to non-attending academic
> staff members in this regard. The
> Steering Committee was saddled with
> the difficult and not totally pleasant
> job of selecting those to be invited to
> attend....[18]

The rancorous disputes in the faculty regarding

delegate selection notwithstanding, fourteen faculty delegates, in

addition to the President and the two Deans, were chosen by the

Committee to participate in the Conference. These were: three from

the Faculty of Education; nine from the Faculty of Arts and Science on

the basis of three from each division (Humanities, Natural Sciences,

and Social Sciences); one from Physical Education; and, the Chairman

of the Faculty Association who was also from the Faculty of Arts and

Science. Only two of this group of faculty members were positively

identified as members of the "dissident" faction by the leaders of the

"dominant" group. The remainder either actively supported the

"dominant" faction or were sympathetic toward it and/or the

administration in general. The membership in this group turned out

to be important, later in September, in that the members of the

University Planning Committee - a prestigeous and powerful standing

committee of the G.F.C. - were selected (for nomination and election

to it) from this group. The importance of this committee is discussed

later in this chapter.

The President must have been aware of the history of

intra-faculty conflict in the University-Section segment of the faculty

as he was attempting to grapple with the urgent issues of the

University's development during the summer of 1967. The frequent

references in his address to the importance of trust relationship in

the administrative process of organizations would seem to suggest

that he was painfully aware of the rancorous nature of this conflict

and consequently the difficulties in the way of its institutionalization

in the University. He was obviously concerned about it and saw in

the Conference a means of reconciliation of the differences under-

lying the polarization. The Conference would initiate a process of

depolarization, he remarked in his address, because:

> it will provide a mechanism for esta-
> blishing or at least beginning to establish
> a real dialogue between all members of
> the university family, regardless of the
> organizational mold in which they happen
> to cast for the moment; that the Conference
> will initiate, in other words, the
> establishment of what I have referred
> to...as trust relationships between all of
> us.[19]

However, the events preceding the conference i.e., the

curricular committee issue discussed at the end of Chapter 5 and the

selection of delegates for the Conference - did not warrant this sort

of optimism. Nor did the events that ensued following the Conference,

to be discussed later in this chapter, justify it. The differences that

divided the faculty seemed to lie in value conflicts and were not purely

cognitive and instrumental in nature. They, therefore, tended to

lead more to power conflict than to rational dialogue.

C. Academic Planning Conference and the

Articulation of the University's Basic Values

The statement of philosophy of the University which came

out of the Conference deliberations summarizes its basic values. It

states that:

> The University of Lethbridge endeavours to
> cultivate humane values; it seeks to foster
> intellectual growth, social development,
> aesthetic sensitivity, personal ethics and
> physical well-being; it seeks to cultivate
> the transcendental dimension of the scholar's
> personality. [20]

This statement clearly indicates that the University is

committed to giving utmost priority to liberal education. Corres-

pondingly, it implies the rejection of functioning as an institute for the

training of pre-professional and technological elites. The statement

clarifies further its commitment to humane values underlying liberal

education:

> Notwithstanding its intention to offer diverse
> subject matter contributing to the acquisition
> of professional skills, the University regards
> learning as an end in itself, not merely as a
> means to material ends. Its primary aims
> are to foster the spirit of free enquiry and
> the critical interpretation of ideas. [21]

However, it should be noted that historically, the roots

of the University's commitment to liberal education may be found, as

the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science has suggested, in the

University Section and the work of its Faculty regarding the develop-

ment of a liberal arts institution. The most that the Conference did in

this regard was to serve to formally institutionalize its commitment

to liberal education. It merely confirmed that resolve.

Another distinguishing feature of the University was to

be its commitment to flexibility and openness to innovation. Here

again, the introduction of the semester system and subsequent

modifications in curricular plans, with the due approval of the Interim

General Faculty Council during the Spring of 1967, were premised on

the desirability of enhancing the flexibility in academic programming

and curricular development. Similarly, semestering and extensive

liberalization of the curriculum during the Spring of 1967 were

conscious decisions indicating commitment to openness to innovation.[22]

However, the President made a particularly powerful plea for giving

substance to the values of openness, flexibility, freedom, and

innovation in the academic and organizational planning and development

of the University soon to move into full gear.

Referring to university organization or government, he

suggested that the present institutional form of higher education

deserved to be challenged. He argued that the University of

Lethbridge should, perhaps, experiment with new and unconventional

institutional forms. The kind of value commitment underlying his

proposals, he thought, "would inevitably produce an extremely fluid,

flexible, experimental (Sic) oriented kind of university. It would not

be efficient, but it would hopefully be an environment in which...

'constructive chaos' would prevail."[23] The President, thus,

emphasized the non-conventional, experimental nature of his personal

orientation towards university organizational structure.

In his address, he especially stressed this point in

reference to his own views concerning the position of the university

president. For example, he suggested emphatically that "...I shall

bring to this position one heck of a 'role distance."[24] Reiterating these

views later, he wrote, that there was ample evidence from all over

the world which indicates "that the President's position had not only

lost its glitter, but had come to be perceived negatively by sane

members of the academy."[25] He felt, therefore, an urgent need

for redefinition and modification of this role. This redefinition, in

his view, ought to take the form of a decentralized administrative

structure and a person-oriented leadership style, as unencumbered

by "role barriers" as possible. In his own role as President of the

University he considered desirable

> "...to experiment with a genuinely leader-
> ship team or shared responsibility approach
> to this position. From the beginning of his

association with the University of
Lethbridge, the Vice-President,
Academic has functioned (he noted)
with full responsibility for certain
aspects of the University's operation.
The traditional pyramidal approach to
social organizations has thus been
replaced in a modest way by a more
rectangular model. The most adequate
description of the way in which this
relatively non-traditional organizational
scheme has been attempted is in terms
of a co-presidency.[26]

To conclude, it should be noted that, seemingly, the

Conference had two major objectives, at least from the President's

perspective: (a) to move the faculty groups from mutual confrontation

to dialogue; and (b) to develop from this dialogue a general statement

of philosophy and objectives for the University which would serve

subsequently as a basis for consensus among different segments of

the faculty and, between the faculty and the administration. These

two objectives clearly emerge from our analysis of the President's

address to the Academic Planning Conference. If such consensus

was achieved at all,[27] it certainly did not serve to prevent factional

struggles for power from recommencing in the aftermath of the

Conference. The Conference had served to articulate the aspirations

for the University: it was to pursue the goal of developing into a

small, liberal, undergraduate institution guided by the values of

openness, innovation, flexibility and freedom. But the development

of the internal organizational structure and the academic plans and

policies to operationalize these objectives were marked by heightened

political activity among the participants. The faculty continued to be

highly politicized mainly around the question of participation, internal

democracy, and decentralization of authority. The common political

methods of influence to win control, namely, caucussing and getting

out the votes were openly in use by faculty groups especially during

the elections of faculty representatives to the General Faculty Council.

Similar activities accompanied the organization of the Council of the

Faculty of Arts and Science. It is to some of these developments and

activities related to them, that our analysis turns in the next section.

D. Conflict and Power in the Process
of Organizational Development

With the Conference behind them, the University

faculty (with considerable new additions to it) and administration

were about to embark on the next crucial phase of its development -

the establishment of necessary decision-making structures, academic

planning and policy-formulation. The focus of analysis concerning

these activities will be on developments related primarily to the

establishment and operation of the General Faculty Council and the

Arts and Science Faculty Council. It will be recalled that the

Universities Act outlines the membership and powers of each of

these bodies.[28]

E. The Organization of the General Faculty Council

It was noted earlier that the General Faculty Council

is a decision-making body of foremost importance in the university

organizational structure. It enjoys wide-ranging legislative powers

regarding the establishment of general academic and organizational

policies for the university as a whole and for its various constituent

units. It is for this reason that the faculty of the University of

Lethbridge, particularly, the members of the Faculty of Arts and

Science, showed keen interest in the election of their representatives

to the first General Faculty Council. Both factions in this Faculty

engaged in hectic political activity for the purpose of getting a

maximum number of their own members or supporters elected to

represent the Faculty of Arts and Science. An effective "control"

of the G.F.C. was, seemingly, considered by each party to be

critical for exercising decisive influence on the governance of the

University at that stage of organizational development.

The General Faculty Council of the University was

established in the month of September 1967 with a total membership

of twenty-one; six were ex officio members, three students represen-
tatives were appointed members;[29] and, of the remaining twelve
elected members, two were Faculty of Education representatives
and ten were representatives of the Faculty of Arts and Science. It
is to be noted that seven of the twelve elected members on this
Council were new members of the Faculty.[30] The number of
appointed members was subsequently, during the year, increased
to seven due to the appointment to the Council of four additonal
faculty members--two of these also being new on the faculty. The
total representation of the faculty--excluding the President and the
two Deans and the two students--on this council was, thus, increased
to sixteen with seven of these belonging to the "old" Junior College
Faculty.

It should also be noted that all but six of the faculty
representatives, that is, 62.5 per cent, held faculty positions at
the senior academic ranks of associate or full professors. The
membership of the G. F. C. by academic rank is interesting in view
of the fact that of the full-time teaching faculty present on campus
during 1967-68, only 21 out of a total of 65 (less than 33%) held
these above-mentioned senior academic positions. This noticable
over-representation of senior faculty on the G. F. C. would appear
to suggest that the senior faculty, a minority, were far more

closely involved in the policy-formulation processes in the University

by virtue of their membership on this important legislative body. The

membership of the G.F.C. indicated the relative position of various

individuals and groups vis-a-vis the changing structure of power in

the faculty.

Because of its history of factional split into two

antagonistic groups, it is interesting to analyze the representation

of the Faculty of Arts and Science on the G.F.C., with reference to

the relative numerical strength of each faction in this Council.

Altogether, this Faculty had twelve members on the G.F.C.

including ten elected and two appointed members. Seven of these

twelve members had been associated with the Junior College or the

University prior to July 1967; the other five had joined the faculty

since July of that year. Four of the seven G.F.C. representatives

of the Faculty of Arts and Science were clearly the allies of the

Dean of the Arts and Science (formerly the Dean of the College and

later the Acting Dean of Academic Affairs of the University). The

remaining three belonged to the faction opposed to the Dean and his

allies. Of the five G.F.C. members who were new to the Faculty

of Arts and Science, all but one, were clearly known to be the allies

or supporters of the Dean and associated with the faction that

supported him.

What does the foregoing analysis of the membership of
the General Faculty Council indicate with respect to the changes in
the faculty's social structure? First, it seems to suggest that the
"new" and senior faculty members were beginning to supplant the
"old" faculty members, especially those at junior ranks in the latter
group. Second, it would seem to suggest a rather noticable change
in the "balance of power" between the two factions in the Faculty of
Arts and Science. The "dissident" faction which had expressed
disagreement with and opposition to the academic and organizational
policies and goals advocated by the Dean and his allies during the
past year - had obviously suffered a loss in power. This change had
apparently ensued from factors such as the recruitment of the new
faculty, the appointment of the President of the University, and
notably the appointment of the Acting Dean of Academic Affairs as
the Dean of the Faculty of Science.

But the change in power structure of the faculty as a
whole had also begun to take place before the appointment of the
President and a pattern in this change was more or less discernible
at the time. The "dominant" faculty group that had earlier supported
the Dean of the Junior College, led by what was known as the "Regina
group", [31] began to emerge as the more powerful of the two factions.
In the first General Faculty Council, as a whole, faculty members

supporting or allied with this group outnumbered by far the two or

three members, apparently belonging to the "hard-core", as a staff

member put it, of the "dissident" faction. These "hard-core"

dissidents were members of the Faculty of Arts and Science. Two

members of this group of three, received the highest number of

votes in the Faculty Council for election to the G.F.C., thus

getting the distinction of being the only representatives from this

Faculty who had been elected for the longest membership term

(3 years). The former Chairman[32] of the Department of Biological

Sciences, it may be noted, was one of these two representatives.

Notwithstanding this fact, the "dissident" group was not only badly

out-numbered in the G.F.C. with respect to the total representation

of the Arts and Science Faculty, but it seemed to enjoy little support

from the G.F.C. representatives of the Faculty of Education. The

Faculty of Education representatives, apparently, supported the

G.F.C. members belonging to the "dominant" faction concerning

general academic and organizational issues.

The "dominant" group was allied with the Dean of

Arts and Science, as noted earlier. In the G.F.C. and at other

levels in the organizational structure, the relations between this

group and the University administration were generally cooperative.

At times, they even suggested active and close alliance between the

7

two groups. Together, they appeared to have secured complete

control of the G.F.C. - the most important legislative body with

wide powers to establish the University policy. Our discussion of

the development of the committee structure of the G.F.C. will

illustrate this.

But because of its seemingly close working alliance

with the administration, the dominant group was accused of being

"pro-administration" by the dissidents. However, the identification

of the "dominant faction" as "pro-administration" is somewhat

ironic because some prominant members of this faction freely

expressed their categorical hostility towards university administra-

tors in general and emphasized their concern over the growing power

of the administrators at this University. They were equally

unequivocal in their support of the dominant role that the faculty

must play in the decision-making and in their belief that the academic

administrators' 'proper' role is to serve the faculty and not to

bureaucratically run the university. Nevertheless, in the Faculty of

Arts and Science, the members of this group supported the Dean in

his attempts to consolidate his authority. In the General Faculty

Council, however, they made repeated attempts later on during

the year, as one member put it, "to tighten control over

presidential action." The important point remains, however, that

the "dominant" groups had recorded a decisive success in its bid

to secure control of the General Faculty Council. A new phase of

organizational development had, thus, begun. The changed power

relations within the faculty influenced the policy-formulation as

well as the ensuing intra-faculty conflict and its resolution. To

examine their effect on the processes of decision-making, we turn

briefly to the development of Committee structure of the G.F.C.

and the operation of the G.F.C. and some of its Committees.

F. Committees of the General Faculty Council

Following the establishment of the General Faculty

Council, as a body primarily responsible for the academic affairs

of the university, the President, as chairman, initiated action to

establish and set in motion adequate committee structure for the

Council so that it could meet its responsibilities in a systematic and

prompt manner. In relation to the development of the internal

structure of the G.F.C. and the necessary operating procedures,

a search for an acceptable underlying principle was begun.

Everyone, on the faculty, including the academic

administration, conceded and recognized the legitimacy of the

principles of democratic decision-making in the university. However,

there appeared to be serious differences among the members of the

Council with respect to the degree to which such principles should be emphasized in the operating procedures of various decision-making structure of General Faculty Council and of other university bodies. The President, as chairman of the Council, for example, touched upon the question of democratic decision-making, and questioned whether it would be possible to pursue these principles during the organizational year, in his recommendations for the establishment of various committees of the council at its first meeting. In reference to the establishment of two committees to deal with matters of salary, promotions, and tenure of the academic staff, he stated the problem in the following manner:

> It is apparent to all of us that during this organizational year, it will be necessary to employ procedures which while consistent with the principles of democratic decision-making, require a certain amount of administrative action to get them underway. [33]

Again, he emphasized:

> It is very important that we operate on the basis of an appropriate set of criteria with regard to the very sensitive areas of salary, promotions and tenure even though it may not be possible this year to implement all of the organizational niceties that characterize a fully developed university committed to full faculty participation in decision-making. [34]

Implicit in these remarks of the council chairman--the

President of the University--is a reiteration of his commitment to

the principles of democratic decision-making and full faculty

participation. But there is also a strong suggestion that administra-

tive action must not be encumbered, at least during the organizational

year, by considerations such as those of full faculty participation in

decision-making in the university. The tension resulting from the

administration's perceived need for greater administrative control

and the demand by at least a section of the faculty to implement

and institute the principles of democratic decision-making in the

development of decision-making structures and operating procedures,

had serious implications for attempts to design the "most effective

overall structure for the General Faculty Council."

Accepting the recommendations of its chairman, the

council took action to approve the establishment and ratify the

proposed membership of six different committees of the council.

Of particular importance to the present study are the two <u>standing</u>

committees: the Procedures Committee and the University Planning

Committee, and two <u>Ad hoc</u> Committees: Committee on Criteria

and Procedures for Salary, Promotions and Tenure Matters and

Committee on Salaries, Promotions, and Tenure.

G. Procedures Committee of the G. F. C.

The Committee on Procedures was instructed to bring in a recommendation on the organization of the General Faculty Council at the earliest possible time. Its terms of refence included:

- a. A specific recommendation regarding a nominating committee.

- b. A specific recommendation regarding appointed members of the council.

- c. Time, length and date of future G. F. C. meetings.

- d. Format of G. F. C. minutes.

- e. Adoption of some parliamentary authority such as Robert's Rule of Order.

The membership of this Committee consisted of three ex officio members of the Council including the President, and two elected members--including (as Chairman of this Committee) the most recent President of the Faculty Association and the former chairman of the department of Biological Sciences. It would appear that in selecting the chairman of this Committee, the President took special care to have the views of the "dissident" group represented. The "dissident" group, it may be recalled, favoured a high degree of democratization of the University's decision-making structures. The Procedures Committee recommendations were, obviously, going to bear on this question.

The Chairman of this committee, it is important to

point out, was one of the key leaders, of the faculty faction which,

since 1966 Fall, had favoured a high degree of democratic participa-

tion of faculty in decision-making and had rejected hierarchically

organized internal structure. Because of his central role in the

history of the intra-faculty conflict, he was looked upon as partisan

by those members of the faculty and administration who were opposed

to his views on the internal structure of the University. He was,

therefore, viewed as an "unacceptable" member of the Committee,

especially by the leading members of the "dominant faction".

The terms of reference of the Procedures Committee

revealed some specific aspects of the organization of the General

Faculty Council of the University on which there were serious

differences among the faculty. Two successive reports containing

recommendations of the Procedures Committee were submitted

to the General Faculty Council; but these recommendations failed

to provide a basis for agreement among members of the Council.

With the bulk of the Committee's recommendations remaining to

be considered, the council voted to dissolve the Procedures

Committee, and continued to conduct its business in the absence of

explicitly established procedures regarding a number of matters

implied in the terms of reference of the Committee.

The fate that the recommendations of the Procedures Committee met in the General Faculty Council suggests the key importance which the structure of organizational bodies playing a central role in the decision-making of the organization are perceived as having. The strategic role of such operating procedures in defining the powers of the various segments of the membership relative to each other and in determining the limits of effective authority as opposed to formal authority of the academic administrators and the faculty should be stressed. These, perhaps, explain the existence of serious concern and differences within the General Faculty Council on this matter.

Many students of organizations have suggested the strategic role of rules and procedures in organizational settings, especially under conditions of intra-organizational conflict.[35] Furthermore, procedures outlining organizational structures are deeply rooted in the professional "ideologies" or normative systems of various groups within an organization. The issue of the establishment of procedures for the organization of G.F.C. assumed, quite understandably therefore, major importance in the process of the development of the internal structure of the University.

H. The University Planning Committee

Another standing committee of the General Faculty

Council to be discussed here was the University Planning Committee.

This committee was assigned a central role in the formulation of

general academic policy and the development of internal structure

of the University. It was charged with the major responsibility for

developing, co-ordinating, and reviewing activities with respect to

detailed academic and physical planning with the purpose of making

recommendations on these matters to the council for appropriate

action. Specifically with respect to academic planning, it was

empowered (1) to make recommendations to the council and/or the

President with respect to questions concerning (a) academic

philosophy, goals, objectives, (b) University size and nature,

(c) the advisability of new faculties, institutes, departments,

(d) the extension functions, and (e) affiliated institutions; (2) to

accept such other responsibilities as G.F.C. might from time to

time delegate, which were not inconsistent with the functions stated

above.

In addition to the President as its chairman, the

University Planning Committee had eight voting and one non-voting

members. All but one of these members had attended the Academic

Planning Conference as delegates earlier in August. The eight

voting members were the two Deans, two members of the Faculty

of Education, and four members of the Faculty of Arts and Science.

It should be pointed out that but for a single exception, all the

members of this committee with full-time teaching positions held

senior academic ranks; three of them were also Acting Chairmen

of Department. This particular aspect of the Planning Committee

membership should be noted against the fact that out of the total

teaching faculty at the University during the organizational year,

forty-four--i. e., almost exactly two-thirds of the faculty--held

the junior academic ranks of assistant professor or lecturer.[36]

The "elitist" nature of this committee was pointed out by a number

of faculty members during our field work.

Another notable feature of the membership of this

Committee[37] was that it had, in effect, no representation from the

"dissident" faction of the faculty.[38] The membership of the

University Planning Committee was not an outcome of on-the-spot

election in the General Faculty Council: it was determined through

ratification, by the G.F.C., of the President's slate of nominees.

The President had prepared this slate, probably, after considerable

consultation and negotiation with the Council members and various

segments of the faculty. The significance of the lack of representation

of the "dissident" group on the Planning Committee lies not so

much--or merely--in what it reveals about changes that were taking

place in the internal power structure of the faculty, but perhaps in

what it suggests about the relative status of the two fundamentally

divergent conceptions of the university--conceptions which, in the

final analysis, appear to have underlain the split in the faculty. [39]

The conception of the university which rejected the principle of

hierarchical control in the internal organizational structure of the

faculty had, in effect, no advocates on the University Planning

Committee and but few on the General Faculty Council.

In the context of the present analysis, the importance

of the University Planning Committee and its membership can hardly

be overemphasized. This committee was the key agent in fashioning

the organizational blue-print of the new University--in determining,

in the President's own words, "the rationale for its being", in

specifying its objectives, and in guiding in concrete terms the

initiation of its academic plans for immediate as well as long-

range development. This committee represented the officially

recognized "future elite" of the organization. The social relations

among the members of this elite and the nature of these relations

had undoubtedly consequences for the content of the blueprint as

well as other organizational matters.

The foregoing analysis suggests that in constituting this committee, the administration and the "dominant faction" of the faculty had presumably rejected a more pluralistic structure of the membership of this committee in favour of a more homogeneous one. While considering individuals for membership on this Committee, the need for a relative, mutual compatability of their views concerning academic planning and governance appears to have figured as an important consideration.

It needs hardly be recalled that the seriousness of differences in the faculty as to who should be involved in the planning of the new University as also on its internal structure date back to Junior College days as discussed in the last chapter. These differences led to intense intra-faculty conflict and eventuated the "authority crisis" during the fall of 1966. Later, in August 1967, in the selection of faculty delegates to the Academic Planning Conference, the President was confronted once more with the difficulty of having to deal with the conflict between the two rival factions in the faculty. The conflict over the selection of delegates to this Conference would appear to have marked the beginning of a new phase in the process of the emergence of an "elite group" to be responsible for the over-all planning of the University - a group characterized by a relative homogeneity of views of members

on matters relating to academic planning and organizational structure.

The Conference Steering Committee's selection of faculty delegates

was an important step towards the establishment of such a group.

But this process did not come to a final conclusion until the establish-

ment of the University Planning Committee was instituted in

September, 1967 following the organization of the first General

Faculty Council of the University. The exclusion of the "dissident"

group from the University Planning Committee marked the culmination

of the emergence of the "elite" planning group. Constituting the

University Planning Committee in the manner described above had

the certain consequence of avoiding serious disagreements and

conflict in the Committee. But, it did not constitute a resolution

of intra-faculty conflict in the University generally. However, it

did mean that the "dominant" faction had succeeded in excluding

members of the other "party" from membership on this important

Committee. The "dominant" faction had become the faction in power.

The remaining two committees of the General Faculty

Council to be discussed here briefly are: (a) Committee on Criteria

and Procedures for Salary, Promotions, and Tenure Matters and,

(b) Committee on Salary, Promotions, and Tenure. It should be

obvious that the first committee was charged only with the

responsibility of bringing to the General Faculty Council a report

on the criteria and procedures to be followed by the second committee

in arriving at decisions concerning salary increments, promotions,

and granting of tenure to individual faculty members. Note should

be taken of the fact that decisions on salary, promotions, and tenure

were to be made directly by a committee of the General Faculty

Council; there was no committee of either Faculty Council involved

in the deliberations on such decisions at any stage. In other words,

the role of the faculty colleagues at either the departmental and/or

faculty levels in these highly important decisions involving pro-

fessional judgement was minimal and at best indirect; that is,

but for the confidential recommendations of the Chairman of the

Department and of the Dean to the Committee, very little involvement

of one's departmental colleagues was formally required or expected.[40]

Because of these factors, the decision-making structure to be

employed in matters of salary, promtions, and tenure was not

only centralized at the General Faculty Council level but was open

to decisive influence by the administration. This was, indeed, one

of the major criticisms and a source of discontent regarding the

Committee reported during our interviewing.

Another source of serious discontent and internal

conflict was the set of criteria for salary increments, promotions

and tenure proposed to and approved by the General Faculty Council

in the teeth of bitter opposition from a small number of members of

the Council. Without going into the discussion of the four criteria

established by the General Faculty Council, it should be pointed out

that the criterion that became the most serious source of dissensus

in the faculty in general and in the General Faculty Council in

particular was the one regarding "Academic Credentials." Even

a lengthy debate in the G. F. C., on whether or not academic

credentials, (i. e., graduate degrees), be used as one of the factors

for consideration in the granting of salary increments, promotions,

and tenure failed to develop a consensus in the Council. The

committee's report recommended that,

> ... especially in the case of tenure decisions,
> consideration should be given to the matter
> of academic credentials, i. e. graduate
> degrees, insofar as those credentials are
> judged relevant to upgrading of institutional
> quality and to the long term contribution
> which the individual staff member can be
> expected to make. Such credentials can
> also be considered as indicating a judgement
> of merit on the part of another university. [41]

Upgrading of "institutional quality" was one of the

paramount concerns of the administration as well as of a large

section of the faculty cutting across factional lines. But those who

were vehemently opposed to the inclusion of "academic credentials"

to the set of criteria for determining salary increments, promotions,

and particularly, tenure justified their opposition to it on two

grounds: that there were a number of faculty members who at the time of their appointments had not been explicitly informed that "academic credentials" would be considered an important factor in matters referred to above; and second, that the introduction of new criteria and procedures for tenure at that time somehow violated the expectations regarding these matters as set by the already established procedures.[42] In other words, the introduction of the criterion of "academic credentials" was seen as an attempt to change the terms of the contract of employment already in force without the consent of the individual faculty members likely to be directly affected by the change.

Contract of employment, in organizations, is the "focal integrative institution." "It is the contract of employment—including not only explicitly agreed terms, but "implicit" understandings and also including what Emile Durkheim called the "noncontractual" elements, i.e., the norms governing the making and implementation of contracts which the parties are not at liberty to alter at will—which defines the individual's obligations to the organization."[43] Reciprocal obligations of the organization and of its employees, in other words, are not merely contractually defined but are also normatively inbedded in expectations associated with the institution of the contract of employment.

Unilateral attempts by the parties to the contract to change the terms
of or violate the informal expectations associated with it are usually
lacking in legitimacy and tend to lead to conflict between the parties,
thereby weakening the integrative function of the contract of
employment.

Opposition by a segment of the faculty to the inclusion
of "academic credentials" to the set of criteria for determining
salary, promotions and tenure was premised precisely on the argu-
ment that the inclusion of this criterion constituted "violation" of
the contract and the implicit social norm of "fairness" associated
with the institution of contract. Even the use of formally proper
procedures, i.e., the due approval of the set of criteria mentioned
earlier by the General Faculty Council, failed to provide the
necessary legitimacy because of the already discussed intra-faculty
conflict based on serious dissensus on "values". The delicate
balance between "formal" justice and "substantive" justice was
apparently not struck in the action of the G.F.C. regarding the
criteria in question.[44] That is, the G.F.C.'s action did not provide the
necessary legal basis for the changes, but failed to extend them
adequate legitimacy.

The establishment of these criteria was, of course,
inextricably bound up with the larger question of the reward system

affecting the faculty, implying inevitable consequences for its internal

structure of power and control. It was clear that the contending groups,

as well as most individual members of the University faculty, were well

aware of the critical role of reward system with respect to the problem

of internal organizational control. The awareness that reward systems

in organizations are typically used "as instruments of power and aids in

the expansion of managerial authority,"[45] greatly heightened the concern

of individual faculty members with respect to this issue.

In the judgment of those opposed to the changes discussed

above, the inclusion of "academic credentials" was not only not

legitimate but, in addition, constituted a deliberate attempt by the

administration supported by the "dominant faction" to affect changes

in the faculty power structure with the aid of these new regulations.

Under these circumstances, the General Faculty Council's attempt

to set up anew the criteria and procedures to deal with the matters

already mentioned, resulted as one faculty member put it, in a

widespread "feeling of nervousness, fear and uncertainty in the

faculty and a highly political atmosphere in the university." The

"academic credentials" issue, thus, resulted in a further weakening

of trust between the supporters and the opponents of the introduction

of changes discussed above and, thereby, made the transaction of

business by the constituted bodies of the faculty extremely difficult.

The nature of these difficulties was so serious that the President

found it necessary to recognize them openly and decided to address

a specially convened meeting of the faculty of the university in an

attempt to defuse the crisis. We shall return to this later in the

chapter.

The introduction of the criteria of "academic

credentials" apparently also violated a widely institutionalized norm

of "fairness" expected to be observed in social and organizational

life. In contractual terms, the above change was deemed, by those

opposed to it, as not justifiable; in intent, it was seen to be blantantly

"coercive" and "discriminatory". Serious differences in the faculty

with respect to the "academic credentials" question and the related

question of the composition (that is, membership) of the Tenure and

Promotions Committee led to serious challenges by those affected

by the decisions. Those who were affected were supported by those

opposed to those changes in the first place. Those opposed to the

changes perceived the unfavorable tenure decisions as plainly

intended to affect the power structure of the faculty and to mute

the opposition of the "minority faction" to administrative actions

and organizational plans being developed by the "dominance faction"

in alliance with the administration and, not intended to improve the

"institutional quality" of the university. Even some members of the

"dominant faction" in their private conversations with the investigator, did little to make much secret of viewing these decisions in that light.

The validity of the arguments for or against changes in these criteria and procedures apart, this highly sensitive issue was being dealt with by the General Faculties Council at a time when intra-faculty conflict, to be discussed later, was most open and intense. As mentioned earlier, the intergroup relations in the faculty were deeply coloured by mutual suspicions, lack of trust, and fear. The faculty as a collectivity suffered from a serious lack of normative integration. Despite the established means of decision-making, for example, the inter-group conflict was anything but institutionalized. Thus, the decisions made by various academic bodies and committees, while strictly following formal parliamentary procedures and rules, as well as administrative actions taken at various levels lacked legitimacy in the eyes of one faction or the other. Because of this apparent failure to institutionalize internal conflict and for want of a viable doctrine of legitimacy,[46] the administration and the combatant groups had been led to an increased reliance on formal authority,[47] or else on the direct use of power with obvious conse-quences for the compliance structure[48] of the fledgling university.

To summarize at this point the discussion on the General Faculty Council and its organization, it should be noted that

the problems associated with the development of the internal structure

were perhaps complicated by the transfer en bloc, of the faculty of the

Junior College to the University. The polarization of this segment of

the faculty into two antagonistic groups even before the new institution

was incorporated, over important issues concerning university

governance, influenced the development of the internal structure of

the University. Using descriptive analysis of developments related

to internal organization, we have attempted to point up the major

issues that we observed as being central to this process of develop-

ment. At the General Faculty Council level, one of the major issues,

we pointed out, was that of the establishment of operating procedures

and of committee structure for this academic body. In the present

study, this issue is of central importance because it underscored the

essentially dynamic nature of the internal structure of the university

organization.

I. Faculties and Their Organization

The University of Lethbridge, at the time of the

present study, had two Faculties: the Faculty of Arts and Science

with a total faculty of a little over sixty; and the Faculty of Education

with a faculty of only eight. The comparatively larger size of the

Faculty of Arts and Science was not its only notable feature, however.

Another important feature was the fact that all the members of the

Junior College faculty who stayed to join the full-time academic

staff of the new University became members of this Faculty. The

importance of this fact is hard to over-emphasize in the examination

of the development of the internal structure of the new University,

because of the central role that this segment of the faculty had played

in the establishment of the University and in articulating in its

deliberations the general direction of its future development. Most

of the central issues relative to the development of the internal

organizational structure of the University were historically anchored

in the discussions and the decisions ensuing therefrom, to which this

segment of the faculty had devoted much time and energy just prior

to the establishment of the University. The development of

organizational structure of the Faculty of Arts and Science, therefore,

was deeply influenced by this fact. Furthermore, the cleavage in the

University faculty and the intra-faculty conflict, that has been

referred to before, were primarily located within this Faculty.

The Faculty of Education, compared with the other

Faculty, was not only very small in size, but also consisted of

totally new faculty members, that is, none of them had previously

been on the Faculty of the University Section of the Junior College

from which the new University grew. This meant that none of its

members, unlike the Faculty of Arts and Science, had brought with

them a prior identification with or commitment to any specific

position on questions regarding organizational structure of the

University prevalent in the Faculty of the Junior College. Thus,

while the policy decisions of the Junior College faculty regarding

the administrative organization of the faculty and general principles

implied therein provided an important backdrop to development of

internal structure of the Faculty of Arts and Science, they had

apparently little direct influence on the organization of the Faculty

of Education.

The development of the internal structure of the Faculty

of Arts and Science consisted in (a) the organization of the Faculty

Council as a policy-making body including its committee structure,

and (b) the organization of faculty members into a departmental

structure. It should be recalled from the discussion in the preceding

chapter that the Faculty of the Junior College had made some basic

policy decisions regarding internal organization of the faculty in

general, and regarding the organization and structure of departments

in particular. The formal status of those decisions vis-a-vis the new

University was, no doubt, dubious for it was not even incorporated

at the time. But this fact notwithstanding, the constraining effect

of these decisions on the development of the internal structure of the

Faculty of Arts and Science, given the composition of its membership,

was enormous. It foreshadowed the actions of the Faculty of Arts and

Science in that it provided a focal point for renewed conflict and

cleavage in the faculty.

When the work on the organization of the Faculty of Arts

and Science began in September, 1967, it already had a working

departmental structure. It had been organized into sixteen academic

departments, each headed by an Acting Chairman. These appoint-

ments to departmental chairmanship were, of course, made on a

strictly interim basis subject to change at a later date. The General

Faculty Council had to establish a policy concerning the critical

question of the departmental structure for the Faculty before regular

appointments could be made. Notwithstanding the interim nature of

the above appointments, they were of critical importance with respect

to the organizational developments soon to take place in the Faculty.

Most of the Acting Chairmen of the academic departments had

formerly held a departmental chairmanship in the Junior College.

However, there were some changes in this respect. Five of the

sixteen departments in the Faculty of Arts and Science were now

headed by faculty members who had no previous association with the

Junior College Faculty.[49] The predominance of the "old" segment

of the faculty in positions of departmental chairmanship tended to

preserve to a considerable degree the existing distribution of power

at the departmental level within the Faculty.

This continuity in the administrative structure of the

departments had a considerable influence on subsequent organizational

activities concerning the development of the operating structure of the

Faculty Council. For the issue of department autonomy, especially

with respect to curricular planning, was very much alive at the end of

the Summer of 1967 and was a matter of central concern to several

departments. For instance, the departments of Geography and

Biological Sciences were preparing to bring up their respective

curricular proposals before the appropriate committee of the new

Council and to seek reversal of the decisions of the former

Curriculum Committee regarding Introductory Courses. Furthermore,

the issue of appropriate departmental structure - including the

selection and powers of the chairman of an academic department,

its primary functions, etc. - had proved to be highly contentious

and divisive earlier in the College. The factors underlying this

controversy over departmental organization could not possibly be

forgotten in the new Council's deliberation of the matter, especially

given the present administrative leadership of the departments.

Hence the two major issues to be immediately dealt

with once the Council was organized were: (a) Curriculum planning

and development and the role of departments in these activities; and

(b) the establishment of organizational structure of departments

including regular appointment of their chairmen. The establishment

of the Committee structure of the Council was clearly influenced by

the members' feelings concerning these two issues of critical

importance to them.

J. Organization of the Council of the Faculty of Arts

and Science: The Politics of Its Development

It has been noted earlier that the membership of this

Council had nearly doubled by the end of Summer 1967 due to new

appointments. Consequent upon this expansion was a more signifi-

cant change which had begun to take place in the power structure of

the University. The organization of the Faculty of Arts and Science

Council, was being treated by its members as a matter of central

importance in the process of the University's organizational politics.

Earlier, while discussing the General Faculty Council's organization,

a reference was made to the political competition and activity

attendant upon the election of General Faculty Council members from

the Faculty of Arts and Science. It should be noted that those

elections took place as part of the organization of the Arts and

Science Faculty Council which preceded that of the G. F. C.

The Council began its organizational activities with the

consideration of the report of the Faculty's Advisory Committee on

Organization of the Arts and Science Faculty Council.[50] Its major

recommendations pertained to two questions: (a) the election of

members of the Council to the General Faculty Council; (b) the

development of an interim committee structure for the Arts and

Science Faculty Council. These recommendations, accompanied

by suggested procedures for nomination and election of members

that were worked out in complex detail, were accepted by the

Council without major modifications.[51] Following this, the

establishment of the Committee structure as well as the election

of G. F. C. representatives were undertaken.

K. Development of the Committee Structure

In accordance with the recommendations of the Advisory

Committee, three interim committees were established: (a) Curriculum

Committee; (b) Steering Committee; and (c) Studies and Admissions

Committee. These Committees were to continue operating until the

Faculty Council's action on recommendations from the Steering

Committee covering a more permanent Committee structure. Only

the first two interim Committees are of interest to the present

analysis. In accordance with the Advisory Committee's recommenda-

tions duly approved by the Council, these Committees were to be

composed of members as follows: Curriculum Committee - the Dean

(ex officio) and seven elected faculty members; Steering Committee -

the Dean (ex officio) and four elected faculty members.

The task before the Curriculum Committee was two-

fold:

> (a) To review the present curriculum submission
> of the departments, and report thereon, and

> (b) to review future curricular submissions of
> the departments, and report thereon to
> Council. [52]

At least two unresolved curricular disputes mentioned earlier were

awaiting action. Furthermore, their resolution was closely related

to the establishment of over-all future curricular policy. The action

of the Curriculum Committee on these matters was obviously going

to be of critical importance. Hence, the stakes in who gets elected

to this Committee were high, indeed.

The terms of reference of the Steering Committee

were:

> (a) to prepare a report for the consideration
> of the Council on a suitable membership
> and organization for the Council, and

> (b) to prepare agendas for meetings of the
> Arts and Science Council and in that
> regard to prepare business for the
> consideration of the Faculty on matters
> not within the purview of the (other two
> committees). [53]

Accordingly, it was to recommend a suitable committee structure along with all the necessary operating procedures - to replace the interim committee structure of the Council. But it was also this Committee which was to be responsible for bringing before the Council recommendations of proposals regarding such matters as the organizational structure of academic departments. Even though, these matters were of considerable long-term interest to the Council members, they were of a less immediate concern than were curricular matters to the departments.

It is presumably because of this reason that, at the time of the election of members to these Committees, the question of departmental representation emerged as a central concern in the case of the Curriculum Committee but not for the Steering Committee. It should be recalled that the Council had, in fact, decided earlier that the Curriculum Committee was to be constituted of only eight members - seven to be elected by the Council and the Dean. This decision was obviously no longer acceptable to a substantial number of Council members as indicated by the following decision of the Council.

The Council approved by a vote of 21 to 10[54] a motion to establish the Curriculum Committee composed of one representative from each of the sixteen departments, thereby, automatically

overturning its earlier decision. Further, each representative was
to be chosen by the department concerned and not by the Council or
the Dean. It is to be noted that this motion was intiated by members
of the Geography department because of their unhappiness with
previous curricular policy decisions, discussed in Chapter 5. There
is little doubt that this decision of the Council left the Dean and some
other Council members unhappy. For the Dean preferred a small
committee composed of Council representatives rather than a large
one constituted by departmental delegates. Furthermore, it
represented a significant "victory" for the "dissident" faction who
had been in serious disagreement with the Dean and the "dominant"
faction over matters of curricular policy and its development as
well as departmental structure and powers. An earlier phase of
these differences was examined in the preceding chapter. However,
despite the Dean's unhappiness, the Curriculum Committee composed
of departmental representatives and two ex officio members including
the Dean was duly set up. [55]

It was fully operational by late September and had
begun to receive curricular submissions from different departments.
Among the first few departments to submit curricular proposals for
consideration, were the departments of Biological Sciences and
Geography. Each of these departments resubmitted its earlier

proposals, with minor modifications, but emphasizing the need for

retaining in their respective curricula two Introductory level courses.

The old controversy was thus revived, leading to increased organiza-

tional tensions, within the Committee as well as the Faculty.

New political battles were in the making. The elections

to and work of the Curriculum Committee had set in motion a new

cycle of conflict. The departments, at least some of them, had

attempted to assert their right to a key role in the decision-making

process concerning curricular policy-formation and development.

They were seeking departmental autonomy - the institutionalization

of the principle of "curricular freedom" - in the organization of

the Faculty.

Hence, in a communication to the Curriculum

Committee (September 28) regarding the Introductory Courses, the

Biological Sciences departmental representative pleaded,

> ...that each department should be permitted
> to carry on the presentation of its disciplines
> in whatever manner it considers most desir-
> able and that the only concern of the remainder
> of the faculty should be to prevent any serious
> abuse of this responsibility. I hope that this
> committee adopt such a policy for itself and
> recommend the adoption of such a policy to
> the Faculty Council.

However, the Dean's conception of the role of

departments in a liberal arts university was at complete variance

with that contained in the preceding remarks of the representative

of the department of the Biological Sciences. These will be discussed

shortly. It should be sufficient to state here that he viewed depart-

ments as purely administrative units. Policy-formulation, in his

view, was the sole responsibility of the Faculty Council, not to be

shared with the departments.

The next step in the cycle of conflict involving the

Curriculum Committee was its dismissal by the Dean in October.

In a memorandum dated October 25, he informed the Council

members of the following:

> At its last meeting, the Council established
> a Curriculum Committee which subsequently
> met several times under the Chairmanship
> of Professor _____. The Committee
> passed with unanimity on some minor items
> relating to specific students which do not
> involve policy changes, and therefore have
> been implemented through the Dean's office.
> Otherwise, however, the Committee has not
> been successful in dealing with matters of
> curricular policy, and eventually several of
> the departmental representatives submitted
> resignations from the Committee. Professor
> _____ and I then agreed that the Committee
> should not convene, particularly in view of
> the impending Council meeting.
>
> It is evident that at this time a moratorium
> must be declared on curricular changes for
> the present academic year, for it is now
> necessary that students be informed of the
> courses and requirements which will prevail
> in the Spring Semester. Attention is already

being paid to the preparation of a second
edition of the 1967-68 University Calendar,
which will describe in detail and as accu-
rately as possible the whole University
structure and program.

It is furthermore evident that short-range
curricular development and long-range
academic planning for the Arts and Science
Faculty must proceed forthwith, so that
adequate consideration can be given before
the academic programs of the next and
ensuing years are implemented. It is
desirable that the experience acquired
through the University's successful faculty
recruitment of last spring be utilized
immediately and maximally for this
important work.

He concluded this memorandum by proposing that the

Council establish a Planning and Curriculum Committee consisting

of the Dean, and six specific members of the Council; all of these

were associate or full professors and had joined the University

during summer 1967. The task of this new Committee was to be of

"reviewing curricular proposals from departments and other

sources; consideration of curricular development, and short-and

long-range planning, with the ultimate objective of preparing

reports for presentation to the Arts and Science Council."[56]

Thus, the political battle had taken another decisive

turn. The administration had reasserted its power. The Dean,

with the help of his faculty allies, had countered the assertion of

departmental power by the reassertion of bureaucratic power.

Apparently he had been prompted to so act also by the fact that his

membership on the committee was challenged on procedural or

"legalistic" grounds by the representative of the Biological Sciences

department in the October 17 meeting. [57] The Dean, and perhaps

other members of the University administration also, interpreted

it as a challenge to the institutionalized power of the administration.

Nevertheless, while the reassertion of power may have met this

challenge effectively, it generated newer tensions at different

levels of organizational activity. The complexity of the political

process lies in the fact that at the same time it attempts to reduce

some tensions or resolve some conflicts, it generates new ones.

The Dean's action prompted an immediate and fairly

widespread reaction against it. The following statement, which

was distributed to all Council members prior to the Council action

on the Dean's recommendation on October 26, was made by another

new member of Biological Sciences department and is fairly

representative of this reaction:

> It is apparent to everyone that the Curriculum
> Committee indeed has not been very success-
> ful, but the statement that the committee did
> not make any decisions in matters of curricular
> policy is not entirely correct, since the
> committee adopted proposals from the German
> (Sic) Department and Geography Department.

It is recognized that time is pressing,
and that discussions should be made,
relevant to the Committee's progress
and terms of reference. However, this
fact should not be used to remove a
democratically constituted committee
in which each department has its own
representative. In particular, a depart-
mental representative is an absolute
necessity in this committee so that the
requests and specific requirements of
each department can be heard clearly,
presented effectively, debated and
evaluated. The recommended Curriculum
and Planning Committee probably would be
effective in making decision, but its
establishment would by-pass democratic
principles. There is no shortcut for
democratic principles and procedures;
in the long run, the wisdom of these
principles and procedures becomes
increasingly apparent.

In addition, it may be unwise to adopt the
recommendation at this time, since the
Steering Committee has virtually com-
pleted its report on committee structure
and function. This report should be
given very careful consideration by the
Council.

The statement concluded by making the following

recommendations to the Council:

(1) That the present Curriculum Committee
reconvene immediately, and that each
Department provide for its representation
on the committee by the careful selection
of its representative.

(2) That the Curriculum Committee appoint a
chairman who will confine discussions
fairly but strictly to the questions at hand.

(3) That the report of the Steering Committee
be considered at the earliest possible
opportunity.

Such reaction notwithstanding, a new Planning and

Curriculum Committee, as recommended by the Dean, was established

and its membership ratified by the Faculty Council on October 26 by a

vote of 27 to 18.[58] Thus the Dean's action received a certain degree

of apparent legitimacy through the demonstrated majority support for

his new Committee in the Council. But it was a precarious legitimacy

for an action initiated and supported by administrative influence but

prompted by serious disagreement within the Faculty on fundamental

matters of policy. Serious differences and disagreements within the

group now responsible for curriculum planning and development might

have been no longer a problem, but the conflict in the faculty was

certainly not resolved.

The political activity immediately shifted from the

Council to the office of the President following the Council's action.

The President had counselled the department of Biological Sciences

during the summer, it will be recalled, to seek redress of its

objections to curricular decisions taken earlier through appropriate

Faculty channels in the fall. Now he was once again the target of

influence by the "dissident" group as well as others. The dissident

faction accused the Dean of violating "academic freedom" and

democratic decision-making. The Dean and his allies accused the

other group for violation of respect for order and authority.

The factional split and the resulting conflict was so

strong that the President found it difficult to ignore it any more. He

stood fast by his administration colleagues although he went on

listening to whoever came to speak to him about the matter. But the

position he took on the matter did not help relieve the unrest and

anxiety that had resulted from the events discussed above. In fact,

the decisions of the G. F. C. discussed already, especially those

concerning promotions and tenure, which were being taken during the

last week of October intensified the fears and unrest in the University

faculty. The mode of political action at the time was that of

confrontation, not of negotiation and bargaining.[59]

Before the developments in the Interim Curriculum

Committee started moving towards the power confrontation just

discussed, the Steering Committee had taken some important

decisions of vital importance for the Council's organizational

development. As early as September 18, the Committee had

resolved to make certain recommendations regarding the Committee

structure of the Council, including names of committees to be

established, their membership and terms of reference. The

recommendation of major interest to us is the one concerning the

Curriculum Committee. Within the proposed committee structure, it

recommended that such a Committee be composed of the Dean as

ex officio member and one representative from each department in

the Faculty of Arts and Science. In other words, it fully endorsed

the idea of departmental representation for this Committee. Further,

the Steering Committee recommended that the already constituted

interim Curriculum Committee be deemed to be the Curriculum

Committee.

While this decision might have been a source of

satisfaction for those in the Faculty who had been in support of the

idea of departmental representation on the Curriculum Committee,

it was a cause of concern for the Dean. He expressed this concern

to the members of the Steering Committee in a message on

September 22 as follows:

> I have the uneasy feeling that we are being
> drawn into the trap that somehow the number
> and sophistication of our committees will
> determine the quality of our institution. The
> real method of grass-roots participation by
> all faculty members in this University should
> be through the excellence of their teaching
> and scholarly endeavors. The committee
> work is but a necessary evil in order for
> effective preparation of broad academic
> policy. (Emphasis added.)[60]

As this statement indicates, the Dean was apparently

disturbed by the Committees' readiness to accept the validity of

grass-roots notion of participation[61] as implied in its recommendation

concerning the composition of the Curriculum Committee. In his

message, therefore, he attempted to express this concern by using

a "persuasive definition"[62] of grass-roots participation--a mode of

participation apparently favoured by the Committee as well as

numerous other faculty members. In other words, the Dean expressed

in no uncertain terms his disapproval and opposition to extensive

faculty participation in the formulation of academic policy. Despite

his apparent reservations over the Steering Committee decision

concerning the Curriculum Committee, however, he did in no way try

to overrule this decision.

His comments on grass-roots participation were pre-

sumably also intended to express his reservations concerning the

Steering Committee's apparent inclination to recommend rather

complex nomination and election procedures for electing members

members to the proposed committees.[63] At that time, the Committee

was considering nomination procedures, for example, whereby all

Faculty Council members would stand in nomination for all

committees. Again, in the message reffered to above, he expressed

his opposition to these procedures in unequivocal terms:

> I am all for the adoption of election procedures
> of a more traditional character in which people
> stand for nomination and election.

Following the above statement by the Dean, the Steering Committee

altered its position on the nomination and election procedure with the

exception of the proposed Executive Committee. However, even the

recommendation concerning a more complex set of election procedures

for the Executive Committee was subsequently rejected by the

Council, although by a narrow margin of 19/18 votes, when the

Steering Committee report came up for its consideration on

December 5.

Despite his foregoing reservations regarding the

Steering Committee recommendations, however, the Dean was quite

optimistic about the early completion of the Committee's report.

On September 27, he informed all members of the Faculty Council

that "this Committee is in the final stages of preparation of a

major report. A meeting of the Arts and Science Council will be

called shortly to receive this report."[64] However, the Dean's

action to dismiss the interim Curriculum Committee precluded any

serious consideration of this report by the Council in the near future.

In fact, the Dean's recommendation to the Council to elect the new

Planning and Curriculum Committee represented a clear rejection

of the Steering Committee's position on the matter. Furthermore,

its quick approval by the Council signalled the exclusion of the

"dissident" group from the key Faculty decision-making structures as

well.

The foregoing discussion of the developments concerning the two Committees clearly reveals the nature of the serious differences within the Faculty of Arts and Science over matters of policy. These basic policy differences led different groups to seek control of the policy-making bodies. Serious conflicts arose over the matter of this control. The central concern of each group was to be strong enough to influence the choices of authorities who made binding decisions or the structures within which decisions occurred.

Another noteworthy feature of the inter-group relations examined above was the fact that the major actions taken by the actors, individuals and groups, were not intended for the resolution of conflicts but for the achievement of success in the power contests. Therefore, the instruments of power and authority were the most scarce resources over which the faculty groups engaged in the conflict grappled.

The cycle of conflict that has been discussed above was, therefore, productive of strong discontent. It had important consequences for the social structure of the faculty as well as the outcomes in the arenas of conflict. The curriculum decisions during the summer created focussed discontent in one segment of the faculty. It was this discontent which led to the organization and mobilization of the "dissident" group and influenced the interim

Curriculum Committee elections. The outcome of this election and

the subsequent developments in this Committee, apparently gave

rise to discontent among members of the "dominant" group and the

administration. This apparently provided the Dean and his allies

an opportunity to mobilize support for the action to dismiss the

Committee. However, the Dean's action as well as the various

decisions of the G. F. C. and the Arts and Science Council in late

October, that have been discussed earlier, produced an even

stronger feeling of discontent and loud protest among the "dissidents".

This inter-dependence of power and discontent[65] was

integral to the process of conflict in the University and influenced

its organizational development and change. It obviously influenced

the dynamics of the conflict relations of the two factions of the

faculty and the administration. But it had implications also for the

problem of legitimation of the emerging institutional structure of

the University as a political system. A certain degree of political

support or commitment of the members is of critical importance

to such a system. However, the institutional process of the

University that has been described above was characterized by

what was termed by members of the dissident group, the use of

"naked power" and the resulting discontent. This discontent was

an important source of de-legitimation and negative trust

orientation towards the institutional structure. The organizational

structure of the new University was being surely institutionalized.

But this institutionalization was accompanied by increasingly strong

feelings of discontent and political alienation of the "dissident"

faction, with obvious implications for social control.

Political alienation refers to (a) the feelings the

members have both about those agencies and processes that are

involved in the election of officials and about the enactment of

general policies; and (b) the kinds of expectations people have of

treatment at the hands of agents of the political system. [66] The

feelings and expectations that the members of the "dissident"

group had concerning these matters were certainly indicative of

strong political alienation from the University's institutional

apparatus and its administrative leadership. Some members of

the University administration were more concerned about it than

others.

For instance, the President of the University was

fully aware of the problem of growing alienation in the faculty. In

his address to the University Faculty on October 30, [67] which was

prompted by the strong wave of tension and protests sweeping the

campus due to intra-faculty conflict, he repeatedly referred to

strong feelings of mistrust that characterized the intra-faculty

and faculty-administration relations. He deplored the break-down
in the normal channels of communication in the University and the
absence of a general support for the system and its goals. He
pleaded for "reasonableness". For in the absence of reasonableness,
in his view, political alienation, and chaos rather than order, would
result.

The consequences of this political polarization and
alienation for the perceptions of the faculty with respect to bureau-
cratization and professionalization in the University are explored
in the next chapter. It will be noticed there that the arrogation of
power by the "dominant" group, and the exclusion of the "dissidents"
from power and influence in the institutional structure of the
University, did have considerable influence on those perceptions.

Before concluding this chapter one more issue which
also contributed to the "dissident" group's alienation must be
briefly considered. It has to do with the development of departmental
structure of the Faculty of Arts and Science.

L. Departmental Structure

The outcome of faculty conflicts that were taking place
in different arenas like the G. F. C. and the Arts and Science Faculty
Council was obvious by the end of October. The "dissident" group

had been successfully "excluded" from the important decision-making

bodies of the University. Its influence attempts had finally been

contained. This development had important implications for the

development of the departmental structure for the Faculty of Arts

and Science.

Some discussions on the issue of departmental

structure took place in the Steering Committee during September

and October. A tentative agreement on some basic points was

reached there before the Committees' actions were temporarily

"suspended" around mid-October. The Committee had agreed to

abandon the "Elective Principle" for the appointment of department

chairman. Further, it expressed itself in favour of a term appoint-

ment for the chairman. Thus, the Committee had gone on record

generally supporting the Dean's position regarding departmental

structure, even though its final report did not include any reference

to the question. In fact, this issue had also been under study by

the University Planning Committee which submitted a detailed

and lengthy report on the matter to the G. F. C. on November 30.

This was subsequently approved by the G. F. C. without any major

changes. It should be noted that the members of the Faculty (Arts

and Science) had, thereby, been excluded from the examination

and decision process concerning this issue of vital importance to them.

The University Planning Committee's recommendations stated in detail the functions of departments, the duties and power of the department chairmen, and the terms and methods of their appointment. These recommendations were essentially in accordance with the Dean's views which were available to the U.P.C. in the form of a well-argued lengthy document.

The important features of the G.F.C. decision on departmental structure were:

     (a) The departments were primarily admini-
         strative units. Therefore, their powers
         in policy-formulation were limited and
         at the pleasure of the Dean.

     (b) The chairman was to be appointed for
         term and his powers must constitutionally
         be delegated by the Dean and, therefore,
         were to be technically at his pleasure.

Since there were serious differences in the Faculty over the powers of departments and the selection of their chairmen, the G.F.C. decision led to further discontent among those members who favoured much more "democratized" departmental structure and wider powers for departments with respect to academic planning and policy-formulation. The reaction of the chairman of the Physics department to U.P.C. recommendations, which is contained in the following paragraphs, (part of a letter to the President) was typical of the reactions of the "dissidents" in general:

I had a chance to look briefly at the University
Planning Committee report to be presented
to G. F. C. this Thursday. It appears that
the Dean's proposed departmental structure
follows recommendations of November 1st.
I am dismayed. It looks as if G. F. C. is
about to do something--for administrative
convenience--that will possibly have a long-
term restrictive effect on the development
of the University.

I find it impossible to reconcile the setting-up
of an administrative hierarchy with the kind of
philosophy you have expressed (and I have
liked to listen to) many times. (In part:)
"...that we try to become a campus in which...
constructive chaos can prevail." As soon as
a departmental structure with a head appointed
by the administration and responsible to the
Dean is set up, as soon as we are put into
the conventional administrative mould, then
chaos--constructive or otherwise--will cease.
Then we will have a traditional line of command
through which to take everything from a
request for a pencil sharpener to a brilliant
idea. I still think that the department would
best be considered as a forum for the deve-
lopment of academic ideas and be primarily
responsible to the Arts and Science Council,
and secondly be a low-level administrative
unit. This is a quite different kind of
department from what the Planning Committee
is proposing.

I am afraid that in our newness and in our
concern about respectibility, we are adopting
from other places rules and regulations which
will restrict our flexibility. We are spending
too much time on rules and procedures, and
not enough on examining the educative process.
The Committee on Innovation is the only one
not meeting, alas.

I have written this partly from the encourage-
ment I have felt at the foresight and initiative
shown by members of the Physics Department.
We are generating academic plans at our
meetings, and everyone shows a lot of
enthusiasm when discussing them. I am
convinced that each department, if encouraged
and made certain about its status and respon-
sibility, would provide the grass-roots forum
for innovation. This we need; a strong
administrative hierarchy we do not need. [68]

The several organizational developments and decisions

that have been examined in this chapter contributed to the sharpening

of intra-faculty divisions and conflict. In the Faculty of Arts and

Science, the departments of Biological Sciences, Geography, Physics,

Political Science, Economics and, perhaps, Philosophy tended to be

generally discontented with these decisions and developments. On

the other hand, the departments of History, Psychology, Chemistry,

Music, Sociology, and the Faculty of Education clearly supported

them. There was considerable evidence that we gathered during the

field work which supported the foregoing statements regarding

departmental alignments. The position of the remaining departments

was somewhat less clear at the time. None of them appeared to have

developed a clear pattern of support or opposition to the major issues

as yet.

Summary and Conclusions

Some important organizational developments with respect

to the institutional structure and process of the University of

Lethbridge during its first year of operation have been examined. We

have especially focussed on the processes of conflict and change while

examining the developments with reference to (a) the philosophy of the

University; (b) the organization of the General Faculty Council; and

(c) the organization of Council and the departmental structure of the

Faculty of Arts and Science.

The present analysis has concentrated on the analysis

of some of the bases of intra-faculty conflict that was associated

with the organizational development of the new University. The

emphasis of the analysis was more on the examination of the strategy

of conflict than on the resolution of conflict. The role of power and

discontent in the institutional process has been our central concern

in the study of conflict processes, in the developing institutional

structure of the university.

On the basis of our analysis, we have observed that

competing ideologies of participation, value conflicts, power,

legitimacy and discontent appear to have been closely related to

the institutional development of the University. Further, that the

apparent existence of broad consensus in the University faculty on

the abstract institutional values contained in the philosophy of the
University was ineffective in the resolution of intra-faculty conflict.
The present analysis has suggested, in fact, that the consensus on
these values led to conflict over concrete policies and thus generated
intense power struggles and strong discontent. One consequence of
the discontent and political alienation resulting from organizational
conflict appears to have been that it affected certain perceptions
and attitudes of the members towards the institutional structure of
the University. These perceptions and attitudes are examined in
the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. University of Lethbridge, Annual Report, 1967-68, p. 38.

2. The formal organizational structure of the University is based on
the juxta-position and interpenetration of two systems
of authority: a hierarchy of bureaucratic offices and a
quasi-hierarchical structure of legally constituted
collegial bodies responsible for policy-setting. The
resulting formal structure, nevertheless, is based on
legal authority. An important characteristic of legal
authority is that "(it) rests on enactment; its pure type
is best represented by bureaucracy. The basic idea
is that laws can be enacted and changes at pleasure by
formally correct procedure." See Max Weber "The
Types of Legitimate Rule," in A. Etzioni (ed.),
Complex Organizations, Toronto: Holt, Rinehart
(1961). First edition, p. 5. But it is clear from
Weber's analysis of various types of "legitimate rule"
that "bureaucracy does not represent the only type of
legal authority. Other types comprise rotating office
holders or office holders chosen by lot or popularly
elected officers. Parliamentary and committee
administration and all sorts of collegiate and admini-
strative bodies are included under the type if and when
their competency rests on enacted rules and if the use
that they made of their prerogative follows the type of
legal administration." Ibid., p. 6. In our view,
universities represent in their internal organization
an essentially non-bureaucratic type of legal authority.
It is so because the internal structure of university
organization combines, in a complex manner, elements
of bureaucratic administration and parliamentary and
committee administration. As opposed to the
administration of a bureaucratic structure which is
run by bureaucratic action, the self-governance of an
organization like a university proceeds through the
legislative actions and enactments by appropriate
parliamentary bodies and committees. In this chapter,
therefore, we look at the role of various groups in the
faculty and of administrators in the legislative initial
place of the organizational development of the University
of Lethbridge.

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3. John Porter. "Democratization of the Canadian Universities and
the Need for a National System", Minerva, (Feb. 1970),
pp. 325-356.

4. The Commission's findings and recommendations were published
in 1966: Sir James Duff and Robert O. Berdahl,
University Government in Canada, Toronto: Toronto
University Press, 1966.

5. See, Donald C. Rowat. "The Reform of University Government"
(A statement by the Committee on University Government
Presented to the Executive Council of the Canadian
Association of University Teachers As a Basis for
Discussion, June 13, 1960), C.A.U.T. Bulletin
(October, 1960), pp. 10-35.

    Note the following excerpts from Rowat Report:
    "Because our universities were organized before
    this need for scholarly independence was fully
    appreciated, a system of university government was
    created which assigned final control to an outside
    governing body and legally placed this body and the
    scholars in the relationship of master to servants--a
    relationship that is fundamentally wrong if the free
    search for truth is to flourish in Canada." (p. 11.)
    Referring to the Canadian Universities, the Report
    notes: "This system, moreover, has resulted in a
    formal hierarchy of control in the internal administration
    of our universities that is authoritarian. Presidents,
    deans, directors, heads of departments and professors--
    all are appointed and directed from the top down in a
    system of superior-subordinate relationships and the
    president has potentially arbitrary control over the
    promotion and pay of any faculty member." (Ibid.)

    Regarding the role that internal academic bodies play
    in modifying the hierarchical nature of this system,
    the Report adds: "It is true that over the years
    practices have been adopted and customs have developed
    which tend to soften the impact of this autocratic nature
    of our universities. But they also tend to disguise it.
    For example, internal bodies regulate and control
    many academic matters either independently of the

governing board or only with its formal approval. Yet
it is to be noted that most of these bodies--senate, council
board of Deans, etc.--are made up primarily of admini-
strative and academic officials appointed by the
president and the governing board. Only rarely is there
provision for the election of any significant proportion of
these bodies by the faculty." (p. 12.) Also, see Duff-
Berdahl Report (op. cit.) for recommendations on the
composition of such bodies as senates or academic councils,
appointments of Presidents, Deans, Department Chairmen,
etc., in universities.

6. E. J. Monahan. "The Inevitability of Gradualness. A Report on
Changes in University Government in Canada", C. A. U. T.
Bulletin, Vol. 16, December 1967, p. 33.

7. Here, we are referring to numerous articles and discussions
following the Rowat Report (op. cit.) on University
government, which appeared in the pages of the
C. A. U. T. Bulletin essentially during the first half of
the 1960's decade. The visits of the Duff-Berdahl
Commission to various campuses of Canadian
Universities in 1965 also stimulated a great deal of
thinking and interest among faculties and administrators
alike on the matter.

8. Monahan, Ibid., p. 33.

9. The new Universities Act of Alberta was passed and promulgated
in 1966. It was based on extensive revisions, in the
previous legislation known as the University Act, under-
taken by a Joint Committee composed of the representatives
of Board of Governors of the then only provincial
University and of Faculty from both of the campuses of
the University. All universities in Alberta have been
established or operate pursuant to the provisions of the
Universities Act since 1966.

10. Education in Canada--including post-secondary and higher
education--has, since 1867, been solely the responsi-
bility and under the control of the government of each
province. Provincial universities are therefore
established as public corporations under provincial

statutes. Because of this constitutional provision and
for other historical reasons, the Canadian universities
differ considerably from each other, not only in size
or in age, but in type. There is no single underlying
pattern of university government which is representative
of existing practices in Canada. A broad distinction may
be drawn in this regard between church-affiliated colleges
or universities and the publically supported provincial
universities--the latter type comprising by far the largest
number of Canadian universities.

As a rule, the publically supported provincial universities
in Canada are governed on the basis of an assumed
separation of powers, the lay Board of Governors osten-
sibly confining its attentions to fiscal matters while
giving the ncessary pro forma legal approval to
educational policies coming up from a Senate which is
theoretically representative of academic interests.
Within the general pattern of this framework, the
universities are to be found to differ considerably from
each other in respect of their internal structure. Such
differences exist inter-provincially and in some cases
intra-provincially. For a detailed discussion of these
similarities and differences, see Duff-Berdahl, op. cit.,
pp. 1-18.

11. Relevant provisions of the provincial Universities Act constitute
the general framework for the development of the
internal organizational structure of universities in the
Province. For instance, it outlines the general as well
as the more specific powers of the General Faculty
Council and of Faculty Councils and specifies different
categories, criteria and methods for selection of
members to each type of Council. The Act, by thus
specifying membership to and power of these academic
bodies, defines the nature and scope of faculty partici-
pation within the internal structure of the university.
The Act also makes a clear statement on the more
directly hierarchical part of the internal structure by
specifying the membership and powers of the Board
of Governors, the power of the offices of the President
and the Dean, and the relationship of these bodies and
offices to each other and the academic bodies as

constituent parts of the university's structure. The
provisions of the Act relative to the purely administra-
tive part of the internal structure are based on a strict
chain of command principle, allowing to be sure, wide
powers of delegation and subdelegation to successive
levels in the hierarchy. Insofar as the academic bodies
such as the General Faculties Council or a Faculty
Council are concerned, the Act specifies their
membership and functions, but leaves unspecified their
mode of operation. While giving the ultimate control
of the governance of the university to the Board of
Governors, the Act, thus, lays out the internal
organization of the university into two distinct but
integrally related segments: (a) the hierarchy of
administative offices of the President, Vice-President(s),
Dean(s) which are directly respons le for the supervision
and direction of academic work and the instructional
staff; and (b) the various Faculty Councils and other
collegial bodies linked to each other in a somewhat
hierarchic relationship, which are responsible for
establishing academic policy.

12. For an analysis of the important provisions of the new _Universities Act_ of Alberta including those relative to the nature and extent of faculty participation in university government, see D. de F. Macintosh and J. G. Nelson, "The New Universities Act in the Province of Alberta", _C.A.U.T. Bulletin_, Vol. 16 (October, 1967), pp. 83-95. Both the authors of this analysis were members of the Joint Committee to Review the University Act in the province of Alberta as representatives of the Association of Academic Staff of one of the two campuses of the provincial university.

13. _Ibid._, pp. 88-89.

14. _Ibid._, p. 91.

15. The Planning Committee established by the Acting President of the University immediately following the assumption of his duties in January 1967, quickly recognized the "impossibility of more long-range planning in the absence of clear-cut statements as to University

aspirations and goals. Hence they made the recommen-
dation to the Acting President that appropriate action be
taken in this connection. The Academic Planning
Conference was to develop the University's philosophy
which was later held in August had its historical
beginnings in the above recommendation and subsequent
action of the Acting President.

16. The President openly referred to these difficulties in his opening
address to the Academic Planning Conference.

17. From this point on in this chapter, these two factions will be
identified as the "dominant" and "dissident" factions.

18. The President's opening address, p. 10.

19. Ibid., p. 8 (emphasis added).

20. The University of Lethbridge Calendar, 1967-68, p. 11.

21. Ibid.

22. See, the University of Lethbridge: 1967-68 Annual Report,
pp. 38-40. These points are made by the Dean of the
Faculty of Arts and Science as part of his report.

23. The President's opening address, op. cit., p. 35.

24. Ibid., p. 41.

25. The University of Lethbridge: 1969-70 Annual Report, p. 7.

26. Ibid.

27. A questionnaire was circulated to different segments of the
University faculty including individual faculty members
by the University Planning Committee during the
field work for this study. The U.P.C. sought the
reaction to its proposals regarding academic planning
which emerged from the basic values of the University.
If the responses of this questionnaire of the faculty
were any indication regarding the development of faculty
a consensus in the faculty, it would seem that it was no

more united now as a working work than before. The
responses were mixed indicating, confusion, frustration,
and even some cynicism concerning the philosophy and
objectives of the University. It should be noted, however,
some of them did indicate a general support for the
objectives.

28. The following is a summary of the respective powers and member-
ship of the Board of Governors and various academic
Councils and the statutory authority associated with the
offices of a university President and a Dean of a Faculty
in Alberta universities under the Universities Act. See
Macintosh and Nelson, op. cit.

The Board of Governors. Although the Board is
ultimately responsible for the management and control
of the university, the major emphasis in its powers in
on fiscal matters while holding residual power of the
university. According to the Act, the Board is composed
of fourteen members: a Chairman, appointed by the
provincial government; the Chancellor and the President
of the University; and eleven other members appointed by
provincial government, of whom two are to be from the
academic staff of the university, nominated by the
General Faculty Council.

The General Faculty Council. The basic responsibility
of the General Faculty Council lies in conducting the
academic affairs of the university, subject to the
authority of the Board of Governors. Specifically, this
Council has the statutory recommending powers to the
Board of Governors on such matters as establishment
of faculties, schools, departments, chairs and courses
of instruction in the university in any subject that the
council thinks fit, affiliation of other institutions, aca-
demic and campus planning, the budget, the building
program, the regulation of reisences and dining halls,
the exercise of control over student affairs, procedures
regarding appointments, promotions, salaries, tenure,
dismissals, and any other matters considered by the
General Faculty Council to be of interest to the
university. The General Faculty Council has been
given appreciable initiative and wide recommending

powers while the Board has the power of approval
or decision.

Membership of the Council is composed of three
categories: ex officio, elected, and appointed. The
ex officio include the President as Chairman of the
Council, the Vice-Presidents, the Dean/Director of
each Faculty/School, the Chief Librarian, the Director
of Extension, and the Registrar. The elected members,
to be chosen by the various Faculties/Schools in
proportion to the number of faculty members there-in,
are, in total, to be twice the number of the ex officio
members. The "appointed" members are named and
their terms of office and number decided by the
ex officio and elected members.

The wide recommending powers of the General Faculty
Council tie it rather closely to various administrative
officers and other academic Councils and units
constitutive of the internal structure of the university.
The relationship between the General Faculty Council
and the President as the Chairman of this Council is
such that he can ask for or receive its recommendations
whenever appropriate. Further, the President can
disagree with any recommendations that General
Faculty Council wishes to refer to the Board.

The Faculty Council. Subject to the control of the
General Faculty Council, a Faculty has the authority
to determine the programs of study and authorize the
granting of degrees to persons in branches of learning
appropriate to the Faculty.

Membership to the Faculty Council extends to all full-
time academic staff of the Faculty. The Faculty Council
of Graduate Studies is an exception in respect of who are
to be its members. The Dean and the President are the
only ex officio members; the Dean is the Chairman of
the Council. A small number of appointed members
may be named to Council either by the General Faculty
Council on the recommendation of the Faculty Council
or, in the case of a representative of the appropriate
professional group, by the General Faculty Council.

The President. The President is the Chief executive
officer of the University; in addition, he is also its
Vice-Chancellor. The statutory powers of this office
include general supervision over academic work,
instructional staff and other personnel connected with
academic affairs, and general supervision over the
business affairs of the University. Thus both the
fiscal operations and academic functions of the
university are under the direct supervision of the
President.

The President enjoys wide powers of delegation of
authority. He may delegate any of his powers,
duties or functions as he sees fit and prescribe
conditions appropriate thereto, including the power
of subdelegation.

The Dean. Each Faculty has an appointed Dean as the
Chief executive officer of the Faculty. His responsibility
lies in the general supervision over and direction of the
academic work and instructional staff of the Faculty and
other personnel connected with that work. The Dean has
also been given wide powers of delegation.

29. The exact number of G.F.C. members in September 1967 was 21,
there being three student representatives. However,
because of the death of one student member early in the
year the membership was reduced to 20.

30. When we make use of the label "new" for some members of the
faculty in this chapter, we refer to those members of
the academic staff who did not belong to the faculty of
University Section of the Junior College and were
appointed to the faculty at the time of or after the
incorporation of the University.

31. The "Regina group" refers to five members of the Faculty of
Arts and Science, including the Dean of the Faculty,
all of whom had formerly taught together at another
Canadian university before joining the Faculty of this
University or the Junior College. These members
were seen as a close-knit and powerful group even
by their own allies. It was one of their colleagues

and a close ally, who suggested to us, during the field
work, the central position of this group in the power
structure of the University.

32. He resigned the department chairmanship in August 1967.
According to him, his resignation was prompted by
the fact that he was not getting necessary cooperation
from the Dean's office. Mutual antagonism between
him and the Dean which was due to serious differences
between them over policy was a matter of public
knowledge to the faculty of the University.

33. These remarks appeared in the "Administrative Memoranda"
sent by the President to the General Faculty Council
members, and which served as Agenda for the first
meeting of the council in September 1967.

34. Ibid.

35. Michael Crozier. The Bureaucratic Phenomenon, Chicago:
University of Chicago Press (Phoenix Books), 1964.
Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial
Bureaucracy, N. Y.: Free Press, 1954.

36. Excluding the President, the two Deans, and two visiting
professors, there were sixty-five faculty members,
present on the campus during 1967, who held academic
ranks. These were: Lecturers - 9; Assistant
Professors - 35; Associate Professors - 16; and
Full Professors - 5.

37. It must be emphasized again that the membership of the
University Planning Committee, as also of other
similar committees, was duly ratified by the General
Faculty Council.

38. The group in the faculty referred to here as the "dissident
faction" which was opposed to a highly bureaucratized
form of internal structure of the University, stood for
a high degree of departmental autonomy, and advocated
the concept of a "free university" as a model to be
followed. The other faculty group, referred to as the
"dominant" faction supported a more traditional internal

organizational structure, highly flexible and yet
structured academic programs, and emphasis on
bureaucratic authority in the Dean-Department
relationship.

39. The major components of these competing conceptions of the
university were specified and delineated in our analysis
of the brief history of intra-faculty conflict, attempted
in the preceding chapter.

40. The Report of the Welfare Committee, of the University's
Faculty Association, regarding the adequacy of these
tenure procedures was circulated in spring 1968. It
was highly critical of the procedures followed and
said: "This report is based on the conviction that
the present procedures for determining whether
tenure shall be awarded are grossly inadequate and
do not offer sufficient protection to the faculty member
to guarantee him equitable consideration and academic
due process".

41. See the "Revised Report of the Committee on Criteria and
Procedures for Salary, Promotions, and Tenure
Matters," General Faculty Council Minutes,
(Oct. 1967), p. 2.

42. The University of Lethbridge has outlined its regulations on
matters related to salary, promotions, and tenure
with respect to its full-time instructional staff in
The Faculty Handbook of May 1967, only a few months
before the General Faculty Council decided to take
further action in this regard. The Faculty Handbook,
although it outlined the general university policy and
procedures to be followed in this regard, had little to
recommend by way of criteria to be followed in
arriving at decisions in regard to the matters noted
above. Furthermore, some of the regulations
contained in The Faculty Handbook were not considered
final and an early revision of these was anticipated in
a special note at the beginning of the Handbook. In the
light of these circumstances, the General Faculty
Council decided to deal with these matters anew very
early in the school year. The faculty members likely

to be affected most by the introduction of the criterion
of "academic credentials" were those without tenure
but who had previously been members of the faculty
of the Junior College. They numbered no more than
four or five in all.

43. Talcott Parsons. Structure and Process in Modern Society,
New York: The Free Press, 1960, p. 37.

44. Max Weber raised the question of the insoluble conflict between
the formal and substantive principles of justice. "In
his view, the system of legal domination is character-
ized by some balance between these two principles."
See R. Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait,
New York, Anchor Books (1962), p. 484.

45. Peter M. Blau. Exchange and Power in Social Life, N. Y.:
John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967, p. 210.

46. Weber's discussion of the forms of authority suggests that
every organization with authority relations has a
doctrine of legitimacy which provides the justification
for that authority. But certain kinds of organizations
are known to have more than one doctrine of
legitimacy and these may not always be complementary
to each other. Further, under conditions of internal
conflict and change these doctrines may not be able to
provide strong enough base for minimum degree of
normative consensus to justify organizational authority.
Competition between more than one doctrine of
legitimacy within a given organization could,
conceivably, erode the basis (or bases) on which each
doctrine rests. Etzioni's discussion on the
"neutralization of power" in organizations is germane
here. See A. Etzioni, Complex Organizations: A
Comparative Analysis (Glencoe: The Free Press,
1961), pp. 6-8. For Weber's discussion on the forms
of authority cf., Max Weber, The Theory of Social and
Economic Organization (Glencoe: The Free Press,
1947), pp. 324-363.

47. William A. Gamson presents a highly insightful discussion of the
conditions under which formal authority is likely to be

delegated and, conversely, the conditions under which
formal authority is reclaimed by the body in which it
resides. From this discussion follows a distinction
between "formal authority" and "effective authority"
and "effective authority". See his Power and
Discontent (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1968),
pp. 23-28.

48. Treating organizations as systems of power as seen by their lower
participants, Etzioni has suggested a typology of
compliance relationships based on the type of power
used over the lower participants and their type of
involvement in the organization. Two kinds of
relationships can logically obtain between these two
variables: (a) congruent, and (b) incongruent. The
three model types (as congruent types) are: coercive
compliance, utilitarian compliance, and normative
compliance. Congruent types are more effective
organizationally than are incongruent types and,
therefore, are likely to be more fequent. However,
whether or not an organization can obtain and maintain
a congruent relationship is problematic because
"organizations have only limited control over the
powers they apply and the involvement of lower
participants." In studies, such as the present one,
of organizational change, conflict, strain, etc., the
incongruent types of compliance relationship are of
considerable interest. See a detailed discussion on
compliance etc., by Etzioni, see, Complex
Organizations: A Comparative Analysis, New York:
Free Press (1961), pp. 3-22.

49. These departments were: Biological Sciences; Chemistry;
Economics; Music; and Philosophy.

50. The Advisory Committee was an ad hoc committee, appointed
by the Dean of Arts and Science Faculty during the
summer of 1967. It had four members, all of them
from the "new" segment of the Faculty's academic
staff.

51. The Council received the report and accepted it at its first
meeting of the 1967-68 academic year, on August 28.

Regarding procedures for nomination and election, two
separate sets were recommended by the Committee:
one for elections to G.F.C., and another for elections
to Faculty Council Committees. The Council, following
the general guidelines suggested by the Committee,
decided to use a nomination procedure whereby every
statutory member of the Council was automatically
nominated for election to G.F.C. The election was to
be held by secret ballot.

Similarly, the Council accepted, with minor modifica-
tions, the Committee's recommendations regarding the
length of tenure of the G.F.C. representatives from the
Faculty with reference to the procedures for constituting
the Committees of the Council, the Advisory Committee's
recommendations were accepted without any changes.
According to these, the Dean was to prepare and
circulate in advance of the next Council meeting slates
of nominees for the proposed Committees. These slates
were to contain twice as many names as were elective
positions for each of these Committees. At the Council
meeting, after a call for further nominations, voting
was to take place by a show of hands.

52. Taken from the Terms of Reference of the Curriculum Committee
as stated in the Faculty Council Minutes for the Meeting
of August 28, 1967.

53. Ibid.

54. Forty-three Council members, including the President, were in
attendance at this meeting. In light of this, it is
interesting to note that only thirty-one voted on this
crucial motion. The number voting for the motion may
suggest that strength of the "dissident" group.
Presumably, the "dissident" group came to the meeting
prepared to bring the motion up and, therefore, might
have tried to get as many of their supporters and mem-
bers to the meeting as possible. Hence, twenty-one
would appear to be fair estimate of this group's strength
at the time in the Faculty Council of nearly sixty members.

55. This number included 16 representatives of the Departments and
two ex officio members including the Dean and his
Assistant. However, the original motion which led to
the establishment of this committee did not make any
reference to the question of the inclusion of the ex
officio members. Hence, some ambiguity surrounded
regarding their status with respect to their membership
and voting rights in the Committee. On October 17, the
Committee spent considerable time examining this
question. The minutes of that meeting indicate wide
disagreement among members on the issue. The
Committee was sharply divided over the question of
whether or not the Dean was ex officio members with
full voting rights. This disagreement served as an
"immediate" ground for the dismissal of the Committee
on October 25, 1967.

56. The Dean's Memorandum, October 25, 1967, to members of the
Arts and Science Council.

57. There were apparently a number of reasons which led the Dean
to dismiss the duly elected Curriculum Committee
of the Council. In addition to those stated by the Dean
in his Memorandum, one might also have seen the Dean's
initial reservations about the Committee as constituted.
But a pretext of a much more immediate nature was
provided by a challenge to Dean's membership on the
Curriculum Committee. As the differences among the
Committee members over curricular policy began to
develop into irreconcilable disagreements, by about
the third week of October, the Committee, not unlike
the Faculty, began to polarize leading apparently to
block-voting. This, of course, underlined the importance
of every single vote in the Committee. It was this sort
of situation that prompted a challenge to the voting status
of the ex officio members. The ex officio membership
in the Committee was not referred to at all in the motion
passed by the Council. Hence on strictly procedural
grounds, the challenge was not wrong. But it was the
intent which is subject to different interpretations.

58. It is interesting that only forty-five members voted on this motion
although fifty-two were in attendance. The notice of this

motion was served one day in advance of the meeting.
Intense political activity was reported to have preceded
the meeting. The eight members who did not vote
must have done so despite strong pressures from
various groups to vote with them.

59. The conflict in the faculty in late October was so intense that
the President found it necessary to address a special
meeting of the faculty and Staff (on October 30) on the
matter. He titled his address "On Reasonableness".

60. This statement is part of a written message that the Dean
addressed to the Chairman and other members of the
Steering Committee concerning its Meeting # 3
(September 22, 1967). The Dean was a member
of this Committee but was unable to attend that
meeting because of other engagements.

61. The concept of "participation" acquires distinctly different
meaning in different theories of democracy. Its
meaning in the "classical theory" is quite different
from that in the "modern theory". Grass-roots
participation is usually associated with the "classical
theory" of democracy - that is, participatory democracy.
"Representative" form of government (Elite Participation),
on the other hand, follows the model of the "modern
theory" of democracy. For excellent discussions
regarding the role and meaning of participation in
theories of democracy, see C. Pateman, Participation
and Democratic Theory, Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1970, pp. 1-44; G. N. Ostergaard
and A. H. Halsey, Power in Cooperatives: A Study of
the Internal Politics of British Retail Societies,
Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965, pp. 203-228.

62. Ostergaard and Halsey, op. cit. They write that a "persuasive
definition" is one designed to convince the reader or
listener that a term means something other than what
it is usually taken to mean. It can often be detected by
the use of the words "true" or "real" before the term
defined. p. 206 (footnote 2).

63. The following procedures were listed in the Minutes of the Steering Committee Meeting #3, September 22, 1967.

B. Procedural Details
   Elections would take place by ballot in two stages:

   (1) Nomination Stage: (i) all Faculty Council members would stand in nomination for committee. (ii) the Registrar would distribute by mail a nomination ballot to each Council voting member. (iii) each voting council member would then nominate one candidate for each committee to be filled by election. (iv) nomination ballots as marked would be returned to the Registrar on or before a specified date fixed by the Executive Council. (v) the Registrar, assisted by the Librarian as the Council's official scrutineer, would then tally the nomination ballots as returned. He would compile a list of assenting nominees twice in number to the number of positions to be filled on each Committee proceeding in order from the persons gaining the largest number of nominations to the person gaining the lowest. In case of a tie in the tally or indeed lack of nominees the Registrar would fill the appropriate slots by drawing lots. (vi) it would be the Registrar's responsibility to secure agreement to stand for election from all candidates prior to the next meeting of Council.

   (2) Election Stage: (i) prior to the next appropriate Council meeting at which elections take place the Register would publish a list of the top nominees for perusal by the members of the Council. (ii) at the election meeting the Registrar would distribute printed ballots containing top nominees for the various Committees listed by Committee. Each ballot would have the names of twice as many members as placed to be fulled. (iii) the marked ballots would be collected and a tally prepared by the Registrar and the winners announced. In case of indeterminacy voting would continue until all Committee places had

been filled. Also see, Faculty Council Meeting
#4 (December 5, 1967).

64. Dean's Memorandum on "Progress Report on Council Affairs",
dated September 27, 1967.

65. For an excellent discussion on the interdependence of power and
conflict, see William Gamson, Power and Discontent,
Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968, pp. 21-58.

66. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

67. This address was entitled "On Reasonableness".

68. This letter was addressed to the President and was dated
November 30, 1967.

Chapter 7

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIZATION IN
MODERN ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

Introduction

It has been suggested in Chapter 3 that the modern

university's organizational structure and governance - and its

faculty's participation in decision-making - are affected by two major

social processes: professionalization and bureaucratization.

Professionalization, in this chapter, refers to the attitudinal attri-

butes of the professional model which is based on the normative-

structural approach in the sociology of professions discussed earlier

in Chapter 3. Bureaucratization, here, refers to the structural

attributes of the bureaucratic model which is primarily Weberian in

origin. The intent of this chapter is to present and examine empirical

data on how perceptions of these phenomena affect and are affected by

each other, in the organizational context of the modern university.

From the perspective of the "political process" model

of the university used in the present case study, these phenomena are

expected to be perceived and experienced differentially by different

individuals and groups in the faculty, as they participate in the

processes of organizational development and governance. The

"political process" model suggests that in order to understand effectively the dynamic relationship between perceptions of professionalism and bureaucracy on the one hand, and between these perceptions and university governance, on the other, it is necessary to focus on factors which may account for variance or differentials in the perception of these phenomena among faculty members and groups. Therefore, some selected correlates of perceptions of professionalism and bureaucracy in the modern university are also examined in this chapter. Data from a questionnaire completed by individual respondents - in all fifty-six academics including both administrative and non-administrative faculty members from the university studied - will be used in the analysis of this chapter.

The questionnaire was circulated among the full-time faculty of the university, during the last two weeks of the period of our observation. Altogether, sixty-eight faculty members--all those present on the campus during that time--were approached with the questionnaire. Fifty-nine (86.8%) questionnaires were returned to the investigator, of which fifty-six (82.3%) were usable. Data from the remainder of the returned questionnaires could not be used because they were neither fully nor properly completed. Table 1 contains the information on questionnaire distribution and return by departmental

affiliation of respondents. The Faculty of Education did not have

a departmental structure at the time of the study. Education

respondents are, therefore, treated as one group in our analysis.

A. Theory and Method

It is generally assumed that there is an inverse

relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization.

Accordingly, it is also generally concluded that the more profes-

sionalized an organization, the less bureaucratized it is likely to

be[1] - a conclusion which is questioned in the present study. The

utility of making this rather blanket assumption for empirical study

of the relationship between these phenomena has been questioned in

recent literature.[2] This questioning is premised on the observation

that there are certain elements such as a high emphasis on technical

competence, specialization, and division of labor that are common

to both professionalism and bureaucracy. Thus, it is argued that

the above assumption may not generally hold.

The assumption of an inverse relationship between

professionalization and bureaucratization is also implicit in the

polar paradigms of "collegium" and "bureaucracy" which have been

used in literature for the conceptualization of university organization

and governance. Their respective weaknesses have been already

Table I

Respondent Distribution By Academic Department:
Number Distributed, and Number Returned

Department	Number in Each Department To Whom Questionnaires Were Distributed	Number in Each Department That Returned Usable Questionnaires	Members in Each Department That Did Not Return
Art	3	3	
English	8	6	2
History	4	4	
Modern Languages	3	2	1
Music	2	2	
Philosophy	2	2	
Biological Sciences	5	3	2
Chemistry	5	5	
Math	3	2	1
Physics	4	4	
Economics	3	1	2
Geography	3	2	1
Political Science	3	2	1
Psychology	5	5	
Sociology	3	3	
Physical Education	4	3	1
Education	8	7	1
TOTAL	68	56	12

NOTE: In the Tables that follow in this chapter the departments of Political Science and Economics have been combined and dealt with as one department.

discussed earlier in Chapter 3. In it, we also examined the

assumption regarding the relationship of professionalization and

bureaucratization, although from a theoretical perspective quite

different from that of Blau and Scott or Hall. Here, we shall

extend our argument in that chapter following its brief recapitulation.

We have suggested that certain important aspects of

professionalism, which are generally neglected in the normative-

structural approach to the sociology of professions, suggest that

under certain conditions high levels of professionalization and

bureaucratization may in fact co-exist in professional organizations.

Professionalization, it was suggested, leads to intra-professional

diversity, divergence, and conflict. In a professional organization

like the university, such diversity and divergence tend to become

a major source of intra-organizational conflict. Intra-organizational

conflict in a professional organization, especially among professional

employees themselves, is likely to be rooted in divergent professional

ideologies and preferred goals. Furthermore, such conflict may be

reinforced by shared professional attitudes especially those related

to autonomy and hierarchical authority and may lead to further

bureaucratization in an organizational setting of a professional

organization.

Because ideological and goal divergence and conflict
characterize a professional organization, it is expected that this
will influence professional employees' perceptions of the degree of
bureaucratization and professionalization of the organization. They
may still perceive these phenomena to be inversely related but not
agree as to which one is more highly developed. These observations
suggest the following:

1. That bureaucratization may be resorted to
   or accepted by different groups or indivi-
   duals in professional organizations, despite
   its normative incompatibility with
   professionalism, provided it strengthens
   their power position and facilitates their
   ends through securing influence or control
   over the organizational structure, or
   policy-making and goal-setting.

2. Since bureaucratization of an organization
   may facilitate the ends of some professionals
   while obstructing the ends of others - may
   they be individuals, groups or strata - it is
   anticipated that it will be disapproved,
   resented, or resisted differentially by
   different actors. By some, it may even be
   positively approved and supported.

3. It is also anticipated, therefore, that the
   degree of bureaucratization in an organization
   will be perceived differentially by different
   actors who are professionals, despite the
   fact that most professionals generally learn
   to view bureaucratization negatively during
   their professional training and socialization.

4. And such differentials in perception, in our
   view, cannot be accounted for in terms of

the strength of the actors' professional
attitudes alone. Their position vis-a-vis
the structure of authority, power and
influence of their employing organization,
and their other relevant structural or
personal background characteristics are
likely to be related to their perceptions.

However, if due attention is paid to the patterns of

internal variation in the perception of these phenomena in the manner

suggested here the assumption of an inverse relationship is not

entirely unjustified or useless in the study of professionalization and

bureaucratization in the context of professional organizations.

Professionalism, because of its emphasis on horizontal rather than

vertical type of authority relations and on autonomy of professional

judgment, orients professionals to view their work relations with

each other in equalitarian or collegial terms.

Bureaucratization, on the contrary, with its emphasis

on hierarchical authority relations and strict discipline, stresses

formal inequality and the inevitable possibility of oligarchy in

organizational setting of work. Professionalization, in this sense,

would appear to manifest a process of democratization with respect

to professionals' work relations and organizations. Bureaucratization,

on the other hand, would seem to represent an opposite trend towards

centralized authority and oligarchic structure of work organizations.

Therefore, in the study of the organization and governance of

professional organizations like the modern university, one must

focus attention on this aspect of the relationship between these two

social processes.

Furthermore, democratic values are of special

importance in the study of professionalization and bureaucratization

in organizations located in cultural settings which stress these

values, and in which the process of democratization acquires a

central importance.[3] For the development of and relationship

between these phenomena in a concrete organization are likely to

be affected by the centrality of democratic values in its cultural

setting. Professionalization in a democratic cultural setting may

lead to increased pressure towards democratization in professional

organizations. Likewise, bureaucratization, especially in

organizations of this kind, may tend to develop a pattern of

"representative" bureaucracy. The process of democratization

may, therefore, exert considerable influence on the dynamics of

both professionalization and bureaucratization as they manifest

themselves in organizational development and governance.

If this is true, then a high degree of bureaucratization

and a low degree of professionalization when found side by side in

an organizational context do not merely suggest an inverse relation-

ship between the two phenomena; each also suggests a low level of

internal democracy in the organization. In making this statement

we may have not only anticipated an inverse relationship between the

two phenomena in our findings but also suggested their interpretation.

Professionalization, with reference to questionnaire

data to be used in this chapter, has been conceptualized in terms of

the attitudinal attributes of professionalism. These attributes reflect

the manner in which the faculty as professionals view their work.

The attitudinal attributes to be included here are:

1. The use of the professional organization
   as a major reference--this involves both
   the formal organization and the informal
   colleague groupings as the major source
   of ideas and judgments for the professional
   in his work.

2. A belief in service to the public--this
   component includes the idea of indispensi-
   bility of the profession and the view that
   the work performed benefits both the
   public and the practitioner.

3. Belief in self-regulation--this involves the
   belief that the person best qualified to judge
   the work of a professional is a fellow
   professional, and the view that such a
   practice is desirable and practical. It is
   a belief in colleague control.

4. A sense of calling to the field--this reflects
   the dedication of the professional to his work
   and the feeling that he would probably want
   to work even if fewer extrinsic rewards were
   available.

5. Autonomy--this involves the feeling that the
practitioner ought to be able to make his own
decisions without external pressures from
clients, those who are not members of his
profession, or from his employing organi-
zation.

Bureaucratization, with respect to questionnaire

data, has been conceptualized in terms of the following structural

elements:[4]

1. The hierarchy of authority - the extent to
which the locus of decision-making is
prestructured by the organization.

2. Division of labor - the extent to which
work tasks are subdivided by functional
specialization decided by the organiza-
tion.

3. Presence of rules - the degree to which
the behavior of organizational members
is subject to organizational control.

4. Procedural specifications - the extent to
which organizational members must
follow organizationally defined techniques
in dealing with situations which they
encounter.

5. Impersonality - the extent to which both
organizational members and outsiders are
treated without regard to individual
qualities.

6. Technical competence - the extent to which
organizationally defined "universalistic"
standards are utilized in the personnel
selection and advancement process.

Measurement of the degree of professionalization and bureaucratization is accomplished by the use of Hall's two separate instruments (See Appendic A) which are comprised of Likert-type scales. In the construction of these instruments, each of the attributes of professionalization and of bureaucratization is treated as a separate continuum. The question format for the professionalization scales is the same as that for the bureaucratization scales. The professionalization instrument and the bureaucratization instrument form Part I and Part II respectively of the questionnaire administered to the faculty.

These dimensional measures of professionalism permit the determination of the professionalization of a professional group, or a segment thereof, in terms of the degree of professionalization on each dimension of the professional model. The bureaucratization scales, permit measurement of perceived degree of bureaucratization of an organization on each of the dimensions of the bureaucratic model.

The subjects - that is, the members of the faculty of the University of Lethbridge - responded to the items of each set of scales according to the degree to which the statement corresponded to their own perceptions of the professionalization of university teaching as an occupation and the bureaucratization of the organizational structure of their University. An ordinal measure of

every dimension of professionalization and bureacratization was

thus obtained. In analyzing the data, for both the professionalization

scales and the bureaucratization scales, the mean score for faculty

members belonging to each academic department was utilized as

the measure for each department. By adding these departmental

mean scores for each of the professionalization sub-scales, an

overall measure of the degree of professionalization for all

departments was obtained. A similar overall measure of the degree

of bureaucratization as perceived by each department was also

obtained.

For a part of the analysis of data on professionalization

and bureaucratization, information provided by the respondents in

Part III of the questionnaire was used. This part of the questionnaire

sought information from each respondent only about himself. This

information falls into the following categories: (a) Background

information such as age, sex, country of origin, educational history,

and academic job history; (b) Participation in faculty committees at

different levels in the organizational structure of the university;

(c) Professional activities and orientations; (d) Perception of chances

of mobility for the respondent in the academic market-place. It was

possible to treat the variables, derived from this information, and

used in our analysis, as ordinal measures. Most of them were

dichotomized into "low" and "high" categories for the purposes of data analysis. Detailed information on scoring procedures used, and these were necessary only in a few cases, and dichotomization of variables is included in Appendix B.

In addition to the variables derived from Part III of the questionnaire, every respondent's "access to power and influence" in the organization was also used as a variable in analyzing the data on professionalization and bureaucratization. A judgmental five-point scale of power and influence was developed by the researcher to measure this variable. It was developed by identifying each respondent in terms of whether his/her position in the judgment of the researcher, corresponded to one of the following five statements. The first statement represents the maximum access to power and influence and was assigned a score of "1", while the last statement represents minimum access and was assigned a score of "5". To the left of each statement, the score assigned it is indicated in parentheses. These statements asked if a respondent:

(1) Had formal or informal power, or both;

(2) Had access to it through membership in a dominant power clique;

(3) Had only marginal status vis-a-vis power cliques, or no direct influence on the formal structure of power;

(4) Had membership in the opposition clique or group;

(5) Had been playing an active opposition
    leadership role.

A technique similar to sociogram construction has been

used in the development of the "power and influence" scale and the

assignment of a score to every respondent. The researcher's

prolonged observation and thorough knowledge of the social and

power structure of the faculty, which was quite small at the time

of the study, guided the assignment of scores to respondents without

any serious difficulties.

B. Findings

a. Professionalization

Figure 7-1 presents a profile of the scores[5] on professional

attitude scales of the faculty as a whole. It shows that the degree of

professionalization varies with different dimensions. The relative

positions of the scores of professional attitude dimensions on this

graph indicate that the highest degree of professionalization in this

faculty is with respect to professional scale A--that is, "Professional

Organization as Reference." The degree of professionalization on

the Autonomy dimension (scale E) is only slightly lower than that on

scale A. The degree of professionalization on the other three

dimensions seems also fairly high with minor upward increments in

Figure 7-1

PROFILE OF FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF PROFESSIONALISM
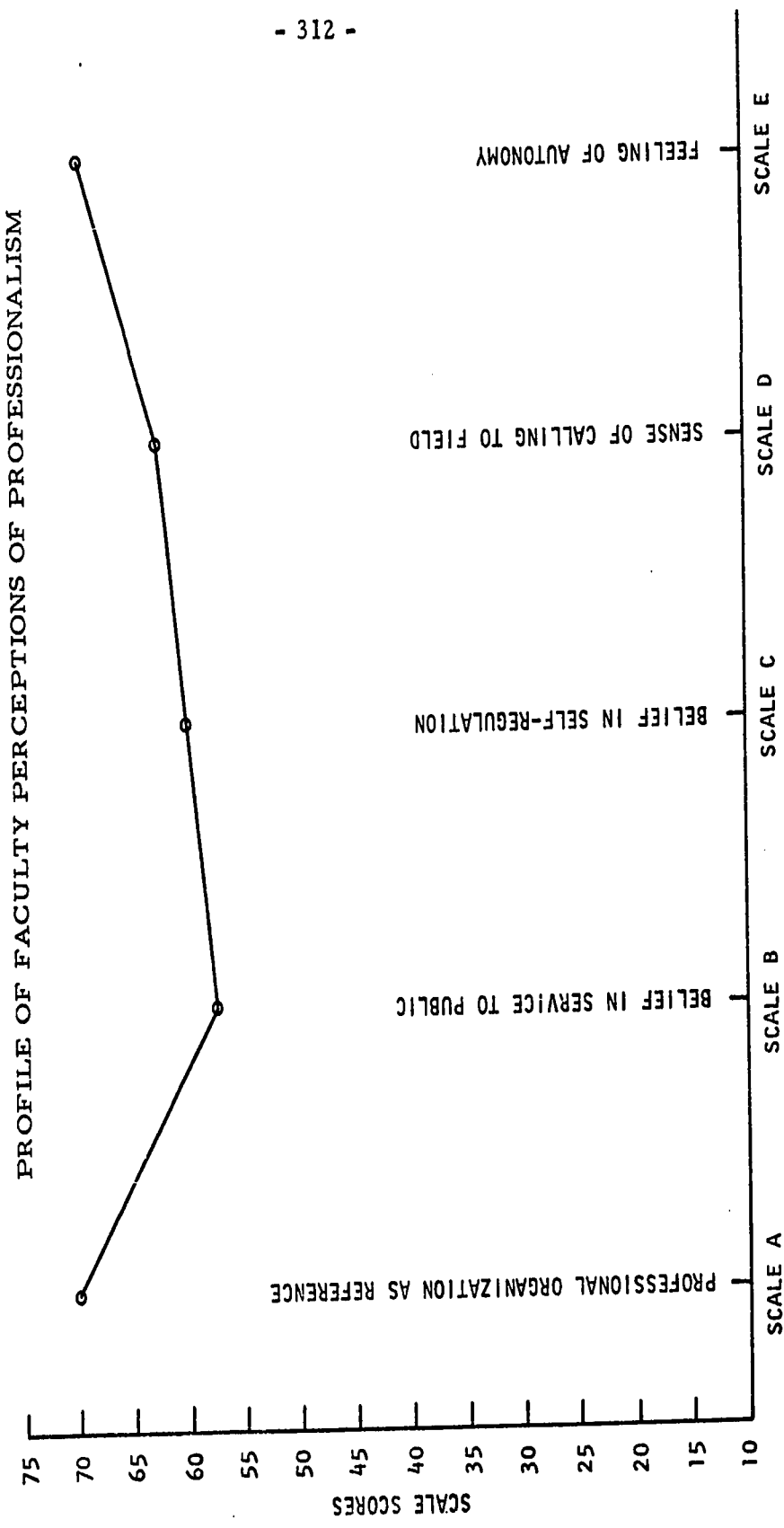
them from scale B to scale D. In general, the scores on these

attitudes scales indicate that the academics in our sample, perceive

a higher degree of professionalization of university teaching with

respect to professional organizations and colleagues as a major

reference, feeling of autonomy, and sense of calling to the field

than to either belief in service to public, or belief in self-regulation.[6]

A probably explanation of the lower degree of professionalization on

belief in serveice to public may be related to the fact that academics

unlike some other professionals deal with the dissemination,

preservation and production of abstract knowledge rather than with

its application. Consequently, the attitudinal dimension of service

is less salient in their work.[7] A lower degree of professionalization

on the self-regulation dimension, on the other hand may be indicative

of the trend, especially in 1960's, among university professors to be

more receptive to students' demands and concerns than before. In

other words, the probably development of a stronger client-orientation,

especially in smaller colleges and universities, might account for low

professionalization on the dimension of self-regulation. In addition,

the presence of "careerist orientation" (the organization man) in the

faculty[8] might also account for the same. The replies of our

respondents to the question as to which group's judgments regarding

the quality of their performance they consider most important, would

seem to support such an explanation. For example, 30.4% of the

respondents mentioned students as the most important such group

(client-orientation), 19.7% chose administrators or Department

chairmen (careerist-orientation), and the remainder (49.9%) chose

colleagues (professional service orientation).

Table 2 indicates that when the data on professionaliza-

tion scales are regrouped by academic department, a highly interesting

and complex picture of intra-faculty differences regarding variations

in the degree of professionalization along the five attitudinal

dimensions emerges. Looking at the ranked scores for each

department, it can be readily seen that the departments of Art,

History, Education, Psychology, and Sociology, compared with other

departments "perceive" the highest degree of professionalization on

all attitudinal dimensions. The departments of Psychology and

Sociology are quite similar to the other three departments in this

group, except that the former perceived the lowest professionalization

on scale A (Professional Organization Reference)-- while the latter

perceived a relatively low professionalization on scale D (Sense of

Calling to Field).

The pattern of ranked scores for the department of

Chemistry and, to a degree, of Mathematics resemble those of the

five departments already discussed rather than any of the remainder.

Of the other departments, the department of Political Science is

distinguished by its lowest scores on all professionalism scales.

The departments of English, Philosophy, Geography, and Biological

Sciences are considerably alike in that they perceive low degree of

professionalization on all but one attitude each except in the case of

Geography and Biological Sciences. The departments of Music,

Modern Languages, Physics, and Physical Education--all share

a "mixed" pattern in regard to their perception of the degree of

professionalization on the five attitude scales.

Finally, given the importance of the attitude of

autonomy for professionalism and the possibility of encroachment

of professional autonomy in bureaucratic organizations, a brief

comparison of departmental scores on the Autonomy Dimension

(scale E) is necessary. Looking at departmental ranked scores

it can be readily seen that the perceptions of the departments of

Political Science, Physics, Modern Languages, and Philosophy are

the lowest; that is, they fall in the first quartile. The departments

of Biological Sciences and Geography have a tied score and fall in

the second quartile. All other departments fall in the third or

fourth quartiles; they perceive a higher degree of autonomy than

the two sets of departments mentioned above. It is also noteworthy

that the departments of Art, History, Psychology, and Sociology

Table 2

SCORES ON PROFESSIONALISM SCALES
BY ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT

Department	Number of Members	Scale (A) Professional Organization as Reference	(B) Belief in Service to Public	(C) Belief in Self Regulation	(D) Sense of Calling to Field	(E) Feeling of Autonomy	Total Score
1. Art	(3)	18.7 (14)	24.3 (12)	24.7 (10)	17.7 (15.5)	16.7 (14)	92.1 (16)
2. Music	(2)	25.0 (3)	25.0 (11)	26.0 (5)	23.0 (10)	21.5 (5)	120.5 (9)
3. English	(6)	24.3 (4)	32.2 (2)	27.5 (4)	26.2 (7)	21.3 (6)	131.0 (3)
4. Modern Languages	(2)	24.0 (5)	27.0 (10)	28.0 (3)	20.0 (14)	23.5 (2.5)	122.5 (8)
5. Philosophy	(2)	23.0 (6)	30.5 (5)	25.5 (7)	25.5 (8)	22.0 (4)	126.5 (5)
6. History	(4)	18.5 (15)	23.8 (13)	21.0 (16)	21.8 (12)	16.5 (15)	101.6 (15)
7. Political Science & Economics	(3)	25.7 (2)	34.3 (1)	31.3 (1)	32.3 (1)	23.7 (1)	145.3 (1)
8. Psychology	(5)	19.6 (13)	22.6 (15)	25.2 (9)	26.8 (5)	17.4 (13)	111.6 (12)
9. Sociology	(3)	27.0 (1)	27.0 (16)	23.0 (14.5)	17.7 (15.5)	14.3 (16)	102.0 (14)
10. Geography	(2)	17.5 (16)	29.5 (6)	25.5 (7)	26.5 (6)	21.0 (7.5)	120.0 (10)
11. Biological Sciences	(3)	22.7 (7)	31.7 (3)	23.0 (14.5)	27.3 (4)	21.0 (7.5)	125.7 (6)
12. Chemistry	(5)	20.8 (10)	27.2 (9)	24.0 (13)	22.4 (11)	19.2 (11)	113.6 (11)
13. Mathematics	(2)	21.0 (9)	31.0 (4)	25.5 (7)	21.5 (13)	20.5 (9)	129.5 (4)
14. Physics	(4)	20.0 (12)	27.3 (8)	24.5 (11)	28.3 (3)	23.5 (2.5)	123.6 (7)
15. Physical Education	(3)	21.3 (8)	28.3 (7)	30.3 (2)	31.7 (2)	20.3 (10)	131.9 (2)
16. Education	(7)	20.3 (11)	23.1 (14)	24.4 (12)	23.9 (9)	18.7 (12)	110.4 (13)

NOTE:

[1] High Score (Low Rank) = Low Professionalism

[2] Departmental means scores are used for ranking departments with respect to each other.

[3] The number of items in each of the scales (A to E) is as follows:

Scale #	Number of Items	Scale #	Number of Items
A	10	D	10
B	10	E	9
C	10		

[4] Rank of each score is indicated on its right in parantheses.

perceive the highest degree of autonomy. In the light of our discussion,

in Chapter 6, of the position of different departments with respect to

the power structure of the faculty as a whole, the pattern of perceptions

regarding autonomy just discussed is interesting, but not surprising.

It suggests a possible link between departmental affiliation, the

respondents' access to power in the faculty, and their perceptions of

autonomy. This possibility is further explored later in the present

chapter.

To conclude this point, a general comparison made of

the scores of the professional attitude scales indicates that for the

faculty of the University of Lethbridge treated as a group, variations

in the degree of professionalization on each attitudinal dimension are

relatively minor. However, when these data are regrouped by the

respondents' departmental affiliation, an intersting pattern regarding

variations between departments is revealed with respect to degree of

professionalization on each attitude. The departments tend to fall,

roughly, in three groupings: Arts, History, Psychology, Sociology,

Chemistry, Education, and, to a lesser degree, Mathematics

perceive a generally high degree of professionalization; Music,

Modern Languages, Physics, and Physical Education have a "mixed"

pattern and therefore suggest a moderate level of perceptions of

professionalization; and English, Philosophy, Political Science,

Geography, and Biological Sciences perceive, generally, a low degree of professionalization. Further discussion of these observations will be undertaken later in this chapter.

b. Bureaucratization

Before examining the data on bureaucratization, it is necessary to note that the dimensions of the bureaucratic model being used here do not covary. Hall found that the Technical Competence dimension was negatively related to the rest of the dimensions of the bureaucratic model.[9] However, his findings indicate a generally weak pattern of negative relationships. Our data (See Appendix C, Table 2) support Hall's findings regarding a negative relationship between Technical Competence and all other dimensions of the bureaucratic model.

Although Hall's and our findings are in general agreement with respect to the direction of relationships, this is not the case with respect to the degree of relationships found. For example, the Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients,[10] between Technical Competence and the five other dimensions are considerably larger (except for Division of Labor) than those in Hall. In our data (Table 1, Appendix C), it is especially noteworthy that the Technical Competence dimension has the strongest negative relationship to the Hierarchy of Authority dimension ($r_s = -.763$). Interestingly enough,

in Hall's study the relationship between these very dimensions was found to be the weakest, though negative (r_s -.242). The data in this study clearly suggest that our respondents perceive an especially strong incompatibility between the Technical Competence and Hierarchy of Authority dimensions of the bureaucratic model. On this basis, it is possible to hypothesize that in a professional organization like the university, one important source of intra-organizational tensions may lie in the simultaneous emphasis on technical competence and hierarchical authority. In light of this, in our analysis of the bureaucratization data still to follow in this section, special attention will be given to the Technical Competence and the Hierarchy of Authority dimensions.

The data on bureaucratization are presented in Figure 7-2 and Table 3 in exactly the same form as those on professionalization. Figure 7-2, for example, compares the scores on the six bureaucratization scales with each other for the faculty as a whole. It can be seen that the variation between the scores on different bureaucratic dimensions is somewhat greater than that for professionalism scale dimensions. Lowest bureaucratication is perceived by the faculty on the Rules dimension. On the Hierarchy of Authority, it is the second lowest. Then, bureaucratization shows small increases on the dimensions of Procedures, Impersonality, and Division of

Labor--in that order. It is worth noting that the highest degree of

bureaucratization is perceived by the respondents as a group on

Technical Competence dimension.

But bureaucratization along the Technical Competence

dimension does not vary in the same direction as for other dimensions

of the bureaucratic model. This is indicated, by the negative

correlations, most of them fairly large, between it and the other

five dimensions (See Appendix C, Table 1). The importance of this

fact in making inter-departmental comparisons with respect to

bureaucratization scores is obvious. That is, those departments

which perceive a low degree of bureaucratization on the first five

dimensions of bureaucratization in Table 3, will be expected to

perceive a high degree of bureaucratization on the last dimension

of Technical Competence, and vice-versa. This characteristic of

the bureaucratic dimension of Technical Competence will be important

also in the examination of the interrelationships of perceived degrees

of professionalism and bureaucratization with respect to their

respective dimensions.

Departmental perceptions of the degree of bureaucratiza-

tion on the six dimensions (Table 3) suggest a considerable intra-

faculty variation and polarization. From the ranked scores

(especially, "Total Scores") of academic departments, it is clearly

Figure 7-2

PROFILE OF FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF BUREAUCRATIZATION
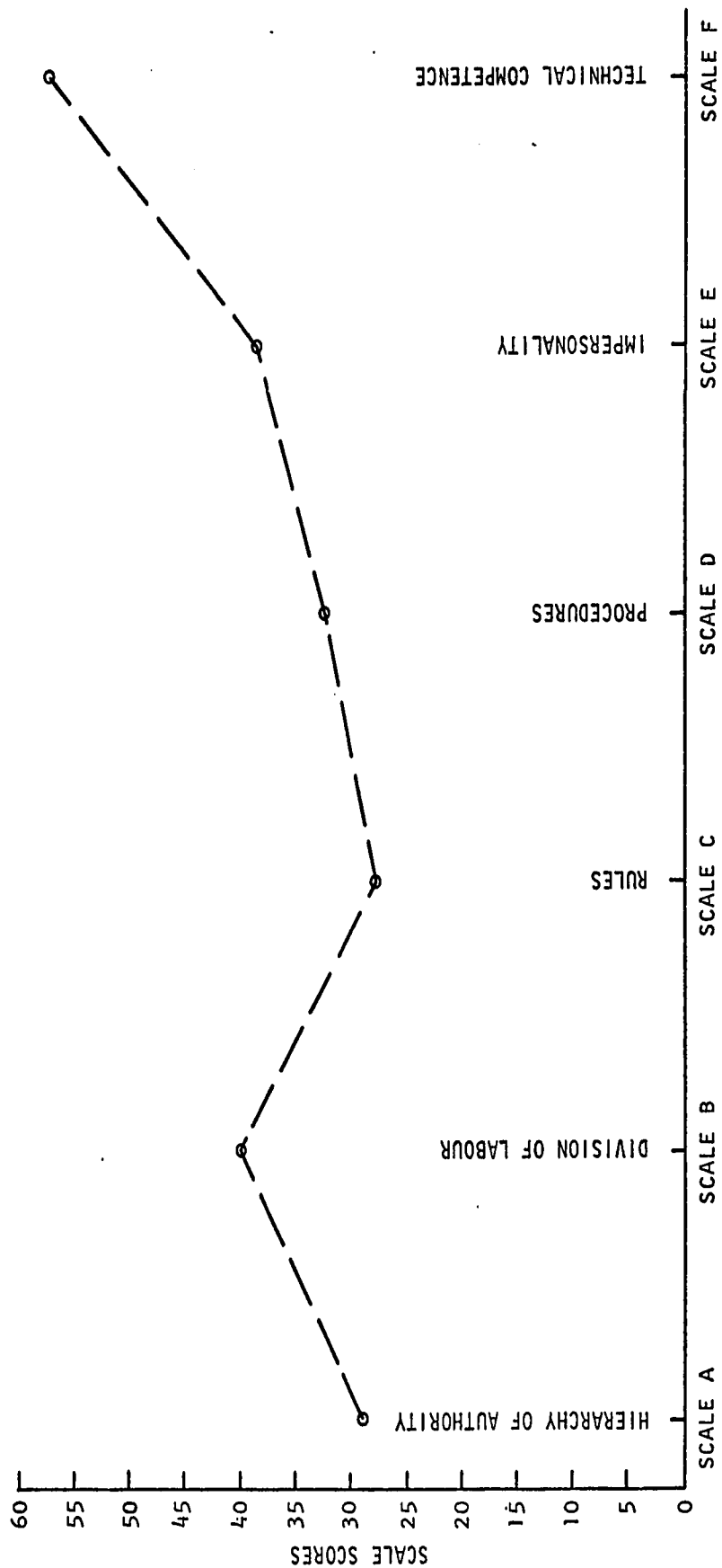
Table 3

SCORES ON BUREAUCRACY SCALES
BY ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS

Department	No. of members	A Hierarchy of Authority	B Division of Labor	C Rules	D Procedures	E Im-personality	F Technical Competence	Total Score
1. Art	(3)	49.0 (4.5)	37.0 (2)	29.0 (11)	35.3 (10)	31.7 (7)	21.0 (14)	203.0 (9)
2. Music	(2)	41.5 (11)	35.0 (5)	27.0 (15)	39.0 (5)	31.0 (9)	26.5 (10.5)	200.0 (11.5)
3. English	(6)	46.0 (8)	33.2 (9.5)	32.7 (5)	34.3 (11)	30.0 (12)	29.5 (6.5)	205.7 (8)
4. Modern Languages	(2)	38.5 (15)	30.0 (16)	21.5 (16)	32.5 (14.5)	27.0 (15)	29.5 (6.5)	179.0 (15)
5. Philosophy	(2)	40.0 (14)	32.0 (12.5)	29.0 (11)	36.0 (8.5)	31.5 (8)	32.5 (4)	201.0 (10)
6. History	(4)	50.5 (2)	33.5 (8)	35.5 (1)	39.5 (4)	32.0 (5.5)	26.8 (8)	217.8 (1)
7. Political Science & Economics	(3)	31.7 (16)	31.3 (14)	29.0 (11)	23.7 (16)	25.3 (16)	37.3 (1)	178.3 (16)
8. Psychology	(5)	46.8 (7)	33.2 (9.5)	31.2 (6)	37.4 (7)	32.8 (3)	26.6 (9)	208.0 (7)
9. Sociology	(3)	53.7 (1)	33.7 (7)	33.3 (3)	43.3 (1)	34.3 (1)	19.3 (15)	217.6 (2)
10. Geography	(2)	41.0 (12)	38.5 (1)	31.0 (7.5)	36.0 (8.5)	32.5 (4)	33.0 (3)	212.0 (4)
11. Biological Sciences	(3)	43.3 (10)	32.0 (12.5)	28.7 (13)	32.7 (13)	30.3 (11)	33.3 (2)	200.0 (11.5)
12. Chemistry	(5)	49.0 (4.5)	35.8 (4)	31.0 (7.5)	38.0 (6)	30.6 (10)	24.6 (12)	209.0 (6)
13. Mathematics	(2)	47.0 (6)	32.5 (11)	33.0 (4)	40.0 (3)	32.0 (5.5)	26.5 (10.5)	211.0 (5)
14. Physics	(4)	40.3 (13)	33.8 (6)	28.5 (14)	32.5 (14.5)	28.0 (14)	30.3 (5)	193.4 (13)
15. Physical Education	(3)	44.0 (9)	31.0 (15)	29.3 (9)	34.0 (12)	29.7 (13)	24.0 (13)	192.0 (14)
16. Education	(7)	50.6 (3)	36.9 (3)	34.3 (2)	42.9 (2)	33.0 (2)	19.0 (16)	216.8 (3)

[1] High Score (Low Rank) = Low Bureaucratization.

[2] Departmental mean scores are used for ranking departments with respect to each other.

[3] The number of items in each of the scales (A to F) is as follows:

Scale #	Number of Items	Scale #	Number of Items
A	12	D	10
B	10	E	9
C	8	F	10

4. Rank of each score is indicated on its right in parantheses.

discernible that the departments of History, Sociology, Education,

and Geography perceive a minimum degree of bureaucratization.

The departments of Mathematics, Chemistry, Psychology, and

English also tend to perceive a relatively low degree of bureau-

cratization. On the other hand, the departments of Political Science,

Modern Languages, Physical Education and Physics perceive a

maximum degree of bureaucratization. The departments of Music,

Biological Sciences, Philosophy and Art also tend to perceive a

relatively high degree of bureaucratization of their work setting.

However, when analysis is confined to comparison of

data on the bureaucratic dimensions of Hierarchy of Authority and

Technical Competence only, a highly interesting pattern of

departmental perceptions emerges. It has already been discussed

that our data for our respondents as a whole indicate a strong

inverse relationship between these two dimensions. To be consistent

with this pattern, a department indicating high bureaucratization on

one of these dimensions will tend to perceive a low degree of

bureaucratization on the other and vice versa. An examination of

departmental scores on Hierarchy of Authority and Technical

Competence dimensions in Table 3 indicates that such a consistency

is present for all but the following departments: Music, Psychology,

Physical Education, and, to some extent English. In reference to

others, it is important to note that the departments of Art, History,
Sociology, Chemistry, Mathematics and Education perceive a
relatively low bureaucratization along the Hierarchy of Authority
dimension, while a relatively high bureaucratization along the
Technical Competence dimension. In contrast, the departments of
Modern Languages, Philosophy, Political Science, Geography,
Biological Sciences, and Physics perceive a relatively high bureau-
cratization along the Hierarchy of Authority dimension and a relatively
low bureaucratization along the Technical Competence dimension.

To conclude the examination of bureaucratization data,
the following points are recapitulated: (a) we have noted a somewhat
larger variation regarding degree of bureaucratization perceived by
our respondents as a group along the dimensions of the bureaucratic
model than was the case for professionalism scales. (b) Variations
between departments regarding perceptions of bureaucratization of
the University's structure are noticeable. The departments of
History, Sociology, Education, and Geography perceive a minimum
degree of bureaucratization, while those of Political Science,
Modern Languages, Physical Education, and Physics perceive a
maximum degree of bureaucratization. The remaining eight depart-
ments fall in a third group; when compared with the departments in
the first two groups, these departments are characterized by
somewhat moderate perceptions of bureaucratization. (c) A compar-

ison of departmental scores confined only to the Hierarchy of

Authority and Technical Competence dimensions reveals that depart-

mental affiliation tends to have a homogenizing effect on the

perceptions of department members. Departments tend to fall in

three groups in terms of the expected inverse relationship between

perceptions on these dimensions. The first group of departments

(Arts, History, Sociology, Chemistry, Mathematics and Education)

perceive low bureaucratization on Hierarchy of Authority dimension,

and high bureaucratization on Technical Competence dimension.

The perceptions of the second group of departments (Modern

Languages, Philosophy, Political Science, Geography, Biological

Sciences and Physics) tend to be the exact opposite of those of the

first group; that is, they suggest high bureaucratization on

Hierarchy of Authority and low bureaucratization on Technical

Competence. The third group of departments, however, diverge

from the expected pattern in that their perceptions tend to suggest

a direct rather than inverse relationship between the two bureaucratic

dimensions.

c. Relationship Between Professionalization and Bureaucratization
    in the University

Up to this point in the section on findings, we have

examined separately the patterns of professionalization and bureau-

cratization in the University of Lethbridge as perceived by the

respondents. Here, we shall briefly examine how the two sets of

perceptions are related to each other. First, we shall examine

this relationship for the faculty as a whole and, the, by individual

departments to which our respondents are affiliated.

An examination of data on the perceptions of the

respondents indicates a general pattern of inverse relationship

between professionalism and bureaucratization in the present case

study. A statistical measure of the inverse relationship between

the perceptions of these processes based on data in Tables 2 and 3

is presented in the Appendix C, Table 3. The inter-dimensional

Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficients used here, give an

overview of the generally inverse relationships between professional-

ism and bureaucratization dimensions. It can be readily seen that

all professional attitude dimensions are negatively related to all

but one of the bureaucratic dimensions. The Technical Competence

is the only bureaucratic dimension that is positively related to all

of the professional attitudes. The relationships contained in this

Table are generally strong. Moderate to strong negative

relationships are found between professional attitudes regarding

Service of Public, Self-Regulation, Sense of Calling, and Autonomy,

on the one hand, and all bureaucratic dimensions, save Technical

Competence, on the other hand. The Professional Organization as
Reference--the only professional attitude not included above--bears
a weaker negative relationship to bureaucratic scales.

How do our findings regarding the above relationships
compare with those in Hall's study (1968)? From a comparison of
the correlations obtained in our study (Appendic C, Table 3) and in
Hall's study, it can be seen that while the general pattern of relation-
ships found is identical, the strength of relationships found between
certain key professional attitudes and certain bureaucratic dimensions
happens to be noticeably different. Both studies, for instance, find
negative relationships between professionalization and bureaucratiza-
tion dimensions with the exception of a positive relationship between
bureaucratic dimension of Technical Competence and all the
professional attitudes. Especially noteworthy is the particularly
strong negative relationship between Autonomy and Hierarchy of
Authority in Hall's (r_s= -.767) as well as the present study
(r_s= -.926). Both Studies, with a few exceptions, indicate that
compared to other dimensions of the professional model, larger
negative Correlations (r_s) exist between professional attitude of
Autonomy and the dimensions of the bureaucratic model. Each
study then, suggests a stronger incompatibility between Autonomy
and bureaucratic dimensions, with the exception of Technical

Competence, than between other professional attitudes and these

dimensions of the bureaucratic model.

But our findings differ from Hall's in the following

respects: (a) with the exception of the bureaucratic dimension of

Division of Labor, correlations between the dimensions of the

bureaucratic model and the professional attitude of Autonomy in our

study are larger than in Hall's study, indicating stronger negative

relationships, and (b) the positive correlation between Autonomy

(professional attitude) and Technical Competence (bureaucratic

dimension) is noticeably larger in our study ($r_s = .746$) than that

in Hall's ($r_s = .121$). The attitude of Autonomy and the dimension

of Technical Competence would, therefore, appear to be more

salient in the perceptions of our respondents than those of Hall's.

Before examining the relationship between professional-

ism and bureaucratization by academic departments, it should be

recalled that a considerable variation was observed among different

departments with respect to perceptions of professionalism in

"university teaching" as an occupation and bureaucratization of the

faculty's organizational structure and activities. Given this

variation, it is important to know (a) if a pattern of inverse relation-

ships between professionalism and bureaucratization also exists at

the level of each academic department, and (b) how the perceptions

of specific departments regarding these phenomena are related.

A comparison of each department's scores in Tables 2 and 3 suggests that departmental perceptions on professionalism and bureaucratization also seem to be inversely related. In other words, if a department's scores on professional attitudes are generally high, its scores on bureaucratic dimensions, with the exception of Technical Competence, tend to be low. For example, the departments of History, Psychology, Sociology, and Education were found to be high on professionalism, but show a pattern of low scores on bureaucratization scales. And departments like English, Philosophy, Political Science, and Biological Sciences were found to be low on professionalism, but show a pattern of high scores on bureaucratic dimensions. Figure 7-3, which is based on each department's "total scores" presents a simplified picture of the relationship between professionalism and bureaucratization and, thus, permits easier inter-departmental comparisons. As is readily apparent from it, departments tend to fall in three groups. The departments of History, Sociology, Education, Psychology, and Chemistry perceive high professionalism but low bureaucratization. The department of Political Science, Modern Languages, Physical Education, Physics, Biological Sciences, Philosophy, Music, and English - eight in number - perceive low professionalism but high bureaucratization. Only three departments tend to diverge from this inverse relationship: Geography

Figure 7-3

HISTOGRAM BASED ON DEPARTMENTAL TOTAL SCORES ON
PROFESSIONALIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIZATION SCALES
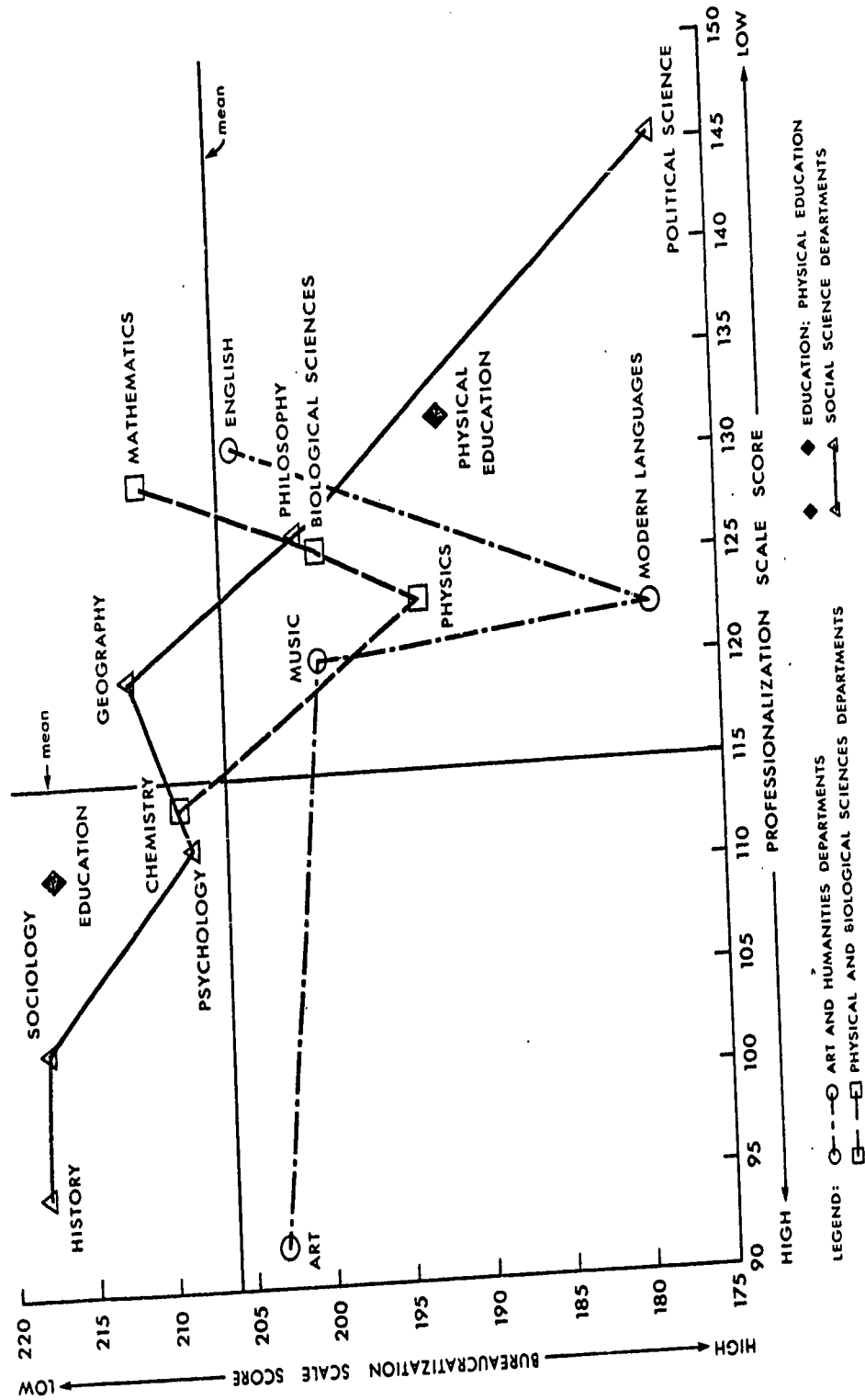
and Mathematics perceive both professionalism and bureaucratization
to be low, Art tends to perceive both to be high.

The preceding analysis of inter-departmental variations
regarding perceptions of professionalization and bureaucratization
and their relationship points to a highly interesting fact: there is a
remarkable consistency in the way in which the perceptions of
specific departments regarding professionalization and bureau-
cratization are related to each other. Two major groupings of
departments emerge from our analysis of perceptions: first,
departments that perceive high professionalism and low bureau-
cratization; second, departments that perceive low professionalism
and high bureaucratization. The departments of History, Sociology,
Education, Psychology, and Chemistry belong in the first group;
the departments of Political Science, Philosophy, Physics, Biological
Sciences, English, and Modern Languages belong in the second group.
When analysis was confined to only the key professional attitude of
Autonomy and to the two key bureaucratic dimensions of Hierarchy
of Authority and Technical Competence, perceptions of those two
groups of departments were observed to get even more polarized.
It may be recalled that Autonomy and Technical Competence are
strongly positively related to each other; on the other hand,
Hierarchy of Authority is strongly negatively related to both of them.

The first group of departments have high scores on Autonomy and Technical Competence, and low scores on Hierarchy of Authority. On the contrary, the second group of departments have low scores on Autonomy and Technical Competence, and high scores on Hierarchy of Authority.

This division of the departments into two distinct groups on the basis of their perceptions of professionalism and bureaucratization is highly interesting. It is interesting because it corresponds, to a high degree, to the relative position of these groups with respect to the structure of power and influence in the process of governance, that is, of faculty self-governance in the University of Lethbridge. The first group of departments, dominant in the power structure at the time of the present study, perceive strong emphasis on Technical Competence and thus, by implication, on professional authority. The second group, on the contrary, perceive much weaker emphasis on Technical Competence and a strong dominance of bureaucratic authority. It would appear therefore, that departmental perceptions have been influenced by the realities of the power structure. Similarly, their scores on Autonomy scale might be related also to their actual organizational experiences.

It was discussed in the preceding chapters of the case study that the intra-faculty conflict tended to be patterned along departmental lines in the University of Lethbridge. To the extent that it was so, the power conflict and pressure were also organized and experienced departmentally.

Power conflicts and struggles normally entail the use of sanctions. In the organizational setting of the university, the use of institutionalized power by authorities to limit departmental autonomy (viewed as the structual analogue of professional autonomy attitude) may be one form of sanctions applied. The extent to which such a situation prevailed at Lethbridge has already been discussed. The inverse relationship between professionalism and bureaucratization and the pattern of departmental perceptions of Autonomy, Technical Competence, and Hierarchy of Authority, become intelligible by referring them to the dynamic processes which characterized the organization at the time of the present study. This means that the degree of remoteness or closeness to power or proximate access to it may have been an important factor influencing perceptions of professionalism and bureaucratization in the present study.

It is worth keeping in mind that our departmental scores of professionalism and bureaucratization have been based on the perceptions of individual respondents. Therefore, to understand

more fully the variations in the perceived degrees of these phenomena

at the University of Lethbridge, the relationships between relevant

"background" characteristics of our respondents and their perception

of professionalism and bureaucratization need to be explored. This

is done, next.

d. Correlates of Perceptions of Professionalism and Bureaucratization

To assess the relative importance of factors related to,

or correlates of, professionalism and bureaucratization, the

statistical procedure of Step-wise Regression[12] is employed in our

analysis. For this purpose, thirteen different factors, including

personal background or professional characteristics and a measure

of access to power and influence in the University for each

respondent, were treated as independent variables or predictors.

Also, thirteen different dependent variables were used: eleven

of these were the individual respondents' scores on professionalism

and bureaucratization sub-scales; the sum of each respondent's

scores on professionalism and on bureaucratization separately

formed the remaining two dependent variables.

Tables 4 and 5 present the results of the regression

analysis of professionalism and bureaucratization data respectively.

If a predictor accounts for less than one percent of the variance on

a dependent variable, then the percentage of variance explained by it

is not shown in these Tables.

The analysis of the professionalism data (Table 4)

reveals an interesting pattern of relationships between the thirteen

predictor variables and the respondents' perceptions of professionalism.

It is obvious that, compared with other predictors, the variables of

Academic rank, Administrative vs. teaching position, Tenure status,

Professional association membership and, with a few exceptions,

Academic degree held, Subscription to journals, Publications, and

Professional Orientation do not account for an appreciable amount

of variance in professionalism scores. It is so because each of these

variables is weakly related to or does not show a uniform pattern of

positive or negative relationships with the scores of professional

attitude scales. The variables of length of membership in the faculty

(years with faculty) and Reading of journals are very much like the

seven variables just mentioned except that they explain 2.71% and

4.99% of the variance in the Total Score of professionalism.

It is noteworthy that most of the Total Variance

explained by all the predictors in each column, except for Professional

Organization Reference and Sense of Calling, is accounted for by the

three remaining variables: that is, Teaching Experience, Perception

of Mobility Chances, and Access to Power and Influence. The large

amounts of variance accounted for by the Access to Power variable

for three of the five professionalism scales, including especially

that of <u>Autonomy</u>, and the Total Score of professionalism suggests

its key importance in shaping the perceptions of the faculty of the

University of Lethbridge regarding professionalism. Power

differentials among the faculty seem to be importantly related to

their perceptions of the degree of autonomy enjoyed, and commitment

to the field and the ideal of service felt by them. This finding, it

should be noted, is in agreement with our observation with respect

to the relationship between departmental perceptions of professional-

ism and departmental position vis-a-vis the faculty power structure.

That an important relationship between the differential distribution

of power by academic departments and the sharply polarized

departmental perceptions of Autonomy seems to exist has been

pointed out earlier. A strong relationship between Access to power

variable and Autonomy, indicated by the regression analysis, gives

further support to that conclusion.

A similar analysis of the bureaucratization data

(Table 5) also suggests an important relationship between Teaching

experience, Perception of mobility, and Access to power and

influence. In addition to these variables, of course, Academic rank

and Reading of journals rank relatively high among the thirteen

Table 4

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF PROFESSIONALISM
SCALES (AS CRITERIA) AND SELECTED PREDICTOR VARIABLES

Predictors	Scale					
	(A) Professional Organization as Reference	(B) Belief in Service to Public	(C) Belief in Self Regulation	(D) Sense of Calling to Field	(E) Feeling of Autonomy	Total Score
1. Degree	2.55 (3)	7.21 (2)			4.47 (4)	
2. Rank		1.08 (7)		1.95 (6)	2.80 (6)	
3. Administrative/ Teaching Position	1.05 (6)	1.65 (6)		1.86 (7)		
4. Teaching Experience	6.93 (2)	1.02 (8)	27.12 (1)		4.48 (3)	15.56 (2)
5. Years with Faculty		6.47 (3)				2.71 (4)
6. Tenure				4.51 (4)		
7. Professional Association Membership						
8. Subscription to Journals	25.53 (1)	1.79 (4)		2.21 (5)		
9. Reading of Journals	2.11 (4)				6.65 (2)	4.99 (3)
10. Publications			8.08 (2)	1.20 (8)		
11. Professional Orientation				16.57 (1)	1.63 (7)	1.36 (6)
12. Perception of Mobility Chances	2.03 (5)	1.72 (5)	3.76 (3)	4.96 (3)	3.19 (5)	2.30 (5)
13. Access to Power and Influence		20.08 (1)		6.50 (2)	26.07 (1)	24.11 (1)
Total Variance Explained by 13 Predictors	43.23	43.24	42.08	42.11	51.05	53.41

NOTE: Rank is indicated in parentheses. The lower the rank of a predictor, the greater
the variance accounted for by it.

Table 5

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF BUREAUCRATIZATION SCALES SCALES (AS CRITERIA) AND SELECTED PREDICTOR VARIABLES

	Scale						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Predictors	Hierarchy of Authority	Division of Labor	Rules	Procedures	Impersonality	Competence	Total Score
1. Degree		1.22 (7)			3.81 (3)		
2. Rank (2)		3.67 (3)	1.20 (7)		2.76 (5)		3.38 (3)
3. Administrative/Teaching Position	2.19 (3)		1.55 (4)	2.92 (5)	2.41 (6)		1.27 (7)
4. Teaching Experience	1.20 (6)	2.42 (4)	6.40 (2)	7.55 (2)		8.14 (2)	1.71 (5)
5. Years with Faculty	1.48 (5)			3.34 (4)	1.09 (10)	6.02 (4)	
6. Tenure		1.68 (5)				4.92 (5)	
7. Professional Association Membership		4.11 (2)	1.07 (8)	2.19 (1)	2.95 (4)		
8. Subscription to Journals	1.94 (4)			4.51 (3)		2.03 (6)	1.57 (6)
9. Reading of Journals	2.55 (2)		1.59 (3)	1.76 (7)			2.99 (4)
10. Publications		10.11 (1)	1.39 (5)		1.17 (8)	1.28 (7)	
11. Professional Orientation			1.32 (6)		2.14 (7)		
12. Perception of Mobility Chances					7.55 (2)	7.07 (3)	6.05 (2)
13. Access to Power and Influence	29.24 (1)	1.51 (6)	19.57 (1)	17.87 (1)	11.35 (1)	17.79 (1)	19.74 (1)
Total Variance Explained by 13 Predictors	40.16	26.47	35.03	42.06	38.20	48.94	39.33

NOTE: Rank is indicated in parentheses. The lower the rank of a predictor, the greater the variance accounted for by it.

variables in accounting for variance in bureaucratization scores.

It is particularly interesting, however, that Access to power

variable explains the single largest amount of variance in bureau-

cratic scale scores, with the exception of Division of Labor, and

the Total Score of bureaucratization. Furthermore, it is worth

noting that his variable alone accounts for nearly three-quarters

of the Total Varinace explained by all the thirteen variables

together. In the case of Technical Competence also, another

important bureaucratic dimension singled out earlier, the

"Access to power" variable accounts for roughly two-fifths of the

Total Variance explained by all the variables included in our

analysis.

A strong relationship observed between Access to

power and the perceptions of Hierarchy of Authority and Technical

Competence respectively seems to support our conclusion regarding

the relationship between differentials of departmental power and

departmental perceptions along these bureaucratic dimensions.

Access to power of respondents is negatively related to perception

of Hierarchy of Authority and positively related to Technical

Competence - a relationship also observed at the departmental

level.

Summary and Conclusions

Data based on the perceptions of the faculty of the University of Lethbridge have led to interesting findings regarding the relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization in the university. It has been found that with the exception of the Technical Competence dimension, a generally inverse relationship exists between the levels of bureaucratization and professionalization. Autonomy, as a key professional attribute, is most strongly inversely related to all dimensions of bureaucratization except that of Technical Competence.

However, the fact that a generally inverse relationship exists between professionalization and bureaucratization does not mean that all of the faculty perceives a generally high level of professionalization and a generally low level of bureaucratization or, vice versa. One of the important findings is that the faculty is sharply divided along departmental lines roughly into three groups. First, the departments of History, Sociology, Psychology, Chemistry, and Education perceive a maximum level of professionalization and a minimum level of bureaucratization. Second, the departments of Polictical Science, Philosophy, Physics, English, Biological Sciences, and Modern Languages tend to perceive a maximum degree

of bureaucratization in the organizational structure and activities

of the University of Lethbridge. Third, the departments of Art,

Music, Mathematics, and Geography do not perceive an inverse

relationship resembling either that of the first or the second group

of departments. Their perceptions suggest a direct relationship

between professionalization and bureaucratization.

A third important finding is that intra-faculty and

inter-departmental variations in perceptions of professionalization

and bureaucratization are sharply polarized on the professional

attribute of Autonomy, and on bureaucratic dimensions of Hierarchy

of Authority and Technical Competence. The departments of History,

Sociology, Psychology, Chemistry, and Education have high scores

on Autonomy and Technical Competence, and low scores on

Hierarchy of Authority. The departments of Political Science,

Philosophy, Physics, Biological Sciences, English, and Modern

Languages have low scores on Autonomy and Technical Competence

and high scores on Hierarchy of Authority. It appears that these

three dimensions - the professional attribute of Autonomy and

bureaucratic dimensions of Technical Competence and Hierarchy

of Authority - should be given special attention in the study of the

relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization in

the governance of professional organization like the university.

A final and most important finding that has come out of
our data is the fact that intra-organizational variations in perceptions
of professionalization and bureaucratization are importantly related,
among other factors to differentials of power and influence among
organizational members. Perceptions of professionalization are
directly related to power, while those of bureaucratization are
inversely related to power with the exception of Technical Competence.
Perceptions of Autonomy, Hierarchy of Authority, and Technical
Competence, appear to be especially suseptible to the influence of
power and influence variable. This suggests that certain attributes
or dimensions of professionalization and bureaucratization and the
dynamics of governance of a professional organization may be
mutually related. In the study of the governance of such organizations,
then, a systematic attention to the relationship between the structure
of power, power struggles, participants' goals and values, on the
one hand, and the processes of professionalization and bureaucrati-
zation, on the other, must necessarily be given.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gerald L. Platt and Talcott Parsons, "Decision-Making in the
      Academic System: Influence and Power Exchange"
      in C. E. Kruytbosch and S. L. Messinger (eds.).
      The State of the University: Authority and Change,
      Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1968, pp. 133-180.

2. Peter M. Blau and W. R. Scott, Formal Organizations,
      San Francisco (Cal.), Chandler Publishing Company,
      1962, pp. 30-36, Richard H. Hall, "Professionalization
      and Bureaucratization", American Sociological Review,
      1968, Vol. 33 (Feb.), p. 95.

3. A. W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, New York:
      Free Press, p. 20.

4. Hall, op. cit., p. 95.

5. The scores used in the construction of Figures 1 and 2 are not
      the original mean raw scores on each scale. Such
      scores could not be legitimately used to make compari-
      sons of professionalization scales with each other and
      similarly of bureaucratization scales. There were two
      reasons for this. (a) Scales within each group did not
      have equal number of items--and hence a source of
      variation in the magnitude of scores which was unrelated
      to what was being measured; they therefore did not have
      a common "Minimum Possible" or "Maximum Possible"
      score. (b) Being ordinal scales, they did not have a
      zero point--another factor contributing to the difficulty
      of making comparisons. Therefore a conversion
      formula was used to render their scores into ratios.
      These were used in the construction of Figures 7-1 and 7-2.
      The conversion formula was:

$$\frac{\text{Maximum Possible Score - Actual Score}}{\text{Maximum Possible Score - Minimum Possible Score}} \times 100$$

6. For inter-correlations of the dimensions of Professionalism scale,
      see Table 2 in the Appendix C.

7. Wilensky has suggested that the Service Ideal of Professionalism may be enfeebled also by the organizational setting of work. Traditionally, academics have always worked in the context of organizations like universities. Hence this may also explain the low degree of professionalism on the Service dimension in our sample. See Harold Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" American Journal of Sociology, 1964, Vol. 70, pp. 137-158.

8. Ibid., pp. 151-153.

9. Hall, op. cit., see Table 4, p. 100.

10. Spearman's rs values and their statistical levels have been used in comparing the strengths of relationships obtained between different dimensions of professionalization and bureaucratization in our data. The same have been used in making comparisons between our data and Hall's data. Compared with Hall's sample size of 328, we had only 56 in our sample. Despite the fact that sample size is directly related to the statistical significance of a relationship, values of rs obtained in our study are, as a rule, larger and more of them are statistically significant than those in Hall's study. Hence the justification for our statements regarding comparisons that follow in this section. See Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960, pp. 227-228, for a discussion of the relation between sample size, degree of relationship and level of significance (pp. 227-228), and Spearman's rs (pp. 317-318).

11. Hall, op. cit., See Table 6, p. 102.

12. N. R. Draper and H. Smith, Applied Regression Analysis, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966, pp. 171-172.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this final chapter of the study, constituting its last

Section, an overview and discussion of the major findings and their

theoretical implications are presented. This study has been an

attempt to seek new departures in the framing of problems in

organizational analysis. It has been argued that if we can extricate

ourselves from the strait-jacket of functionalist framework which

has dominated in recent years both the sociology of organizations

and the sociology of professions, we shall have opened up the

discussion and laid the ground for a more fruitful analysis of a

wide variety of problems in organizational analysis. Our theoretical

orientation has led us to make a sharp distinction between organi-

zational governance and organizational management; the former.

focusses on problems of policy-formulation and goal-setting, the

latter on problems of goal-attainment. The theoretical perspective

of this study argues for making the study of organizational governance

the central focus of organizational analysis.

Thus, the present research is a case study of

institutional change in university governance with special reference

to faculty participation in the organizational development and

policy-formulation of a new Canadian university - the University of

Lethbridge. As a case history of only one university, its findings

of course offer no basis for drawing conclusions about faculty

self-governance in Canadian universities at large. Rather, they

should be treated only as indicative or illustrative of our conceptuali-

zation and the theoretical position, not demonstrative of it. Their

major significance lies in that they suggest our theoretical position

to have broader application in the study of professional organizations

like the university and in organizational analysis in general.

But the present study is not only a case history of just

one organization but also of a new one. What bearing does this fact

have on the discussion of its findings and their implications for the

study of general organizational processes? It has been argued that

policy-formulation and goal-setting activities should form the core

problems in organizational analysis. Given that premise, we think

that either new organizations or organizations undergoing fundamental

changes in their existing goals and policies offer particularly ideal

settings for the empirical study of organizational governance. For

it is under conditions of major organizational change or development

that problems that lie at the core of organizational governance are

likely to be present in their most unmasked and urgent form. Thus,

the newness of the organization studied, facilitated the study of

'events of central interest to the present inquiry and thereby provided

greater articulation between our theoretical perspective and the findings.

Before starting with the discussion of the findings, it

will be helpful to attempt a quick resume of the main objectives and

features of the first two Sections of this report.

The main objective in Section One (Chapters 2 and 3) was

to examine critically various theoretical approaches in sociological

writings on the study of organizations and professions and to formulate

a political process model of academic governance. To accomplish

this, the inadequacies and limitations of the Rational and Natural

System Models of organizational analysis were discussed and the use

of an alternative "Adaptive System Model" was proposed in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 3, the theoretical examination was extended to include the

review of the sociology of professions and professional-organizational

relationships. First, the limitations of this literature, dominated by

"functionalist" model of professions, were discussed. Then a recon-

ceptualization of professions based on conflict theory was discussed,

using the major insights of the "process" model of professions. Using

these reformulations of sociological models of organizations and

professions respectively, the two prevailing "bureaucratic" and

"collegial" paradigms of university organization and governance

were briefly evaluated, and an alternative model of univer-

sity governance - the poltical process model - was formu-

lated.

Thus, the major theoretical influenced that guided the

development of the political process model of university governance

were the general perspectives of the complex adaptive system model

and conflict theory. In addition, conflict-oriented theories of

bureaucracy and professions and the interest-group theory oriented

empirical analyses of industrial and other organizations also

influenced its conceptualization. Thus formulated, the political

process model guided the field study and the political interpretation

of the organizational dynamics and conflict in the institutional

development of the new University.

On the basis of our coneptualization of the university

as a professional organization, the following characteristics of

university governance were posited:

      a. The university's social structure is
         constituted of groups and individuals
         with diverse and divergent interests,
         values, and goals.

      b. Organizational roles are subject to and
         the result of bargaining, negotiation,
         compromise and conflict between
         individuals and groups.

      c. Policy-formulation, goal-setting, and
         rule-making are the primary focus
         of governance.

    d. Decision-making is marked by
       transactional processes, coalition
       strategies, and power struggles.

    e. The role of power in governance is
       central, and the legitimacy of formal
       authority, rules, and decisions is
       problematic.

    f. The formal structures of control and
       decision-making are objects of
       competition, influence, manipulation,
       and control by competing groups and
       individuals in the university's social
       structure.

Section Two (Chapters, 4, 5, 6, and 7) constituted the

report of the field study. The report focussed on the historical

development in the University of Lethbridge of patterns of norms

and structures concerning processes of policy-formulation, the

emergence of intra-faculty conflict and power struggle between

faculty groups over the issue of faculty participation in decision-

making, and the development of the internal organization and

procedures. The issue of the institutionalization of internal

democracy in the University's developing organizational structure

provided a concrete focus for viewing the above developments

and events in a broad perspective of institutional change affecting

university governance and structure of control.

The field study report was organized into three

segments. First, the developments concerning the organizational

transition from the Junior College to the University were analyzed

and the importance of these historical roots of the University for

its organizational development and change was discussed. Second,

three important organizational developments and several issues

associated with them were intensively studied. These were: the

development of the University's organizational philosophy; the

organization of the General Faculties Council and development of

its committee structure and operating procedures; the organization

of the Faculty of Arts and Science, its Council and its committee

structure including the development of operating procedures for

both. The major issues that cut-across all of these developments

were: (a) democratic participation of faculty in policy-formulation;

(b) distribution of power and control among different groups and

individuals in the University's faculty and administration and their

influence and role in institutional development; and (c) the locus

of control for general academic and curricular planning. And

third, the faculty's perceptions and attitudes concerning some

bureaucratic and professional aspects of the institutional structure

of the university were analyzed and discussed.

To conclude this Section, three general points must

be reiterated. First, this study was primarily concerned with

organizational development, change and conflict with special

reference to the University of Lethbridge. Second, apart from our

references to the possible influence of certain factors outside the

university favouring institutional changes in academic self-governance

and of some changes in the Provincial system of higher education, we

confined our analysis to developments that took place within the new

institution or in the Junior College from which it grew. Third,

throughout this analysis, our focus has been on the relationships

between the social structural features and ideological orientations

of the faculty (including, of course, teachers and administrators)

and the organizational power structure on the one hand, and the

problematics of policy-formulation, goal-setting, and general

institutional development, on the other.

A. Institutional Development, Policy-Formulation, Power, Conflict, and Change

The university has been conceptualized in this study as

a professional organization. Central to this conceptualization has

been the assumption that university governance is basically a

political process, not merely a collegial or a bureaucratic one.

Within this perspective, institutional development and policy-

formulation emerge from the interplay of a complex set of political

processes in which different actors and their interests and ideas

compete with each other for influence and dominance. In this

process, power contests and conflict are to be expected as the natural

outcome of the actions of different groups and individuals struggling

to influence critical developments and decisions.

The evidence from our study of the organizational

development of the University of Lethbridge lends support to our

conceptualization of the organization and governance of the modern

university. It was evident, for example, that different groups and

individuals in the faculty clearly recognized the critical link between

their own vital interests and policy-formulation and goal-setting in

the new University. Consequently, the activities related to policy-

formulation and determination of organizational goals became the

major locus, and sources of power and control the main object, of

competition and conflict. Important status differences within the

faculty, and serious disagreements on questions of the nature and

extent of faculty participation in decision-making, centralization vs.

decentralization in academic planning, admissions and curricular

policies - conjoined to sharply divide it into competing interest

groups. In other words, important status differentials and basic

incompatabilities of professional ideologies present in the faculty

so combined as to result in a sharp bi-polarity in its social

structure. However, the two major factions that developed in the

faculty were not solidary groups; each resulted from a complex

alliance between such individuals, members of organizational

sub-units, and status groups that recognized common and high

stakes in the outcomes of the institutional process.

The essential aspect of the institutional development

and organizational change of the University was found in conflict,

in "struggle" between these groups (and individuals) and between

their ideas. It was through this interplay of groups and ideas within

the faculty's social structure that the process of policy-formulation

appeared characteristically to proceed. In this process, there was

room for some negotiation, some bargaining, some compromise.

But the primary emphasis in the relations of the competing groups

was not on conflict resolutions but on winning the contest, some-

times, by even "violating" the rules of the game.

Thus, we found that institutional domination was a

prized goal for each of the competing groups, both in the Junior

College and later in the University. However, the achievement

of such domination was not completely realized by the group that

ultimately succeeded in this respect until it was also more or less

successful in establishing its "monopoly" over organizational power

and formal structures of control and decision-making. Furthermore,

its access to and use of the formally institutionalized power proved

to be critical in this process of monopolization. A close alliance
between the Dean of Arts and Science and one faction in the faculty
during 1967, for example, turned out to be crucial in determining
the outcome of intra-faculty conflict and power struggles in the
institutional development of the University.

After one of the faculty groups, that allied with the
Dean, became both numerically and politically stronger than the
other in the University, it made successive attempts to exclude
the other group from different areas of policy-formulation and
organizational planning. Our analysis of the events related to the
conference organized for the development of the institutional
philosophy of the University, the University Planning Committee,
the election of members to the G. F. C., and the Arts and Science
Curriculum Committee - focussed attention on these attempts
and their significance for the emerging organizational structure.
All of the key decision-making bodies constituted important
arenas for the articulation of segmental faculty interests and the
formulation and legislation of organizational policies and
procedures. Control of these bodies was, therefore, of strategic
importance for achieving institutional domination. It was through
the exclusion, within variable limits, of the "dissident" group
from these arenas that the more powerful group established the

dominance of its own interests and ideas and transformed them into

institutional goals and policies.

Thus the institutional goals and policies as well as

the organizational structure and operating procedures of the

University developed out of the power struggles between the

competing groups in the faculty and their complex political schemes.

Power relations and group pressures more than anything else

influenced the institutional development and characterized the

faculty self-governance. Major disagreements and conflicts that

arose in the institutional process were not resolved through "rational"

dialogue premised on some apolitical consensus in the academic

profession on shared beliefs and academic values concerning the

goals or mission of the modern university. Quite the contrary.

They were handled by a planned and rational use of legalistic

maneuvers and openly adversary strategies, and by the mobilization

and exercise of power against opponents.

The preceding discussion clearly suggests the validity

of our conceptualization of university organization and governance

as a political process, dominated by conflict rather than consensus.

It has indicated that the professionalization of the faculty does not

necessarily reduce the importance of the use of power and

bureaucratization in organizational integration.

In fact, insofar as university faculties are influenced by professionalism, their professionalization does not seem to offer a set of strongly shared and well-understood values which may unite most members. On the contrary, professionalism in the university gives rise to divergent values and ideologies leading to inter-group conflict. Its emphasis on expertness also tends to fracture the university organization rather then unify it. Consequently, integration in the university is achieved largely through the use of a combination of non-normative factors and processes such as hierarchical power, political processes, bureaucratization of decision-making activities, and carefully exercised control over information flow rather than open communications between competing interest groups.

The findings of this study do not support the image of the modern university projected in Parsons' writings as a professional "community" based on and integrated by the value of cognitive rationality. In stressing the primacy of cognitive rationality in professionalism in general, and its institutionalization in the modern university in particular, Parsons over-emphasizes the degree to which rationality dominates not only the content of academic work but also the social organization of the faculty. His view effectively eliminates the consequences of power relations

within the university for its organization and governance. Like the
"human relations" view of organization, this view of the professions
tends to be overly rationalistic. In viewing the university as a
close-knit scholarly community based on value-consensus, the
Parsonian perspective emphasizes that conflict can be resolved
and agreement reached by rational persuasion and open discussion.
Like the human relations approach, it also tends to hide the fact
that there are real conflicts of interest and ideology that cannot
be communicated away.

There is enough evidence in our study which has
indicated that no amount of "rational dialogue", psychological
"openness", personal "reasonableness", or communication is
sufficient to eliminate the major sources of conflict and tension
and to develop consensus-based "academic community". To the
extent, that certain tensions and conflicts are based on lack of
understanding, open communications may help mitigate them.
But insofar as the sources of conflict in university governance
are structural in origins, they cannot be resolved by resorting
to rationality and logic. Such conflict, it must be emphasized, is
political in nature and the role of power in the dynamics of conflict
and its resolution becomes crucial, as the evidence from the
present study of the institutional development of the University of
Lethbridge has indicated.

B. <u>The University as a Professional Organization:</u>

    <u>Internal Patterns of Interdependence Between</u>

    <u>Professionalization and Bureaucratization</u>

        Within the framework of our theoretical position,
we have conceptualized the modern university as a professional
organization in which the processes of professionalization and
bureaucratization co-exist in a relationship of complex inter-
dependence. The interdependence between the two processes has
been seen as problematic because each process is closely linked
to the political dynamics of organizational conflict and change.

        On the other hand, the proponents of the "Collegial"
paradigm of university organization and governance also see the
modern university as highly professionalized. In their view, the
modern university manifests the most successful institutionalization
of the value of cognitive rationality. The institutionalization of
cognitive rationality in the university is seen to drastically
diminish, if not completely eliminate, the need for bureaucratic
control or the use of power to ensure adequate integration and
social control. Hence, the organizational structure of the modern
university is believed to be characterized by a high degree of
professionalization and a low degree of bureaucratization. This

specific pattern of inverse relationship is treated as un-problematic,

as by and large invariant in the social organization of academic

collectivities.

Our findings on the relationship between professionali-

zation and bureaucratization in the organizational structure of the

University of Lethbridge have not revealed the uniform, invariant

pattern of relationship between the two processes posited above.

On the contrary, we have found the existence of two contrasting

patterns of relationship between them as perceived by the faculty.

One major group in the faculty, belonging to certain specific

departments, perceived a high degree of professionalization and

a low degree of bureaucratization. A second major group in the

faculty, belonging to another set of departments, perceived a low

degree of professionalization and a high degree of bureaucratization.

When analysis was confined to only the key professional attitude of

Autonomy and to the two key bureaucratic dimensions of Hierarchy

of Authority and Technical Competence, the perceptions of the two

major groups were observed to be even more polarized.

It was noted that the two contrasting patterns of

relationship perceived by the two groups corresponded to their

equally contrasting positions relative to the structure of power

and influence in the process of governance, that is, of faculty

self-governance in the University. The group perceiving the first

pattern (that is, high professionalization, low bureaucratization)

was also the group that was dominant in the power structure. It

perceived a much stronger emphasis in the University on autonomy

and technical competence compared with hierarchical authority.

The group perceiving the second pattern (that is, low professionali-

zation, high bureaucratization) was also the group that was by and

large excluded and alienated from the power structure of the

University. In contrast to the other group, it perceived in the

organizational structure of the University a much weaker emphasis

on technical competence and autonomy, and a strong dominance of

hierarchical authority.

The relationship between the differential distribution

of power and variations in perceptions of professionalization and

bureaucratization was noted not only in the grouped data (that is,

for departments) but also in the perceptions of individual respondents.

Among a number of factors that were found to account for the

variations in individuals' perceptions, the most important one was

the respondent's access to power and influence in the organizational

structure. Thus, power differentials at the departmental as well

as the individual faculty member level were strongly associated

with perceptions of the faculty. This relationship was particularly

evident with reference to (a) autonomy and hierarchical authority, both of which are directly related to the nature and scope of organizational control, and (b) technical competence which is directly related to the system of rewards which, in turn, is related to social control in complex organizations.

The two contrasting views of the reality of the organizational structure that emerged in our analysis, thus, corresponded to the bi-polar social structure of the faculty. The "dominant" group, with its institutional domination established, viewed the organizational structure of the University with approval, its social order as legitimate. For it saw the organizational structure as supportive of or serving its goals and interests. The "dissident" group, on the other hand, viewed the same structure with disapproval, its social order lacking legitimacy. For the latter faction saw the organizational structure obstructing the realization of its goals, interests, and ideas. In short, the organizational structure and process evoked consent among the "dominant" group, and resentment among the "dissident" group. Thus, while it was a system of authority for the former group, it was a system of power for the latter. Indeed, two contrasting modes of organization - the patterns of "representative" and "punishment-centered" bureaucracy, to follow Gouldner's

distinctions - were perceived to be constitutive of, and simultaneously

operative in, the governance of the University.

The existence of both the "representative" and

"punishment-centered" patterns of bureaucracy in the organizational

structure and governance of the University suggests the complexity

of the relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization

which is likely to be manifested in the organizational structures of

professional organizations in general. It suggests that in the study

of organizational governance, especially of professional organizations

like the university, emphasis on the commonly stressed incompatibility

between professional and bureaucratic norms in existing theory and

research may have been misplaced for it has directed attention to

but an epi-phenomenon. In other words, conflict in "autonomous"

professional organizations is located not so much in the juxta-position

of bureaucratic and professional norms as in the process of

professionalization itself. Professionalization tends to segmentalize

an organization, gives rise to conflicts of interest and ideology, and

thus, becomes a major source of intra-organizational conflict.

The institutionalization of such conflict is sought by

competing groups in the organization by means of bureaucratization

which, in turn, generates further tensions and conflicts. Thus, to

a considerable extent, the degree of bureaucratization in a

professional organization, no less than in a non-professional

organization, is a function of human striving and conflict. It is an

outcome of a contest between groups seeking institutional dominance

or organizational control.

It follows from our discussion, then, that intra-

organizational tensions and conflict in the University cannot be

adequately understood by merely focussing on the assumed polarity

between bureaucratic and professional role orientations. In fact,

the present study has suggested that there may be no necessary or

fundamental discontinuties between the interests, academic values,

and institutional and professional ideologies espoused by academic

administrators on the one hand, and teaching faculty, on the other,

in the modern university. More important cleavages and conflicts

may lie within the organization of the professionalized faculty itself.

Our findings, including the results of multiple regression analysis

of the data on faculty perceptions of bureaucratization and

professionalization, strongly suggest that major sources of tension

and conflict in the university may lie more in the divergent interests

and ideologies of the faculty itself than in the administrative-

professional dichotomy. This suggestion would appear to be

partially supported by the findings of a recent study in Alberta

which found very little divergence between the faculty and

administrators with respect to their goal preferences for Alberta
universities.[1] However, it did not examine the question as to whether
different segments and strata in the university faculties had divergent
preference regarding university goals. This question, in our view,
merits further investigation in the future. Such investigations should
systematically examine the competing ideologies and interests of
different segments of university faculties and how these factors affect
the dynamics of academic self-governance.

Conflict within professional organizations, thus, has
its roots primarily in the divergence of professional values and
interests and the dissensus on goals and policies. Therefore, it
is expected that a complex interplay between consent and coercion,
between "representative" and "punishment-centered" modes of
organizational relationships would characterize and influence their
organizational structure, conflict, and change. Dissensus over
goals and interests tends to make the legitimacy of organizational
control "problematic" and the use of power necessary. Furthermore,
the power to make binding decisions in organizations like the
university is formally quite dispersed and often resides in the
legislative powers of constituted bodies such as departmental
assemblies, faculty councils and extensive networks of committees.
Hence conflicts and disagreements must be resolved or "fought out"

through the political-bureaucratic process with its ultimate focus on internal legislative action. Because of the prevalence of the conflict and the precarious legitimacy of control in professional organizations in which professionals exercise formal control over policy-formulation, political processes constitutive of their governance are at once integrative and alienative. Because of the differential consequences for different groups in on-going organization of the policies that follow from them, they evoke consent as well as resentment, thus providing the sources of both stability and change. In the organizational process, the patterns of "representative" and "punishment-centered" bureaucracy operate in an interactive, dialectical relationship and influence the dynamics of conflict.

The preceding discussion of the findings of this study has brought into focus the conflictive nature of university governance. Attempts to resolve this conflict result in bureaucratization which has differential consequences for different segments of the faculty. The institutionalization of conflict by means of bureaucratization is accomplished through the legislative process. The central point that must be emphasized is that bureaucratization becomes an indispensable means of circumscribing conflict and resolving disputes. Furthermore, it is resorted to by all parties, not just the administrators.

However, while organizational conflict leads to bureaucratization of activities generally, it also encourages de-bureaucratization of administrative roles. On the one hand, divergent professional ideologies and interests are conducive to bureaucratization and inter-group conflict, the latter providing its dynamic as well as giving it strategic significance. On the other hand, the relative dispersal of power in the university and professional norms regarding autonomy and hierarchical authority generate pressures towards de-bureaucratization of "bureaucratic roles" in its organizational structure.

Thus, in the modern university, administrative officials find it necessary to play "leadership" roles. The ability of an academic administrator to find workable compromises, to strike realistic political alliances with important segments and individuals of the faculty, and to mediate disputes between parties in conflict would appear to be as crucial in the process of governance as the fact that he possesses the formally institutionalized power. Indeed, it is in order to exercise this power that he must share it with his faculty allies. For without it, he may be able to initiate action but cannot be sure of its success or final outcome. Thus academic administrators seek consultation and advice from faculty influentials through both formal and informal channels. This in

addition to other factors encourages the emergence of the political elite(s) in the university. On the modern campus, an academic administrative role can approach neither, to use Gouldner's typology, the "expert" role nor the "true bureaucrat" role. The "expert" role is not possible for the university administrator because typically he has claim to no special expertise in administration, cannot validate his authority by following consensual goals because such consensus does not exist in the faculty, and courts failure if he decides to use persuasion alone in getting things he wants done. Nor is the "true bureaucrat" role a realistic possibility because of the precariousness of hierarchical authority and the dispersal of power in the organizational structure of the university. Hence, administrative roles in the university require an ingenious blending of bureaucratic power with political skills of persuasion, manipulation, mediation and conciliation.

The complex interplay of all of these factors (that is, diverse and divergent ideologies and interests, professionalization and bureaucratization, and the nature of administrative roles, etc.) would appear to produce a highly interesting pattern of organization in the modern university. We think it can be best described as "Collegial" bureaucracy. It is a federated professionalism which governs itself through a political process which blends power, conflict, professionalism and bureaucracy.

How far this pattern prevails in large as well as small

universities and colleges, in graduate as well as under-graduate

institutions, and in newer as well as older universities, requires

further investigation. Similarly, the application of the political

process model and of the "Collegial" bureaucracy paradigm to

other professional organizations such as hospitals and research

institutes, merits future theoretical as well as empirical exploration.

FOOTNOTES

1. William Alexander Stewart. "Convergence and Divergence in the Assessment of Organizational Goals: The Case of the Alberta Universities", (M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, Department of Sociology), 1971.

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<u>Appendix A</u>

April 17th, 1968

Dear Faculty Members:

The study of your university, which would not have been possible without your continued encouragement and interest, has reached its final phase. During the last three months, I have enjoyed your generous cooperation in my efforts to collect relevant data. In this regard, may I express my sincere gratitude. My stay on the campus during this period has been a pleasant and worthwhile experience.

At this stage of the study, I must request your assistance in completing the attached questionnaire. The data requested is vital to the completion of the study. Your replies will be treated with the strictest confidence and your anonymity fully preserved. Needless to say, the indentity of the university will also be safeguarded.

The questionnaire consists of three parts and the instructions for each part are contained within. Please return the questionnaire, anonymously and unsigned, in the envelope provided, addressed to me, in the campus mail.

May I express again my sincere thanks and appreciation for your assistance and I look forward to your continued cooperation. Hopefully, the completed study will justify all your efforts.

Sincerely,

Raj Pannu
Department of Sociology
University of Alberta
Edmonton.

L. OCCUPATIONAL INVENTORY

The following items are an attempt to measure certain aspects of what is commonly called "professionalism". The reference in the items is to the academic profession. Please do <u>not</u> respond to the items as a chemist, physicist, psychologist, historian, etc., but rather as a university professor and a member of the academic community.

There are five possible responses to each item. They are designed to measure how well each item corresponds to your own attitudes and/or behavior. If the item corresponds Very Well (VW), circle or underline that response. If its corresponds Well (W), Poorly (P), or Very Porrly (VP), mark the appropriate response. The middle category (?) is designed to indicate an essentially neutral opinion about the item. If you have any comments to add to the questionnaire, don't hesitate to include them.

(A)   1. I systematically read the professional journals in my own area of specialization.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B)   2. Other professions are actually more more vital to society than mine.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C)   3. A person who violates professional standards should be judged by his professional peers.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D)   4. A person enters this profession because he likes the work.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E)   5. I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done in my work.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A)   6. I regularly attend professional meetings.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B)   7. I think that my profession, more than any other, is essential for society.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 8. My fellow professionals have a pretty good idea about each other's competence.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 9. People in this profession have a real "calling" for their work.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 10. It is easier when someone else takes responsibility for decision-making.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 11. I enjoy seeing my colleagues because of the ideas that are exchanged.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 12. The importance of my profession is sometimes overstressed.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 13. There really aren't any penalties for the person who violates professional standards.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 14. The dedication of people in this field is most gratifying.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 15. I don't have much opportunity to exercise my own judgment.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 16. I believe that the professional organization(s) should be supported.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 17. Some other occupations are actually more important to society than is mine.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 18. A problem in this profession is that no one really knows what his colleagues are doing.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 19. Professional training itself helps assure that people maintain their high ideals.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 20. I know that my own judgment on
a matter is the final judgment.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 21. The most stimulating periods are
those spent with colleagues.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 22. Not enough people realize the
importance of this profession
for society.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 23. A basic problem for the profession
is the intrusion of standards other
than those which are truly
professional.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 24. It is encouraging to see the high
level of idealism which is main-
tained by people in my profession.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 25. The fact that someone checks your
decisions makes this work easier.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 26. The professional organization
doesn't really do too much for the
average member.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 27. More occupations should strive
to make a real contribution to
society the way my own does.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 28. Violators of professional standards
face fairly severe penalties.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 29. Although many people talk about
their high ideals, very few are
really motivated by them.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 30. When problems arise at work there
is little opportunity to use your
own judgment.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 31. The real test of how good a person
is in his field is the layman's
opinion of him.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 32. Any weakening of the profession
would be harmful for society.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 33. We really have no way of judging
each other's competence.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 34. It is hard to get people to be
enthusiastic about their work
in this field.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 35. There is little autonomy in this
work.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 36. Although I would like to, I really
don't read the journals too often.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 37. The benefits this profession
gives to individuals and society
are underestimated.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 38. The professional organization
is really powerless in terms
of enforcing rules.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 39. Most people would stay in the
profession even if their incomes
were reduced.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 40. Most of my own friends are
not fellow professionals.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 41. It is impossible to say that
any occupation is more
important than any other.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 42. There is not much opportunity
to judge how another person in
my profession does his work.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 43. Most of the real rewards of my work can't be seen by an outsider.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 44. I am my own boss in almost every work-related situation.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 45. The profession doesn't really encourage continued training.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 46. If ever an occupation is indispensable, it is this one.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 47. My colleagues pretty well know how well we all do in our work.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 48. There are very few people in this profession who don't really believe in their work.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 49. Most of my decisions are reviewed by other people.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

II. ORGANIZATIONAL INVENTORY

This questionnaire consists of a series of statements about organizations. The purpose of this part of the questionnaire is to find out how accurately these statements describe conditions and situations in organizations in which professionals work. Obviously, there are no "right or wrong" answers for the items that follow. However, we would appreciate your indicating how well each statement describes your own organization (i.e. the University of Lethbridge). If it describes your organization Very Well (VW), circle that response. If one of the other alternatives, Well (W), Poorly (P), Very Poorly (VP), or undecided (?), is more accurate it should be circled.

(A) 1. I feel that I can enjoy a high degree of autonomy in most matters.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 2. Even small matters have to be referred to some higher up for a final answer.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 3. One thing people like around here is the variety of work they get to do.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 4. The organization has a manual of rules and regulations to be followed.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 5. Standard procedures are to be followed in almost all situations.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 6. We are encouraged to "cut red tape" in order to get the job done.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 7. No matter how serious a person's problems are, he is treated the same as everyone else.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 8. Faculty members are periodically evaluated to see how well they do their job.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 9. All the administrators* have experience qualifying them for the job.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(I) 10. A person can make his own decisions without checking with anyone else.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(I) 11. I have to check with the administrator(s) before I do almost anything.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 12. Most jobs have something different happening from day to day.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 13. Faculty members are expected to follow directives without questioning them.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 14. There really are no specific rules, but the faculty members understand how they shall act.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 15. Red tape often is a problem in getting a job done.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 16. The organization stresses following the established procedures.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 17. A person who likes to make his own decisions would become discouraged here.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 18. People aren't promoted simply because they have a "pull".

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

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*Note: Throughout this questionnaire the term "administrator(s)" or "the administration" refers to any or all senior positions from departmental chairman to the President.

(F) 19. Promotions are based on merit in this organization.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 20. Everyone here has one superior with whom he regularly consults.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 21. People can get supplies without clearing it with their superiors.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 22. People working here usually find their jobs to be monotonous.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 23. The Faculty members are constantly being checked upon for rule violations.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 24. It seems as though there is a rule for everything here.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 25. Going through the proper channels at all times is constantly stressed.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 26. Everyone who calls upon the organization from outside is treated in exactly the same manner.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 27. The organization is always sponsoring Faculty get-togethers.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 28. Many people seem to be hired simply because they are attrative personalities.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 29. Some people are retained on the Faculty even though they are relatively incompetence.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 30. There can be little action until an administrator approves a decision.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 31. Only persons in administrative positions can decide how a job is to be done.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 32. We usually work under the same circumstances from day to day.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 33. Faculty members are often left to their own judgment as to how to handle most problems.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 34. We are to follow strict operating procedures at all times.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 35. A person gets the chance develop good friends within this organization.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 36. People are treated within the rules, no matter how serious a problem they may have.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 37. People here are given raises according to how well they are linked rather than how well they do their job.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 38. In order to get a promotion, a person has to demonstrate his competence.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 39. How things are done around here is left pretty much up to the persons doing the work.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 40. Everyone has a specific job to do.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 41. There is something new and different to almost every day.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 42. Faculty are not required to keep fixed office hours.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 43. Most of us are encouraged to use our own judgment in handling everyday situations.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 44. Whenever we have a problem, we
are supposed to go to the same
person for an answer.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 45. The administration here sticks
pretty much to themselves.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 46. A very friendly atmosphere is
to everyone who works here.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 47. There is little chance for a
promotion unless you are "in"
with the administration.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(F) 48. There is really no systematic
procedure for promot ns.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 49. People here get the orders from
the same person all the time.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 50. This organization is characterized
by a complex division of labor.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 51. No two days are ever the same in
this job.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 52. People here make their own rules
on the job.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 53. Every Faculty member has a
specific function which he has
to perform.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(D) 54. At times, going through the
proper channels becomes more
important than getting the work
done.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 55. Most people do not call their
superiors by their first name.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(B) 56. Most jobs in this organization
involve a variety of different
kinds of activities.

5	4	3	2	1
VW	W	?	P	VP

(C) 57. People here feel that they are
constantly being watched to
see that they obey all the rules.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(A) 58. Any decision I make has to
have an administrator's approval.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

(E) 59. The organization is really very
impersonal.

1	2	3	4	5
VW	W	?	P	VP

III. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your age (nearest birthday)?   ( ) Under 25   ( ) 26-30
   ( ) 31-35   ( ) 36-40   ( ) 41-45   ( ) 46-50
   ( ) 51-55   ( ) 56-60   ( ) 61-65   ( ) 66 or Over

2. Sex: ( ) Male   ( ) Female

3. Country of Birth: 3.1 Citizenship:

   ( ) Canada   ( ) Canadian
       Name Province _____
                                        ( ) U.S.
   ( ) U.S.A.
       Name State _____   ( ) Other (Please
                                            Specify)
   ( ) Other
       Name Country _____   _____

4. Your Education:

   4.1 ( ) B.A. (or other bachelor's degree)
           If so, what college/university? _____
           Year received _____

   4.2 ( ) M.A. or M.S., or other Master's degree
           If so, what university/college? _____
           Year received _____
           Field of specialization _____

   4.3 ( ) Ph.D. If so, what university? _____
           Year received _____
           Field of specialization _____

   4.4 ( ) Ph. D. candidate. If so what university? _____
           Year in which expected to complete _____
           Field of specialization _____

   4.5 ( ) Working on some other degree?
           If so, what degree? _____
           What university or college? _____

5. Job History:

5.1 Title of present position (academic rank)

( ) Full Professor   ( ) Associate Professor
( ) Lecturer/Instructor ( ) Other (please specify)_____
( ) Assistant Professor

5.2 Administrative position, if presently held
(please specify) _____

5.3 Are you a member of the Faculty of: ( ) Arts & Science
                ( ) Education
                ( ) Other (please
                    specify) _____

5.4 Name of the Department, if any: _____

5.5 Is this your <u>first</u> full-time teaching position at the university
or college level?

( ) Yes   ( ) No

5.6 If your answer to the preceding question was <u>No</u>, then please
list below the following information regarding the position
held immediately prior to your present position:

Title and/or rank of position: _____

Name of employing organization: _____

Duration of employment: _____

5.7 Total teaching experience at the university of college level:

( ) One year or less   ( ) Between 1 and 3 years
( ) Between 4 and 5 years   ( ) 6 years or more

5.8 Were you a member of the faculty (university section) of the
Lethbridge Junior College?

( ) Yes   ( ) No

5.9 How long have you been on the faculty of this university? (Please include in your answer the number of years you may have served on the faculty (university section) of the Junior College).

( ) Less than a year ( ) 3-5 years
( ) 1-2 years   ( ) more than 5 years

5.10 Have you been granted tenure at this university?

( ) Yes   ( ) No

6. Participation:

Have you served on any committee(s)/council(s) of your own Department, Faculty, or those that are university-wide, during the current academic year?

( ) Yes   ( ) No

If the answer is "yes", then please fill in the following information:

Name of the Committee	Specify whether departmental, faculty, or university-wide	Position (e.g., member, secretary, chairman, etc.)
a		
b		
c		
d		

7. Professional Activities:

7.1 List the professional associations of which you are a member:

a _____ d _____

b _____ e _____

c _____ f _____

7.2 How many professional meetings have you attended in the last three years?

( ) none   ( ) 1-2   ( ) 3-5   ( ) more than 5

7.3 List the professional journals to which you subscribe.

a _____   d _____

b _____   e _____

c _____   f _____

7.4 Of the journals listed <u>above</u>, <u>how many</u> would you say you read:

( ) thoroughly[a]   ( ) just glance through[c]
( ) partially[b]   ( ) do not read regularly[d]

[a]none	[b]none	[c]none	[d]none
one	one	one	one
two	two	two	two
three or more	three or more	three or more	three or more

7.5 How many sholarly articles have you published since 1960? (Include any papers delivered at professional meetings, but not published, as articles.)

( ) none   ( ) 1   ( ) 2-5   ( ) 6-10   ( ) 10 plus

8. Following is a list of some groups that inevitably judge the quality of professional performance. In your opinion, the judgments of which four of these groups should count most when your overall performance is assessed. (Please list in order of importance in the space provided below.)

First in importance _____   Second in importance _____

Third in importance _____   Fourth in importance _____

a. Students
b. The administration
c. The department chairman
d. Colleagues in one's own department
e. Colleagues in one's own discipline, whatever their affiliation
f. The university faculty as a whole

9. Mobility in the Academic Market:

9.1 Generally speaking, how easy do you feel it is for an average university professor to move from one university to another in the North American academic market at the present time?

( ) very easy   ( ) fairly easy   ( ) fairly difficult

( ) very difficult   ( ) don't know

9.2 Specifically, in your own case, given your field of specialization and research interests, how easy do you feel it would be at this time for you to move to another university, of equal or higher calibre, without suffering any loss in your present salary and rank?

( ) very easy   ( ) fairly easy   ( ) fairly difficult

( ) very difficult   ( ) don't know

Appendix B

Information Regarding Score Procedures
and/or Sub-categorization of Criteria Variables
Used in Multiple Regression Analysis
(See Chapter 7, Tables 4 and 5)

A. The first six variables in the above tables did not require any
scoring. They were treated as nominal or ordinal in nature
and were dichotomized as follow:

1. Highest Academic Degree

(i) Ph. D.
(ii) Non-Ph. D.

2. Academic Rank

(i) Associate Professor or Higher
(ii) Assistant Professor or Lower

3. Administrative/Teaching Position

(i) Dean or Department Chairman
(ii) Teaching Faculty

4. Total Teaching Experience

(i) 3 years or less
(ii) More than three years

5. Total Number of Years on this Faculty

(i) Less than one year
(ii) One year or more

6. Tenure

(i) Yes
(ii) No

B. The variables from #7 to #12 in the above tables required scoring. Once scores were obtained for each respondent, respondents were assigned a "high" score for scores <u>above</u> the <u>Mean</u> and a "Low" score for scores below the <u>Mean</u>. In other words, these scores were dichotomized at the group Mean for each variable. The scoring was done as follows:

7. <u>Professional Association Membership</u>

   (i) Low: From none to 2 Memberships
   (ii) High: More than 2 Memberships

8. <u>Subscription to Journals</u>

   (i) Low: From none to 2 Subscriptions
   (ii) High: More than 2 Subscriptions

9. <u>Reading of Journals</u>

   Scoring was done as follows:

	Score	(Times)		Number of Journals Read
Thoroughly Read	3	X	?	
Partially Read	2	X	?	
Glanced Through	1	X	?	
Don't Read	0	X	?	0

   TOTAL SCORE ....

   That is, the score for each of the above categories was multiplied by the <u>number</u> of journals read (e.g. If 2 journals are read "thoroughly", the score for that category will be: 3 x 2 6). To get the "total" score, the scores for the above categories were added.

10. <u>Publications</u>

    (i) Low: Less than 2
    (ii) High: 2 or more

11. Professional Orientation

This score was based on Item #8 in Part III of the questionnaire.

The score was obtained by assigning value to each item in the following two ways:

(a) Value assigned in terms of importance rating given by respondent

(b) Value assigned to each item by judges using the degree of professionalism reflected by each item

For the Total Score, the score for each item (a x b : x) was obtained first. Then all of the scores for each of the items were added.

Scoring Table that Was Used

Score by Importance		(a) x (b)	Score by Item Nature (Who Should Rate Your Performance)
First in Importance	4	3	Colleagues in one's dept. / Colleagues in one's discipline
Second in Importance	3	2	Students / University Faculty as a Whole
Third in Importance	2	1	Administration / Department Chairmen
Fourth in Importance	1		

12. Perception of Mobility

(i) Low (if fairly difficult, very difficulty, or don't know is checked)

(ii) High (if very easy, or fairly easy is checked)

APPENDIX C

Table 1

SPEARMAN RANK ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
BETWEEN BUREAUCRATIC DIMENSIONS

	Hierarchy of Authority	Division of Labor	Rules	Procedures	Impersonality	Technical Competence
Hierarchy of Authority		.458*	.775***	.772**	.699***	.763***
Division of Labor			.269	.479*	.553*	.374
Rules				.707***	.690***	.433*
Procedures					.864***	.656***
Impersonality						.505*

* = p < .05 (one-tailed test)
** = p < .01 (one-tailed test)

APPENDIX C

Table 2

SPEARMAN RANK ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
BETWEEN PROFESSIONALISM DIMENSIONS

	Belief in Service to Public	Belief in Self Regulation	Sense of Calling to Field	Feeling of Autonomy
Professional Organization Reference	.265	.390	.004	.364
Belief in Service to Public		.497*	.521*	.729**
Belief in Self Regulation			.345	.630**
Sense of Calling to Field				.504*

* = p < .05 (one-tailed test)
** = p < .01 (one-tailed test)

APPENDIX C

Table 3

RANK ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
PROFESSIONALISM SCALES AND BUREAUCRACY SCALES

	Professional Organization Reference	Belief in Service to Public	Belief in Self Regulation	Sense of Calling to Field	Feeling of Autonomy
Hierarchy of Authority	.274	.608**	.676***	.543*	.926***
Division of Labor	.512*	.426*	.471*	.296	.436*
Rules	.263	.300	.411	.235	.667*
Procedures	.128	.585***	.508*	.575***	.736***
Impersonality	.356	.619**	.551*	.446*	.764***
Technical Competence	.072	.691**	.266	.556*	.746**

$*$ = p $<$ .05 (one-tailed test)
$**$ = p $<$ .01 (one-tailed test)