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HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES PERCEIVED AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

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Burton Dean Friedman

1961

HESIS

This is to certify that the

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Perceived as a Social System

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Burton Dean Friedman

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

PERCEIVED AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

By

Burton Dean Friedman

A THESIS

Submitted to Michigan State University in
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ABSTRACT

Reports on higher education in the United States demonstrate that each observer's (a) report and (b) frame of reference are personal, i.e., expressive of unique individual perceptions. Any one observer's reports may be scrupulously objective and internally consistent. Collectively, their reports appear to be not only diverse but unsystematic.

Lack of systematization impedes study of higher education. Yet such study is urgently required because pressure to expand higher education is great and steadily increasing, and because higher education is becoming a major social and political concern of U. S. society. A consistent, "objective" frame of reference is needed by which to conceptualize higher education and in terms of which to collate diverse views regarding higher education.

The purpose of this thesis is to construct one objective frame of reference for studying higher education in the United States. The method is expository. The technic involves a logical blending of social system theory (with special reference to Loomis' model for social system analysis[1]) and perceptual theory (with special reference

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[1] Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems. (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960).

to Bills' personality typology[2]).

Comprised of individuals who interact, higher education may be studied as interaction. The concept "social system" may be utilized to study interaction within higher education. Perceptual theory provides one "objective" system for interpreting individuals' diverse perceptions of higher education.

One systematic conceptualization of higher education is developed applying the concept "social system," perceptually viewed, to higher education. The conceptualization is (a) perceptual, (b) "objectively" systematic, and (c) comprehensive. It allows one to relate higher education with society.

Higher education in the United States is defined as the social system which emerges from and is comprised of patterns of interaction among members of colleges, universities, and related enterprises or associations within the United States. Each such component constitutes a subsystem comprised of lesser units, e.g., departments, research teams, fraternities, etc.

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[2]Robert E. Bills, "About People and Teaching," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, Vol. 28 (December, 1955). College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

Abstract Burton Dean Friedman

Individuals act in accordance with their perceptions of reality. Individuals' overlapping perceptions define "social reality," including a modal view of a social unit's situation, worth, and collaborative action. Social reality guides members' actions, creating a modal pattern of predictable "social action" characteristic of the social unit.

A perceptual typology is postulated. Predictions are made regarding four constructed types of social systems of higher education:

1. "Self-maximizing" colleges, departments, universities, etc., deem themselves and significant other social systems (e.g., comparable units, local community, etc.) "worthy." They assume neither present superiority nor inferiority. Accurate in perceiving social reality, they balance their interest in self and situation, hence are free to respond to situation. Not excessively concerned with winning recognition or demonstrating superiority, they can lead or follow other systems. They are well-integrated systems that enjoy: internal solidarity; effective communications; good communication of sentiment; capable tension management; rational decision-making and facility utilization; principled behavior by members, with broad tolerance for deviancy; and capacity for effective systemic linkage. They attempt to preserve,

increase, disseminate, and apply knowledge in many areas.

2. "Self-perpetuating" systems assume present superiority. Hypo-accurate in perceiving reality, excessive interest in self and in the "good" status quo makes them oblivious to and unable to cope with external situation. Willing to lead or aggressively to dominate other systems, they are unable to follow. Having extreme integration and solidarity, they are relatively impervious to systemic linkage. They require uniform behavior by members, without tolerating deviancy.

The disseminating of specified knowledge is the prime academic concern. This is the modal pattern in U. S. higher education in (a) departments within a college, (b) non-departmentalized and self-contained colleges, and (c) multi-college universities.

3. "Self-minimizing" systems assume present inferiority. Hence, despite hyper-accurate perceptions, they lack confidence, are unable to reach decisions, perceive too many problems, and are disposed to follow other systems (which they aim to please). Lacking integration and solidarity, they are highly permeable but unable to effect desired systemic linkage. Having little agreement on principle, virtually all individual behavior is deviant, hence legalistic social controls

predominate. Effort is dispersed, resulting in "smorgasbord" curricula and extensive but ineffective facility utilization. This describes "higher education in the United States."

4. "Self-less" or "apathetic" systems assume their own and others' inferiority. Hypo-accurate in perceiving reality, they are unwilling followers, unable to lead, threatened by external situation, isolated, tradition-bound, and impermeable to systemic linkage, but subject to authoritarian control.

Apparently diverse views of higher education are reconciled within the frame of reference provided by this conceptualization.

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CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Many observers report on higher education in the United States. Their views are diverse. Each observer's report is personal, i.e., expressive of unique individual perceptions. Moreover, each observer's frame of reference is personal. Despite the fact that any one observer's report may be scrupulously objective and internally consistent, therefore, taken collectively the several observers' reports appear to be not only diverse but unsystematic.

The lack of system constitutes an impediment to the study of higher education. There is a need for an objectively systematic conceptualization of higher education in the United States, a conceptualization in terms of which description, explanation, and prediction can be ordered. The question is how to meet that need.

Higher education is comprised of individuals who interact. Higher education therefore may be studied in terms of interaction. Sociology has developed the concept of the "social system," a concept which provides a framework within which to study and to interpret interaction. The concept "social system" therefore may be utilized in the study of that interaction which occurs in higher education.

Views of higher education are expressive of individual perceptions. Perceptual theory provides one "objective" system for interpreting individuals' diverse perceptions. Perceptual theory therefore may be utilized in interpreting perceptions of higher education.

In short, one systematic conceptualization of higher education can be developed if the concept of social system, perceptually viewed, can be applied to higher education. This conceptualization would be useful for describing, explaining, and predicting the phenomena of higher education.

Several requirements must be met in order for such a conceptualization to be developed.

First, social systems are held to be constituted of common elements and processes, and subject to certain common conditions, which are diversely combined and articulated in different systems. To apply the concept of the social system to higher education requires that higher education be analyzed in terms of those elements, processes, and conditions.

Second, perceptual theory is held to offer an explanation of the causal factors in individual perceptions and individual behavior. To apply perceptual theory to higher education requires that individual and institutional behavior in higher education be explained in perceptual terms.

Third, to be useful, the combination of social system theory and perceptual theory must furnish a means by which to discriminate among institutions and types of behaviors in higher education. A typology must be developed which describes different perceptual types of social systems in higher education in terms of distinguishing characteristics of behavior, structure, and articulation.

Utilizing this combination of theories, it should be possible to develop a social-psychological conceptualization of higher education in the United States in terms of which (a) its apparent diversity may be ordered, (b) its problems may be delineated, and (c) insight may be gained regarding appropriate and effective means by which those problems may be attacked. To this end, the effort is made in this thesis systematically to re-view "higher education in the United States" through a logical screen comprised of two definitions: (1) "social system," a theory of dynamic interaction, and (2) "individual," a perceptual theory of human behavior.

The procedure followed in this thesis consists of the following steps.

1. To illustrate (a) the diversity or variety found in higher education in the United States, (b) the diversity of views regarding higher education in the United States, and (c) the unsystematized frames of reference from which such

views are reported.

2. To support the view that a systematized conceptualization is needed.

3. To review aspects of perceptual theory and the concept of the social system, and to relate one to the other.

4. To define as social systems and subsystems: (a) higher education, (b) higher education in the United States, (c) a college or university, and (d) components within each of the foregoing.

5. To delineate categories of problems of higher education in the United States, basing the categories not upon the specific content of problems but rather upon the agency which creates or which must be called upon to attack, and perhaps to resolve, the problems.

6. To describe four ideal types, or constructed types, of social systems of higher education perceptually viewed, and to postulate the behavior of each type with reference particularly to the categories of problems delineated.

7. To draw conclusions based upon the foregoing and, in particular, to generate hypotheses regarding behavior in the four perceptual types of social systems of higher education.

This first chapter is designed particularly to accomplish steps one, two, and five of those enumerated.

Diversity in Higher Education in the United States

Higher education in the United States is variously conceived and diversely perceived. It constitutes a social institution which, in both concept and instrumental manifestation, is of a bewildering complexity. It is a social institution which seemingly eludes definition, evaluation, and even description. It is nevertheless a matter of growing public interest and concern, and of growing political and economic significance. Increasing attention is being drawn to the institution and its immediate and future problems. Serious attention to those problems and their resolution will be handicapped until our ability to comprehend and to evaluate higher education has grown substantially.

The phrase "higher education" refers especially to enterprises termed "colleges" and "universities." It is complicated because, as Brubacher and Rudy note, "American higher education has never conformed to one uniform pattern, whether of organization, administration, or support"; it is characterized by what may be termed "unsystematized diversity."[1] Another author refers to "the many-sidedness of higher education" which is "obvious enough if we look around, and see everything

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[1] John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), p. 379.

from a proprietary school of commerce to a graduate school of oriental languages."[2] In more than three centuries, higher education in the United States "has yielded a variety of forms--among them, the New England hilltop college, the state university, the school of technology, the complex municipal college or university, the community or junior college."[3] "The result has been a relatively unregimented and unsystematized academic situation. The most diverse types of institutions of higher education have been founded in the United States, all claiming to be 'colleges' or 'universities.'"[4]

> Among the nation's 1,855 institutions which were listed by the United States Office of Education in 1955 as deserving a place within that broad classification known as "higher education in America," were 732 liberal arts colleges, 288 separately organized professional schools, 192 teachers' colleges, 505 junior colleges, and 281 municipal institutions. In addition to these, there were great complex universities, land-grant colleges, military institutes, and schools of technology.[5]

Depending upon the scope one wishes to give the term "higher education," the evidence of variety may be further

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[2] Douglas M. Knight, "Purpose and Policy in Higher Education," in Knight (ed.), The Federal Government and Higher Education (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 21.

[3] Brubacher and Rudy, op. cit., p. 373.

[4] Ibid., p. 380.

[5] Ibid.

amplified:

> The United States Office of Education estimates that private commercial schools now (note: this statement is quoted from a 1952 volume) enroll 175,000 high school graudates, and schools for nursing not affiliated with colleges enroll about 85,000. But these alternatives, which attract the largest groups and a higher proportion of women than men, are only two of a great many possibilities. There are special art schools, music schools, barbers' colleges, cosmetology schools, embalming schools, schools for policemen and firemen, schools of acting, schools of dancing, schools for bakers, schools of merchandising, schools of fashion, maritime schools, corporation schools, and a host of others. The number of students attending these add up to almost one-third of regular college attendance.[6]

Higher education in the United States is many-sided partly because of its origins and history. The first colleges established in the American colonies were patterned after an English model and emphasized classical training for the ministry, the law, and medicine. Much later, universities in the United States were patterned after German models and emphasized the pursuit of science. During three hundred years in a vast and heterogeneous nation, the development of some 2,000 colleges and universities has seen English, Scottish, German, and domestic ingredients blended in many different fashions. Some critics have held that this diversity has led to "chaos, low standards, and scattering of effort," but others point with pride to diversity as a major strength

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[6] Byron S. Hollinshead, Who Should Go To College (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 65.

of higher education in the United States.[7] Strength or weakness, diversity is a primary characteristic of higher education in the United States.

Diversity Among Views of U. S. Higher Education

Higher education means different things to different people, and with some justification, for in its variety it does in fact encompass a great breadth and variety of activities, aspirations, expectations, people, methods, and philosophies. President Harnwell of the University of Pennsylvania has commented that "The university presents so many facets to society that it is often not recognized as a single entity, even by those within it."[8]

Higher education has many facets, many manifestations, many models, and, perforce, many interpretations and perceptions, even when one limits the matter to "higher education in the United States" and excludes its European, Asian, African, Latin American, British Commonwealth, and other manifestations. It is scarcely surprising that, as Havemann and West note, "The folklore about the American college is endless."[9]

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[7] Brubacher and Rudy, op. cit., p. 380.

[8] Quoted in Henry M. Wriston, Academic Procession (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 82.

[9] Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West, They Went to College (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952), p. 3.

They add that " . . . college has become very mysterious and magical, a kind of talisman which nobody really understands but which everyone respects--either wholeheartedly or with a self-conscious cynicism about his own superstitions."[10] The situation could scarcely be otherwise if, as Hollinshead says, "Probably no discussion can do even partial justice to the wide variety of colleges. Since there are over 1,800 colleges, accredited and unaccredited, the only possible way to describe them would be to say that there are over 1,800 varieties."[11]

The perception one has of higher education depends upon where one stands, and the evaluation one makes depends upon the aspect of the total phenomenon upon which one concentrates. Views of remarkable variety have been expressed regarding colleges and universities, their purposes, their management, their goals, their effects, etc. As there are "over 1,800 varieties" of colleges, there are many times that many perceptions of higher education.

Some would place higher education beside the Constitution as a rock upon which the nation rests or the lighthouse by which it is guided. They perceive it as a noble institution deserving of something akin to reverence. For example,

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[10] Ibid., p. 4.

[11] Hollinshead, op. cit., p. 55.

John Masefield has written, "There are few earthly things more splendid than a University. Wherever a University stands, it stands and shines; wherever it exists, the free minds of men, urged on to full and fair inquiry, may still bring wisdom into human affairs . . . . To be a member of one of these great societies must ever be a glad distinction."[12] Doubtless there are those who support, attend, and labor in colleges and universities in response to sentiments akin to those of Masefield, if not as gracefully expressed.

This is not a unanimous view, however. As Havemann and West note, others are rather more restrained, perhaps even cynical, in their regard for higher education.[13] Some perceive higher education as a means to personal financial enhancement. For example, Hollinshead observes that "it is generally accepted that to attend college improves earning power and raises social status. Therefore, the average parent is willing to make sacrifices in order to have Johnny go to college . . . . Nor has it escaped public attention that employers give preference to college graduates and that

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[12] Quoted in Paul J. Braisted, "Introduction," in Charles Frankel (ed.), Issues in University Education (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), p. xiv.

[13] Havemann and West, op. cit., p. 4.

educational qualifications for civil service jobs have been moving upward. In other words, society's belief that higher education 'pays' in a great variety of ways gives a powerful impetus to attendance."[14] Sinclair made a related but more pungent observation many years ago, writing, "But here is the point: self-supporting students who go to night school in New York go in order to increase their money-making capacity, and they judge the education they get by that criterion, and they irresistably mold the educational standards of the institution they attend. So the spirit of education becomes . . . ravenous greed, veiled by buncombe and hypocritical pretenses."[15]

Wriston, on the other hand, has said, "I went to college for no purpose except the experience itself; it seemed to me then--and has ever since--an adequate objective."[16]

"From Printers Ink, January 18, 1923, I quote," writes Sinclair, "'M. F. Hilfinger, Vice President of the A. E. Nettleton Shoe Company, Syracuse, speaking before the Greater Buffalo Advertising Club, declared that the new University of Buffalo will be the greatest advertising asset the city has.

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[14]Hollinshead, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

[15]Upton Sinclair, The Goose-Step (Pasadena: Upton Sinclair, 1923), p. 315.

[16]Wriston, op. cit., p. 2.

He said that it is estimated that Syracuse University brought at least $5,000,000 to that city.'"[17] Here we have higher education perceived as a commercial asset.

Princeton's Dean Gauss quoted a 'well-known educator' in 1938 as having said, "There are only three things wrong with higher education in America: first, our students; second, our alumni; and third, our faculties." Had the speaker read Hutchins' The Higher Learning in America, Gauss observed, he would surely have added a fourth ill: the curriculum.[18] Had the gentleman read Veblen's book of the same title, he might have cited boards of trustees as a fifth depressing item. John Kieran, in a companion essay to that of Gauss, contributes intercollegiate athletics as a sixth.[19]

Gardner, speaking of state universities, writes, "They are tax supported, and as such should perform whatever functions the citizens desire and are willing to finance."[20] Krutch writes with some disdain, however, of those professors

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[17] Upton Sinclair, The Goslings (Pasadena: Upton Sinclair, 1923), p. 427.

[18] Christian Gauss, "Education," in Harold E. Stearns (ed.), America Now (New York: Literary Guild of America, 1938), p. 333.

[19] John Kieran, "Sports," in Stearns (ed.), America Now, p. 401.

[20] Gardner, Tomorrow's Graduate School of Education (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1958), p. 42.

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of education who ask "What do most college students want?" instead of "What would a good education consist of?"[21]

Upton Sinclair had many caustic comments to make about higher education, quite apart from his premise that "Our educational system is not a public service, but an instrument of social privilege; its purpose is not to further the welfare of mankind, but merely to keep America capitalist."[22] He was disturbed by what appeared to him to be a commercialization and vocationalizing of the higher learning, a matter regarding which his views have been approximately shared by many others; Flexner, for example, wrote tartly that mail-order methods ('education F.O.B. Chicago') were making a mockery of higher education.[23] "At the University of Chicago," noted Sinclair, "they have a School of Commerce, which is growing like the weed that it is."[24] "Colleges which are located in big cities have one advantage, in that the students more frequently live at home, and are less apt to develop that pest known as 'college spirit.' On the other hand, being in

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[21] Joseph Wood Krutch (ed.), Is the Common Man Too Common? (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 16.

[22] Sinclair, The Goose-Step, op. cit., p. 18.

[23] Abraham Flexner, Universities: American, English, German (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930).

[24] Sinclair, The Goose-Step, op. cit., p. 321.

the midst of roaring commerce, they are even less apt to think about anything but preparation for money-making."[25]

Gauss wrote, "The brutal fact seems to be that we have come to believe only in the ECONOMIC MAN and in the NATION. For that reason, our supposedly higher education has become ever more vocational and nationalistic. . . . as a result the older, humane tradition, with its faith in the humanities, has almost disappeared."[26]

"The status of a professor in Columbia," wrote Charles Beard, "is lower than that of a manual laborer."[27] "We pay the day laborer more than the teacher," the Bankers' Magazine once observed, "because he is worth more--because he produces a service of greater value to society--just as the corporation manager is paid more than the preacher."[28]

"College is a place and an instrument to promote human growth by the human effort of teacher and taught," says Wriston.[29] "If a college cannot serve a student

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[25]Sinclair, The Goose-Step, op. cit., p. 331.

[26]Gauss, "Education," in Stearns (ed.), America Now, p. 342.

[27]Quoted, from his letter of resignation, by Sinclair in The Goose-Step, op. cit., p. 49.

[28]Quoted in Sinclair, The Goslings, op. cit., p. 373.

[29]Wriston, op. cit., pp. 131-32.

intellectually it cannot serve him at all," he adds. "There are better rest homes and recreation centers elsewhere; an institution of higher education has no obligation to substitute for either."[30] Wriston's emphasis on human growth and intellectual development is not at the center of everyone's concern, however. For example, Hollinshead reports that " . . . now society expects everyone with ability to go (to college), and it expects colleges to prepare them for a wide variety of occupations and professions."[31]

One may ask whether higher education is tradition-bound and inflexible. One scholar writes, "A college or university is so bound by its traditions and by the influences impinging upon it that even moderate changes in policy are difficult to make."[32] However, another differs, believing that " . . . a capacity for adjustment and innovation has been a special characteristic of American higher education. The commonest criticism of universities in this country by foreign visitors is that they have been too responsive to the needs of society. This, it is said, has caused a dilution

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[30] Wriston, Ibid., pp. 184-85.

[31] Hollinshead, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

[32] Ibid., p. 93.

of standards and a dispersion of effort."[33] "Tradition is stubborn," says Wriston, "but brittle; once shattered it is no longer a barrier."[34] Perhaps all three observations are correct.

David Riesman conceives of the institutions of higher education as being engaged in an academic procession in which each copies from the institution it perceives to be its style leader or model: "American higher education seems to me directionless at the head of the procession as far as major innovations are concerned, in rapid if sometimes contradictory motion in the middle, and lacking in much if any aliveness at the end."[35] Hollinshead lends support to the latter portion of Riesman's statement, writing of what he terms "marginal colleges" which "do not disappear because local vested interests, misguided philanthropy, or political maneuvering keeps them from sinking without keeping them afloat."[36]

Riesman observes a possible contradiction between the

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[33]C. W. de Kiewiet, "Let's Globalize Our Universities," in Krutch (ed.), Is the Common Man Too Common?, p. 114.

[34]Wriston, op. cit., p. 73.

[35]David Riesman, Constraint and Variety in American Education (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956), pp. 51-52.

[36]Hollinshead, op. cit., p. 118.

goals and the effects of higher education:

> The idea of education has successfully infiltrated our national culture nevertheless and taken its place among the accepted powers. Our colleges and universities, however, may be in the situation of the churches of today: better attended than ever, bigger and handling more gate receipts, while thoughtful theologians wonder whether religiosity doesn't actually provide an antibody against religion rather than a channel towards it. Education succeeds in emancipating a large proportion of its graduates from provincial roots, only to tie them the more firmly to the big and more subtly constricting orbits of corporate, academic, suburban, and military organizations. With other graduates, higher education lowers its sights in order to avoid despair, and hoping that some culture will rub off on the denizens in four years, often finds that these are only rubbed the wrong way and come out more anti-intellectual than they went in, and better able to throw their weight around.[37]

Krutch states the role of higher education in this way:

> Ultimate responsibility for the future rests with the thinkers and educators whose most important social task at the moment is to define democratic culture in some fashion which will both reserve a place for uncommon excellence and, even in connection with the largest masses, emphasize the highest rather than the lowest common denominator.[38]

President Wriston expresses his view thus:

> . . . college is primarily an intellectual experience. "Training" is involved; vocation is not negligible; social participation should be lively and interesting; physical activity should be vigorous. Nevertheless,

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[37] Riesman, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

[38] Krutch, op. cit., p. 19.

> the central objective is the cultivation of the life of the mind.[39]

Wriston adds:

> Beyond all else he (the student) must be encouraged to do more and more things for himself and by himself. The title of a recent best seller--on another topic--carries the root idea: How to Do Nothing with Nobody All Alone By Yourself.[40]

Perhaps Chancellor Capen was correct when he said:

> The American people by and large do not understand the university. More than that, most of them do not even know that it exists. After a fashion, they understand the college, or they think they do; and they think that all institutions of so-called higher learning are colleges, differing only as to size and as to the number of professional schools that may be attached to them.[41]

Certainly the views even of those who profess to have some basis for understanding and knowledgeability about higher education are not always congruent. As Kelley says, "Since perception is the usable reality, and since no two organisms can make the same use of clues or bring the same experimental background to bear, no two of us can see alike."[42] Among the diverse views available, only a very few points

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[39] Wriston, op. cit., p. 200.

[40] Ibid., p. 132.

[41] Samuel Paul Capen, The Management of Universities, Oscar A. Silverman (ed.) (Buffalo, New York: Foster & Stewart Publishing Corp., 1953), p. 3.

[42] Earl C Kelley, Education for What is Real (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), p. 34.

would seem to be congenial to all observers: (1) there are such things as colleges and universities, and (2) colleges and universities do form part of something termed "higher education."

Unsystematic Views of U. S. Higher Education

The many observers cited in the foregoing are not entirely in the position of the several blind men who likened an elephant to a rope, a wall, a tree, and so forth. They do know a college or university when they see one. However, they have not developed a standardized way of looking at one, and they do not all look at the same one. When they generalize, they do not all talk to the same point, about comparable institutions, or about the same aspects of different institutions, and they do not distinguish between what is and what ought to be. In short, their views are not only diverse; they also are unsystematic, unorganized.

The point is this: The predominant frame of reference for viewing higher education seems to be (a) personal, i.e., expressive of unique individual perceptions, and (b) objectively unsystematic. In discussing higher education, observers are prone to confuse is, was, ought to be, and will be, and prone to lose contact with social reality, with each other, and with their audiences.

The framework for an integrative composite description of higher education is therefore lacking. Various approaches to the study and comprehension of higher education in the United States are possible, plausible, and perhaps necessary. Certainly the phenomena involved are sufficiently complex and varied that descriptions from many different points of view may be useful and interesting. The question is whether they need to be both personal and unsystematic.

If, as Kelley says, "no two of us can see alike," the reports prepared by those who view and discuss higher education must necessarily continue to be personal, i.e., perceptual; one can report only what one perceives. However, the frame of reference need not continue to be unorganized. Higher education could be perceived from a frame of reference which is nevertheless objectively organized, ordered, systematized.

Lacking such a frame of reference, the study of higher education is seriously handicapped. It is now extremely difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend higher education in the United States. Comprehension of the situation being so difficult, attention to problems of higher education is unorganized, as are the views of higher education. The concepts of higher education in the United States that are now available, personal and unsystematic as they are, do not

comprehend the problems of higher education. Unless a conceptualization of higher education comprehends its problems, it is useless.

Therefore, there is a need for useful conceptualizations of "higher education in the United States." These must necessarily be perceptual; they must be objectively systematic; and they must comprehend the problems of higher education.

Problems of U. S. Higher Education

In one sense, of course, "problems of higher education" means all those problems with which higher education must deal, regardless of their source, regardless of their causes, and regardless of their content. It is clear that the problems do not originate or reside exclusively within higher education. They cannot, because colleges and universities are not segregated from other elements of the society within which they exist, by which they are nurtured, and which they serve. It is therefore clear that there exist (1) problems created within higher education and (2) problems created for higher education by forces abroad in the larger society. It is also quite clear that among the "problems of higher education" are (1) problems to be dealt with substantially or exclusively within higher education; (2) problems to be dealt with substantially or exclusively within the larger society; and

(3) problems to be dealt with jointly by higher education and by the larger society.

Therefore, a useful conceptualization of higher education in the United States must satisfy four criteria: as already enumerated, it (a) must be perceptual, (b) must be systematic, (c) must comprehend the problems of higher education; in addition, it (d) must relate higher education to the larger society.

To pursue this matter a bit further, the problems of higher education may be viewed in several ways. It may be useful to suggest the types of problems which fall into the several categories indicated above.

Some problems of higher education are self-imposed, i.e., created and dealt with within higher education. Morale is such a problem. So also is turnover. Internal administration is in this category, as are many aspects of curriculum development, instruction, staffing, and planning.

Some problems of higher education are imposed upon others, i.e., created within higher education but requiring the attention of other aspects of society. The type of education offered by colleges and universities is one such problem: higher education provides to its students the type of schooling which <u>it</u> deems appropriate and society must (within limits) "make do" with what is provided. The demand

imposed upon society by higher education for additional physical and economic facilities is such a problem. The admission requirements specified by higher education constitute a third problem of this type, imposed in this case upon the secondary schools.

Still other problems are imposed by others upon higher education, i.e., created by forces abroad in society but to be dealt with by higher education. The availability of staff personnel is such a problem: the conditions of the "market" in the larger society strongly affect the ability of colleges and universities to acquire suitable personnel. Similarly, society determines the availability of physical and economic resources to be utilized by higher education. The conditions in society have a marked effect upon the volume of student demand, both in general and in specifics: as the belief becomes prevalent within society that "everyone" should go to college, the demand for college entrance grows; more specifically, the public demand for particular programs of study varies with fluctuations in the market and in world affairs (witness the Sputnik reaction).

Any problem identifiable within higher education can be classified in this fashion. To classify problems in this manner has the virtue that it indicates by what agency or agencies each problem may appropriately be considered and

perhaps resolved. It has the further virtue that it demonstrates the futility of considering higher education only as a discrete phenomenon segregated from the remainder of society.

Several of the principal problems of higher education have been alluded to above. They include: administration, the problem of internal control of operations of colleges and universities; facilities, the problem of physical and financial resources; staffing, the problem of human resources; standards, the problem of who is to be educated, in what manner, and to what degree; curriculum, the problem of what is to be taught; instruction, the problem of how and by whom (or by what devices) teaching is to be performed; research, the problem of increasing knowledge; service, the problem of applying knowledge; academic freedom, the multifaceted problem of institutional freedom from societal restraint and individual freedom from institutional restraint.

Limiting attention to the category of problems to be attended to or resolved exclusively within higher education, still another basis for classifying problems is available: <u>any</u> problem to be dealt with within higher education requires (1) individual effort and (2) cooperative group effort; a <u>specific</u> problem requires one type of effort more than it does the other, and problems may be classified according to

the type of effort to be emphasized.

To illustrate: individual effort is especially required in (a) classroom instruction, (b) innovation and creative activity, (c) "empire building," and (d) some varieties of research.

The mutually valued cooperative effort of the faculty is especially required in: (a) the design of academic programs and curricula, (b) the design of common procedures, (c) developing standards, (d) team teaching, (e) program research or interdisciplinary research, and (f) the implementation of innovation.

Higher Education and Society

Thirty years ago, in the introduction to Five College Plans, John J. Coss reviewed developments in higher education that had occurred during the years following World War I. In language nearly identical to that employed by others a generation later, Coss noted unprecedented gains in attendance, thousands of new students, possible dilution in the quality of work done, increased concern for exceptional students and for individual differences, increased variety in types of programs, etc. He also offered the following observations:

> This rapid review of some of the elements in the post-war collegiate ferment may cause one to turn from the consideration of the college as merely a thing of today to some reflections upon its nature as an institution

> with a long history. Perhaps we shall understand ourselves better and be both less disturbed and more confident if for a moment we think of the college as an institution. As such it is like all other institutions. It rises to meet a need, a need of an actual temporally conditioned situation. It meets this need more or less successfully, becomes expert in meeting it, develops a pride in its accomplishment and a vested interest in its exercise. It also assimilates certain other values in addition to its utilitarian. Such an assimilation is, for example, the social prestige which accrues to those who penetrate the rather select company of the collegiate fold.
>
> But in the history of man the scene of social accomplishments, economic achievements, and political adjustments changes. New needs arise, needs which did not exist when first the now well established institution came into being. But it <u>is</u> well established, its routine is perfected, its champions stout defenders of its methods, its values, its rights, and their own superior knowledge. In such a situation, there is a gap between social need and institutional service. Change in the social order is rapid, change in institutional operation is slow, and to the discerning the institution lags.
>
> In crises leaders in institutions sense this lag and strive to catch up to their social duties and to change the institution sufficiently to meet the new need yet preserve the old instrument. Sometimes they succeed. Sometimes wholly new methods of meeting the social need arise because the institution cannot change.[43]

In this succinct and insightful statement, Coss touched upon several of the points noted in the foregoing discussion; to some extent, he anticipated considerations to be elaborated in the pages which follow.

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[43] John J. Coss, "Introduction" to H E. Hawkes, <u>et. al.</u>, <u>Five College Plans</u> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), pp. 4-5.

He recognized that the college and its society are inextricably related one to the other. He recognized that the college is an instrument of society, and, from society's point of view, has a utilitarian role; it is for this reason that certain of the problems of higher education are problems which it shares with or receives from the parent society. He noted that the college becomes more or less expert in meeting the needs which confront it; this expertise is particularly applicable to those problems which are created and attended to substantially within higher education. He perceived that a college develops a vested interest in the exercise of its role and assimilates values centered about itself rather than about its utilitarian purposes as these are prescribed by society; this self-consciousness is a source of or a factor which aggravates certain problems shared between the institution and society, it is responsible in part for the varying rates at which change occurs in the college and in society, and it is directly related to certain problems caused by higher education for society.

Other authors have observed the interrelationships that exist between higher education and both society in general and differentiated aspects of society. Much of Veblen's emphasis in The Higher Learning in America is placed upon the influence of commerce within higher education, for

example, and the same is true of Sinclair's The Goose-Step. Griswold notes another such relationship: " . . . our colleges and universities depend upon the schools for their most essential raw material, and if the schools cannot or do not send them properly qualified material the whole fabric of higher education becomes a bridge built upon rotten pilings."[44]

Dean Gauss related what he perceived as problems of higher education to broader patterns of culture within U. S. society:

> Vocational schools or courses then have become immensely popular since they are supposed to lead to financial success--which is the supreme aim of our life. This same general tendency has made American businessmen and Chambers of Commerce believe to a degree that has never been true in any other age or nation, that they are in fact and by prescriptive right the dominant force in our culture. So long as our economic interests are our highest interests, . . . higher education will not be an end in itself and can do little to further the search for truth and the welfare of mankind.

For the malady of nationalism, said Gauss, "the universities themselves are responsible." This ailment of higher education, according to his perception, was developed within higher education and to some extent at least grafted into the culture. On the other hand, "The vocational trend, in part at least, has been forced upon us. The nationalistic trend

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[44] A. Whitney Griswold, "Educating the Common Man," in Krutch (ed.), Is The Common Man Too Common?, p. 97.

is in much larger measure a creation of our schools."[45] Thus Gauss, in this brief statement, offers one example (nationalism) of a problem created within higher education and another (vocationalism) of a problem created for higher education by forces abroad in society.

Whether it is or should be a purpose of higher education to perpetuate the culture or the society is a moot point. There can be no doubt, however, whether higher education and culture or higher education and the parent society are interdependent. Higher education could not hold itself entirely aloof from society even if it would, in the first place. One reason is noted by Riesman, who has written of what he terms "the area of political control over colleges and schools."[46] Another reason is noted by John W. Dodds, who says, "No university can be culturally healthy in a culturally sick society."[47] Moreover, higher education should not hold itself entirely aloof from society even if it could; as Dodds adds, "To deal with life and yet to render it sterile is the unforgivable academic crime."[48] Finally, if President de Kiewiet is correct,

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[45] Gauss, op. cit., p. 343.

[46] Riesman, op. cit., p. 157

[47] John W. Dodds, "The Common Man on the Campus," in Krutch (ed.), Is The Common Man Too Common?, pp. 113, 110.

[48] Ibid.

higher education would not hold itself entirely aloof from society even if it could; all problems of the parent society are per se problems of "higher education." President de Kiewiet says:

> Education in a democracy is a form of statesmanship which seeks a wise middle course between participation and isolation. One reason for the existence of universities is to provide an intellectual refuge for those who know how to honor and reward the privilege. But there are periods when the compulsion toward participation is strong. A merely passive spectatorship of our uneasy world is unethical. The humanities today cannot be a shelter from the world of action. If scholars refuse to admit this they must not be unhappy if the world of action ignores them.[49]

Reasons for Urgency in the Study of Higher Education

President de Kiewiet wrote an essay in which he argues that our universities must "globalize," and that they must do so soon. To emphasize the urgency, he related this anecdote:

> A Zulu mineworker once collided heavily with me as he dashed down a Johannesburg road towards the railroad depot. "Ha! Sorry, Baas," he said, "time is few!" and dashed off to catch his train. In Asia and Africa, time is few, very few.[50]

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[49] de Kiewiet, op. cit., pp. 121-22.

[50] de Kiewiet, Ibid., p. 120.

"Time is few" for U. S. higher education also. A boom is under way. Colleges and universities in the United States are growing. They are increasing in number, size, scope, constituency, clientele, and social significance. As a result, they attract increasing political attention. Decisions are made, implicitly and explicitly, affecting the present and future of higher education.

In preceding pages, it is held that a conceptualization is needed of higher education in the United States, one which would be perceptual, systematic, and comprehensive, and which would treat both of higher education and of its articulation with society. Given such a conceptualization, current major decisions might be based on a useful theoretical basis, thereby increasing the likelihood that they would be wise decisions. Given both theory and supporting evidence, decisions could be wiser still. In the absence of theory, evidence available to decision-makers may not be pertinent to the problems.

Immediate and future problems of higher education will be resolved, theory or no theory. There can be no moratorium on decision-making, and in any case every decision is arbitrary in the sense that a decision-maker never has <u>all</u> the evidence. However, decisions rooted in theory and supported by evidence are less arbitrary than others. The outcomes of a decision

depend upon luck to the extent that the choice was arbitrary. The sheer magnitude of higher education makes it unwise for society to rely heavily upon luck. The more prudent strategy would be to minimize the part played by fortuitous circumstance in selecting models for higher education or in deciding among patterns for its growth.

Four decades ago, Sinclair wrote that "Colleges are growing like those prehistoric monsters, the size of a freight-car, with brains that would fit inside a walnut-shell."[51] Another major expansion of higher education will occur during the decades of the sixties. It would therefore seem appropriate swiftly to develop a suitable theoretical framework for the study of higher education in the United States, and to document it as quickly as possible, so that it may be utilized by present and future decision-makers.

Perceptual Theory and Social System Theory

This thesis sets forth a conceptualization of higher education in the United States which draws heavily upon perceptual theory and social system theory. In particular, extensive use is made of Charles P. Loomis' model for analysis of social systems and of Robert E. Bills' perceptual typology

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[51] Sinclair, The Goose-Step, op. cit., p. 398.

of individual personalities.

In the body of the thesis, it is assumed that the reader is already acquainted with the essentials of perceptual theory and with the concept of the social system. Extensive reviews of these theoretical approaches, it is believed, would interfere with the development of the main line of thought presented in the thesis. However, extended discussions of them are provided in Appendix A, "Aspects of Perceptual Theory," and Appendix B, "Aspects of Social System Theory."

Chapter II defines higher education in the United States as a social system and offers a justification for so regarding it.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Each component of the Loomis model for social system analysis can be perceived within a college, a university, an academic department, and higher education as a whole. The conceptualization provided by the social system approach appears to fit, so to speak, higher education and its component units. Viewing a college, for example, as a social system, an observer can readily perceive manifestations in the behavior of its members which reflect or meet the descriptions of each element and process designated by the Loomis model, and the college can be described in terms of the model. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and define social systems of higher education.

In order to study individual and corporate behavior in higher education, an observer may focus his attention at either of the several levels enumerated below.

1. Individual: the individual as member.
2. Individual: the individual as authority or control figure.
3. Lesser social subsystems: cliques, departments, etc.
4. Enterprise: a college or a university.
5. Nation-wide higher education: a community of diverse

enterprises, e.g., higher education in the United States.

6. Society: a community of diverse social institutions, e.g., higher education, commerce, government, etc.

7. Higher education: a world-wide aggregation of diverse communities (e.g., higher education in the U.S.S.R., higher education in the U. S., etc.), each of which is comprised of diverse enterprises.

As herein conceived, "higher education" is a world-wide social system. "Higher education in the United States" is a national social system which comprises all the colleges, universities, accrediting agencies, and related units within the United States. A university is conceived to be a subsystem that embraces lesser units called colleges, schools, departments, etc. A college is conceived to be a subsystem that includes lesser units called departments, divisions, etc.

Higher education in the United States, as a major subsystem of United States society, is comparable to such other subsystems of that society as commerce, organized labor, religion, government, etc. Higher education in the United States, as a major subsystem of world-wide higher education, is comparable to such other subsystems as "higher education in Britain," "higher education in Mexico," "higher education in Germany," etc.

The College as a Social Subsystem

The college is characterized by group designs for living

which differ from the pattern found in the surrounding society. The member of the college subculture knows and typically subscribes to norms, values, beliefs, etc., which differ from those of the surrounding culture but are part of the college subculture. Certain facilities, symbols, rituals, ceremony, rewards, sanctions, etc., are found to be unique or uniquely regarded within the college. The goals and norms of the college are not identical to those of the parent society, and the discrepancy between actual and ideal may be both different and differently regarded within the college.

A social structure may be perceived to exist within the college; that is, there is a patterned system of relationships between and among established status-roles, i.e., teacher, student, administrator, etc. Some of these relationships are deemed significant by the members. They therefore are defined carefully by norms, diffused throughout the membership by socialization, observed and evaluated as performed, and preserved through techniques of social control which may involve the application of sanctions against deviant behavior.

Norms may be perceived to govern the use and selection of means by which to conduct instrumental, adaptive, integrative, and expressive goal-seeking activities.

A pattern of super- and sub-ordination may be perceived to constitute within the college a hierarchical ranking system

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that includes faculty, staff, and students. Patterns of authority may be perceived to have developed around status-roles occupied by college personnel and by students, alumni, etc. Patterns of influence and of the exercise of non-institutionalized coercive power may be perceived to have developed around particular members. Norms may be perceived to govern an individual member's passage from one status-role to another.

Bonds based on intimacy, affection, and common goals may be perceived to link members together. In each college, it may be useful to ascertain whether the process "tension management" is so activated that sentiment complements or instead handicaps the goal-oriented activities of the college. At this point, a brief parenthesis is appropriate in order to note that "tension management" would appear to be the problem at the core of the social system approach to administrative theory developed by Getzels. Getzels distinguishes between the "nomothetic" or normative aspect or dimension of activity and the "idiographic" or personal dimension of activity in a social system.[1] The nomothetic dimension involves institution, role, and expectation; the idiographic involves individual,

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[1] Jacob W. Getzels, "Administration as a Social Process," in Andrew W. Halpin (ed.), Administrative Theory in Education (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958), pp. 150 ff.

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personality, and need-disposition. In Getzels' words, "needs and expectations may both be thought of as motives for behavior, the one deriving from personalistic sets and propensities, the other from institutional obligations and requirements."[2] Loomis' term "tension management" may be thought of as referring to the process of mediating between the two sets of motives for behavior described by Getzels.

Resuming the previous discussion, the college may be perceived to be a social subsystem in equilibrium, a dynamic system. Attention may be directed to ascertaining the source of initiative for and the direction, velocity, and type of change that takes place within the college. Attention may be further directed to a consideration of provisions for making decisions regarding change, for initiating change, and for achieving or effecting change (or for maintaining the status quo).

Related Social Units

Beyond this, it may readily be perceived that the college is not an isolated social system, but rather that it is a subsystem of a larger unit and that it is furthermore articulated with other social systems through the process of systemic linkage. This is illustrated by the fact that

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[2] Ibid., p. 155.

Processes (elemental)	Structural-functional categories	Elements
1) Cognitive mapping and validation	Knowing	Belief (knowledge)
2) a) Tension management and b) Communication of sentiment	Feeling	Sentiment
3) a) Goal attaining activity and b) Concomitant "latent" activity as process	Achieving	End, goal, or objective
4) Evaluation	Norming, Standardizing, Patterning	Norm
5) Status-role performance	Dividing the functions	Status-role (position)
6) a) Evaluation of actors and b) Allocation of status-roles	Ranking	Rank
7) a) Decision making and b) Initiation of action	Controlling	Power
8) Application of sanctions	Sanctioning	Sanction
9) Utilization of facilities	Facilitation	Facility
Comprehensive or Master Processes		
1) Communication 2) Boundary maintenance	3) Systemic linkage 4) Institutionalization	5) Socialization 6) Social control
Conditions of Social Action		
1) Territoriality	2) Size	3) Time

*Source: Social Systems by Charles P. Loomis (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 8.

Figure 2.1 Elements, Processes and Conditions of Action of Social Systems: The Processually Articulated Structural Model (PASM)*

initiative for changes in the college may originate outside the college. The external forces promoting change may be technological, as when television and teaching machines are offered for use; they may be moral and represent a shift of norms in the parent society; they may stem from the fact of population growth or from changes of educational expectations within the parent society. Systemic linkage is assured to some extent simply by the fact that members of the college are also members of and enter the college from the parent society. Turnover of personnel provides another means of articulation, i.e., of systemic linkage, with society and with other systems.

It may be perceived that the board of trustees and the president of the college perform status-roles whose function is in large part that of assuring systemic linkage. Attention may then be directed to ascertaining other ways in which pressures from outside are articulated with the college, to what extent outside pressures dominate the college, to what extent the ends and means chosen by the college and by outside sources of pressure converge or diverge, and to what extent these pressures are perceived by members of the college as threats which evoke strong boundary maintaining efforts.

Systems and Subsystems of Higher Education

The whole of higher education may be perceived and studied as a social system. So also may all of higher education

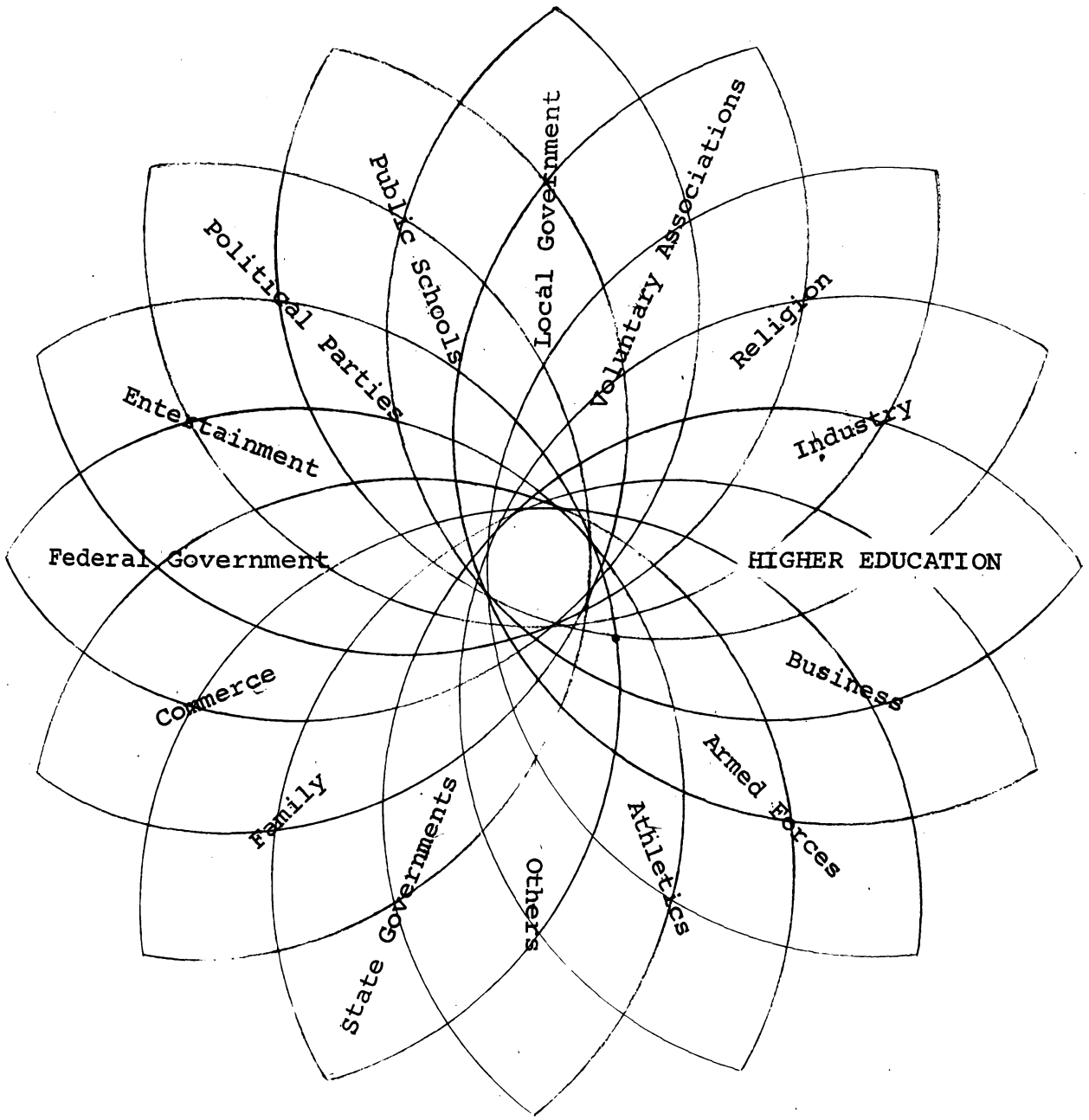


Figure 2.2. United States society perceived as the "master" social system. Overlapping, competing, sometimes conflicting, interdependent social systems of great variety exist within it and link it together with other societies. One such social system is higher education.

in the United States. In either case, analysis may be conducted in terms of the elements and processes of the social system model developed by Loomis. The multi-college university, a college, a subsystem within a college or university (e.g., an academic department), or a subsystem within U. S. higher education (e.g., an accrediting association or an inter-collegiate athletic conference), each may be analyzed and dissected in terms of the common elements, processes, and conditions, i.e., each may in one sense be treated as a social system, although each is in a larger sense a sub-system with a major unit.

Within a multi-college university, members of each college may engage in vigorous boundary maintaining activity; within a college, members of each department may be similarly engaged. This may create a serious problem of systemic linkage: how best to articulate the subsystems within the one university. The same problem may be perceived to exist at other levels. For example, public higher education within a state may be perceived as a subsystem (of the state and of U. S. higher education) in which the problem of systemic linkage, made difficult by strong boundary maintaining activity, is evidenced in pressures for and against state systems of higher education, branches of existing universities, junior or community colleges, combined boards of trustees,

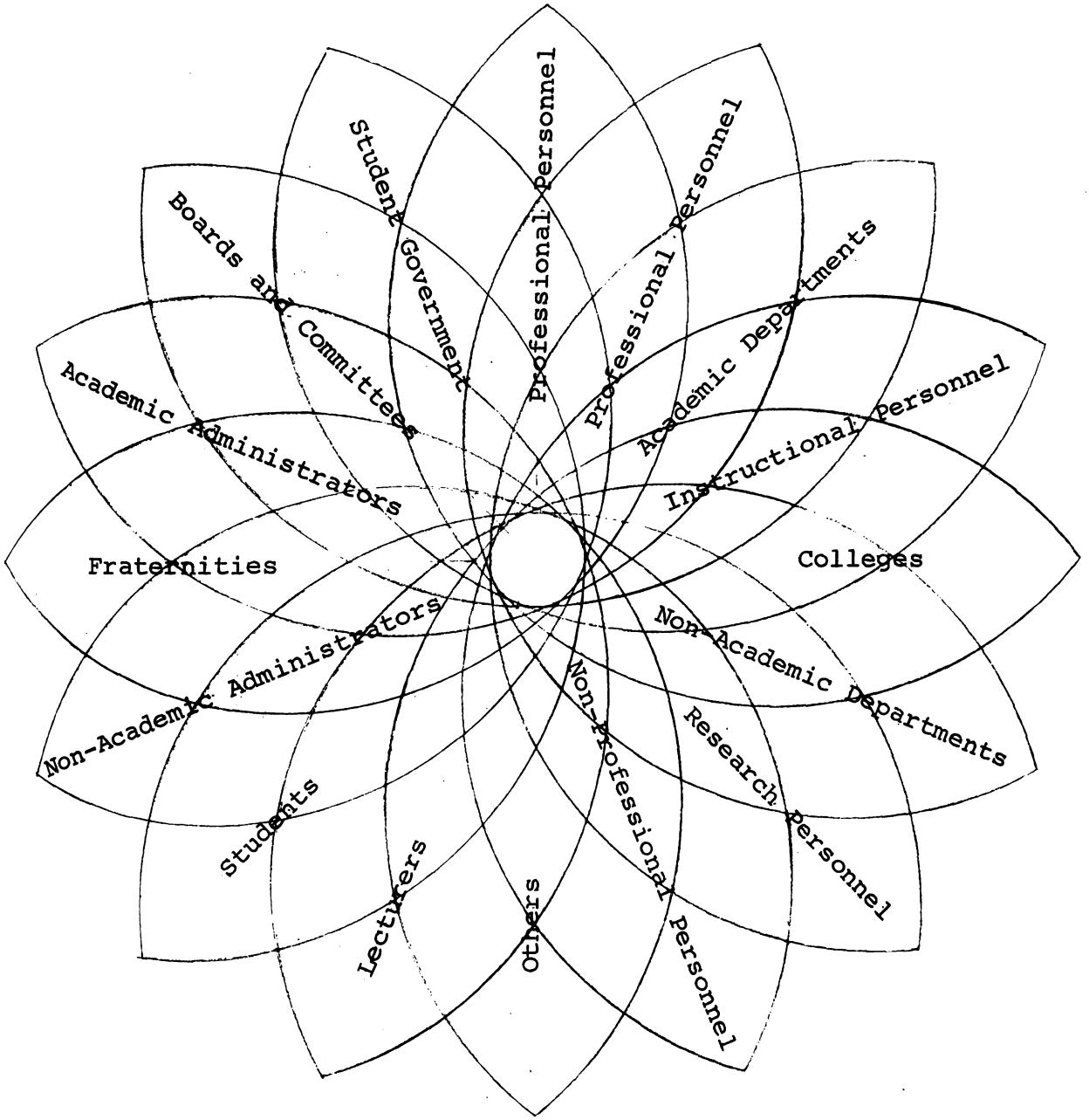


Figure 2.3. A multi-college university perceived as a social system. Many of its component subsystems are indicated.

supra-boards of trustees, and the like.

Within a single university or college, many subsystems may be perceived to exist in addition to the few mentioned above. There are various faculty peer systems, student-faculty systems, and student systems, e.g., fraternities and other student associations. A careful observer may also perceive major subsystems whose overlapping memberships are composed of: all teaching personnel; research personnel; personnel possessing academic rank; all "professional" personnel (i.e., all possessors of academic degrees); professional "academic" personnel; professional "non-academic" personnel; non-professional personnel; non-professional, non-academic personnel; all non-academic personnel; all personnel occupying a given building; and so forth.

Within the single university or college, the matters of boundary maintenance and systemic linkage may perhaps be perceived as particularly interesting manifestations of the existence of its subsystems. These processes may be observed, for example, where the question remains at issue whether the status-role "assistant librarian" is to be conceded membership in the subsystems whose members are "personnel possessing academic rank," "professional academic personnel," or "professional non-academic personnel." The same processes may also be observed (1) where existing academic departments

simultaneously undertake to explore disputed academic territory, e.g., where a department of sociology and one of psychology jointly claim rights to what is called "social psychology," or (2) where several departments converge upon such hitherto uncharted academic regions as that called "communications."

Vigorous boundary maintaining activity may also be encountered within a college or university in which like courses are offered separately by various departments under different guises, e.g., "educational psychology" in the college of education versus "psychology of education" in the department of psychology, or "educational sociology" versus "sociology of education." A related example is furnished by the numerous courses labelled "administration" offered independently by the many academic departments which decline either (a) to concede that "administration" pertains to some one existing department or (b) to determine that it constitutes a distinguishable academic "discipline" which should be recognized by the creation of a new department.

In these paragraphs, it has been suggested that a number of identifiable social units may be perceived within higher education. In the remainder of this chapter, the rationale behind this point of view is elaborated in terms of both perceptual theory and social system theory, and "higher education in the United States" is defined as a social system

which embraces a multitude of subsystems.

Rationale

In the specialization and division of labor of society, status-roles of teacher, student, scientist, researcher, etc., are established and approximately defined. To these status-roles there is assigned a major share of the responsibility for activating the processes of "socialization" (i.e., transmitting the social and cultural heritage) and of "cognitive mapping and validation" (i.e., developing and utilizing knowledge, belief, and conceptual tools). Facilities are made available to and utilized by actors in these status-roles. The complex of status-roles, facilities, belief or knowledge, goals, etc., is institutionalized and labelled higher education. This complex is made manifest in a number of enterprises. These enterprises are labelled colleges and universities.

In terms of the "master social system" which is society, the activity of colleges and universities is "goal-attaining activity" calculated to develop belief and knowledge and to socialize certain members of society. From the point of view of society, these goals are largely instrumental and adaptive, hence are part of society's "external" pattern of relationships. The activity of colleges and universities is "goal-attaining" in terms of the subjective dispositions--motive, design, aim, and purpose--of the members of society.

That is, the activity is goal-directed or goal-oriented, in terms of what Merton refers to as "explicit ends-in-view" of society.[3] It may or may not be goal-attaining in terms of what Merton refers to as "observable objective consequences."[4]

In pursuit of specified goals thus institutionalized, actors within each college or university establish an organization and set forth specific purposes for their corporate behavior. This behavior presumably or purportedly will satisfy societal expectations regarding purposes and behavior of the enterprises. Each enterprise or institution is managed by actors who occupy certain status-roles. They plan, organize, staff, and control the enterprise and its operations. They also evaluate the enterprise and operations in terms of their goal-attaining adequacy.

Other members of society also perceive each college and university. They perceive the results of college and university operations in general and of each such enterprise in particular. Further, they evaluate the adequacy of what they perceive. They do this in terms of their particular perceptual fields (i.e., in terms of their needs, values, beliefs, etc.) and in terms of their perceptions of the

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[3] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, rev. 1957), p. 24.

[4] Ibid.

world, the particular situation, the complex of colleges and universities, and each specific college or university. As a result of evaluation, their perceptual fields may be modified. The degree to which individual perceptions of reality overlap may thus be modified. Hence, societal expectations for colleges and universities may be altered. As members of society arrive at a new basis for concurrence, consensus, or acquiescence, goals for colleges and universities may be re-examined and adjusted. The new societal expectations become known to the actors within colleges and universities, and they modify or confirm the organization and purposes of each such institution. The cycle continues in this manner: expectation, activity, evaluation of activity, decision-making, and renewed or revised goal-seeking activity.

Systems and Subsystems

Each college or university is the locus of a subsystem of society, the "master" social system which nurtured it. Patterns of interaction develop at each institution. Each institution may also be perceived to be divisible into a further complex of subsystems: "any group with a population larger than two can be divided into subgroups . . ."[5]

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[5]George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), pp. 85-86.

Each subsystem may be perceived to be constituted of the same elements, activated by the same processes, and subject to the same conditions of social action that are perceived to comprise the master social system.

Thus perceived, a college or university is a social system which emerges from interactions among actors designated as students, administrators, alumni, teachers, trustees, and others. Interactions become patterned over time, and many of the patterns are very persistent. Perceiving a multi-college university as a social system, each college within it is then seen as a subsystem. Academic departments comprise a further layer of subsystems. Depending upon the perspective from which one views the university, a host of additional strata of subsystems may be perceived: professor-student interactions, faculty peer relationships, student peer relationships, player-coach relationships, etc. A student fraternity may be perceived as a subsystem; so also may a clique within a fraternity; so also may the aggregate of "Greeks" on the campus, or the aggregate of "Barbarians." Depending upon the level at which one wishes to study interactions with the complex, any of these may be treated as a separate social system or all may be perceived to be subsystems of the social system "university." The university may in turn be perceived as a subsystem of society.

Higher education as a whole also may be perceived to be a social system. Each college or university then logically constitutes a major subsystem of both (a) society and (b) higher education.

Colleges and universities throughout the world are linked together by many and elaborate interaction patterns. For example, professors of a given academic discipline interact with their colleagues through memberships in national and international professional societies. Within the United States, presidents of colleges and universities associate in several professional societies. Similarly, registrars, librarians, bussiness officers, personnel officers, and persons who enact other institutionalized status-roles interact in various regional or national professional associations. The local chapter of a student fraternity or professional honorary fraternity is both a subsystem of a national fraternity and a subsystem of its college or university. The national fraternity is a subsystem of higher education in the United States and it also may be a subsystem of a parent international association. Representatives of many colleges, universities, academies, and secondary schools form regional and national accrediting or evaluating associations; these also may be perceived as social systems and may be affiliated with international associations.

It is clear that patterns of interaction among college

and university personnel in their professional capacities transcend the boundaries of a single institution. In his professional capacity, a college professor is a member of the social system comprised by the college to which he pertains and of various subsystems within that college. If his college is part of a multi-college university, he is a member of that larger system. He may be a member of regional, national, or international professional associations, each of which comprises a social system and within which he may interact with persons in industry, commerce, government, secondary education, and other segments of society as well as with fellow professors.

Thus, higher education may be described or defined as a world-wide international social system which emerges from and is comprised of patterns of interaction among members of colleges, universities, and related enterprises or associations. A multitude of subsystems may be perceived to exist within it. It is entirely appropriate to undertake the analysis of higher education at the topmost (world-wide) level and to consider all of its components as subsystems. However, it is more useful to undertake the analysis at a lower level, a point described more fully in the following section.

Delineation of Social Systems and Subsystems

Homans writes, "At whatever level we look at the web of interaction, it always shows certain thin places, and the lines between groups fall there."[6] In Loomis' terminology, "A means of delineating a social system is furnished by the more intense and frequent occurrence of specific types of interaction among members than among non-members, within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects."[7]

A "thin place in the web of interaction" delineates the academic department, for example, as a social system; "within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects," the members of the department interact with each other more intensely and more frequently than with non-members in specific types of interaction. Similar "thin places" delineate colleges, academic senates, committees, universities, and related professional associations as social systems. Regional, national, and international social systems of higher education may be similarly delineated and perceived.

In terms of "specific types of interaction," geography is significant. "Thin places" that delineate social systems

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 4.

are found at boundaries of buildings pertaining to a college, at boundaries of the university campus, at boundaries of the sphere of activity of a multi-state regional accrediting association, at the boundaries of a state, or at the boundaries of a nation. Thus it may be perceived that colleges and universities within a state are more closely related to each other than they are to institutions elsewhere, if only specific types of interaction are considered; "within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects," their members interact in certain ways more frequently and intensely with each other than with non-members. When other types of interaction are considered, however, a state's land-grant institution is more closely related to land-grant colleges elsewhere than it is to other colleges and universities with the state. Thus higher education might be defined as a state-wide social system some members of which are also members of the system "land-grant colleges and universities in the United States."

The web of interaction is markedly thin at the boundaries of nations. Although higher education is a world-wide social system, the political, cultural, and geographic barriers between nations delineate national social systems of higher education. These national systems differ substantially each from the others, although they may not differ as strikingly as their parent societies do. One purpose of social system

analysis is that of facilitating comparisons between related social systems. National social systems of higher education are the largest units of higher education between which comparisons may be made. This fact is one reason which makes it appropriate for the purposes of this thesis to view "higher education in the United States" as the principal social system under consideration. Another reason is that a fruitful examination of world-wide higher education would require knowledge of comparative education not possessed by the writer.

Social Systems of Higher Education Defined

For the purposes of this thesis, "higher education in the United States" is the principal social system under consideration. It is defined or described as the social system which emerges from and is comprised of the patterns of interaction among members of colleges, universities, and related enterprises or associations within the United States. Constituent subsystems within higher education in the United States are identified as the multitude of colleges, universities, accrediting bodies, student organizations, professional societies, boards of trustees, alumni associations, related philanthropic foundations, and so forth, the interactions among whose members comprise the major social system termed higher education in the United States.

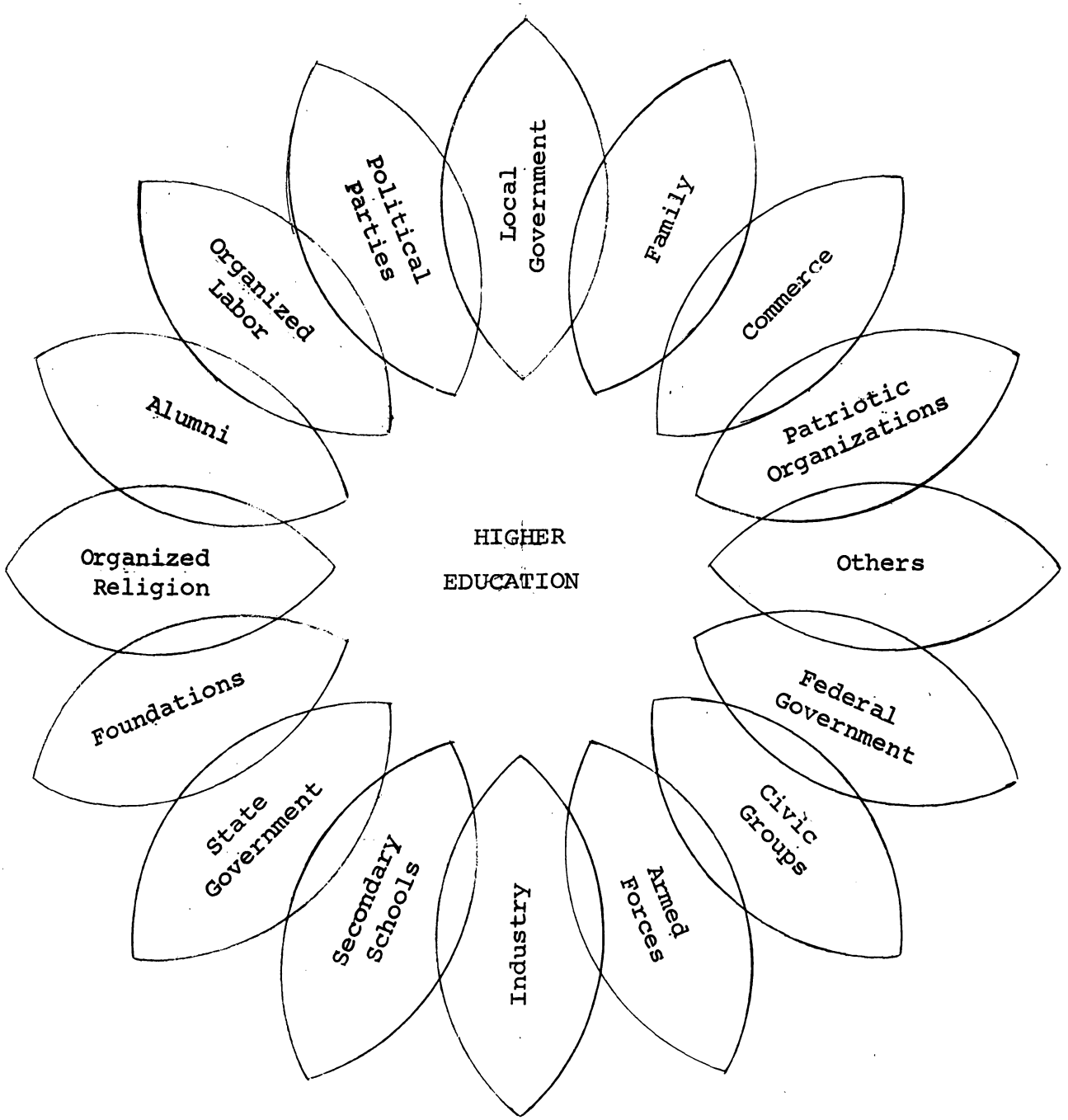


Figure 2.4. Higher education in the United States--external patterns. This figure emphasizes the external pattern of relationships and indicates some of the points at which the process of systemic linkage is significant, higher education being perceived as one of many major differentiated subsystems of society.

For some purposes, it is convenient to focus attention upon a single college or university and to regard it as though it were the major social system. However, a college or university is here described or defined as a major subsystem of "higher education in the United States." Each such major subsystem, i.e., each college or university, is a social unit which itself contains many lesser subsystems. Each emerges from and is comprised of patterns of interaction among members of schools, departments, colleges, institutes, fraternities, committees, boards, and related enterprises, organizations, and associations within it.

The "master" social system is perceived to be United States society. Higher education is perceived to be one of many major social systems within society; other such major social systems include commerce, organized labor, the armed forces, political parties, industry, organized religion, etc.

At a second level, taking higher education in the United States as the major social system under study, each college or university, foundation or accrediting association, etc., is perceived to be one of many principle subsystems within higher education.

At the next level, viewing a given college or university, each department, school, board, committee, etc., is perceived to be one of its many subsystems.

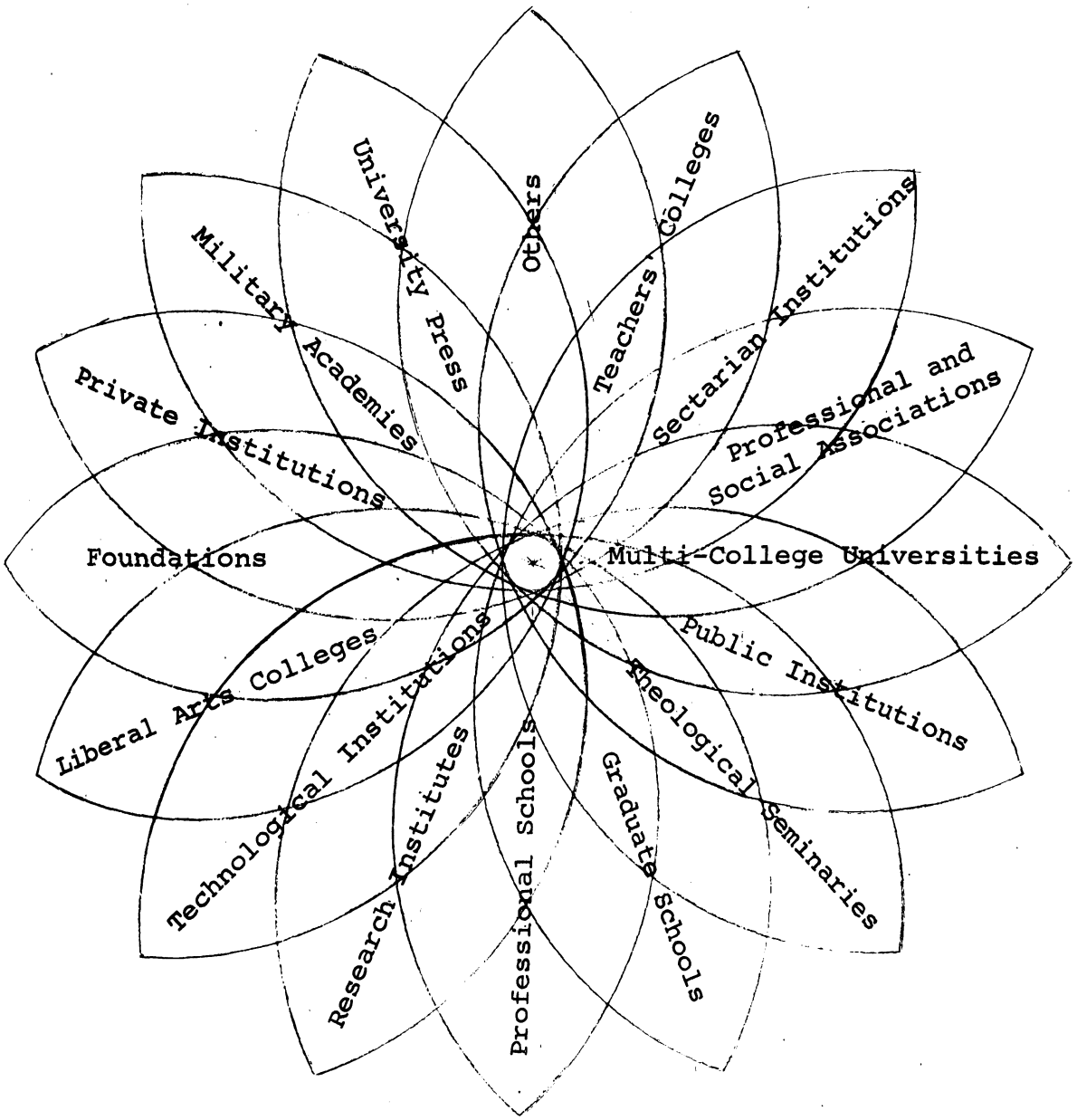


Figure 2.5. Higher education in the United States--internal pattern.

Social system analysis may be undertaken at any level, it may be noted, and the articulation of elements and processes examined. That is, one may profitably focus his attention at the national level, the institutional level, the departmental level, or the level of informal cliques. However, it is the burden of the argument presented in Chapter I that it is desirable and necessary to find order amid the diversity and variety in higher education in the United States, to find order in the diverse views reported of higher education in the United States, and to find a means by which to develop a systematic conceptualization of higher education in the United States. Although for other purposes attention may well be focused upon the clique as a social system, attention to the clique would not appear to be the most fruitful approach by which to find order amid higher education in the United States. It would appear more useful to concentrate attention at two levels: (a) higher education as a major social system within U. S. society, and (b) the college or multi-college university as a major subsystem within U. S. higher education.

In examining U. S. higher education, the focus of attention may be upon either the external pattern of relationships or the internal. The external pattern involves the relationships between higher education and other major social systems within United States society. The internal pattern

involves relationships between and among the component principal subsystems of higher education in the United States, i.e., colleges and multi-college universities, etc.

In examining a college or university, attention may also be focused upon either external or internal relationships. The external pattern involves relationships between a university and such other social systems as: the local community in which it is located; a governmental jurisdiction, religious organization, or other sponsoring body; similar institutions that are fellow members of an intercollegiate athletic conference; accrediting associations; foundations; etc. The internal pattern involves relationships between subsystems and between individuals within the college or university.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate that the social system concept may fruitfully and logically be applied to the study of higher education in the United States, and to define and describe the social systems upon which the remainder of this thesis is focused.

The next chapter describes social systems in terms of perceptual theory. It follows the present chapter, instead of preceding it, in order that higher education may be assumed to be a social system and that illustrative examples may be

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drawn from higher education. The object of the next chapter is to explore the manner in which the study of social systems can be strengthened by perceptual theory, which is held in this thesis to complement social system theory.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL SYSTEMS PERCEPTUALLY VIEWED

This chapter has the purpose of indicating that perceptual theory and social system theory are compatible and complementary. It includes (1) a perceptual explanation of social action and (2) an examination of several aspects of the concept "social system" in perceptual terms.

Social Action

Perceptual theory attempts to explain and to facilitate the prediction of the manner in which people are likely to behave. That people do behave is clear. They walk and talk and work. They talk to and work with others. For example, they establish and manage together such enterprises as colleges and universities.

Causation of Individual Behavior

One question is why people behave as they do. Perceptual theory holds that an individual's behavior is "purposeful, relevant, and pertinent" to his perception of reality. The individual is held to behave in manners calculated to satisfy his needs, chief among which is the need to maintain and to enhance his self concept. The pressure to satisfy this need is held by perceptual theorists to be the causal or

motivating factor behind the individual's behavior, whether that behavior is solitary or collaborative.

The individual holds concepts of his actual and ideal selves. He may also have an image of his social self, i.e., a concept or perception of the way in which others see him. Others may see him quite differently, to be sure. Social reality is determined by the overlapping perceptions of the many. His self concepts may, in terms of social reality, be more or less accurate, therefore, but they are his concepts and real for him.

The individual is held to behave in ways designed at the minimum to maintain his self concept. The disparity between actual and ideal may make the individual less than entirely content with the status quo, and he may strive to alter his actual self and his social self in ways which he perceives to be enhancing.

Each individual thus is held to have a built-in self-starter. The difference between his concepts of actual self and ideal self is held to be sufficient to prompt behavior. The difference between social self as he sees it (i.e., his perception of the way in which others see him) and social self as he would have it also prompts behavior. These differences between being or having and wanting are perceived by the individual in terms of a complex network of knowledge, beliefs,

needs, wants, values, and aspirations, etc., which constitute his perceptual field.

Propensity to Change

Each individual has certain propensities. He behaves in certain ways in order to maintain his concepts of self. He has a propensity to behave in ways which will enhance his self concepts, will bring about change in certain respects and in certain directions.

To some extent, the individual's beliefs, values, and aspirations overlap and approximately coincide with those of other persons, thereby giving rise to what has been termed social reality. Since each individual has a propensity to change, a propensity which responds to his need to maintain and preferably to enhance his self, and since the individual is the common denominator of human groups, the propensity to change of each individual and of all individuals collectively brings a dynamic element to their social relationships.

Collaborative Behavior

Individuals expend energy in their behavior or action. They act in manners consistent with their perceptions of the world and of specific situations. Their actions are goal-oriented in accordance with their beliefs and sentiments. A person's perceptions being relatively consistent, his behavior

is relatively consistent also.

Individuals strive to achieve through coprorate action as members of social units that which they cannot attain alone. Individual energies are then expended in common behavior, collaborative behavior. To the extent that they are divergent, competition or conflict may arise among the beliefs, values, and aspirations of individuals. Divergence may be with regard to ends, means, or both. Collaborative behavior comes about when there is concurrence, consensus, or acquiescence on the part of individuals each of whom finds in such behavior an avenue for self maintenance or enhancement.

Social Reality and Societal Propensity to Change

Through repeated mutual behavior, members of a social unit are enabled accurately to predict the responses of other members, i.e., to empathize. To the extent that they also sympathize, i.e., to the extent that individual perceptions of reality and of values and goals are congruent or overlap, individual propensities are mutually reinforcing. There develops some common perception or social definition of reality and of values. There develops some common understanding of social relationships as they are and a common sense of direction of change toward their modification. In short, as a part of their individual versions of reality, the several persons develop similar concepts of actual society and ideal society.

There develops therefore a societal propensity to change, expressed by the discrepancy between actual society and ideal society. Individuals in the social unit initiate behavior which they believe will, when undertaken by others also, maintain or enhance their own concepts of self and of society.

To the extent that individual concepts of ideal self are communicated and are known to overlap, there develops a generalized ideal self concept. It is known to some extent by each individual within the society, and is valued by most. As this socialized ideal self concept is defined and refined, individuals within the society may modify their personal idealizations. Individual concepts of ideal self and the social concept of ideal self modify and reinforce or weaken each other. Through time, the nature of the ideal self concept may change. Thus the popular personification of the ideal may for a time resemble King Arthur, then George Washington, Andy Jackson, Honest Abe, or Davy Crockett.

The Social System

These concepts of perceptual theory blend well into the concept of the social system, providing a plausible causal explanation of characteristics attributed to a social system. Perceptual theory and social system theory appear to complement each other. Perceptual theory appears to offer a plausible

causal explanation of the phenomena described by social system theory.

Action, Activity and Behavior

Within the context of the social sciences, the words action, activity, and behavior refer to the expenditure of energy by human beings. One may speak of individual behavior, activity, or action. One may also speak of social behavior, activity, or action. In either case, individuals expend energy and individual action is involved. Reference to social activity or action merely recognizes that at some times and for some purposes the actions of a plurality of individuals are sufficiently alike that one may speak of action by a social system, of social action as "the activity of social units."[1] Interaction, or reciprocal action, is "the core datum of sociology."[2] The uniformities of human action are conceived to comprise the social system.[3] The social system is studied in order that the structural characteristics of human interaction and the processes that maintain and alter it may be ascertained.

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[1] Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

[3] Ibid.

Loomis observes that four assumptions are made in the social sciences regarding action.[4] First, action is assumed to take place in situations, i.e., "human beings act in situations including relevant aspects of the physical and social world."[5] In terms of perceptual theory, it has been noted that the behavior of every individual is held to be purposeful, relevant, and pertinent to the situation as he understands it, i.e., to the "effective scope of his world." In this, the two sets of theory are compatible.

Second, action is assumed to be conducted in terms of "anticipated states of affairs," i.e., "human beings orient their behavior towards ends, objectives, or goals--or otherwise attempt to adjust to anticipated states of affairs."[6] Perceptual theory is compatible, holding that the overriding purpose of each individual is to behave in ways which will satisfy the basic need to preserve or preferably to enhance the self concept.

Third, action is held to be "motivated." Loomis' sole comment regarding this point is that "human beings expend energy or effort in carrying out their action and hence

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[4] Ibid., p. 2.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

demonstrate 'motivation'."[7] Perceptual theory assumes that action is motivated and that human beings can initiate action. The need to maintain and to enhance the self concept is the prime source of motivation for individual action. The discrepancy perceived between actual and ideal concepts of self, and the discrepancy perceived between actual and ideal concepts of society are indications of the direction of action that an individual may initiate.

Fourth, it is assumed that action is "normatively regulated," i.e., "that human beings conduct themselves in orderly fashion thereby indicating 'regulation' or the normative orientation of activity."[8] Perceptual theory is compatible. It holds that each individual's behavior is consistent with his personalized concept of reality, and that individual behavior is therefore predictable. To the extent that individual versions of reality overlap, thereby defining social reality, behavior is consistent with social reality and in that sense predictable.

The four assumptions are that individual action is situational, purposive, motivated, and consistent. Social action, or the action of social units, is a particular category

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

of individual action. Hence, social action also is held to be situational, purposive, motivated, and consistent. When an observer studies an individual, he studies that person's idiosyncratic style of individual behavior and the relation between that behavior and situation, purpose, motivation, and consistency. When an observer studies a social system, he studies the individual behavior of many persons, their behavior being, in Loomis' terms, "mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of structured and shared symbols and expectations."[9] The observer studies a social system's style of social action and the relation between that action and situation, purpose, motivation, and consistency.

In one case, the observer studies the individual human being as a unit. In the other case, the observer studies the social system as a unit. In both cases, the observer studies individual human behavior and seeks consistency and predictability of a unit's behavior with reference to situation, purpose, and motivation. In both cases, differences are noted between the behavior of the unit observed and the behavior of other units, i.e., emphasis is placed upon the observation of characteristics peculiar or unique to the unit observed.

In short, perceptual theory and social system theory

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[9] Ibid., p. 3.

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both assume the view that human action (or human activity or behavior) is situational, motivated, purposeful, and consistent, whether viewed at the level of abstraction of the unique human personality or at that of the multi-member social system.

Personifying Social Systems

Social systems are personified in writing for convenience and economy of language. Social systems are said to perceive, to act, to hold belief and values and goals, etc., as though the reference were to individuals capable of perception, action, belief, purposing, etc. In other words, the social action of a social system is spoken of as though it were the behavior of an individual person, social reality as though it were an individual's perception of reality, and the motivation and purposing of a social system as though they were an individual's motivation and purposing.

In point of fact, of course, social systems do none of these things, for abstractions cannot think or act. However, for purposes of study both an individual and a social system are viewed as a unit, as indicated above, and it is convenient to refer to a unit's situation, purpose, motivation, etc.

The personification of social systems may be further rationalized. Part of social reality is the definition of expectations regarding performance by the occupants of

status-roles, i.e., by individuals. Another part of social reality is the definition of expectations regarding performance of specified goal-directed activities by the various specialized subsystems of society. That is, society defines a status-role "writ large" to be performed by one of its differentiated subsystems. The subsystem is perceived as a unit and the performance of the tasks assigned it is judged accordingly by members of society. From outside, the unit's social action is viewed as action by the unit, rather than as differentiated action by discrete individuals. The unit's social action is so viewed by its members as well; although the members' views may differ one from another, their overlapping perceptions produce a modal view of their unit's social action. In short, from within and without, a social system is personified by its viewers.

Social Reality and Institutionalization

In perceptual terminology, it is said that each individual expends energy acting in a manner consistent with his perceptions of the world and the situation. He orients his action toward certain goals in accord with his beliefs and sentiments, etc., with his self concepts, and with his need for self-maintenance and self-enhancement. There is communication between individuals as actors in a social unit.

The relationship between them has duration, a time dimension which lends it an on-going character. There is purpose or objective involved in their relationship, and individuals tangibly influence each others' "overt actions and state of mind." In short, they interact.

Through interaction, the perceptions of the actors come to overlap and they create and share social reality. They share belief, sentiment, goals, norms, etc., to the extent that there is concurrence, consensus, or acquiescence among them. Patterns of culture are thus established. When the actors legitimize a pattern of culture as rightful, it is said to be institutionalized. Thus the definition of what perceptual theory terms social reality may be seen to be a necessary prerequisite for institutionalization.

Institutionalization, says Loomis, "is the process through which organizations are given structure and social action and interaction made predictable."[10] Each of the structural-functional categories enumerated by Loomis is subject to institutionalization, which is "a global master process."

Belief, goals, sanctioning, facilitation, etc., all may be institutionalized. The extent to which they are

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[10] Ibid., p. 36.

institutionalized is a variable, and very few or very many patterns of culture may be so legitimized. Merton, for example, has pursued this aspect of social theory, as did Durkheim, and writes of "anomie" or the normlessness which results from an absence of institutionalized norms and goals.[11] The number and scope of the patterns of culture that are institutionalized is one variable. Another closely related variable refers to the degree of rigidity involved in their institutionalization and the ease with which the patterns of culture may be changed. Becker, using the sacred-secular variable for the purpose, has developed a model of ideal types of society along a continuum of readiness or reluctance to change, readiness being related to "secular" and reluctance to "sacred."[12]

The patterns of culture institutionalized within a social system may be many in number or few, broad in scope or narrow, and rigidly fixed or readily subject to change. The

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[11] Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, rev. 1957), pp. 131 ff.

[12] Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and Its Development," in Becker and Alvin Boskoff, Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change (New York: Dryden Press, 1957). Also, "The Sacred and the Secular," in Robert Bierstedt (ed.), The Making of Society (New York: Modern Library, rev. 1959), pp. 526 ff.

point is that a plurality of actors have come to share in what perceptual theory terms "social reality," which is a common body of belief, sentiment, norms, and other ideas or meanings. Some such ideas have been legitimized as rightful. The definition of social reality and the institutionalization of aspects thereof orient and pattern the interaction among the actors in the social system.

Thus, that which perceptual theory would term the process of defining social reality is, in terms of social system theory, that which marks the emergence of a social system. In Loomis' terms, "The social system is composed of the patterned interaction of members. It is constituted of the interaction of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of structured and shared symbols and expectations."[13] That pattern of shared meanings is the part of social reality peculiar to a particular social system.

Membership

A social system holds meanings: belief, norms, sentiment, goals, etc. These are perceived somewhat differently

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[13]Loomis, op. cit., p. 4.

by each individual who may be aware of the social system, for each individual's perception is unique to him. Yet the social system holds a core of meaning for its members in general that it does not hold for non-members. Member here means "incumbent of a status-role of the system."

In terms of perceptual theory, the social system may be said to loom larger in the perceptual field of a member, generally, than it does in that of a non-member. Some of the social system's meanings are very likely to lie within the perceptual field of a member but outside that of a non-member; such meanings are "symbols and expectations" that are truly peculiar to the social system. In terms of the "figure" and "ground" components of the perceptual field, even if the symbols and expectations of a social system are known to both member and non-member, they are more likely to enter into figure of the member's perceptual field than of the non-member's.

Elements of the Social System

Each of the nine elements of a social system enumerated by Loomis can be described in perceptual terms, as in part the elements belief, norm, sentiment, and goal are described above.

In a complex society, there is concurrence, consensus,

or acquiescence with regard to specialization and the division of labor. The members of society engage to a considerable extent in corporate or collaborative activity. Through both corporate and independent activity, each member strives for self-maintenance and enhancement. Some social action is instrumental or adaptive; some is integrative or expressive. In either case, members strive through such activity to maintain or to enhance both their self concepts and the social system, in terms of concepts of actual and ideal self and concepts of actual and ideal society.

The differentiation of status-roles becomes possible when members reach agreement on the convenience or necessity of specialization and division of labor. The extent of social reality is increased when common expectations are developed regarding the performance of the status-roles thus differentiated. A similar elaboration of social reality is represented by ranking the status-roles, evaluating the actors, and pairing actor with status-role. Social reality is further elaborated by conceding to the incumbents in certain status-roles the right to exercise power, i.e., the right to make decisions and to initiate corresponding action. Social reality is further defined by adopting a system regarding the application of rewards and punishments or penalties.

The ninth element, facility, can also be described in

perceptual terms: a facility simply is not a facility until it is so perceived. While the tomato was perceived to be a poisonous species and so defined in social reality, a tomato patch was not a facility. At a time when oil was perceived to be worthless and so defined in social reality, a water-well that produced oil was not a facility. It became a facility when it was perceived to be a possession utilizable in pursuit of goals.

Processes of the Social System

Each of the comprehensive or master processes in the Loomis model can be described in perceptual terms.

For example, communication is described by Loomis as "the ways in which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified by interaction" and "the process by which information, decisions, and directives are transmitted among actors."[14] Loomis accepts the Sorokin definition of interaction as "any event by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other."[15] Perceptual theory holds that the way in which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified by interaction

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[14] Ibid., p. 30.

[15] Ibid., p. 3.

depends upon the manner in which each party perceives the interaction, and indeed upon whether each party perceives it. In a country where the clapping of hands is perceived to be insulting, clapping intended as "applause" by one party communicates something quite different to the other, both parties being fully aware of the observable fact that hands are being clapped together. Without areas of agreement as to meanings, i.e., without a definition of social reality, communication cannot become "the process by which information, decisions, and directives are transmitted among actors."

That which is deemed "rightful" is said to be institutionalized, institutionalization being one of the processes in question. Without areas of agreement as to meanings, i.e., without a definition of social reality, there would be no recognition of practices as "rightful."

This line of thought would indicate that social reality must be recognized by members as not merely "real" but also "good" or "bad." That is, it is "real" and therefore necessarily part of the individual's perceptual field or activity field. It is also "good" or "bad" and therefore motivating of action. Osgood's researches regarding the meaning and measurement of "meaning" lend support to this

view.[16] Osgood conceives of meaning as a "representational mediation process" in which words represent things because they produce in humans some replica of the actual behavior toward these things. A word does not merely denote a thing; it also lies on a good-bad continuum and evokes mediating judgments in which three factors are dominant: evaluation, potency, and activity--and of these, evaluation (i.e., good-bad, pleasant-unpleasant, fragrant-foul) is the most important factor.

The other processes are also explicable in perceptual terms. The process of boundary maintenance is inoperative unless the members of a social system perceive themselves to be "members" in some sense other than that of "incumbent of a status-role," i.e., unless they identify with the system, unless they perceive themselves to be part of the system. If, as Loomis suggests, the threat of encroachment from outside strengthens boundary maintenance mechanisms, the threat cannot so operate until the members of a social system perceive that there <u>is</u> an "outside" and an "inside" or until they perceive that the "outside" constitutes a threat. Similarly, the related process of systemic linkage is meaningless until

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[16] Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, <u>The Measurement of Meaning</u> (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

individuals perceive the idea of membership or non-membership and perceive differences between inside and outside.

Membership Activity and Boundary Maintenance

Within an individual's perceptual field at any point in time, that which is of relatively great importance is in "figure" and that which is of relatively slight importance is in "ground." Something may be important because it is perceived to be opportunity or because it is perceived to be threat. Normally a member's self is in figure and his college in ground. Under this circumstance, the member exerts little pressure for change in the college. If this situation is prevalent among the members, what might be termed "membership activity" within the college is negligible. As perceived by the college president, the attitude prevailing among the members would appear to be one of apathy.

When the college enters into figure in a member's perceptual field, it is of relatively greater importance. Membership activity then ceases to be negligible and no longer is apt to be perceived as perfunctory or apathetic. On the contrary, some type of membership activity is forthcoming, i.e., the member will behave in a manner calculated either to maintain or to enhance the college in accordance with his concepts both of actual and ideal self and of actual and

ideal college.

The level of membership activity within a college may be said to fluctuate between two extremes: "crisis" and "apathy." If college is in ground for all members, the level of membership activity drops; if it is in figure for all members, it rises.

The way in which the college is perceived will vary from member to member. The level of membership activity will also vary. The behavior of an individual as a member responds to his need to maintain and enhance his self concept, for it is held that individuals become members of social systems in order to strive to achieve through corporate action that which they cannot achieve alone, i.e., in order to maintain or to enhance the self, either at the physical level of maintenance involved in "making a living" or at some other level. The behavior of the member becomes "membership activity" when self-maintenance or enhancement is perceived by him to require renewed attention to the college's maintenance or enhancement.

The degree of identification with or withdrawal from the college varies among the members, and this variation is a potential source of conflict among members. One member perceives the college to be of great worth and his association with it to be rewarding. He therefore identifies with the college, i.e., he perceives an enhancement of college as

enhancement of self, a threat to college as a threat to self. Another member perceives the college to be of scant worth and his association with it not conducive to maintaining or enhancing his self concept. He does not identify with the college, but tends to withdraw from it; his "membership" is merely nominal, ascribed rather than aspired to.

At one extreme, identification may be so complete and the college perceived to be so important that college is normally in figure along with self. In this case, the member's perception of self and college may be virtually equated; then that which he perceives to be enhancing of or threatening to self may be construed as enhancing or threatening vis-à-vis college. At the other extreme, the college may again be of such importance that it is normally in figure along with self, not because of total identification but rather because of total withdrawal. In this case, association with the college is perceived to be threatening and not in any way rewarding or enhancing; that which the member perceives as enhancing of the college may then be deemed threatening to self, and that which threatens college as enhancing of self.

Membership activity, thus conceived in terms of perceptual theory, is compatible with the concept of boundary maintenance as conceived in social system theory. In Loomis' terminology, when the members identify with the social system

and support the mutually held values of the system rather than join with and support the values of outsiders, the system is said to have solidarity. Solidarity is developed when the system has "integration," i.e., when the elements and processes are mutually reinforcing. Then, boundary maintenance "is the process whereby the identity of the social system is preserved and the characteristic interaction pattern maintained."[17] The membership activity of individual members, as described above, is what is perceived as boundary maintaining activity of the social system.

Loomis hypothesizes that "The probability of applied boundary maintaining mechanisms increases with the level of solidarity of the social system and with the threat of encroachment."[18] The combination of members and the nature, strength, and direction of their membership activity determines the type and extent of boundary maintaining activity which is exhibited in the social action of the social system. The more intensely each member identifies with the system, the more inner-directed or system-directed is his membership activity, in the sense that the membership activity is aimed at greater integration and increased solidarity. The more

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[17] Ibid., p. 31.

[18] Ibid.

each member withdraws from the system, the more outer-directed is his membership activity, in the sense that such activity is designed to resist further integration and to reduce solidarity.

An individual's membership activity will be strong in those social systems of higher education which are <u>important</u> to him, important either because he perceives his association with such systems as an opportunity for enhancement of self or because he perceives it as a threat of danger to self. If his own belief, sentiment, goals, norms, etc., approximately coincide with those of a social system in which he is an actor, he will identify strongly with the system and engage in membership activity whenever there arises a perceived opportunity for enhancement of the system or a perceived threat of encroachment upon the system. The weaker his identification with the system, the less is his membership activity, and there must be a degree of detachment at which membership activity is zero; beyond that point, the erstwhile member tends to withdraw from the social system and his membership activity will be disintegrative rather than integrative, designed to reduce rather than to increase solidarity.

The consideration of membership activity is a convenient point at which to introduce the perceptual typology of

personalities devised by Robert E. Bills, and to speculate regarding the kind of membership activity that may be expected of persons of each personality type.

Bills' typology is described in Appendix A. Four constructed types of personalities are described and discussed. The four types are labelled in symbols rather than in words: ++, +-, -+, and --. The classification is based upon differences in the characteristic manners in which individuals perceive themselves and others. Persons whose personalities are of a given type are held to behave in characteristic and consistent manners. The typology is held to provide a means for studying the direction, nature, and rate of change through time of the individual person's behavior. It is held to provide a means for tracing the development and causes of ongoing change, for predicting future change, and perhaps for initiating or controlling such change. The labels assigned the four types refer to acceptance of self and others, e.g., a "+-" person is "+" or "accepting" of self but "-" or "rejecting" of others.

The ++ person is said to be accepting of self and of others. He is described as accurate in his perceptions and free to initiate action on the strength of those perceptions. One would expect the ++ person to hold the social system in accurate perspective and to maintain a balanced attitude

toward membership activity, neither identifying totally nor withdrawing totally.

The +- person is said to be accepting of self but rejecting of others. He is described as hypo-accurate in his perceptions, convinced of his own superiority, and not highly motivated to change. One would expect the +- person to be ego-oriented rather than college-oriented, assuming him to be within higher education; if so, one would expect him to identify with and to support the college if its values and goals coincide with his own, but to withdraw from it otherwise.

The -+ person is said to be rejecting of self but accepting of others. He is described as hyper-accurate in his perceptions, but convinced of his own inferiority and unable to initiate change, eager though he may be to alter present status. One would expect the -+ person to be "other-directed" and institution-dominated, tied to the college and unable to bring about changes in it despite his ability to perceive accurately the need and opportunities for change.

The -- person is said to be rejecting of both self and others. He is described as hypo-accurate in his perceptions, convinced of his own lack of worth, convinced of others' equal lack of worth, and not motivated to change. One would expect the -- person to be institution-oriented, i.e., to make the college's values his own.

A Perceptual Typology of Social Systems of Higher Education

The equilibrium achieved within a social system is momentary, for the system is an on-going entity. The elements do not maintain a static relationship except by abstraction, as Loomis notes, and the processes "mesh, stabilize, and alter the relations between the elements through time."[19] Loomis holds that the processes are orderly, however, hence predictable, for orderliness "is the essence of any social process through which transition from one social condition to another is accomplished."[20]

As is individual behavior, social action is held to be situational, motivated, purposeful, and consistent. Both are held to be predictable. Acknowledging the infinite possibilities for differences between individual personalities, the Bills' typology reduces the varieties of personalities to four for purposes of study. Acknowledging the infinite possibilities for differences between social systems, for purposes of study it should be equally possible to devise a typology which similarly reduces the varieties of social systems to manageable numbers.

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[19] Ibid, p. 6.

[20] Ibid., p. 6.

For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, there is postulated a perceptual typology of social systems and sub-systems of higher education. The social system typology postulated parallels the personality typology of Bills. Four perceptual types of social systems of higher education are postulated. In the discussion of the four types, reference is made to colleges. However, the typology is not intended to be limited to colleges, but rather to be applicable to each level of higher education, i.e., to national systems, to colleges or universities, to departments within a college, etc.

Bills' typology is based upon individual perceptions of self and of others. Individuals value themselves more or less highly, deem themselves to be more or less worthy, are more or less accepting of self. Individuals attribute corresponding perceptions to others, i.e., perceive that others are more or less self-accepting. The degree of self-acceptance he attributes to others is taken to be an expression of the way in which an individual values others, i.e., a measure of his acceptance of others.

A social system values itself more or less highly, and deems itself to be more or less worthy. It values other systems more or less highly and deems them to be more or less worthy. Thus a social system of higher education may be said to be more or less accepting of self and of others. As

already noted, to personify a social system by saying that "it values" or "it deems" or "it accepts" is simply to recognize that the algebraic sum (so to speak) of individual perceptions is the social reality of the system, that the algebraic sum of individuals' membership activities is the boundary maintenance of the system, and that the algebraic sum of pertinent types of individual members' behavior is the social action exhibited by the system.

Four perceptual types of social systems of higher education are postulated. They are described as displaying characteristic social action which is similar to the individual behavior of the four personality types described. They are labelled in parallel fashion, as the ++, +-, -+, and -- types of social systems of higher education.

The ++ Social System of Higher Education

This category includes those colleges which may be said to perceive themselves to be good, worthy, of value, and which deem significant other social systems (e.g., comparable colleges, the local community, other subsystems of higher education) to be of goodness, worth, and value. The ++ college assumes neither present superiority nor present inferiority. It is accurate in its perceptions of reality, in the sense of social reality of society or of other major

social systems of which it is a subsystem. Awareness and interest in the college itself does not preclude, but rather is balanced by, awareness of and interest in the external situation. The ++ college is therefore free to express itself, to respond to the reality of a situation. Not excessively concerned with achieving recognition nor excessively concerned with demonstrating its superiority to other social systems, the ++ college is able to act either as a leader or a follower of other systems. Boundary maintaining activity of such a college is extensive and the college as a social system has integration and solidarity. However, the boundary maintaining activity is not such as will interfere unduly with systemic linkage.

The +- Social System of Higher Education

This category includes those colleges which may be said to perceive themselves to be very good, very worthy, of great value, but which deem other social systems to be far less good, worthy, or valuable. The +- college assumes present superiority. With reference to social reality of the larger systems of which it is a subsystem or to social reality of society, it is hypo-accurate in its perceptions. Awareness and interest in the college itself reduces and tends to preclude awareness of or interest in the external situation;

encroachment by the external situation is perceived to be threatening. The +- college is not free to respond to the reality of a situation. Excessively concerned with achieving recognition and with demonstrating its superiority to other social systems, the +- college is able to act as a leader, but not as a follower, of other social systems. Boundary maintaining activity of such a college is intensive and extensive. The college as a social system has integration and solidarity to an extreme. As a result, its boundary maintaining activity is such as to hamper systemic linkage.

The -+ Social System of Higher Education

The -+ category includes those colleges which may be said to perceive themselves not to be good, worthy, or of value, but which deem that other social systems are good, worthy, and of value. The -+ college assumes present inferiority. The -+ college perceives more problems than do the other types of colleges and is hyper-accurate in its perceptions of social reality, but, convinced of its inferiority, it lacks confidence, is unable to arrive at decisions, and is more disposed to follow than to lead other social systems. The -+ college can be expected to make greater efforts to please other social systems than will the ++ or the +-. The -+ college as a social system lacks integration and solidarity. Its boundary

maintaining activity may be extensive, but unsuccessful, and is in no way designed to hamper systemic linkage.

The -- Social System of Higher Education

This category includes those colleges which may be said to perceive that neither they nor other social systems are good, worthy, or of value. The -- college is extremely hypo-accurate in its perceptions of social reality. It is unwilling to follow and unable to lead other social systems. It is not interested in the external situation except in the negative sense that it perceives the external situation to be threatening. Boundary maintenance is calculated to avoid systemic linkage.

Summary

Chapter I of this thesis sets forth a problem, that of devising a conceptualization of higher education in the United States, and suggests that the problem can be met by utilizing aspects of perceptual theory and of social system theory.

To this point of the thesis, higher education in the United States has been defined and described as a social system which embraces many subsystems; it has been indicated that perceptual theory and social system theory are compatible and complementary; and a perceptual typology of social systems

of higher education has been postulated.

In the next chapter, these analytical tools will be brought to bear upon higher education in the United States, its diversity, the diversity of views reported, and the diverse problems faced by it. As an outcome of such analysis, an "objective" frame of reference for the study of higher education is presented.

CHAPTER IV

HIGHER EDUCATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

This chapter has several purposes. First it is intended to show that a divergence of views is normal and that the diversity of perceptions of higher education reported in Chapter I is predictable. Second, it is intended to relate the diversity of perceptions to (a) the four perceptual types of individual personalities and (b) the four perceptual types of social systems. Third, it is intended to describe the nature of relationships that may be expected to exist between social systems of the four perceptual types. Fourth, it is intended to predict the manner in which the elements and processes of the Loomis model will be articulated within social systems of each perceptual type.

Diversity of Views of Higher Education

The diversity of views of higher education is demonstrated in Chapter I by the reports of various observers. That diversity stems in part from the fact that observers who report on higher education do not base their observations on the same colleges and universities, and these enterprises do differ. The diversity stems in part from the fact that the observers work at different levels of abstraction, from different premises, with different purposing, and from different points of view.

Viewing society as the master social system, higher education is a differentiated subsystem to which there has been assigned the achievement of certain societal goals. From this point of view, if we were to evaluate higher education in an "objective" manner, we should need three bases for measurement: (1) a basis for determining its effectiveness, i.e., the extent to which higher education has attained the goals assigned it; (2) a basis for measuring its efficiency, i.e., the skill with which its goal-oriented activities have been conducted; and (3) a basis for reconsideration of the wisdom of the goals it pursues.

Viewing higher education as a social system, each college or university is a differentiated subsystem (of higher education and of other social systems) to which has been assigned the achievement of rather more specific goals. From this point of view, we should again require three bases for measurement if we wish to evaluate a college and we should again ask whether the goals were attained, how skillfully the goal-attaining activity was performed, and whether the goals were desirable.

A differentiated subsystem always may be made subject of evaluation from the point of view of the larger social system of which it is a part, for from that point of view the subsystem succeeds or fails insofar as it serves its purpose

of achieving an instrumental, adaptive, integrative, or expressive end or objective of that larger system. Indeed, if a given social unit is a differentiated subsystem of two or more larger social systems, it is subject to evaluation from the point of view of each such system. This multiple evaluation may be embarrassing or even painful. Thus a state college is subject to evaluation by at least two larger social systems of which it is a part: "higher education in the United States" and "the state of _____." Similarly, a denominational college is subject to judgment of the social system "higher education in the United States," which sees it as an educational enterprise, and subject to judgment also by the sponsoring church, which may see it quite differently as "an agency to advance denominational empire."[1]

External evaluation of a social unit by the larger social system(s) of which it is a component subsystem is clearly a complex problem in itself. In addition, the members of a social unit themselves evaluate it. An internal evaluation may be based on criteria which have little or nothing in common with criteria used in an external evaluation. However,

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[1] A phrase from John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), p. 347.

internal and external evaluations are not necessarily based upon mutually exclusive sets of criteria. The question whether a given college is a congenial place to teach, for example, matters very little in external evaluation but very much indeed in any internal evaluation. On the other hand, it is a matter of significance from both viewpoints, i.e., internal and external, that college facilities include a library of quality. Congruent or conflicting, the external and the internal are clearly different categories of judgment of social systems.

An "objective" evaluation of higher education, its constituent subsystems, or its problems may be attempted at no less than four different levels of abstraction:

1. At the level of social philosophy, viewing higher education and its problems in terms of ultimate ends or concepts of man-hood.
2. At the level of politics, viewing higher education and its problems in terms of society's self-preservation and enhancement.
3. At the level of administration, viewing higher education and its problems in terms of self-preservation and enhancement of the institution "higher education" or of a particular enterprise, e.g., a specific university.

4. At the level of individual behavior, viewing higher education and its problems in terms of the individual's self-preservation or maintenance and enhancement.

For several reasons, a divergence of views is normal, and the diversity of perception reported in Chapter I is to be expected. First of all, one's perception of higher education depends upon one's vantage point; an individual's view depends upon his locus, whether within higher education or outside it. Furthermore, regardless of locus, the "effective scope of a man's world" is limited. An individual's perceptual field contains that of which he is aware, and the portion of the field termed "figure" is occupied by that which he perceives to be important. For the individual, that which is important appears as immediate and proximate; that which to him is unimportant is remote, not in "figure" and in sharp focus but in "ground" and blurred. Moreover, the perception one has of social systems of higher education depends upon the direction in which one faces, whether up or down.

The view from inside is quite different than the view from outside. The view from above is very different than the view from below. The view of one who deems a social system important is different from the view of one who deems it unimportant.

Views from Above and Below

From the point of view of society, higher education is a device with which to attain instrumental or adaptive goals of society. From the point of view of society, therefore, the "problem of higher education" is quite simple: how to induce or coerce higher education to carry on social action that (a) will be effective in attaining society's goals and (b) will be efficient. In this respect, "efficient" denotes two attributes: (1) economical utilization of facilities, and (2) achievement of desired ends without unanticipated or undesired consequences.

In a hierarchical sense, one looks down from any social system toward its subsystems, as from the point of view of society one looks down at higher education. In the same sense, one looks down from the central administrative office of a university toward one of the university's colleges, or from the vantage point of a college down toward a department. The view from above is consistently apt to be that described in the preceding paragraph: power viewing weakness, master viewing servant, society viewing its agent. The problem perceived from above is consistently apt to be the same: how to induce or coerce the sybsystem into goal-directed action that will be both effective and efficient.

From the opposite point of view, one looks up from higher education toward society, from college toward university,

or from department toward college. The view is quite different. The problem posed is quite distinct. From the point of view of the subsystem, the instrumental or adaptive goals specified by the higher social system are not the only goals that are pertinent. The subsystem may well subscribe to those goals, certainly, but it has other goals as well, integrative and expressive goals. The subsystem's reason for existence is the pursuit of instrumental or adaptive objectives of society. However, pursuit of those goals creates tension in the internal pattern. Tension management is a problem. Boundary maintenance is a problem.

Stated another way, the problem as viewed from above may be examined coldly and rationally. The mood is affectively neutral or Gesellschaft-like. The problem as viewed from below is more nearly Gemeinschaft-like, and rational considerations are joined by affective considerations. Decision making in the subsystem must consider other factors than merely instrumental goal-achievement.

Views from above and below differ even within a single social unit, much as they differ between high- and low-ranking systems. Within a system, the view from <u>above</u> is that of such authority figures as president, dean, business manager, departmental chairman, etc. The view from below is that of members in other status-roles. The authority figure is a man in the

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middle: top-ranking member of a subsystem, his role requires that he articulate the subsystem with the next higher system, transmitting sentiment, knowledge, norms, etc., from above to the members below him and from them to higher levels.

The authority figure therefore is required to perceive his subsystem both from the point of view of the members and from the point of view of the next higher system. As compared to that of his own superior, the authority figure's perception of his subsystem may well be relatively affective; but as compared to the perception of the rank-and-file membership of the subsystem, the authority figure's is relatively neutral affectively, relatively rational. He does not emphasize instrumental and adaptive goals to the exclusion of others, as his superior may do; he cannot deemphasize them in favor of integrative and expressive goals, as lower-ranking members may do.

Furthermore, the occupants of such status-roles as president or dean find, by virtue of their positions, that the institution "enters into figure" for them, i.e., receives their careful attention, for long periods of time, more often and for longer periods than is true of other members. They engage in membership activity more often, more regularly, and more consistently than do other members.

Because an authority figure's own behavior is so often "membership activity" calculated to make the college a viable

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entity, he may very easily attribute apathy to fellow members, whom he perceives not to be engaged in such activity. The rank-and-file, looking toward the top of the hierarchy, may easily attribute to "the administration" a totally gratuitous seeking-after-causes upon which to build crises. For the administrator, the college is normally in figure; for the rank-and-file, the college is normally in ground. Within a social system as between systems, the view from above and the view from below are not alike.

Views from Inside and Out

The members of a social sybsystem (e.g., a college) are more like each other than they are like non-members. They develop a version of social reality that differs somewhat from social reality as defined by the larger system (e.g., the university) and that differs still more significantly from social reality as defined by society.

Viewed from outside, a given subsystem is perceived by non-members to be a monolithic unit. The social action of a department, for example, is viewed from outside as action of the department, not as the resultant of vectors which are differentiated actions by individual members. It is perceived from outside that the department acts quickly or slowly, does or does not hold certain belief or sentiment, is or is not good, successful, capable, etc.

The view from within is both more highly detailed and more varied. A member perceives the department as a unit, but he also differentiates other members. He has a perception of social action of the department, but he also perceives that one member performs one set of tasks whereas another performs different tasks, that one member is slow whereas another is fast, and that individual members do or do not hold specified belief, do or do not evince certain sentiment, are or are not good, successful, capable, etc. The members' overlapping perceptions of the department as a unit produce, as part of their social reality, a stereotypic view of the department and its social action, belief, norms, goals, sentiment, etc. The members' overlapping perceptions furnish corresponding stereotypic views of other departments, of the college as a whole, of the university, etc.

Sentiment

Views from above and below, inside and out, differ largely because of the influence of sentiment. Sentiment represents "what we feel" for whatever reason. As Osgood's research indicates, belief or knowledge and norms, etc., are laced with sentiment. One's orientation to goals of the internal pattern is imbued with sentiment; so also is one's orientation to goals of the external pattern. Whatever a member's primary attachment, orientation, allegiance, etc.,

that allegiance is partly affective; sentiment is present whether one emphasizes the external or internal pattern.

The internal pattern emphasizes those sentiments which are appropriate for expressive and integrative activity, activity in which the "relations and interactions are ends in themselves and spontaneity and enjoyment the very essence of the pattern," for in the internal pattern "the chief reason for interacting is to communicate liking, friendship, and love among those who stand in supporting relations to one another and corresponding negative sentiments to those who stand in antagonistic relations."[2]

The external pattern emphasizes affective neutrality among the members, with sentiment being concentrated in motivation "to achieve goals, to conform to the norms, and to carry out systematic action."[3]

Problems of Higher Education Perceptually Viewed

In Chapter I, it was observed that problems of higher education may be variously classified. One basis of classification is according to origin, i.e., problems created within higher education versus those created for higher education by other forces in society. Another basis is according to

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[2]Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 14-15.

[3]Ibid., p. 14.

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responsibility for resolution of (or attention to) problems, i.e., problems to be dealt with within higher education, by other elements of society, or jointly by higher education and other social systems. A third basis distinguishes between problems imposed by higher education upon others, problems imposed upon higher education by others, and self-imposed problems of higher education. A fourth basis distinguishes between those problems which require essentially individual effort and those which require principally cooperative group effort.

The foregoing discussion of diversity of perception provides a basis for presenting yet another means for classifying problems: a perceptual basis. As viewed from the larger social system, the problem "of" one of its subsystems is perceived to be that of evoking from the subsystem effective and efficient social action. As viewed from the subsystem, the problem perceived is that of maintaining the subsystem's internal solidarity. The problem as perceived by the individual is that of reconciling these various views for himself.

Problems as Perceived by Individuals

The individual is a member of various social systems. As incumbent of a single status-role, he is a member of overlapping social systems. For example, the professor of education occupies the status-role "professor" in at least these

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social systems of higher education: (1) his academic department; (2) the college of education; (3) the parent university; (4) various professional associations, societies, and fraternities; (5) higher education in the United States; and (6) world-wide higher education. As a private person, he is a member of many other social systems outside higher education, i.e., systems which are familial, recreational, religious, political, etc.

The extent of the professor's membership activity varies between social systems of higher education. He may identify strongly with his department but not with the college. He may identify strongly with the university but not with the department. He may identify strongly with his department and professional associations but not with his college or university. It is conceivable, for example, that a professor of subatomic physics may identify strongly with his own department, with corresponding departments in other institutions, with professional societies, and with the Atomic Energy Commission, the Rand Corporation, and the Navy's submarine program, but that he may tend to withdraw from the college and university of which his department is a subsystem.

As a member of society, the individual perceives his university from above, i.e., he takes the view of society and perceives the problems of obtaining effective and efficient

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service from the university. He shares the view of the university and perceives the college from above, and he shares the view of the college in perceiving his own department from above. In each membership capacity, he also shares the views from below, i.e., he takes the view of his department in perceiving the college, takes the view of his college in perceiving the university, and takes the view of his university in perceiving society.

Each of the social systems of which the individual is a member has goals, values, norms, etc. Their goals, for example, are to some extent congruent, but to some extent are competitive or conflicting. The divergence of goals requires some adaptation on the part of society to higher education and some adaptation by higher education to society. The problem of reconciliation affects the individual strongly and immediately. Each member of higher education must resolve the problem for himself. His problem consists in part of resolving, within a social system, any discrepancy between instrumental or adaptive goals of the external pattern and expressive or integrative goals of the internal pattern. His problem consists in part of resolving any discrepancy between goals, whether internal or external, of the several social systems and subsystems of higher education of which he is a member.

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that which is perceptually immediate and proximate, most individuals resolve the problem by choosing the goals of the most immediate system and by identifying most strongly with that system. The individual who identifies strongly with one system rather than with others tends to be defensive in his stance regarding it, defensive toward any questioning of the boundaries of the chosen system and defensive toward any perceived threat to those boundaries. The more pronounced his defensive behavior becomes, the larger looms the social system in his perceptual field, the more remote and unimportant become other aspects of higher education, and the more nearly does the individual approach the point at which his perception may be termed "tunnel vision," i.e., his perceptual field has narrowed so that only the one important social system of higher education remains within the "effective scope" of his world.

From above, the department is seen as a device with which to pursue specified instrumental or adaptive goals. The department member who identifies strongly with social systems above the department, rather than with the department itself, will share that perception. Of all the goals of the department, he will emphasize the instrumental and adaptive goals of the external pattern. The member who, on the other hand, identifies strongly with the department will emphasize the goals of the department's internal pattern, i.e., its expressive and

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integrative goals. In the Gesellschaft-like environment of U.S. society, each individual must resolve for himself the conflict between the internal and the external, the external being oriented essentially to achievement of specified tasks whereas the internal is oriented rather to maintenance of satisfying interpersonal relationships among the membership.

Individuals of each of the four personality types described by Bills may be expected to resolve the problem very differently. The ++ person is described as being accurate in his perceptions, accepting of self and others, and willing and able to change (given an opportunity to undertake change in the direction he perceives to be enhancing). He presumably would be the type of person best equipped satisfactorily to resolve the problem of conflicting loyalties and pressures.

The +- person is described as hypo-accurate in his perceptions, convinced of his own present superiority to others, and unwilling to change. He presumably would give primary allegiance to that one social system of higher education which most nearly expresses the views which are his own, and would identify with that social system strongly, resisting efforts to change the <u>status quo</u>.

The -+ person is described as hyper-accurate in his perceptions, convinced of his own present inferiority as compared to others, and eager but unable to change. He presumably would be constantly torn between the various allegiances

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The -- person is described as hypo-accurate in his perceptions, convinced of the worthlessness of himself and others, and neither willing nor able to change even if he were presented with an opportunity. Threatened, but unable to differentiate the source of threat or to resolve it, he presumably would suffer from "tunnel vision." Some one of the social systems of higher education would loom so large in his perceptual field as to block out all others. He would not identify with that system, would not find allegiance to the system a means to self-maintenance and enhancement, but would nevertheless cling to it until another and somehow more powerful system forces itself upon him.

Problems as Viewed by Social Systems of Each Perceptual Type

"Problems of higher education" may arise and be dealt with within and without higher education. Some problems are self-imposed, some are imposed upon others, and some are imposed upon higher education by others. The perceptual types of social systems of higher education (++, +-, -+, and --) will differ with regard to the importance which one or another category of problem holds for them.

This matter is intimately related with another point

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alluded to in Chapter I: the question whether and to what extent a college or university is a servant of society, or (in President de Kiewiet's terms) the question of steering "a wise middle course between participation and isolation." The four perceptual types will differ with regard to this question, which may be restated to ask which of the four traditional purposes of higher education a given college or university emphasizes: to preserve knowledge, to increase knowledge, to disseminate knowledge, or to apply knowledge.

++: As does each type of college, the ++ college includes persons of all types as members. The differing personalities and diverse interests held by members would in any college, given free rein, insure attention to all four purposes, i.e., to preservation, increase, dissemination, and application of knowledge. It is within the ++ institution that diverse interests are most likely actually to be given relatively free rein, hence the ++ college is the type which is most apt to conduct a program in which a nice balance is maintained in attention to the four purposes.

As an institution, therefore, the ++ college in some respects <u>is</u> and in others <u>is not</u> a servant of society. It maintains its own identity and steers its own course, but is not totally isolated from society. It seeks knowledge for the sake of knowledge; it also seeks knowledge for the sake

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of its application in service to society, and is motivated to apply knowledge in such service. In return, the ++ college imposes its demands for support, etc., upon society with the same equanimity with which it accepts problems imposed upon it by society. Both society and college contribute to meeting the problems faced by the ++ college.

+-: The problems of the +- college are primarily self-imposed, that is, imposed upon the college by the very fact that it <u>is</u> +-. The college is oriented to the maintenance of the <u>status quo</u>, with emphasis upon the presumed excellence of the college itself. The application of knowledge in service to society is therefore a low priority purpose, and the preservation of knowledge is therefore a high priority purpose. The +- college may well be interested in seeking knowledge for the sake of knowledge, i.e., in "pure" research which, because it is not "applied" research, cannot be applied to and therefore cannot affect the present status of the college itself. The college behind the ivory curtain is the +- college.

Any problem created by forces abroad in the larger society and set at the doorstep of the +- college is likely to be perceived as an unwarranted imposition, for attention to such a problem may require a change from the <u>status quo</u>. On the other hand, convinced of its own present excellence and great worth, the +- college is likely to be extremely

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-+: With respect to the choice between participation and isolation, the -+ college will tend toward participation in the affairs of society, will tend to consider itself a willing servant of society, and will not feel imposed upon when society presents it with new problems. On the contrary, the difficulty of the -+ college is centered about its internal affairs, where goals are diffuse and individually held but not agreed upon, and where the principal item of agreement is the present inadequacy of the college. The -+ college will be extremely reluctant to impose problems upon society; as a unit, the college has no will to impose upon society. Problems will be resolved for the -+ college by society, with the acquiescence of the college.

--: The -- college will be an unwilling servant, disinclined to accept problems imposed upon it by society. Whereas the +- may with aplumb present problems to society in the expectation that society will and should meet its demands, the -- college would be extremely diffident in this regard. Whereas the +- college will be relatively segregated from society by reason of its presumed excellence, the -- college will be virtually isolated from society by reason of its presumed

worthlessness. Problems will be resolved for the -- college by society, not so much against the will of the college as in the absence of any reason to resist the pressure of authority.

To sum up, the ++ college will resolve its own destiny to a major extent, managing skillfully the matter of steering between participation and isolation. The -+ college will strive for participation, the +- college for segregation, and the -- college for isolation; in all three cases, decisions will in the long run be made <u>for</u> these three types <u>by</u> society or by the pressures generated by a culture in transition.

To sum up in a second regard, the ++ college will devote its attention in balanced fashion to the four purposes and will preserve, increase, disseminate, and apply knowledge. The +- college will emphasize the preservation of specified knowledge and perhaps the increase of some areas of "pure" knowledge; it will engage in the dissemination of that variety of knowledge which it prizes, but will refrain from the application of knowledge in service to society. The -+ college, at the other extreme, will emphasize the application of knowledge (service activities and "applied" research), while minimizing the increase of knowledge through "pure" research; it will preserve and disseminate <u>all</u> varieties of knowledge, and present the "cafeteria," or "smorgasbord" curriculum. The -- college will emphasize the preservation and dissemination

of certain knowledge, but will engage neither in research designed to increase knowledge nor in activities designed to apply it.

As noted earlier, any problem of higher education requires some combination of individual effort and cooperative effort, but a particular problem emphasizes one rather than the other. Both cooperative and individual effort may be conducted freely within the ++ college, where deviation is tolerated (and creativity is a manifestation of deviation) and where innovation can be affected. Thus the ++ college is able to pursue all four traditional purposes, able to accommodate pressures of society, and able to make such changes as are required.

In +- and -+ colleges, cooperative effort can be generated only with difficulty, and those activities will be emphasized which can be pursued by individual effort. In the case of the +- college, the orientation of that individual effort is toward the college, which is perceived by the members to be good and with which the members identify strongly. In the case of the -+ college, the orientation of individual effort is toward society rather than toward the college, for the college is perceived not to be good and members tend rather to withdraw from it than to identify with it.

Thus, as indicated above, one may expect to find in

the +- college (a) in teaching, an emphasis upon accepted values and knowledge; (b) in research, an emphasis upon individually conducted "pure" research, and (c) in service to society, inactivity. One may expect to find in the -+ college (a) in teaching, no central emphasis, no agreed-upon hierarchy of knowledge, but rather the "cafeteria" style of curriculum which includes whatever is requested of the college, (b) in research, an emphasis upon individually conducted applied research, and (c) in service to society, a "shot-gun" effort in which individual members attempt, in the absence of program, to do all things for all elements of society.

In the -- college, cooperative effort is feasible; creative, innovative individual effort is not tolerated. However, the college is deemed to be unworthy. Cooperative effort therefore is unlikely to be directed toward <u>any</u> type of research. The college is isolated from society, so cooperative effort is unlikely to be directed toward <u>any</u> type of service activity. In teaching, the curriculum is likely to be fixed and traditional, the preservation and dissemination of limited knowledge.

Relationships Among Social Systems

The divergencies among their goals require some adaptation by society to higher education and some adaptation by higher education to society. Adaptation involves change.

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Change may be brought about in several manners. A basic dichotomy may be drawn between change which is prescribed and change which is induced. A major social system is able either to prescribe or to induce change in its subsystems. Hence, society can prescribe or induce change in higher education; a university can prescribe or induce change in one of its colleges; a college can prescribe or induce change in one of its departments. A subsystem may be capable only of inducing change in its parent system, for (as indicated elsewhere) size is a significant condition of social action when the exercise of power is involved.

The prescription of change requires the exercise of power in one of its forms. It may be the use of institutionalized power, termed authority. It may be the use of non-authorized power, in the forms of coercion or the exercise of influence. The superior social system has both the right (authority) and the capacity or ability to prescribe change in its lesser subsystems. It can do so in relatively subtle manners or by open use of naked power. The tools are at hand. The university controls its subsystems' facilities: physical, financial, and personal. It can starve a college or other subsystem into conforming social actions if necessary, through control of the purse-strings, space allocations, salary schedules, etc. The major system can prescribe changes in

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their social action by granting power to conforming subsystems and withholding it from recalcitrant subsystems. The parent system can coerce its subsystems into desired social action through the use of threat, open or implied. The larger system can also induce change in its subsystems through manipulative action; by the appointment of a particular individual to a position of authority within a college or department, for example, the university can in time achieve desired changes in the subsystem.

The process "communication of sentiment" is of significance in this respect. If a university can communicate to its colleges and other subsystems the sentiment that "research is good," for example, the subsystems can be expected to increase their attention to that aspect of goal-seeking activity. Such a sentiment can be communicated quite readily, the application of sanctions being a useful process in this connection: by awarding promotions and salary increases to successful researchers, and by otherwise honoring them, the sentiment is rapidly communicated that research is a good activity. If, on the other hand, it is desired to communicate the sentiment that teaching or student advisement or another alternative scholarly activity is "good," this too can be achieved and it can be anticipated that social action will be modified accordingly.

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effects than others. To achieve a change in social action of specified subsystems, the communication of sentiment may be rather slow. The change may be effected more rapidly by manipulation of key personnel. It may be effected still more rapidly by application of power.

On the other hand, some techniques are doubtless more lasting than others. If a recalcitrant subsystem is given only two choices--conform or be dissolved--the subsystem may, in the face of such threat, choose to conform. The effects of such compliance may be short-lived, however, for compliance may be defensive behavior that will be continued only so long as the threat to apply power is effectively maintained.

A subsystem is rather more limited in the techniques available to it for effecting adaptive changes within its parent social system, because it cannot as readily apply power. The subsystem is far from helpless, however, A department may point out to its college or university, for example, that certain actions are planned or underway within the institution closest to it in the "academic procession" (i.e., within the 'style leader' recognized by the university, or within the erstwhile 'follower' of the university); the threat of being either left behind or overtaken may induce boundary maintaining activity, defensive behavior in response to the perceived threat, and the department may achieve what it aspires to.

The outbreak of the Sputnik syndrome following 1957, for example, enabled many departments and colleges to effect changes in the social action of their university boards of trustees, presidents, etc.; by communicating the sentiment that Sputnik represented a threat, changes were brought about in budgets, building plans, space allocations, admission requirements, curricula, etc.

The Sputnik episode provides an excellent illustration too of the manner in which higher education can evoke desired social action on the part of society, or in which a university can induce the action it desires on the part of its parent social system and source of support.

An interesting problem is the consideration of manners in which one major social system can induce specified social action on the part of other parallel social systems, i.e., on the part of systems which are neither its parent system nor its subsystems. To illustrate, it may be noted that higher education is a social system and secondary education is a social system, but one is neither parent nor subsystem of the other. Nevertheless, higher education undeniably effects changes in secondary education; it does so through its power to adjust admission requirements, for example, such adjustments having repercussions inevitably on secondary school curricula; it does so also through its ability to provide prospective teachers

with certain attitudes and knowledges while declining to provide them with others.

Secondary education likewise effects changes within higher education, doing so at times by securing legislative action. For example, if secondary education induces a state legislature to require that prospective teachers must complete a specified course of study, colleges of education within the state have little alternative but to offer that course of study. If secondary education within a state declines, by and large, to offer a specified course of study to its students, higher education within that state has little power to deny admission universally to secondary school graduates who have not completed such courses.

Sister institutions are capable of bringing about changes in each other's social action. For example, if several universities jointly serve a given geographic area, they may perceive themselves to be in competition for students, the students being free to choose to enroll in one rather than the others. In such a case, if one university decides that full-time residence will no longer be a requirement for a degree, the other universities may perceive that this new norm constitutes a threat to them, i.e., that it may cause a decrease in their enrollments. If they so perceive it, they may attempt to influence the first institution to revoke its

action. They may take the same action. They may initiate different practices designed to outweigh in the eyes of students the apparent advantage of the first institution's abolition of residence requirements, e.g., may reduce credit requirements, eliminate a language requirement, etc. On the other hand, one of the universities may seize the occasion as an opportunity by which to establish itself in the eyes of students as the "quality" institution whose "high standards" will make its degrees more valuable than those of other universities.

The process whereby one social system strives to retain its identity as a viable social unit is boundary maintenance. Higher education in the United States engages in boundary maintaining activity in order to retain its integrity within U.S. society and to resist encroachment of other social systems upon it, whether the "other" be society <u>per se</u> or such major social systems as government, industry, or religion. A college or university engages in boundary maintaining activity for like reasons, and so also does a department or other lesser subsystem.

On the other hand, each social system of higher education is also engaged in the process of systemic linkage, whereby it strives to maintain a mutually satisfying relationship with other systems. It may do so only with the utmost

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reluctance; it may do willingly and freely; it may do so eagerly; it may do so aggressively. If the maintenance of relationships with other systems is perceived to be threatening, a social system will tend to minimize systemic linkage; if such relationships are perceived to be enhancing, a social system will tend to emphasize systemic linkage.

Systemic linkage so relates two social systems, so articulates them, that in some ways they act as and appear to be a single system. Some social systems are so constituted that they are able successfully (a) to articulate with other systems on matters of genuine significance and for extended periods of time, and yet manage (b) to retain their own identity as viable social units. Other systems are less able to operate, or unable so to operate. "Social systems of higher education" and "society" find their relationship mutually satisfactory when society's goals regarding "socialization" and "cognitive mapping and validation" as well as higher education's internal goals are articulated effectively and efficiently. A symbiotic relationship of this type is neither easy to arrange nor easy to maintain.

The perceptual typology of social systems of higher education can be referred to in this connection, for several of the above matters can be illustrated in the social action of each type of system.

The ++ Social System

As postulated, the ++ college deams itself worthy without making invidious comparisons, i.e., without assuming either present superiority or present inferiority vis-a-vis other social systems. It has such integration and solidarity that it can retain its own identity and is confident that it can do so. It is aware of and accurate in its perceptions of social reality.

A ++ land grant college can so articulate itself with the social system "agriculture" than in some ways and at some times the college and "agriculture" comprise one system. The ++ institution can do so without losing its identity, without sacrificing its independence, sovereignty, or autonomy, without surrendering its own goals and values or replacing them with "agriculture's" goals and values, etc. The ++ institution is not excessively concerned with achieving recognition, nor does it feel threatened by its relationship with other systems. Should the situation require, it can therefore act as either leader or follower of agriculture. It need not be apprehensive and defensive against possible encroachment by agriculture, yet it need not be aggressively attempting to encroach upon agriculture.

Any number of comparable examples might be drawn to illustrate the characteristics of the ++ social system. If the

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situation calls for it to rely upon a federal agency, a corporation, or a foundation for funds with which to conduct a program of research in which it chooses to engage, a ++ university can with equanimity devise a mutually satisfactory means of systemic linkage, one which will permit the university to accept outside resources, pursue its own goals, retain its own integrity, and yet satisfy the motives that impelled the other agency to enter the cooperative endeavor; e.g. the university's anthropological linguists want to study an obscure dialect, the Navy wants a dictionary which will relate the dialect to English, and both sets of motives are satisfied when the university linguists use Navy funds to conduct the study. In such a case, neither social system conquers the other, neither need feel threatened or adopt defensive boundary maintaining activity, neither need coerce the other nor employ devious means to manipulate the other into undertaking the desired social action, and neither need lose its ability to withdraw from the joint arrangement when the reason for articulating the two systems ceases to exist.

Thus two or more ++ departments within a college can work together to good effect, e.g., departments of sociology and of psychology to explore together social psychology. Thus two or more ++ colleges within a university can engage in a joint activity, e.g., a college of law and a college of social

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science to establish an institute for the study of public administration. Thus two or more ++ universities might, each for its own purposes, jointly establish and operate a single school of medicine, a single research hospital, a single library, a cooperative university extension system designed to serve a community that is otherwise isolated from higher education, a costly or esoteric program of research or of advanced graduate teaching, etc.

The +- Social System

As postulated, the +- college deems itself very worthy and draws invidious comparisons to demonstrate its present assumed superiority to other systems. It has strong integration and great solidarity. Its boundary maintaining activity is vigorous to an extreme, and the college is willing to act only as leader, never as follower, of other social systems. These characteristics greatly hamper systemic linkage, partly because followers are not always available, partly because vigorous boundary maintaining activity may be perceived by other systems to be aggressive and therefore may evoke strong defensive boundary maintenance within those other systems.

If the other system is submissive, a +- university can so articulate itself with the other that the two, in some ways and at some times, comprise one system. If the surrounding community is relatively small and powerless, and especially if

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the surrounding community is a -+ or -- social system, a +- university can dominate it. Systemic linkage is achieved by assimilation, so to speak. In this circumstance, zoning ordinances are designed for the convenience of the university; the town is "dry" because the university aims to preserve the presumed innocence of its students; curfew ordinances coincide with dormitory regulations; theater programs and theater time schedules conform to university preferences and university hours; the chamber of commerce is silent although the university's store keeps a local bookseller on the edge of bankruptcy; and the town has, in general, no life of its own.

Alternatively, if the surrounding community is large and powerful, and especially if the community is itself a +- social system or a ++ social system, the +- university cannot dominate it. Convinced of its own superiority, neither can the university play the part of follower or even relate with the community on even terms. As a result, the university cannot articulate with the community and a sharp town-and-gown cleavage develops. The two social systems, i.e., the +- university and the city around it, may be mutually affectively neutral or they may be mutually antagonistic. The university therefore withdraws from the city, in all but a geographic sense, and hides behind its ivory curtain. With the passage of time, neighborhoods age; when the university finds itself

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Any number of comparable illustrations might be drawn of the relations between a +- social system and other systems. A +- faculty and a +- board of trustees, for example, if they happen to value the same things, might tolerate each other; if their values and goals do not coincide, however, articulation of the two systems would be unlikely. A +- university business office and a +- university library system are unlikely to achieve mutually satisfactory systemic linkage.

The -+ Social System

As postulated, the -+ college draws invidious comparisons to demonstrate its own present inferiority to other systems. It is not well integrated and does not have systemic solidarity. Although it aspires to integration and solidarity, its boundary maintaining activity is so diffuse as to be ineffectual. The -+ college is willing to act as follower, but is incapable of leading other social systems. Lacking a sense of direction, lacking a sense of "inside" and "outside," lacking a sense of identity built on solidarity, the -+ college is open to systemic linkage but is not itself a sufficiently integrated unit to articulate effectually with other viable units.

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A -+ college of commerce can very readily so subordinate itself to and articulate itself with the social system comprised by commerce and industry in its area that in some ways and at some times the college and "commerce" constitute one social system. Having very diffuse goals of its own, the -+ college cannot articulate with "commerce" without accepting the leadership of commerce, accepting the goals of commerce, and surrendering its own autonomy, so to speak. If "commerce" needs young recruits ready to assume positions as junior accountants and credit analysts rather than potential executives, the -+ college will produce job-ready junior accountants and credit analysts, not broadly educated future executives. If commerce includes a number of banks which need a ready supply of clerks, the -+ college will provide graduates eminently qualified to be clerks.

Other examples may be cited. A +- board of trustees will dominate a -+ faculty. A -+ student services office will allow a +- business office to operate all aspects of dormitory, cafeteria, and related college enterprises. A +- student services office, on the other hand, will expect to dictate the design, superintend the construction, and control the management of such enterprises. If both systems were +-, they would enjoy endless conflict. If both systems involved are -+, however, neither the business office nor student services

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may quite know what to build, whether to build, where and when to build, how to operate, etc.; under this circumstance, the architectural firm, especially if it is a ++ or +- social system, may be forced to enter the vacuum and decide on the program as well as the building design.

The -- Social System

As postulated, the -- college deems itself and other social systems to be unworthy. It is unwilling to follow and yet unable to lead. It has such a degree of integration and solidarity as to be virtually impermeable, i.e., boundary maintenance is designed to maintain system identity in isolation, to avoid systemic linkage.

A -- college cannot willingly articulate itself with another social system purposefully. Being tradition-bound, it can continue inherited relationships with other systems, however. In such relationships, the other system can be expected to dominate the -- system, constituting a voice of authority to which the -- college responds obediently.

This is to say that the -- social system of higher education is susceptible to domination and obedient to authority. Should it exchange one master for another, it can become subservient to the new order and adhere to it as tenaciously as previously it had clung to tradition. That is "rightful" which authority prescribes as rightful, hence institutionalization is achieved by decree. It may be anticipated that a

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An "Objective" Frame of Reference

There is variety in higher education in the United States. This dissertation was designed partly to demonstrate further that there is diversity in views reported concerning higher education in the United States, and to explain that such diversity is to be expected so long as each observer utilizes a personal frame of reference.

It is proposed in this dissertation that the concept "social system" and the Loomis model for analysis of social systems, when utilized together with the perceptual theory of individual behavior, comprise a logical screen through which "higher education in the United States" may be viewed "objectively," i.e., that they provide an "objective" frame of reference.

It is held that the Loomis model provides a convenient framework within which to study social systems and to determine the manner in which their elements and processes are articulated at a moment in time. It is held that the concept of the individual provided by perceptual theory furnishes a means by which to anticipate whether and in which direction a social system is likely to change through time.

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individually as discrete social units. An example of such examination would be a study of a specific college or university as a social system. Social systems of higher education may be related to or compared to social systems of other categories. For example, one might study the interaction, boundary maintenance, and systemic linkage between higher education and such other social systems in the United States as government, religion, labor, commerce, industry, entertainment, etc. Social systems of higher education may be related to or compared to each other. Examples would be a comparative study of national social systems of higher education, a study of relationships between institutions of higher education in one state, a study of relationships between land grant institutions, a study of relationships between colleges and other subsystems of a single university, and a study of relationships among subsystems of a single college.

When social systems are studied and compared, they are found to differ. The burden of the argument of social system theory is that they do <u>not</u> differ with respect to their general components or activating processes but that they <u>do</u> differ with respect to the specific content of a component and with respect to the manner in which the component elements and processes are articulated or integrated. The social system at a given point in time is the resultant of a number of

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vectors in momentary equilibrium; the vectors involved in all systems represent the same elements, but the force exerted by the vector of the element "sentiment," for example, varies from system to system. As a result, the equilibrium perceived to prevail at a given moment in one system differs from that in another.

In comparing or describing social systems, it may be noted that in one system there are many differentiated status-roles whereas in another there are few; that in one system status-roles are ascribed whereas in another they are achieved by dint of individual effort, influence, application of force, etc.; that in one system knowledge derives from revelation whereas in another it derives from logical analysis, experimentation, etc.; that in one system relationships among members are largely affective whereas in another affective neutrality is usual; that in one system financial reward is a frequently used sanction whereas in another system alternative sanctions (e.g., honorary degrees) have been institutionalized; that in one system norms have been institutionalized to cover an extremely wide range of activity and in great detail, whereas another system has great tolerance for deviation from rather general norms. Possibilities as to differences among social systems can be enumerated almost indefinitely.

In the following pages, predictions are offered regarding the manner in which each structural-functional category and

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each comprehensive or master process of the Loomis model may be expected to be articulated within each of the four perceptual types of social systems of higher education. In addition, predictions are offered regarding the propensity to change which may be expected within each of the four perceptual types.

The Loomis Model and Perceptual Typology

The Loomis model for analysis of social systems considers nine "structural-functional categories," each of which represents one of the nine "elements" of a social system plus its related "elemental process(es)." The model further includes six "comprehensive or master processes," each of which may activate any combination of elements, and three "conditions of social action."

A. Structural-Functional Categories

1. Knowing. Colleges will differ with regard to the source of their belief, accuracy of their knowledge, and extent of their activity in cognitive mapping and validation.

++: Accurate. Active in all areas of cognitive mapping and validation.

+-: Hypo-accurate. Active in cognitive mapping and validation, but only in limited areas.

-+: Hyper-accurate. Very active in cognitive mapping and validation on rational basis.

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--: Hypo-accurate. Will not engage in cognitive mapping and validation because its knowledge is fixed, derived from faith or authority, almost, one might say, from revelation.

2. Feeling. Colleges will differ in several respects: the extent of tension among members; the basis of tension; sentiment held by members toward each other; sentiment held by members toward the college; sentiment held by members toward other colleges; management of tension; ability to communicate sentiment; and effect of the sentiment communicated.

++: Median degree of tension among members. Tension arises from rational differences. Members like each other, the college, and other colleges. Tension is managed easily on rational grounds. Sentiment is communicated effectively. The effect of the sentiment communicated ("I like the college and my colleagues") is to help keep the college ++.

+-: Least degree of tension among the members, who on the whole like the college. Tension may arise from rational or affective causes. Members do not very much like each other or other colleges. Median ease of tension management. Sentiment is not communicated effectively. The effect of the sentiment communicated ("I like the college") is to confirm the popular view, to make the +- college more definitely and extremely +-.

-+: Maximum degree of tension among the members, who on the whole don't like the college and, because they do not,

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find their entire situation threatening but cannot resolve the threat. Tension thus arises from affective causes rather than from rational ones. The members may not on the whole like each other, because they are aware of threat, do not know how to resolve it, may not be able to differentiate it, and may suspect that their fellows are its source. Tension is managed with difficulty, neither on rational grounds nor affective ones, but rather on legalistic grounds. Sentiment is not communicated very well. Members do like other colleges, although they do not like their own. The sentiment which is communicated serves to confirm the popular sentiment ("I don't like the college") and the effect is deteriorative, making the college more extremely -+.

--: Some tension exists among members, who do not like the college, each other, or other colleges; tension will arise from affective causes and be managed, if that is the word, by recourse to pronouncements of authority; sentiment is communicated fairly well, and the sentiment communicated ("I don't like the college really, but this is the way it must be") has the effect of confirming the -- status and of perpetuating the isolation of the college.

3. Achieving. This category involves the element "end, goal, or objective" and the processes "goal attaining activity" and "concomitant latent activity as process." Colleges will

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differ with regard to several aspects: remoteness of goals; degree of agreement upon goals; ability to achieve goals; relative significance of goals pertinent to "internal" and "external" patterns.

++: Goals are proximal and attainable. There is substantial concurrence as to goals to be sought. The college is able to attempt to achieve goals, hence (because the goals are proximal and attainable) can achieve them. The goals set are likely to satisfy aims both of members and of society, and to strengthen bonds which affectively relate the members.

+-: Goals and present status are virtually synonymous. Thus the goal is maintenance of the status quo, and in this sense there is considerable agreement upon goals, however much members may differ on why the status quo is "good." The question of ability to achieve goals does not apply, since the goal is not to move. It would be quite remarkable if the goals of this college can long satisfy society; failing in the long run to serve instrumental ends of society, this +- college will have difficulty as a social system in maintaining its adaptation to its environment, i.e., its goal-attaining activity with respect to the "external" pattern is not adequate and will increasingly create problems as the college becomes a cultural laggard. Goal-attaining activity does not strengthen affective bonds among members, hence is not effective in the "internal" pattern.

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-+: Goals are remote and idealistic. Furthermore, there is little concurrence as to the goals which are to be sought. The college is relatively unable to engage in goal-attaining activity, for there is neither concurrence nor consensus, but merely acquiescence by members. Under these circumstances, goals will be diffuse; by virtue of their very diversity some of them will satisfy to some extent the requirements of society and provide for adaptation of the college to its environment. Relationships among members will tend to be affectively neutral.

--: If there are any goals beyond that of self-perpetuation, they are deemed out of reach. The degree of agreement among members will be quite large. Except as self-perpetuation is a goal-attaining activity, the ability of the college to achieve is negligible. As to the internal pattern, relationships among members will be very poor.

4. Norming, Standardizing, Patterning. This category involves the element "norm" and the process "evaluation." Colleges will differ significantly with regard to the degree to which norms et al. exist.

++: The ++ college will have a patterned core of expectations for principled behavior. Beyond that core, there will be expectations for and approval of non-conforming behavior.

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behavior covering a broad range of activities, not "principled" behavior, but "uniform" behavior, with little or no tolerance for deviance.

-+: The -+ college will expect diversity. Although it will not like diversity, it has no expectations for uniform behavior and has no basis for expecting principled behavior.

--: There will be expectations for uniform behavior in all activities.

5. Dividing the Functions. This category involves the element "status-role (position)" and the process "status-role performance." The colleges will differ as to the degree to which status-roles are differentiated, i.e., the degree of specialization. They will also differ in the manner of assigning status-roles to members.

++: There will be a median degree of specialization and division of labor among status-roles.

+-: This college will have fewer differentiated status-roles than do others.

-+: There will be much specialization.

--: This college will probably have as little specialization as does the +-.

6. Ranking. This category involves the element "rank" and the processes "evaluation of actors" and "allocation of status-roles." Colleges will differ with regard to the bases upon

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which actors are evaluated and status-roles are allocated.

++: Actors will be assigned their relatively non-specialized status-roles and their performance will be evaluated partly on rational grounds of demonstrated competence and partly on grounds of "personality."

+-: Both assignment and evaluation will be based upon personality, a non-logical treatment of non-specialized status-roles.

-+: This is a highly impersonal college. Expertise is the significant factor involved in impersonal assignment of highly-specialized status-roles and in rational, logical evaluation of performance. There will be more levels in the hierarchy, from bottom to top, in this college than there will be in ++ or +- colleges.

--: The college should in this respect resemble the -+ college.

7. Controlling. Controlling involves the element "power" and the processes "decision-making" and the initiation of decision into action. The master process "institutionalization" is also involved here, as is "social control." Understanding that institutionalization refers to the process whereby members of a social system concur in the belief that a given pattern of culture is "right," colleges will differ significantly. Because of this basic difference, other differences

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will follow in the process of social control and in the use of other processes related to the element power.

++: Broad areas of behavior are institutionalized, on the basis of general agreement as to principle. Members are relatively like-minded and relatively accepting of each other. A basic distinction is likely to be made regarding decision-making, a distinction between "policy-making" and "policy execution." The membership will participate in policy-making. Other decisions will be entrusted to the appropriate executives, and there will be general agreement as to the point at which executive decision-making would be inappropriate. In both areas, decision-making will be essentially rational, free of discord, and therefore effective in initiating action.

+-: Broad areas of behavior are institutionalized, but without basic agreement as to underlying principle. Norms are enforced by social pressure, not because they are deemed "right," but simply "because." Decision-making is an executive process, with no distinction being made between policy and execution of policy. Members are not in agreement as to principle and, in any case, are not in communication with each other. Because maintaining the <u>status quo</u> is the objective, the initiation of decisions into action will be difficult.

-+: This college is likely to exhibit a marked cleavage between faculty and administration, with a tendency for

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decision-making to be centered in authority figures, and with the faculty demonstrating little cohesiveness. To the extent that the faculty is involved in decision-making of any kind, its decision will represent a consensus of differing opinion rather than concurrence on an issue; this will be so because there is little agreement on principles or on goals and because the processes of communication and communication of sentiment are not effective.

--: The -- college has no policy-making problems, existence being the only goal. Decision-making is likely to be an executive function centered in authority figures. Decisions will tend to be imposed on the members; hence, the initiation of corresponding action will be difficult.

8. Sanctioning. Sanctioning involves the element "sanction" and the process "application of sanctions." Colleges will differ with regard to the basis upon which rewards and punishments are issued and with regard to the manner in which sanctioning is achieved.

++: The ++ college will have the greatest toleration for deviation; it has the large core of patterned behavior based upon principles to which members voluntarily adhere, and the membership is disposed to assume that deviation from patterned behavior is nonetheless in accord with principle. Rewards and punishment will be applied on the basis of merit.

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+-: The +- college will have an intolerance for deviation from patterned norms, for there is no agreement on principle, hence no reason to assume that deviant behavior is based upon principle. Sanctions will be applied by the group, withholding group acceptance from the deviate.

-+: With no urge to perpetuate the status quo, but with poor communications and no fundamental agreement as to goals or principles, nearly all behavior would be deviant behavior in the -+ college. Behavior thus is prescribed by college law rather than custom, and it may be expected that the -+ college will be heavily legislated, regulated, and supplied with procedures governing a host of areas of action. The -+ college can be expected, for example, to have a salary schedule for its faculty, formalized rules governing tenure and retirement, carefully and minutely prescribed rules governing credit requirements, prerequisites, selection of textbooks, assignment of classes, hours of work, office hours, etc., with requirements for many carbon copies, certifications, and signatures.

--: In this respect, the -- college should incorporate the least attractive features of +- and -+ colleges, for it would have no tolerance for deviation from prescribed norms, no agreement on principles, and no goal save perhaps survival. There would be little communication in general among the members,

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9. Facilitation. The process involved here is "utilization of facilities," and the element in question is "facility." Colleges may be expected to differ with regard to the absolute plenty or poverty they enjoy in this respect, of course, and this may be a major factor in determining the type of institution which a given college becomes. Given a college of a certain perceptual type, however, a prediction may be made regarding the way in which it will utilize its facilities, whatever these may be.

++: The ++ college may be expected to maximize use of its facilities for maintaining and enhancing the institution and for maintenance and enhancement of individual self concepts. Utilization of facilities and the consideration of new types of facilities (e.g., television) will be rational. These aspects of corporate behavior may have a long-range effect upon the facilities which society makes available to the college; assuming society to be operating rationally also, the ++ college will, as a result of its effective and efficient operations, enjoy a relative plenty.

+-: The +- college will make non-inventive use of its facilities, except to the extent that inventiveness is required for self-perpetuation, for maintaining the status quo. New types of facilities will not be welcomed. If individual

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enhancement requires deviation from established patterns, facilities will not be utilized for enhancement of individuals but only for corporate maintenance. In the long run, this is deleterious.

-+: The -+ college will tend to minimize its utilization of facilities, although its methods may be impeccably rational. It lacks agreement as to principles and as to goals, hence can scarcely be expected to conduct sustained corporate programs which maximize utilization of facilities, even though every classroom be filled every available hour and even though the most modern devices are employed. Such programs as exist will tend to be individual programs, enhancing of the individual but scarcely of the corporate body.

--: It may be expected that utilization of facilities will not maximize opportunity but rather that minimal use will be made of available resources.

B. Comprehensive or Master Processes

1. Communication. To a considerable extent, differences that should be expected to exist among the four perceptual types with respect to this process have already been indicated, but they are reviewed below.

++: Because of the accepting climate, both formal and informal channels of communication can be expected to operate effectively within the ++ college. Because there is agreement

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on principle and because adherence to principle is assumed, misunderstanding based on hasty misinterpretation of partial information is unlikely. Because behavior within this context is, furthermore, rational, channels of mass two-way communication are likely to have been established.

+-: Communication is likely to be primarily informal and primarily one-way, i.e., from the top down. Hypo-accurate with respect to perception, the content of communication is likely to be faulty. Maintenance of the status quo being the prime consideration, there would be little to communicate except executive decisions and little reason to establish elaborate communication channels.

-+: Communication is likely to be elaborately organized for formal purposes. The flow of information along this formal network is likely to be from the top down. However, informal channels are likely to be extensively developed and heavily utilized for transmitting irrelevant but hyper-accurate information about the diverse behavior displayed by members. Being an institution which has no expectations for uniform behavior, this is likely to be a rumor-ridden college.

--: Arrangements will exist for transmission of orders from authority.

2. Boundary Maintenance. Integration of a social system is achieved when the various elements are so articulated as to

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be mutually reinforcing. When members identify with a system, they may develop group solidarity. Boundary maintenance is the process whereby a system retains its identity, a process which requires integration and solidarity. Furthermore, given solidarity, the extent of boundary maintenance will vary with the perceived threat of encroachment from outside.

++: Members of the ++ college identify with the college and have a strong sense of group solidarity. They do not perceive the college, each other, or other colleges as threats; presumably they do not perceive as threats such other social systems as the community in which they are located, professional or accrediting associations, etc. The ++ college as a result is semi-permeable, i.e., its boundary maintenance is not so strongly sustained as to constitute an ivory curtain.

+-: The +- college is rigid and quite impermeable. The members identify with the college, if not with each other, and they perceive outside systems as threats, hence strong boundary maintaining.

-+: The -+ college is most permeable. The members do not identify with the college, nor with each other, but they value other colleges highly, hence little boundary maintenance activity.

--: The -- college would be as totally isolated as it can become and still remain in existence.

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3. Systemic Linkage. This is the process whereby two social systems so articulate one with the other that at certain times and for certain purposes they are one. The greater the permeability of a social system, the greater the opportunity for systemic linkage; however, "opportunity" and "likelihood" differ.

++: The ++ college is not the most permeable type. However, it is the most able and most likely to achieve linkage with other social systems to which it wishes to be related. Such linkage may be achieved through individual or corporate action. A ++ college is likely to be well-articulated with the community within which it is located geographically or which it serves, hence is likely to serve that community well and be well-treated in return. A ++ college is not apt to engage in a running feud with the local chamber of commerce because the college runs a bookstore and other commercial enterprises, nor to be quibbling interminably with related colleges or accrediting agencies over admission requirements, etc.

+-: The +- college, relatively impermeable, is capable only of minimal systemic linkage. A +- college can remain oblivious of its geographic surroundings until it suddenly discovers that it is in the midst of a slum, or oblivious of its clientele until it suddenly discovers that its programs are obsolete and unwanted, and can neglect its relations with

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-+: The -+ is the most permeable. It seeks systemic linkage, is most desirous of systemic linkage, but is not nearly as able to achieve linkage as is the ++ college. Linkage is achieved by the corporate body and by individuals within the -+ college, but lack of a sense of direction minimizes its effectiveness; that is, lack of group solidarity and integration of the -+ college, the very characteristic which renders it permeable, inhibits the effectiveness with which it can relate itself to other social systems and still serve its own purposes. Referring back to examples used in the preceding paragraphs: the -+ college might, rather than feud with the chamber of commerce, close its bookstore; it might, rather than quibble with other colleges or accrediting agencies, meekly accede to their demands; it might be so eager to please the legislature as to lose its integrity as a college and become exclusively an arm of the state rather than an agency which, among other things, serves the state.

--: The -- college would shun all systemic linkage.

4. Institutionalization. Institutionalization is not a matter of legal enactment, but of acceptance or legitimization of something as "rightful." "Ought to be" is more pertinent in this respect than "is." As previously indicated, the four types differ significantly in this regard.

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++: The ++ college lies midway on a continuum between +- and -+ colleges in this respect. It will institutionalize a goodly amount of norms, beliefs, etc., that rightfully "ought to be." It will also institutionalize a goodly amount that "is," i.e., that currently is incorporated in the morals, mores, patterns of culture which prevail.

+-: The +- college is busily engaged in attempting to maintain the status quo and presumed excellence of the college. It will institutionalize a great deal of "ought to be" on the mistaken assumption that "ought to be" accurately describes the actual. Because deviation from institutionalized norms arouses indignation, indignation is common in the +- college.

-+: The -+ college has so little agreement upon principle or goal that very little is institutionalized as "ought to be." On the other hand, members are so disenchanted with the college as it stands that there is very little institutionalized as "is." There is merely a great deal which has been formally legislated, not because it is deemed rightful, but merely because some agreement on some points had to be reached. Deviation from these legislated standards is met not by moral indignation but by legalistic objection.

--: The -- college will have institutionalized virtually all current patterns of behavior and deemed them rightful. Deviation from these patterns will be greeted by moral indignation of the sort aroused by violation of a holy place.

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5. Socialization. Members learn expected patterns of behavior through socialization, i.e., learn values, expectations, norms, etc. The effectiveness of the process differs between perceptual types.

++: Members communicate well and communicate sentiment well. Members share broad areas of belief, sentiment, norms, and expectations. The ++ college is the most effective type with respect to the process socialization. The process of communication is operative and so is the communication of sentiment; as a result, the formal and informal mechanisms function on behalf of socialization.

+-: The +- should be next most effective of the perceptual types in this regard. However, the instrument which makes its socialization effective is informal social control rather than the process communication.

-+: Techniques utilized by the -+ college can be expected to be formal and ineffective. If socialization involves one's taking the role of another, in the sense indicated by Mead, members of the -+ college are unable to do so since they either do not understand each other or do not sympathize with each other.

--: Social control would be rigidly applied and socialization achieved thereby.

6. Social Control. Social control is a process by which deviant behavior is either eliminated from the social system

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or made compatible with the system. As suggested in preceding sections (e.g., those treating of norms and of sanctions), perceptual types can be expected to differ widely regarding the exercise of social controls.

++: The ++ college permits wide latitude as regards deviant behavior and non-conformity, and is inclined to give the deviant the benefit of the doubt. The situation is not one of anarchy, for members are in substantial agreement on principle.

+-: The +- college tolerates very little deviation from established practices, which are carefully enforced.

-+: The -+ college will exercise the least social control, in some respects. Of the several types of colleges, the -+ is likely to have achieved least agreement on principles, goals, norms, etc., and to have institutionalized fewest patterns of behavior. In this respect, social control would be minimal. On the other hand, it is the type of college most likely to have legislated rules covering many aspects of behavior, and social control would be quite strict regarding observance of legalistic requirements.

--: The -- college would tolerate no deviation from established practice.

C. Conditions of Social Action

1. Territoriality. This term is used by Loomis to refer

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to the setting in space of a social system. In one sense, territoriality is an aspect of "facility"; in this regard, we might consider the population density, so to speak, of a campus, of faculty offices, or of classrooms, and its relationship to the several perceptual types: for example, we might question whether an arrangement whereby five faculty members share a ten-by-ten office is likely to create within that office a wholesome, self-maximizing ++ social system, a self-perpetuating +- system, a self-minimizing -+ system, or an apathetic, self-less -- system.

Of more significance, however, to the general consideration of colleges is the relation between the condition, territoriality, and the processes, boundary maintenance and systemic linkage, i.e., the question of the spatial confinement of colleges. This is quite apart from considerations of size of a college campus, but refers to territorial limitations, if any, on interests, activities, clientele, and constituency of a college and its operations.

++: We may expect the ++ college to have a well-defined principal constituency and a well-defined principal clientele. We may also expect that its interests and activities will extend well beyond these nominal limitations, i.e., that without ignoring its particular territory the ++ college will extend its interests and activities universally and will value both the particular and the universal.

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+-: The +- college can be expected to have a very particular and well-defined constituency and clientele which it will value to the exclusion of other considerations, and which it will attempt to enlarge.

-+: The -+ college can be expected to have a well-defined principal constituency and a well-defined principal clientele. We may expect the interests and activities of its members to be universally extended. However, and this relates once more to lack of agreement upon principles and goals, the universality will reflect idiosyncratic interests of individual members who will disvalue each other's interests.

--: It can be expected that the -- college will have an extremely particularized constituency and clientele, and that the college will otherwise be isolated.

Thus, for example, consider the question of extension work or of branch colleges. The -- colleges would simply not engage in such activities, for their interests are too highly and too definitely particularized. The ++, +-, and -+ colleges would engage in these activities. The -+ college, however, would do so in perfunctory pro forma fashion in order to follow its style leader in the academic procession; a "branch" of the -+ college is likely to become an academic step-child, disvalued by the parent institution. The ++ college, having undertaken to establish a branch, would value it and its local

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supporters and clientele highly, would consider the branch an integral part of the system, and would support it accordingly. The +- college would regard the branch as part of its empire.

Consider also the common situation wherein a state supports a number of public colleges and universities. A -- college can be expected to avoid contact with others, and to guard its boundaries jealously. Secure in its own superiority and confident that its constituency and clientele assuredly are loyally committed to it, a +- college would not be concerned about territorial encroachment by others; on the other hand, it may well be engaged aggressively in attempting to expand its territorial suzerainty. A -+ college can be expected to react in several directions at once, but without assurance; it would welcome stronger relations with other colleges, but be unable to achieve them; it would not actively guard the boundaries of its principal area of service and support by satisfying that area's requirements, but it would resent intrusion thereinto by other colleges; it would venture into areas served by other colleges, however, and resent any rebuffs.

The ++ college really would satisfy the needs and requirements of its particular area of service and therefore would not need to guard its boundaries jealously; it could and would welcome stronger relations with other colleges, and it

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could acknowledge particular strengths and weaknesses of each, accepting the benefits of others' special capacities and offering to extend its own; it would fill a vacuum caused by the inactivity of other colleges, if necessary, but would not be engaged in what is termed empire building, although other colleges might so consider its operations.

2. Size. Increasing size of colleges will have an impact upon several aspects of a college as a social system, and it may be anticipated that colleges of each perceptual type will respond differently to growth. However, it is believed that a college of a given size may be of either type, i.e., size is not a determinant of type, but type will affect reaction to changing size.

In a college of either type, increased size can be expected to require and/or permit increased specialization, hence an increase in the number, but not necessarily in the number of levels of, status-roles. Increased size can also be expected to increase the significance of the external pattern of relations: as a college requires larger amounts of support from society, society will tend to scrutinize it more closely and to question more incisively whether the college is serving its instrumental ends; under these circumstances, activity which will adapt the college to its environment, a consideration of the external pattern, will demand increased attention.

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The ++ is the college most likely to be well-adapted to its environment. If its growth brings closer scrutiny by society, the ++ is the college most likely to satisfy societal concern. Furthermore, growth of a college involves the assimilation and acculturation of new members. The ++ college is the type best equipped to admit many new members and to socialize them, and is the type of college least likely to be changed by the experience in other respects than that of sheer size of the enrollment.

The reasons that the ++ college is best prepared to grow without undue trauma are various. First, accurate in its perceptions of social reality, the need to grow comes to it as no surprise, for it will have anticipated that need and planned to meet it. A +- college or a -- college will have been oblivious to the need, and will be unprepared to deal with problems of rapid growth. A -+ college will have anticipated the need, but will not know what to do about meeting problems of growth any more than it knows what to do about present tasks.

Second, well articulated with other social systems, the ++ college has its political fences in good repair and is able to obtain added resources it may need. The +- college, which may well have developed opposition among those whom it dominated or attempted to dominate, and which has in many

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respects been segregated from society by its own choice, is in not nearly as advantageous a position. The -- college has been isolated to such an extent that it has no fences to mend. The -+ college, its fences in fair condition, does not know what resources are needed inasmuch as it does not know what it aims to do.

Third, the ++ college is neither a cultural isolate nor a cultural laggard. It can blend its view of what its program should be with society's expectations regarding that program. Newcomers to the college will not find themselves entering an entirely new environment, different though it may be from a high school environment, for example; they will neither be entirely lost nor coldly rebuffed as intruders. The +- college, however, has been segregated from society and is not attuned to society. Furthermore, it may perceive growth as a threatening process which involves the admittance of hordes who do not appreciate the virtues of the college and may somehow alter the status quo it prizes so. Defensive in response to the perceived threat, the +- college may therefore be perceived as downright hostile by the newcomers. The -+ college would be too disorganized to deal effectually with its newcomers, and would therefore confuse them. The -- college would be hostile inasmuch as it is opposed to all change.

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The effect of growth may well change the perceptual type of the college. This is least likely to occur in a ++ college, which likely will continue to be ++ as it successfully socializes its newcomers. The pressure of growth may force a -+ college into decisive action and change it to ++; it may so overpower the -+ college as to turn it into a -- institution. Growth may force the +- college into an awareness of social reality and change it to ++; on the other hand, it may force the +- college into isolation and further withdrawal, turning it into a -- institution. If growth is enforced upon the -- college, the effect of new blood may be to change it into a +- or -+ college and, through time, into a ++ institution. If the +-, -+, or -- college is forced into rapid growth, it is very likely to change from one perceptual type to another.

3. Time. Other things being equal, a ++ college is likely to remain ++ through time, continuing to be a viable social unit and an effective, efficient subsystem of society. A +- college, already segregated from society, is likely to grow increasingly more isolated from society and may well become a -- college in time, if its momentum has been toward segregation; on the other hand, if its momentum has been toward better articulation, it may become a ++ institution. Similarly, depending upon the momentum built up by the -+

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college, it may become increasingly ++ or increasingly -- with the passage of time, ++ if it is becoming able to resolve its problems, -- if it is becoming increasingly inept in resolving them. A -- college, it would seem, must in time either cease to exist as a viable social unit or begin to move toward +- or -+ status.

Posture Toward Change

A social system is a dynamic system, perpetually active either in "becoming" or in "continuing to be." Where social reality encompasses broad areas of meaning, members of a social system come to share to a great extent common concepts of actual and ideal system or, in the present context, the members of a college share a common feeling toward the college as it is, hold similar feelings toward what the college could be, and share a concept of the ideal college.

The posture of a social system with regard to change is a function of members' feelings toward the system, toward other systems, and toward each other, as well as of the relation between the actual and ideal concepts held by members, individually or in common. The effective attitude toward change (or disposition toward change, propensity to change) may be determined by reference to the four perceptual types.

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worthy. So are other colleges." Accepting of the college and probably accepting of each other, members are under no compulsion to prove the goodness or high value of the college. They value this college and other colleges highly, and they do not perceive other colleges or other social systems as threatening. Therefore, they are free to propose, consider, adopt, and implement suggestions designed to change the college for the better, and they are in substantial agreement as to what would be better. They are able to perceive the need to change, that need being indicated by the gap between the actual and the ideal concepts of a college, and the direction desired being indicated by the ideal concept of a college. They are able to grasp suitable opportunities for change, willing to make change, and able to bring change about.

The +- College. The member of this college typically holds the view, "I like the college. It's better than others." The member identifies with the college rather than with his fellows. Their possible dislike of the college is a threat to him. Hence, he must attempt to prove its goodness to them, because any doubt of its goodness is subversive. Its goodness means its present goodness, of course, and he must therefore act to maintain the status quo, not because it is impossible to change, but because the status quo is good. The concepts of actual and ideal college are, in this case, very close together. There exists an active hostility toward change.

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The -+ College. The member of this college typically holds the view, "I dislike the college, but other colleges are more worthy." Believing that things are bad as they are, the concept of ideal college is considerably above the status quo as the individual member sees it. Other colleges are seen as worthy and non-threatening. On a highly individualized basis, the typical member strongly perceives a need for change and has a concept of the desired direction of change. These individual perceptions may or may not be compatible, but are in any case not shared. The -+ therefore suffers from an undefined desire to change. Individual members feel that, "Things are bad, but it is fruitless to try to change them until they come to realize that things are bad and must be improved. There is no point in proposing changes which will not now be accepted by them, and they will not accept changes because they apparently think things are fine now." The -+ college is unable to change, unable to initiate change, unable seriously to consider change, as it is presently constituted, despite the desire of individual members that change be brought about. If change is to be brought about, it will be achieved by a strong-minded authority figure who imposes it upon the members; members will very likely resist, because changes imposed, in a situation where agreement is minimal, will be his changes and not the individual member's changes.

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The -- College. The member of this college typically holds the view, "I dislike the college. It is not worthy. Neither are other colleges." Members are under no compulsion to prove the badness or worthlessness of the college, but they feel that this college and other colleges are all worthless, and they perceive other colleges and other social systems as threatening. The concept of ideal college may be hopelessly, even ridiculously, out of reach, or it may be virtually as low as is that of the actual college. In either case, we may expect members to see no reason to change, to have no desire to change, to propose no change, to accept no opportunity to change, to be unable to induce change, and to be unwilling to accept change. Without significant impetus from outside the college, the -- college is likely to maintain the status quo.

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CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION AND IMPLICATIONS

The task established at the outset of this thesis was to develop a consistent "objective" frame of reference by means of which to conceptualize and to collate diverse views regarding higher education in the United States.

A frame of reference has been developed using a combination of social system and perceptual theories. A perceptual typology of social systems of higher education has been set forth. A number of predictions have been made regarding articulation of constituent elements and processes of a social system within colleges, universities, and other systems and subsystems of each type.

The validity of neither perceptual theory nor social system theory can be "proved." Hence the formulation presented in this thesis cannot be proved. However, that formulation is logically consistent with both sets of theory and it should prove to be useful (assuming the underlying theory is useful), its worth deriving from its utility. Predictions made in the foregoing pages are offered as hypotheses which can and should be subjected to tests calculated to: (a) determine the usefulness of the proposed frame of reference, (b) determine means for identifying the perceptual category to which a given social

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system of higher education pertains, (c) determine the effects of prescribed change and of induced change upon a social system of higher education, (d) determine how to induce or prescribe change effectively and efficiently, and (e) determine, in each perceptual type of social system, what effect a change in one element or process will have upon other elements and processes, and whether such effects vary depending upon whether they are prescribed or induced.

Such testing is beyond the scope of this thesis, the purpose of which is to develop a frame of reference, not to prove its utility. However, the conceptualization may be subjected to limited tests of its face validity, i.e., to question whether it appears to permit (a) explanation, (b) analysis, and (c) prediction.

Explanation

Chapter I contains citations selected to illustrate the diversity of views regarding U.S. higher education. To be useful, the frame of reference furnished should provide a means for bringing order out of the apparent diversity reported.

The observations cited indicate that they are written by observers who view higher education from within and without, from above and below, i.e., observers whose reports demonstrate the variety of views which, according to the perceptual examination of social systems, is to be expected.

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For example, one writer is quoted as saying that state universities, because they are tax supported, should perform whatever tasks "the citizens desire and are willing to finance." This is a clear expression of a "view from above," as described earlier. On the other hand, a "view from below" is expressed in the statement that "there are few earthly things more splendid than a university" and "to be a member of one of these great societies must ever be a glad distinction."

The following statement expresses a view from within: "There are only three things wrong with higher education in America: first, our students; second, our alumni; and third, our faculties." An outside viewer would not be expected to differentiate so carefully segments of the membership of higher education, yet only two basic segments (i.e., administrators and trustees) are exempted from criticism in this statement. Thus, the statement would appear to have been made by a person <u>within</u> higher education, by an incumbent of a status-role "trustee" or "administrator." If folklore of higher education is correct, a trustee would scarcely have criticized the alumni so strongly as does the statement quoted, nor would a trustee have neglected to criticize administrators. If folklore is correct, however, an administrator (a) might well have criticized all groups named in the quotation, but (b) would have had no reason to criticize administrators, and

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(c) would not have thought it politic to speak disparagingly of trustees. All things considered, the "well-known educator" to whom the statement is attributed seems very likely to have been an administrator, perhaps a college president.

"I went to college for no purpose except the experience itself; it seemed to me then--and has ever since--an adequate objective," states one observer. The observer clearly has been within higher education, but his "accepting" statement typifies neither the view from above nor that from below.

The following statement reflects a view from within: "If a college cannot serve a student intellectually it cannot serve him at all. There are better rest homes and recreation centers elsewhere; an institution of higher education has no obligation to substitute for either." Views from without are reflected in the popular belief that "to attend college improves earning power and raises social status," in the observation that ". . . now society expects everyone with ability to go (to college), and it expects colleges to prepare them for a very wide variety of occupations and professions," and in "society's belief that higher education 'pays' in a great variety of ways."

Analysis

Within the framework presented, a social system may be categorized in terms of the perceptual typology. The

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typology is based upon a self-and-other relation. In speaking of "higher education in the United States" as a social system, the significant "others" of reference are (a) other major social systems within U. S. society (e.g., government, commerce, labor, religion, industry, etc.) and (b) other national social systems of higher education (e.g., higher education in the U.S.S.R.). Of these, the most significant others are parallel systems within U. S. society. With the notable exception currently of higher education in the U.S.S.R., comparable national systems of higher education are perceptually too remote to affect greatly the social action of higher education in the United States.

In speaking of a single institution (e.g., a university or a self-contained college) as a subsystem of higher education, the significant others include (a) comparable institutions, (b) the community in which the institution is located, (c) other subsystems of U. S. higher education (e.g., foundations, accrediting bodies), and (d) other major systems outside higher education (e.g., government, a parent church, etc.). If Riesman's observation that there is an "academic procession" is correct, each institution normally has as referents at least two differentiated and highly significant others within higher education: (a) the institution it perceives as its style leader and (b) the institution it perceives to be just behind in the

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procession. (Two exceptions might be the "Harvards" at the head of the procession, perceiving only followers, and the "marginal" colleges at the tail of the procession, presumably perceiving only leaders.)

Inasmuch as a single institution perceives various significant other social systems or subsystems, it very well might be ++ with reference to some, +- with reference to others, etc. For example, the attitude of an institution might well be -+ with reference to its style leader, but +- with reference to its follower. The categorization of an institution as to perceptual type, however, would not be based upon its attitude vis-à-vis a particularized other, but rather upon its posture vis-à-vis a generalized other that is an amalgam of the "others" enumerated in the preceding paragraph.

Subsystems within an institution also have several significant others. For example, an academic department within a college may perceive as significant others (a) remaining departments within the college, (b) comparable departments in other institutions, and (c) professional constituencies outside higher education. Similarly, a college within a multi-college university may perceive as significant others (a) sister colleges within the university, (b) comparable colleges in other universities, (c) comparable but self-contained colleges, and (d) professional constituencies outside higher

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education. To study the social action of a department within its college, the most fruitful basis for categorizing it as to perceptual type is the self-other relation between departments of the college. In order to study the social action of a college within its university, the self-other relation between colleges of the university is crucial.

The social action of a department results from individual behavior of its members. Each member may perceive various significant others, e.g., fellow members, counterparts in other institutions, etc. In order to study the social action of a department, however, the self-other relation among its members is crucial.

Thus, there are several strata of social units subject to study: (a) individual; (b) department; (c) college within a university; (d) institution, i.e., multi-college university or self-contained college; and (e) higher education in the United States.

A major question involved in analysis concerns the perceptual type of social unit that emerges from combinations of sub-units. Beginning at the lowest strata, the question is to determine to which perceptual type of social subsystem a department will correspond if its members are all ++ persons, etc., or if its membership includes varying proportions of each personality type. At the next level, given departments of

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known types, the question is the perceptual type of college that will emerge. At the next level, the question concerns the type of university that will emerge from a given combination of colleges. Finally, given institutions of various types, the question involved is the perceptual type of social system that may be expected in "higher education in the United States."

Individuals and Departments

Given a membership composed of self-actualizing, accepting ++ persons, it is hypothesized that social units created through their interaction will prove to be self-maximizing ++ systems, i.e., ++ departments within ++ colleges within a ++ university.

Given a membership composed of +- members, it is hypothesized that social units created through their interaction usually will prove to be self-minimizing -+ departments. Because +- persons are not accepting of each other, they are unlikely to reach agreements on matters of importance, and unlikely to comprise an effective social unit. An exception to this general prediction would occur if the +- members chance to be like-minded, in which case their department would be +-.

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usually will prove to be self-perpetuating +- departments. Because -+ persons are more accepting of others than of self, they are very likely to develop satisfying affective relations, likely to reach agreement on matters of importance, likely to perceive their department as "good" but other departments as somewhat threatening and therefore less good or less worthy, and, as a department, likely to become segregated if not isolated. The personality type represented by the department head may strongly influence a department composed of -+ members, producing an alternative outcome.

Given a membership composed of self-less apathetic -- members, it is hypothesized that social units created through their interaction will prove to be self-less apathetic -- departments. Because -- persons are accepting neither of self nor of others, they are unlikely to develop satisfying affective relations, unlikely to reach agreements, unlikely to perceive either their own or other departments as "good," and, as a department, likely to become isolated from others.

Given a membership composed of a combination of personality types, a department may prove to be of one perceptual type or another depending upon: (a) the proportion of the membership represented by each personality type, (b) the personality type represented by the departmental chairman, and (c) the degree of congruence among individual perceptions.

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Acknowledging the broad range of differences among departments, the current literature seems to suggest that the modal pattern among academic departments in higher education is that of the self-perpetuating +- social unit. Departments appear to be imperialists when given the opportunity, isolationists when deprived of that opportunity. Each department appears constrained to demonstrate its own superiority to sister departments within a college and to support the view that its discipline is somehow superior to those of its neighbors.[1]

Colleges

Many colleges are sufficiently small that they are not compartmentalized into departments. For practical purposes, the one social unit created through the interaction among college members is the college itself. The hypotheses offered in the discussion of departments, above, are applicable to these colleges.

Examples of all four perceptual types are to be found among these colleges. Individual institutions would appear to be +- or -- institutions if judged by the statement (quoted in

[1]See for example David Riesman, Constraint and Variety in American Education (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956), especially Part II. Calvin Stillman, "Academic Imperialism and Its Resolution: The Case of Economics and Anthropology," American Scientist, Vol. 43 (1955), pp. 77-88.

Chapter I)

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Chapter I) that "a college or university is so bound by its traditions and by the influences impinging upon it that even moderate changes in policy are difficult to make." Some colleges would appear to be -- systems if judged by the statement regarding "marginal colleges" which do not disappear only because of "local vested interests, misguided philanthropy, or political maneuvering." The modal pattern among such colleges appears to be that of the +- social unit.[2]

Departments and Colleges

Given a college composed of self-maximizing ++ departments, it is hypothesized that the college will also prove to be a ++ social unit. Given a college composed of self-perpetuating +- departments, it is hypothesized that the college will be a self-minimizing -+ social unit. Given a college composed of self-minimizing -+ departments, it is hypothesized that the college will be a self-perpetuating +- social unit. Given a cluster of apathetic -- departments, it is hypothesized that the resulting college will also be an apathetic -- social unit. The logic of these hypotheses follows that expressed above in the discussion of "Individuals and Departments." These hypotheses apply particularly to multi-department colleges that are not part of a larger university. Mutually +- departments will not find a satisfactory basis for agreement

[2] Ibid.

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on basic principle, general objectives, etc., and will comprise a -+ college. Mutually -+ departments, highly accepting of each other, will find a way to common ground and comprise a +- college, although the personality type of the college president or other control agent may produce an alternative outcome.

Within a multi-college university, the situation is somewhat complicated by the presence of two strata of subsystems, i.e., colleges within the university and departments within the colleges. In this circumstance, all but one of the hypotheses stated above will usually hold. That is, (a) ++ departments will produce a ++ college, (b) -+ departments will produce a +- college, and (c) -- departments will produce a -- college. The case of the +- departments is less predictable: (1) if +- departments are less accepting of the remainder of the university than of each other, they may find common cause and their college may be a +- or even ++ social unit, but (2) if this is not the case, their college will be a -+ social unit.

Colleges and Universities

Given a university composed of self-maximizing ++ colleges, it is hypothesized that the university will prove to be a ++ social unit. Given +- colleges, a -+ university is hypothesized. Given -+ colleges, a +- university is hypothesized. Given -- colleges, a -- university is hypothesized.

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The modal pattern of departments is judged to be +-. A combination of +- departments should produce a -+ college. A combination of -+ colleges should produce a +- university, i.e., the modal pattern for universities should logically be that of the self-perpetuating +- social system, and the typical university would be the university "behind the ivory curtain."

Higher Education in the United States

If U. S. higher education were composed of self-maximizing ++ institutions, according to the relationships hypothesized, it would constitute a self-maximizing ++ social system within U. S. society. If composed of -+ institutions, it would be expected to constitute a +- social system. If composed of -- institutions, it would be expected to constitute a -- social system. However, if higher education in the United States is composed of +- colleges and universities, it would be expected to constitute a -+ social system. The preceding discussion indicates that U.S. higher education is so composed and that it does constitute such a social system.

The observers cited in Chapter I reveal in their statements their judgments regarding both the ideal and the actual status of U. S. higher education in this regard.

In terms of what "ought to be," there is substantial agreement among the observers; U. S. higher education ought to be a self-maximizing ++ social system within society. Its task, says one observer, "is to define democratic culture in

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some fashion which will both reserve a place for uncommon excellence and, even in connection with the largest masses, emphasize the highest rather than the lowest common denominator." As another says, "education in a democracy is a form of statesmanship which seeks a wise middle course between participation and isolation."

Furthermore, the observers seem to agree that colleges and universities should be self-maximizing ++ social units. One observer is displeased that those who go to school "in order to increase their money-making capacity" should possess the power to "irresistably mold the educational standards of the institution they attend." An observer objects to what he perceives as the fact that higher education is "not a public service, but an instrument of social privilege" employed to "keep America capitalist." Another objects to what he perceives as the fact that some professors ask "What do most students want?" instead of "What would a good education consist of?" The opinion is suggested that higher education should not be "too responsive to the needs of society."

Judgments regarding actual practice are implicit in such commentaries. The comments imply that institutions of higher education follow the lead provided by their clientele, that U. S. higher education serves as an instrument for perpetuating specified beliefs prized by others, etc. These comments would describe a self-minimizing -+ social system highly

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It seems to me that David Riesman's description expresses the majority view in his observation that, "American higher education seems to me directionless at the head of the procession as far as major innovations are concerned, in rapid if sometimes contradictory motion in the middle, and lacking in much if any aliveness at the end."[3]

To say that U. S. higher education is a -+ social system means that it is -+ with reference to significant other social systems within society, e.g., government, commerce, labor, religion, the military, etc. This is to say that it is not a self-maximizing social system, but rather that as a system it follows the lead signalled by other systems or obeys the dictates of other systems. This is to say that it lacks satisfying goals of its own (or that it subverts its own ends) and effects systemic linkage in order to serve objectives of other systems.

Several clues tend to strengthen this view of U. S. higher education. One such clue lies in the area of research. Ever since the impact upon U. S. higher education of Scottish and especially of German universities, U. S. institutions have invested portions of their professional and material resources in research on the grounds that research is "good." In recent

[3]Riesman, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

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years, other major social systems in U. S. society (e.g., the military, industry, etc.) have chosen to lend substantial financial support to research in subject matter areas of their particular interest or concern. Much of that support has been provided to universities.

A self-maximizing ++ university can accept such financial support and use it in the specified areas, to conduct research that satisfies the university's own objectives yet meets the aims of the contributing social systems. At the same time, a self-maximizing university can continue to support research in those areas of study that are not beneficiaries of outside financing. In fact, a self-maximizing ++ university can capitalize its opportunity, utilizing the special financing to support virtually all the research being done in areas favored by outside social systems, while concentrating its own research funds in areas that the university itself deems important but which other social systems are not constrained to sponsor.

A self-minimizing -+ institution can be expected not to grasp opportunity in this fashion. Because significant other social systems prize specified areas of study, a -+ university also deems them of special importance. A -+ university then compounds the imbalance of research emphasis by concentrating its own resources on the very areas of study

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that are favored by outside social systems, other areas thereby being deprived of fiscal nourishment. A -+ university so acts because it is somewhat at sea, lacks a sense of its own direction and purpose, and grasps the opportunity to resolve its indecision by following the lead provided by an esteemed "other."

A self-perpetuating +- institution can be expected to pursue only those lines of research that are of interest to it, concentrating its own research resources in the chosen areas. If the interests of others happen to coincide with those of the institution, the +- institution will accept outside funds and apply them to the research. If the interests of others do not so coincide, the +- institution can be expected not to accept systemic linkage with those others, not to seek or to receive outside funds, and not to alter its own pursuits.

There are institutions of all types within U. S. higher education, and with respect to research, each of the above patterns of social action is followed by particular institutions. Current criticism, however, suggests that U. S. higher education as a whole is following the self-minimizing -+ pattern.

The same is suggested by observations regarding the high value placed by institutions of higher education upon good public relations, "good" being understood to emphasize

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mere amiability rather than mutual respect. Higher education seems hypersensitive to criticism and reluctant to have its members participate in public life on matters of professional concern and public controversy, preferring to follow rather than to lead.[4]

It is suggested above that higher education in the United States is (a) a -+ social system and (b) comprised of predominantly +- colleges and universities. One further clue may be noted in substantiation of both conclusions. It is provided by the social action of public colleges and universities within a single state. Such colleges and universities, the theory suggests, are mutually +-, i.e., each is accepting (or high-valuing) of self but rejecting (or low-valuing) of the others, hence they display strong boundary maintaining activity and an antipathy toward systemic linkage. Social action of these institutions supports the prediction to this effect generated out of the theory presented here. However, although they are mutually +-, such institutions now tend to relax boundary maintaining activity sufficiently to achieve at least token systemic linkage with each other, in the conviction that the state legislature or the state budget bureau

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[4]See for example Paul F. Lazarsfield and Wagner Thielens, Jr., with David Riesman, The Academic Mind (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958). Also, David Riesman, op. cit., especially Part III.

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think it appropriate.[5] In short, although they are +- institutions, together they constitute a -+ social system of higher education that follows the lead of a significant other.

Prediction

The worth of a theoretical conceptualization depends largely upon its usefulness in permitting prediction and control. Two questions are involved. First, there is the question whether it can be predicted, for each perceptual type of system, what effect a change in one element or process will have upon other elements and processes, and whether such effects can be predicted differently depending upon whether change is prescribed or induced. Second, there is the question whether it can be predicted how to achieve a desired outcome efficiently and effectively by prescribing or inducing change in one or more elements and processes.

It is my judgment that the theory herein presented lends itself to prediction. Predictions of this nature appear earlier in this thesis, e.g., in the discussion of prescribed and induced change.

It should be noted first that the Loomis model attempts to isolate nine elements, thirteen elemental processes, six comprehensive or master processes, and three conditions of

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[5] See for example Lyman Glenny, The Autonomy of Public Colleges (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959).

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social action, all of which are in one fashion or another articulated within a given social system. Interplay among these ingredients is constant, for the system is dynamic, and even to maintain the status quo requires perpetual change through adjustment.

The basic prediction may be made that a change introduced in any element or process of the system will cause change in all aspects of the system. (This is tautological in a sense, for the idea of a dynamic system means constant change. In this respect, a social system is a different system at each new point in time.)

A second general prediction may be made to the effect that the deliberate introduction of change will have unintended consequences in addition to or in lieu of the intended consequences, e.g., creating a new status-role with the purpose of improving communications will (whether or not it does indeed affect communications) have an effect upon ranking.

Certain elements and processes appear to be especially critical to the integration of a system, hence particularly critical to prediction and control. In the following discussion, particular attention is focused upon those elements and processes that appear to comprise the prime forces by which a social system may be controlled. Among these are: sentiment and its related processes, tension management and communication

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of sentiment; communication; power and its related processes, decision making and initiation of action; boundary maintenance; systemic linkage; and utilization of facilities. For purposes of this discussion, the value judgment is also made that the desideratum is a self-maximizing ++ social system, whether at the departmental, college, university, or "higher education in the United States" level.

Control from Above

Conceiving of administration as control of an enterprise, administration is in part a process by which decision-makers above exercise controls that will evoke specified social action from social units below in the hierarchy. This is one manner in which changes are introduced into social systems. The following paragraphs offer predictions based on the theoretical framework herein presented, regarding the purposeful introduction of change by action from above.

1. Change can be brought about effectively through exercise of the process "communication of sentiment." Sentiment can be communicated explicitly or more subtly by indirection. "Good" behavior can be brought about by communicating the sentiment that specified behavior <u>is</u> good and by rewarding those who display it. A self-minimizing department can be built into a self-maximizing department through time by (a) communicating to it sentiment regarding that which is deemed

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ood, (b) applauding the department's decisions which reflect
ne desired sentiment, (c) allowing the department itself to
rive at the desired decision, (d) providing to the depart-
nt the facilities it must utilize for initiating action that
rresponds to the decision, and (e) communicating to other
partments the factual news that the department of _____
s done such-and-such noteworthy deed.

2. Change can be brought about by achieving systemic
nkage. Mutually antagonistic self-perpetuating departments
ll, if left to their own devices, engage in strong boundary
intaining activities designed to impede linkage. Linkage
n be prescribed in various manners, e.g., require members
the departments involved to serve on a committee and specify
date for completion of tasks assigned them, or e.g., require
bers of the departments to design a common course. The
rd "require" is used advisedly. Faculty members are presumed
to be stupid or blind. If required to establish systemic
kage, they are presumed capable of doing so without undue
uma. If steps are taken to ensure continuation and ampli-
ation of such linkage, if the interdepartmental relations
ve not to be fatal to either party, and especially if such
ations are arranged to prove enhancing of the parties in-
ved, the departments may be presumed to consist of members
ficiently perceptive that they will relax their boundary
ntaining activity and accept the linkage established.

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3. Change can be brought about through the process allocation of actors." A -+ department can be changed by ppointing a ++ person to the high ranked position of depart-ental chairman.

4. Change can be effected by an alteration in the distri-ution of power. If the departments of a college are +-, utually antagonistic, and relatively segregated one from the ther, and if the power within the college is diffused among s component departments, a realignment of power can through me bring about change in the departments. For example, if ch such +- department controls its own finances, the isola-on of the departments can be minimized by granting a veto wer to the office of the dean, by making lump sum appropri-ions to the college and requiring the dean to allocate the sources, by assigning power over facilities and their utili-tion to the dean rather than to the departmental chairmen, c. Artful use by the dean of such increased power can ange the departments' actions. If, on the other hand, partments are -+ and dependent upon the dean for all things, departments may be strengthened and guided toward ++ tus by transferring increased power to them and (as noted ve) communicating to them sentiment regarding expectations to the use of power, etc.

5. Change can be effected by adjustment of status-roles.

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An indecisive -+ department can be moved toward the ++ condition by so redefining status-roles as to minimize the choices available regarding possible courses of action. In the case of a +- department, the difficulty is not its indecision but rather its rigidity; it can be moved toward the ++ condition by so redefining status-roles as to require courses of action which represent departures from usual practice.

6. Change can be brought about through adjustments in the utilization of facilities. For example, assume that a +- department uses large-group instruction in preference to other teaching methods; if it is desired to alter that practice, the department can be assigned several seminar-type rooms that create a situation in which large-group procedures are inappropriate, uncomfortable, and unlikely. If a +- department concentrates heavily on its pure research to the neglect of other scholarly duties, the department's social action can be changed by reducing the space and related facilities made available to it.

7. Assuming a department to be an apathetic subsystem, a number of courses of action are possible by which to begin the process of changing it. An influx of new blood may be achieved by changing the allocation of actors to status-roles. A non-threatening -+ person may be assigned as departmental chairman. Rejecting of self but accepting of others, his

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effect upon the department should be that of building the department's self-esteem and its regard for other departments, because he would tend to communicate the sentiment that his department and other departments are worthy. In the status-role departmental chairman, he would seek systemic linkage, thus tending to shatter the isolation of the department. Linkage could be arranged with a ++ department; it would be accepting of and therefore relatively non-threatening to the -- unit, and it would provide a relatively firm set of goals that the -- department might be led to adopt as its own. The effect of such actions would be to move the -- department toward ++ status, probably in stages that would carry it first to -+ and later to ++.

9. Acquisition of adequate facilities is crucial to an institution. Maintenance of systemic linkage is crucial to acquiring facilities. An institution that is undernourished financially but has a well-defined propensity toward enhancement can increase its facilities without sacrificing its integrity through achievement of systemic linkage with sources of support. Its own goals clearly in mind, it must learn the goals of the systems that are potential sources of support, devise plans that can satisfy both parties' interests, and play a ++ role in seeking to achieve systemic linkage (i.e., behave not as a supplicant seeking charity, but as one does

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Change Initiated Below

Change is initiated within a social system by action of members well down the hierarchy as well as by authority figures. The question whether institutionalized power (authority) resides in a given status-role is not a determining factor. An authority figure above may perceive the need for change in the social action of units below and take steps, as indicated in the preceding section, to initiate change. A member of a department also may perceive the need for change, e.g., in social action of the department, status-role performance by the authority figure, etc. A member of a department then may also take steps to initiate the change he deems desirable. Similarly, a department may initiate changes in its college, or a college in its university.

The examples in the preceding section involve action by a university (i.e., central administration thereof) calculated to effect change in a college, or action by a college (i.e., the dean thereof) to effect change in a department. The

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examples involve the exercise of power by a hierarchically superior unit over a subordinate unit.

In response to the superior's actions, a subordinate unit has a number of ploys at its command with which to attempt to counter the intended change. A department may, for example, bypass the chain of command and utilize informal channels of communication. It may induce authority figures at the university level to bring pressures to bear upon the college, fighting fire with fire, in the hope that the need to deal with the new pressure from above will induce the college to desist in its efforts to impose change upon the department.

Examples utilized to this point in the thesis tend to imply that the ability to perceive the need for change is exclusively an attribute of the superordinate member of a social unit and that the subordinate is always the target of change. However, the implication is unintended. An equally plausible situation is one in which a self-maximizing ++ department finds itself stymied by inaction or improper action (as the department sees it) at higher levels.

Change may be initiated from below by communicating a sentiment. It may be initiated by the adoption of a new norm and its institutionalization by members. It may be initiated merely by bringing new knowledge to the attention of authority figures.

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Diversity of Perception

The views from above and below differ, and the differences lead to attempts to initiate change by various maneuvers discussed in the two preceding sections. The dean of a college, for example, is required by the nature of his status-role to view the college, its departments, and the university. His view of the college provides a perspective in which teaching, research, service, space, money, equipment, and other matters enter consistently into figure. The member of a department may be unaware of many factors perceived by the dean. On the other hand, the member currently engaged in a particular task sees that task and related possibilities in great detail, whereas the dean may be unaware of factors perceived by the member. Even if both individuals involved are self-actualizing, self-and-other-accepting ++ persons, the result of their differing perceptions may be extreme tension between them. They may become mutually +- with respect to each other.

For example, assume that the member of the department is greatly enthused by possibilities he perceives in his current research. He requests added support, which is declined or deferred. He is enthused and concentrates rather single-mindedly upon the research. In a sense he is +- with respect to the research, i.e., he values the research very highly and other things lowly. The dean, on the other hand, under pressure

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of repeated requests that he support a project the virtues of which are as yet outside his perceptual field and unknown to him, may become rather -+ with regard to the research, i.e., he does not value the project highly in comparison to other problems he perceives.

The difficulties implicit in a situation of this sort stem from the fact that the individuals' perceptual fields are not sufficiently congruent, i.e., their limited overlap forms a version of social reality that is not satisfying. The problem then is to find a means of mediating differences in perception. The perceptual field of a department head, a research coordinator, or an assistant to the dean can be expected (a) to overlap more fully with the perceptual field of the dean than does that of the professor and (b) to overlap more fully with the perceptual field of the professor than does that of the dean. The linkage between dean and professor can be achieved by action of such an intermediary. This suggests that the establishment of "good" communications within a social system does not merely require the establishment of formal "channels." It also requires the establishment of an unbroken chain of individual perceptual fields such that linkage exists between all the extremes of perception held by members of the system.

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Conclusion

The preceding sections demonstrate that the theoretical frame of reference set forth in this thesis provides a means by which to explain, analyze, and predict phenomena within higher education in the United States. It accommodates the variety that exists in U. S. higher education. It accommodates the necessarily personal reports by diverse individuals regarding higher education. It does constitute a consistent "objective" frame of references by means of which to conceptualize higher education in the United States and in terms of which to collate diverse views regarding that phenomenon, hence achieves the task established at the outset of this thesis.

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APPENDIX A

ASPECTS OF PERCEPTUAL THEORY

Perceptual theory regarding human behavior derives from the phenomenological approach to the study of behavior. This approach may be contrasted with an objective approach. Using an objective approach, one observes behavior from the outside in order to record those aspects of behavior that can be measured in quantitative objective terms or units. Using the phenomenological approach, one observes behavior from the inside, i.e., from the point of view of the individual who is behaving.[1] Reliance upon the objective approach permits an observer to predict that a specified percentage of people will behave in a specified manner in a specified situation, i.e., to develop a probability statement for individual behavior based upon observation of groups. The observer who relies upon the phenomenological approach attempts to view the situation from the point of view of a particular individual in order to predict what that individual will do in a given situation; the observer thus relies upon an "internal" rather than an "external" approach to the study of individual behavior.[2]

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[1] Donald Snygg and Arthur W. Combs, Individual Behavior (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), p. 335.

[2] Ibid., pp. 3-9.

The Perceptual Field

Use of the term "phenomenological" arises out of the concept of the "phenomenal field" of the individual human organism. The phenomenal field has been defined as "the entire universe, including himself, as it is experienced by the individual at the instant of action."[3] Snygg and Combs describe the phenomenal field further as the universe of naive experience in which each individual lives, the everyday situation of self and surroundings which each person takes to be reality.[4] Other scholars have used various terms to describe a similar or essentially the same concept. Koffka, in Principles of Gestalt Psychology, uses the term "behavioral field." Kurt Lewin, in A Dynamic Theory of Personality, writes of the "individual's life space." Lazarsfeld and Thielens refer to "the effective scope of a man's world" a phrase which nicely expresses the concept; "What we call the effective scope of a man's world characterizes, thus, what he perceives, what he has contact with, and what he reaches for through his interest or his expectations."[5] In this sense, one man's world is not identical to another's. As Sapir notes, "The dairy-man, the movie

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[3] Ibid., p. 15.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr. with David Riesman, The Academic Mind (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), p. 264.

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[7] Ibid., p

[8] Snygg an

actress, the laboratory physicist, the party whip, have obviously built up worlds which are anonymous or opaque to each other . . . ."[6] Sapir observes that some elements of culture are central and very real to an individual, some are totally unreal, and some constitute what he terms "marginal cultural property"; thus "a 'hard-headed businessman' may consign the movie actress and the physicist to two adjoining sectors, 'lively' and 'sleepy' respectively, of a marginal tract of 'triviality.'"[7]

Perceptual theory holds that reality for an individual is what that individual perceives reality to be, and that an individual acts in a manner consistent with that perception. "All behavior, without exception, is completely determined by and pertinent to the phenomenal field of the behaving organism."[8] Thus, perceptual theory accepts the concept that awareness is a cause of behavior. It holds that perception, and therefore behavior, is affected by the individual's physiology, values, beliefs, and needs. It holds that an individual's perception is dependent upon opportunity. It holds that each individual's phenomenal field, perceptual field, or "the effective scope of his world," is unique to him, and that from

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[6] Edward Sapir, Culture, Language and Personality, edited by David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), p. 155.

[7] Ibid., p. 157.

[8] Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 15.

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his point of view at any instant "his behavior is purposeful, relevant, and pertinent to the situation as he understands it."[9]

Perceptual theory, following such Gestalt psychologists as Koffka and Goldstein, holds that the phenomenal field is a unified field which includes all the universe of which an individual is aware, and that the level of awareness shifts from time to time regarding a given element of that universe. Perceptual theory does not make a distinction between consciousness and unconsciousness as two separate fields. It does, however, distinguish between those aspects of one's universe of which one is highly aware at a given moment and those aspects of his universe of which one is scarcely conscious. Perceptual theorists refer to the perceptual field as being composed of "figure" and "ground," figure referring to those aspects of the field of which one is highly aware at a given moment and ground referring to those peripheral or background aspects of which one is only vaguely aware at that moment. The highly conscious aspects of behavior are thought of as corresponding to figure and the vague or fuzzy aspects of behavior are thought of as corresponding to ground.[10] The figure may be thought of as the focus of the behaver's field. That which is in figure at a given moment is highly differentiated, i.e.,

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[9] Ibid., p. 13.

[10] Ibid., p. 17.

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the behaver is highly aware of its details. That which is in ground at the same moment is blurred. The entire perceptual field, the behaver's universe, includes past, present, and future as he has experienced or as he infers them.

Perceptual theory holds that the individual is himself within the effective scope of his world, i.e., that he is aware of himself, and that he therefore perceives himself in a manner uniquely his just as he perceives the remainder of his universe in a manner uniquely his. Reality for an individual is what that individual perceives reality to be. The individual has a concept of self or of self-organization, a perception of himself as a part of reality; this is termed his concept of actual self (also concept of the phenomenal self or actual self concept). The individual acts in a manner consistent with that actual self concept, it is held, because it is postulated that all behavior is consistent with, pertinent to, and determined by the perceptual field, of which the self concept is a part.

Perceptual theory holds that individual behavior is predictable. Its predictability derives from the postulated relationship between the perceptual field and the behavior of an individual. If behavior is invariably consistent with the behaver's field, then the field may be understood or reconstructed from behavior; also, the behaver's future field and

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future behavior may be projected.[11] From the behaver's own point of view, his behavior may be perceived to be freely chosen. From the observer's point of view, however, the relationship postulated between field and behavior permits him to regard the behaver's future behavior as lawful and predictable. In order successfully to predict behavior, the observer must know what fields are alike, how fields change, and what the behavior has been of the individual being observed.

The process of change in an individual's perceptual field is held to be a process of differentiation, i.e., of recognizing or knowing differences, a process in which new segments of the field rise into figure and the individual's awareness of them becomes more detailed. The emergence of new segments into figure is accompanied by the lapse of others into the undifferentiated ground. Since that which is in figure is of greatest significance in determining behavior, change in brought about by differentiation.[12]

Differentiation is held to be an aspect of a process carried on by an individual for the satisfaction of his need.[13] The basic human need is held to be "the preservation and enhancement of the phenomenal self (emphasis supplied)."

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[11] Ibid., p. 21.

[12] Ibid., pp. 29, 51.

[13] Ibid.

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The phenomenal self is defined as including "all those parts of the phenomenal field which the individual experiences as part or characteristic of himself."[14]

Self Concepts

The phenomenal self is part of the individual's reality or perceptual field. His prime need is held to be the maintenance or enhancement of self. Behavior is held to be meaningful in that an individual behaves in manners calculated to satisfy his needs, primary among which is the need to protect, fortify, preserve, or enhance his actual self concept. He is held to differentiate those aspects of his perceptual field which from his point of view will help satisfy that basic need; hence, change is held to be derived from differentiation.

That which is differentiated or "in figure" may be perceived to be more or less enhancing of the self; it may, alternatively, be perceived as an object which, to a greater or lesser extent, threatens to damage the self. That which is differentiated may, therefore, either (a) bring about the reinforcement of a given pattern of behavior, (b) constrain or inhibit a given pattern of behavior, or (c) conduce to the adoption of new patterns of behavior. If the object differentiated is perceived as threatening, behavior is directed away from it or behavior is adopted which is calculated to avoid it. If the object

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[14] Ibid., p. 58.

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differentiated is perceived as neutral or as enhancing of self, behavior is directed toward it.

According to Snygg and Combs, the more clearly an object is perceived to be either threatening or enhancing, the greater becomes the portion of "figure" occupied by it; that is, the figure of the perceptual field narrows to include that object, and other objects drop into undifferentiated ground. Furthermore, according to Snygg and Combs, the more immediate the threat or the opportunity for self-enhancement which an object in figure is perceived to constitute, the more completely it monopolizes figure and the greater will be the ensuing expenditure of energy in purposive behavior.[15]

The phenomenal self has been defined as those parts of the perceptual field which the individual experiences as part or characteristic of himself. The actual self concept is defined by Snygg and Combs as follows: "The self-concept includes those parts of the phenomenal field which the individual has differentiated as definite and fairly stable characteristics of himself (emphasis supplied)."[16] The individual is conceived of as being both subject and object, perceiver and perceived. The individual is part of his own perceptual field, and the actual self concept is his perception of himself, or "the

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[15] Ibid., p. 111.

[16] Ibid., p. 112.

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individual as known to the individual."[17] The origins of self-perception are social, in that when the individual stands back to look at himself, so to speak, he perceives himself in terms of standard frames of references derived from his culture, from his society. To use the figure-ground concept, when he looks at himself, the self becomes figure and the remainder of his perceptual field is ground. As figure, the self is a valued thing and other things are seen as means to its maintenance and enhancement, the goal toward which behavior is directed. When another value or goal enters into figure, the self as part of the ground is a means to attainment of the goal.[18]

The individual has several concepts of self in addition to that of actual self. This follows from the postulate that the individual behaves in manners calculated to maintain or to enhance the self. The actual self concept is the individual's perception of the self as it is. A need to enhance the self implies that the individual holds certain values, beliefs, and goals which furnish a perception of what enhancement involves or of the manner and direction in which the self must be changed in order to be enhanced. The individual has a perception, then, of an ideal self concept, a perception of himself

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[17] Gardner Murphy, in Personality, quoted by T. M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: Dryden Press, 1950), p. 312.

[18] Newcomb, op. cit., p. 320.

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as he would aspire to be if his idealizations could be fulfilled; Karen Horney terms this wishful self-picture the "idealized image."[19]

The gaps between the actual and ideal self concepts are the measure of an individual's aspirations. According to perceptual theory, the individual behavior is held to be motivated by the need to maintain and to enhance the self in accordance with the self concepts; the discrepancy between his perception of actual self and his perception of ideal self represents his desire for self-enhancement and indicates the direction of change which he would perceive as enhancing.

Propensity to Change

Perceptual theory holds that this apparent need for change, this perceived discrepancy between actual and ideal self concepts, is the source of what may be termed psychological energy that may be expanded in behavior designed to narrow the gap. It reflects a propensity of the individual, a persistent and directional tendency, to respond in characteristic ways to a given situation. It represents an attitude toward change; the extent of the discrepancy affects the intensity of the perceived need to change; the nature of the ideal self concept determines the direction of change that is perceived to be desirable or acceptable. The existence of this propensity does not guarantee that change will take place. It does, however,

[19]Quoted in Newcomb, Social Psychology, p. 386.

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indicate that under favorable circumstances change can take place because the energy is available with which to effect it. The individual is motivated toward self-enhancement (also termed self-realization, -attainment, or -actualization), motivated, that is, to make the fullest and best use of his capacities in accordance with his idealizations. He may or may not be able to pursue his propensity, i.e., actively to undertake behavior designed to enhance the self. For example, if he is aware of threat--of menace to his phenomenal self--he may be limited to maintenance behavior and be unable to undertake self-actualizing behavior.[20] Should he be unable to differentiate the source of the awareness of threat, he will be unable satisfactorily to deal with it and thus will be obliged to limit himself to maintenance behavior for considerable periods of time. Satisfaction of his need in this situation requires the resolution of the threat. If his perception is not adequate to the task, he cannot resolve the threat. The inadequacy of perception may stem from physiological difficulties of the human organism, from lack of time, from environmental difficulties, from psychological difficulties, etc.

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[20] Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 118.

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"Adequacy" of Perceptions and of Self Concepts

As postulated above, perceptual theory holds that reality for the individual is what that individual perceives reality to be. This does not mean that his perception of reality is good or bad, accurate or inaccurate, adequate or inadequate, right or wrong. Whatever the quality of his perception, the individual will behave in a manner he perceives to be consistent with his self concept. The adequacy and accuracy of his perception are separate considerations.

An individual strives to satisfy his needs, and the primary need is held to be the maintenance or enhancement of self. Behavior which satisfies need is said to be adequate. Perceptions which lead to adequate behavior are said to be adequate perceptions.[21] If an individual is unable to differentiate a threat of which he is aware, for example, his perception is said to be inadequate. If his behavior does not resolve the threat, that behavior too is said to be inadequate. Adequacy or inadequacy, therefore, are adjectival terms applied to the individual's differentiation or perception in a given situation, not to the absolute quality of his version of reality.

As Newcomb says, "The problem of what is and what is not objectively real is a metaphysical one, which no amount of

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[21] Ibid., pp. 119, 127.

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scientific evidence will ever solve."[22] The correctness of an individual's perception of reality is not subject to proof, except perhaps for the "proof" provided by comparing it against the "social reality" defined by the overlapping of perceptual fields of different people, the perceptions most people seem to hold in common.[23] The accuracy of perception is regularly tested against social reality as an individual behaves in a manner consistent with his own perception of reality. If he perceives himself to be especially lucky, he may be very inclined to gamble, for example, and if he perceives himself to be an exceptionally good boxer, he may be inclined to fight. That is, his behavior will be consistent with the characteristic way he has of perceiving himself. If he persists in his behavior, and if his perception is not congruent with reality socially defined, he may shortly find himself penniless and with cauliflowered ears, an eventuality the effect of which should be a revision in his perception of reality and in his subsequent behavior. If he manages to achieve a higher level of differentiation in accordance with the evidence of his experiences, he will forestall additional disaster, but if he is incapable of heightening his awareness of pertinent detail

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[22] Newcomb, op. cit., p. 628.

[23] Robert E. Bills, "About People and Teaching," The Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, Vol. 28 (December, 1955), p. 13n.

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Scholars such as Linton[24] have described the manner in which culture contributes to the molding of personality and to the acquisition by an individual of beliefs, values, and goals. When the individual looks at himself and develops a self concept, he inevitably sees himself through the social frame of reference derived from his culture and subcultures, including, and perhaps especially, the subculture of his family. "Out of the interaction of the child with the world about him, the individual comes to differentiate more and more clearly his phenomenal self."[25] Seeing himself in terms of his experience and of his culture, the individual develops a set of meanings about himself and his relation to the world. His concept of the phenomenal self reflects the values he holds. He sees himself as honest or dishonest, strong or weak, handsome or ugly, for example, in terms of culturally derived values and in terms of the ways in which others treat him, i.e., in terms of a reality that is socially determined. The phenomenal self developed by the individual consists in some indeterminate measure of others' definition of him.

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[24] Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945).

[25] Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 83, cite Jean Piaget in support.

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According to Snygg and Combs, the phenomenal self becomes more or less permanently fixed due to (1) inertia, or the tendency of a self-organization once established to resist disruption, and (2) the fact that the self concept once established exercises great influence upon the interpretation and selection of subsequent perceptions or subsequent experiences.[26] This does not imply that subsequent change is impossible, but merely that it may be achieved only slowly and with some reluctance. Changes may occur when the individual perceives a difference between the demands of a situation and his phenomenal self--when he can see himself as others see him--and makes adjustments accordingly; it may also occur when the individual achieves a further differentiation of self and incorporates a new ingredient into the phenomenal self.[27]

There are three variations of the relationship between self concept and socially defined reality: (1) the self concept may be approximately congruent with external reality; (2) the self concept may be defined in terms of higher value than social reality would assign the individual; and (3) the self concept may be defined in terms of lower value than social reality would indicate as appropriate.[28] Just as perceptions

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[26] Snygg and Combs, op. cit., pp. 83-85.

[27] Ibid., pp. 92-95.

[28] Bills, op. cit., pp. 16-18; Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 102.

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and behaviors may be described as being relatively adequate or inadequate, self concepts may be so described and on the same basis. "An adequate phenomenal self is one which leads the individual to maximum need satisfaction."[29] Achievement of such a self depends upon the individual's ability to make differentiations of self and to perceive social reality as well.

"A phenomenal self is adequate in the degree to which it is capable of accepting into its organization any and all aspects of reality."[30] An individual free to make any and all differentiations and who has a phenomenal self adequate to accept them, say Snygg and Combs, is able to operate smoothly and with a minimum of threat to himself from society, and is able to accept such threats as do arise and to modify himself accordingly.[31]

Acceptance

The term "accepting" or "acceptance," as used in this context, requires emphasis. The term is used by Maslow in his discussions of the "self-actualizing" person. Acceptance refers to the ability of an individual to accept fact as fact, without chagrin, complaint, or anxiety. It is the ability to

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[29] Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 135.

[30] Ibid., p. 136.

[31] Ibid., pp. 138-39.

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"take the frailties and sins, weaknesses and evils of human nature in the same unquestioning spirit that one takes or accepts the characteristics of nature. One does not complain about water because it is wet, or about rocks because they are hard, or about trees because they are green. As the child looks out upon the world with wide, uncritical, innocent eyes, simply noting and observing what is the case, without either arguing the matter or demanding that it be otherwise, so does the self-actualizing person look upon human nature in himself and in others."[32] Acceptance is the ability and willingness to see things as they are, forthrightly, frankly, baldly, without defensiveness or artificiality.

Moreover, with regard to perceptions of self and others, Maslow attributes an element of value or attitude to his use of the term acceptance. His "self-actualizing" people are able to "accept" themselves and others on all levels: the relatively low, physiological level, as good and lusty animals; and on the levels of "love, safety, belongingness, honor, self-respect. All of these are accepted without question as worth while simply because they are part of human nature, and because these people are inclined to accept the work of nature rather than to argue with her for not having constructed things to a

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[32] A. H. Maslow, "Self-Actualizing People: A Study of Psychological Health," in Clark E. Moustakas (ed.), The Self (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), pp. 160-94 at 168.

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different pattern."[33] Thus "acceptance" does not merely denote undistorted perceptions; it also connotes the attribution of worthiness to that which is seen in self and in others.

The accepting person is therefore likely to have an "adequate" self concept, using Snygg and Combs' terminology, because he can accept into his self-organization any and all aspects of reality and because he is free to make differentiations of self and to perceive social reality. The accepting person believes himself to be worth while and to have dignity, integrity, and worth, but can examine and accept all the evidence of his experiences, neither ignoring failure nor refusing to recognize success, without destroying his sensitivity to either his own needs or the needs of other people.[34]

By the same token, a rejecting person is one who cannot thus accept any and all aspects of reality into his self-organization and who cannot thus make differentiations of self or perceive social reality. An individual may define his self concept in terms of lower value than social reality would indicate as appropriate. Such a person consistently overvalues his own worth and accepts only such evidence as confirms his own excessively high self-assessment. He is likely to insist on doing things he cannot do well, to insist on

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[33] Ibid., p. 169.

[34] Bills, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

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35 Ibid.

attempting that for which he is not prepared, and to insist that he has succeeded even in the face of failure.[35]

Perceptual theory holds that the prime human need is that of maintaining or enhancing the self. The individual is motivated toward self-enhancement, to make the fullest and best use of his capacities in accordance with his idealizations. He has a propensity to change, and he possesses the psychological energy with which to undertake behavior calculated to achieve change. He is potentially capable of initiating behavior that will achieve self-actualization. The extent to which he is an accepting individual greatly influences the extent to which that potential can be released. An accepting person is the most likely to develop an adequate self concept; by definition, he is a person who deems that self concept as being basically worthy, who sees others also as being worthy, who can perceive and accept social reality, and who is free to make differentiations regarding the self. An accepting person is therefore the most likely to become a self-actualizing person, to pursue and to make effective his propensity to change. Whether he assigns excessively high or excessively low values to his self concept, a rejecting person is unlikely to define an adequate self concept and therefore unlikely to be able to initiate behavior that will permit self-realization or self-enhancement.

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[35] Ibid.

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The measure of high or low acceptance of self reflects the degree to which persons perceive themselves to be worthy. The degree of worth can only be expressed with reference to some standard. The standard against which persons measure the worth of their self concepts is their own perception of the worth of others. If they accept the worth of others, they may be approximately equally accepting of self, overvaluing (or over-accepting) of self, or undervaluing of self. If they reject the worth of others, they may be rejecting of self also or they may be accepting of self.

Those who are accepting of both self and others are most likely to define adequate self concepts. They attribute worth, dignity, and integrity to themselves and to others. Furthermore, they attribute similar beliefs to others, i.e., they assume that others (e.g., peers) likewise attribute worth, dignity, and integrity both to themselves and to others. In this sense, they believe themselves to be similar to others.[36]

A Perceptual Typology of Personalities

Robert E. Bills has developed a perceptual typology of individual personalities. It is based upon individuals' acceptance of self and of others, and classifies individuals into four categories on the basis of the estimates of

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[36] Ibid., p. 20.

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38 Ibid.

acceptance.[37] Bills' four categories are described below. Also described are the personality characteristics he reports as typical of persons in each category.

Four Perceptual Types of Personality

Bills attempts to classify individuals within four categories on the basis of his system for estimating the degree of worth or acceptance assigned to self and to others. He also reports research findings regarding the personality characteristics of persons in each category.[38]

The four categories are labeled ++, +-, -+, and --. In each case, the first symbol refers to one's acceptance of self and the second symbol to one's acceptance of others.

A ++ person is said to accept himself and others. A +- person is said to accept self but reject others. A -+ person is said to reject self but accept others. A -- person is said to reject both self and others. More specifically (and this may suggest something of Bills' instrumentation, which is not described here), the four categories are described as follows: a ++ person accepts himself and believes that his peers are equally or more accepting of themselves; a +- person accepts

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[37] Robert E. Bills, Edgar L. Vance, and Orison S. McLean, "An Index of Adjustment and Values," Journal of Consulting Psychology, Vol. 15 (1951), pp. 257-61.

[38] Ibid. See also Bills, op. cit., pp. 20-24.

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himself but believes that his peers are not as accepting of themselves; a -+ person rejects himself but believes that his peers are more accepting of themselves; and a -- person rejects himself and believes that his peers are equally or more rejecting of themselves.

Characteristics of Behavior

The personality and behavior characteristics of the ++ person described by Bills indicate that a ++ person can become the "self-actualizing" person described by Maslow. Persons in the other three categories (+-, -+, and --) are in some respects not "accepting" individuals, hence are less likely to be self-actualizing individuals.

A +- person assumes present superiority. A -+ person assumes present inferiority. The discrepancy is slight between the actual and ideal self concepts of the +- person; it is great between the actual and ideal self concepts of the -+ person. Hence, the +- person perceives less need to change than does the -+. The -+ person perceives more problems than does the +- individual; he also makes a greater effort to please others. As compared to the +- person, the -+ individual is hyper-accurate in his perceptions of social reality, more disposed to be a follower, less self-assured, more introspective, and more hesitant to arrive at decisions. Being hyper-accurate in perception, the -+ person also sees

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more alternatives, is more open to suggestion, and is more perceptive of and receptive to the attitudes and beliefs of others.

The ++ person assumes neither present superiority nor present inferiority. He does not act primarily in terms of an excessively high perception of himself, as does the +- person, nor in terms of a need to overcome feelings of inferiority, as does the -+ person. His awareness of and interest in himself is balanced by his awareness of and interest in his external situation; this is in contrast to the -+ person, who is overly concerned with the perceived necessity to rebuild himself, and in contrast to the +- person, who is overly pleased with himself as he stands. The ++ person is therefore free to express himself, to respond to the reality of a situation, and to be neither excessively introspective nor excessively unmindful of himself. Not excessively concerned with achieving recognition in the eyes of others and not inordinately interested in demonstrating his superiority, the ++ person is able to act either as a leader or as a follower.

The ++ person may be described as "accepting," for he is accurate in his perceptions and ascribes dignity, worth, and integrity to himself and to others. He is the most likely to develop an adequate self concept, the most likely to become a self-actualizing person, and the most likely to make effective his propensity to change. He can perceive and accept social

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reality and is free to make differentiations regarding the self. Not hyper-accurate in his perceptions (as is the -+ person), the ++ is not quite as likely as the -+ to perceive the reality of a situation or to perceive an opportunity to change. He is, however, able to act once the reality or the opportunity is perceived, because he is free to respond to the reality and to express himself. The ++ person has been described as the ideal leader, and ++ people have been described as the most successful school administrators, in research reported by Bills.[39]

The -+ person ascribes little of the values of dignity, worth, and integrity to himself; even though he ascribes more of these values to others than he does to himself, he does not ascribe them to others as fully as does the ++ person. He is an "accepting" person insofar as acceptance denotes accuracy of perception. He is not, however, well-equipped to become a self-actualizing person or to act as a leader.

The +- person, who values himself extremely highly, sees others as being different from and therefore less worthy than himself. He is an "accepting" person only insofar as accept- denotes attribution of worth to self, but is hypo-accurate in

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[39]Robert E. Bills, "Attributes of Successful Educational Leaders," in Robert L. Hopper (ed.), Interdisciplinary Research in Educational Administration. The Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, Vol. 26 (December, 1953), pp. 16-38.

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his perceptions. Insofar as becoming a self-actualizing person requires that one attribute worth to self, the +- person is well equipped to be self-actualizing, but in other respects he is ill equipped.

The discrepancy between a person's actual and ideal self concepts is a measure of his aspirations and a reflection of his motivation, perceptual theory holds, for the individual needs to maintain and to enhance the self in accordance with those self concepts. The discrepancy between actual and ideal represents the extent of his need for self-enhancement. It also indicates the direction of change which he would perceive to be enhancing.

The greatest need for change is perceived by -+ and -- persons; +- persons perceive the least need for change, and ++ persons are intermediate in this regard. The -+ is most willing to change, for he deems himself to be presently less worthy than others. The -- person is least willing to change, for he perceives his unworthiness as inescapable, others being of as little worth as he. The +- person is also unwilling to change, for he sees himself as being already more worthy than others, and he is too pleased with the <u>status quo</u> to wish to alter it. Despite his relative eagerness to change, the -+ is not as able to do so as he would like to be (or as the ++ person is); the -+ person's intense interest in himself prevents him from

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responding to the reality of a situation and, quick and accurate though he is in perceiving opportunity, he is not able to act on it, i.e., he is too lacking in self-confidence to trust his judgment regarding appropriate behavior, hence is unable to initiate that behavior.

Bills typology is vulnerable to criticism. The allocation of individuals to categories requires that lines be drawn in more or less arbitrary style across a continuum of perceptions reported within a population. A person whose score places him near the limits of one category may not be extremely different from persons whose scores lie near the limits of an adjacent category; thus the scores of a given ++ individual may differ only slightly from those of a given +- person. Similarly, persons classified within a single category may be quite different one from another; for example, one +- person may be markedly more accepting of self and markedly more rejecting of others than is another.

As a heuristic device, the Bills typology is nevertheless highly useful. The ideal types or constructed types presented by Bills are useful to the extent that they facilitate the explanation of empirical reality, rather than because they accurately correspond to that reality. Ideal types can be used to order concrete data by relating the data to the poles of a given variable, even though the polar extremes may be

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exaggerated. This is their principal value. They are based upon criteria that have empirical referents; they serve as a basis for comparison of empirical cases. Ideal types can be used for comparative and ordering purposes.[40]

Summary

All persons need to maintain and to enhance their phenomenal selves in accordance with their self concepts. However, not all individuals are equally able to undertake self-enhancing behavior. This is despite the fact that in all individuals the gap or discrepancy perceived between actual and ideal self concepts represents a potential of what has been termed psychological energy that may be expended in behavior designed to narrow the gap.

An accepting person can develop what has been described as an adequate self concept. Such a person is said to have adequate perceptions; adequate perceptions permit adequate behavior which satisfies the need to maintain and the need to enhance the self. Such a person can be a self-actualizing, -realizing, -attaining, or -enhancing person.

The rejecting person is limited to maintenance behavior, for he is to some extent unable to pursue his propensity to

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[40] Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 60.

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change, i.e., actively to undertake behavior adequate for enhancing the self. He is limited by the inadequacy of his perceptions; these may be rendered inadequate by an inability to differentiate the sources of his awareness of threst and to deal satisfactorily with threat, by an inability to perceive a difference between the demands of a situation and his phenomenal self or self concept, and by an inability to make differentiations of self and to see social reality as well.

Bills' classification system provides a conceptual device that is highly useful in describing types of persons and in explaining or anticipating individual behavior.

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APPENDIX B

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL SYSTEM THEORY

People participate in reciprocal action with others. Sociologists term such action "interaction," and study people's reciprocal and interdependent activity. Homans describes interaction as "participating together." In observing that certain persons associate together and make up a clique, a gang, a crowd, or a group, he says, "we are saying that they interact frequently with one another, irrespective of the particular activities in which they interact."[1] Interaction is defined by Sorokin as "any event by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other."[2]

Out of the study of interaction, sociologists have developed the concept of the "social system." Talcott Parsons is the scholar whose name is most often associated with this concept.[3] However, the present discussion is based more particularly upon a model (see Figure 2.1) developed by Charles

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[1] George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), pp. 84-85.

[2] Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), p. 40.

[3] Notably in Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: Illinois: The Free Press, 1951).

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[5] Ibid.,

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P. Loomis: the "processually articulated structural model" for analysis of the elements, processes, structure, and conditions of social action of social systems.[4]

Defining and Delineating Social Systems

Repeated interaction, such as that between a professor and a student, comprises a social relationship. Such interaction develops certain uniformities over the course of time. "The social system," says Loomis, "is composed of the patterned interaction of members. It is constituted of the interaction of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of structured and shared symbols and expectations."[5] Uniformities of interaction which develop through time and some of which tend to persist are termed social systems by Loomis, who describes them as being orderly and systematic.[6] Composed of interdependent and identifiable parts, the system is said to possess social structure.[7] Social relationships display social elements in their uniformities, Loomis says, and they are activated by social processes, "the dynamics of

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[4] Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960).

[5] Ibid., p. 4.

[6] Ibid., p. 3.

[7] Ibid.

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which account for the emergence, maintenance and change of social systems."[8]

"A means of delineating a social system is furnished by the more intense and frequent occurrence of specific types of interaction among members than among non-members, within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects," says Loomis.[9] Homans, writing of a particular variety of social system, the group, on the matter of its delineation says simply that "a group is defined by the interactions of its members."[10] Loomis' reference to "specific types of interaction" is important because a person is held to be a member or actor in various social systems at various times, and in each system he is a participant in appropriately different types of interaction. Parsons states that ". . . a social system does not comprise the total action of concrete persons and collectives, but only their actions in specific roles."[11] He further states that "'The organism' is not technically part of the system at all . . . ."[12] Hence the social system is not conceived of

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[8] Ibid., p. 1.

[9] Ibid., p. 4.

[10] Homans, op. cit., p. 84.

[11] Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 21.

[12] Parsons, "Psychology and Sociology," in John Gillin (ed.), For a Science of Man (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1954), p. 70.

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Loomis and Parsons conceive of society as being structured and differentiated into a number of social systems. "All are interlinked in such a manner that one sees different systems according to the perspective taken," writes Loomis. Whatever system one is viewing, however, whether it be the "master system" or any of its component subsystems (community, family, etc.) the elements that constitute it as a social system and the processes that articulate it remain the same."[13]

A social system may be viewed as a complex of subsystems, or a subsystem may be viewed as being itself a social system, depending upon the level at which one wishes to examine it. Homans says, "at whatever level we look at the web of interaction, it always shows certain thin places, and the lines between groups fall there," each group constituting a social system. Homans then adds, "Any group with a population larger than two can be divided into subgroups, but even in a group of three persons, the question as to which pair makes the "company" and which individual the "crowd" cannot be settled by a flip of a coin."[14]

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[13] Loomis, op. cit., p. 5.

[14] Homans, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

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According to Parsons, the essentials of a social system are a plurality of status-roles enacted by actors who are motivated, who interact in a situation possessing symbolic and physical aspects, who aim to optimize their gratifications and minimize their deprivations, and whose relations to their total situations are defined and mediated in terms of a shared and structured set of symbols."[15] (Without unduly anticipating subsequent discussions, it may be noted here that Parsons' view would seem to be compatible with perceptual theory: the need to maintain and to enhance the self is a source of motivation, satisfaction of that need is a source of gratification, and frustration of that need is a deprivation.) The Loomis model is congruent with Parsons' view.

Figure 2.1 presents an over-all view of the components of a social system according to the model presented by Loomis. They include nine elements; these are units of analysis which Loomis finds useful in explaining interaction, and which he maintains may be used to describe and analyze the structure of a social system at a point in time.[16] The components of the model further include nine elemental processes (or sets of processes) and six comprehensive or master processes. The processes "mesh, stabilize, and alter the relations between

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[15] Parsons, The Social System, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[16] Loomis, op. cit., p. 5.

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the elements through time; they are the tools through which the social system may be understood as a dynamic functioning continuity--a 'going concern'."[17] Each elemental process activates the element to which it is related; each comprehensive or master process may activate one, several, or all the elements. The "structural-functional categories" are names by which to designate the nine combinations of element plus related elemental process(es).

The final ingredients in Loomis' model are three conditions of social action: territoriality, size, and time. These are considered apart from the elements because they cannot be controlled by the members of a social system as can the nine elements. These conditions are, in a sense, facilities of a social system. However, they are relatively inflexible, overriding circumstances.

Each component in the Loomis model is discussed in the pages which follow. First, however, it should be pointed out that what is being discussed is an abstraction called a social system. The motive for its study is to gain increased understanding of human behavior. A social system does not behave. Only individuals behave and, alone or in concert, they behave individually. It is the congruence or similarities or uniformities of their behavior that permits an observer, for his

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[17] Ibid., p. 6.

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own purposes, to conceive such analytic fictions as the social system, society, or higher education, devices used to help explore, describe, analyze, and interpret the behavior of individuals.

Each individual within a society learns established patterns of culture, incorporates them into his personality and thereby becomes to some degree typical of his culture but not a stereotype of the culture. Socially prescribed behavior is taught to all individuals, but the prescriptions are not adhered to by all in equal measure. Some areas of activity are not even mapped by society, so that each individual is free to develop differently in these. In any case, individuals are not identically endowed with physical or other potentialities, nor do they undergo identical experiences. Hence, the effect of culture upon individuals can be similar but not identical.

"The true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals," says Sapir, "and, on the subjective side, in the world of meanings which each one of these individuals may unconsciously abstract for himself from his participation in these interactions."[18] There is no pattern of culture which impinges upon all members of a society with

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[18]Edward Sapir, Culture, Language and Personality, edited by David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), p. 151.

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equal effect or which is internalized in the same manner and degree by each individual. A particular culture pattern, no matter how characteristic it may be of a society, may or may not be demonstrated in the behavior of a specific individual. "The concept of culture . . . is necessarily something of a statistical fiction," as Sapir says.[19] Some patterns of culture may be real and effective to some degree for virtually all individuals within society; because the "effective scope" of each person's world is unique, however, other patterns may be practically non-existent for many individuals.

The patterns of behavior called culture are to some extent characteristic of the members of society. Competing, conflicting, or diverging patterns of behavior may co-exist. They do co-exist within a complex society; indeed, this is the reason that the "master social system" termed society can be described as complex. The competing, conflicting, or diverging patterns of culture become parts of subcultures characteristic of lesser social systems within the society. The individual is a member of various social systems each of which develops a subculture within the culture of the complex, highly differentiated society. In Sapir's words, every individual "is, then, in a very real sense, a representative of at least one subculture of the group of which he is a member. Frequently, if not typically, he is a representative of more than one sub-

[19] Ibid., p. 153.

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culture, and the degree to which the socialized behavior of any given individual can be identified with or abstracted from the typical or generalized culture of a single group varies enormously from person to person."[20]

The study of social systems involves considerations of several kinds of patterns of culture or "designs for living." There are ideal patterns, concepts of the manners in which people should ideally behave in a perfect world. There are guides for expected behavior, which, as Homans says, indicate what most members of a social system believe or feel that they or others "should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances."[21] There are patterns of observed behavior, more or less statistical probability statements of what people actually do under given circumstances.

The analysis of social systems requires a means by which to distinguish between the characteristics of one society and another (i.e., of one social system and another), to gauge the significance of each characteristic of a social system, and to predict the probable behavior of individuals within a social system. Sapir, discussing the concept of "culture," wrote that ". . . the cultural conception we are now trying to grasp aims to embrace in a single term those general attitudes,

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[20] Ibid., pp. 151-52.

[21] Homans, op. cit., p. 123.

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views of life, and specific manifestations of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world. Emphasis is put not so much on what is done and believed by a people as on how what is done and believed functions in the whole life of that people, on what significance it has for them."[22] To analyze social systems requires that we segregate multiple factors and render each one susceptible to measurement. The elements, processes, and conditions of social action identified in the Loomis model provide one means by which to assay such analysis.

Structural-Functional Categories

The elements and elemental processes of the Loomis model can most easily be described jointly as structural-functional categories, each such category being comprised of an element plus the elemental process(es) which activate it.

Knowing, Feeling, and Norming

Some of the ideas held by members of a social system, according to the Loomis model, are termed "norms," others "belief" or "knowledge," and others "sentiment." Belief, sentiment, and norms are three of the elements in Loomis' model and it is difficult to draw a fine distinction between them.

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[22] Sapir, op. cit., p. 83.

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Norms are the "rules of the game," says Loomis.[27] They are statements not of ideal behavior, but of expected behavior. Norms, says Loomis, refer to "all criteria for judging the character or conduct of both individual and group actions in any social system" and constitute "the standards determining what is right and wrong, appropriate and inappropriate, just and unjust, good and bad in social relationships."[28] The element norm together with the related elemental process "evaluation" constitute the structural-functional category "norming," also referred to as standardizing or patterning.

Homans makes a significant observation regarding norms. He notes, "the members of the group are often more nearly alike in the norms they hold than in their overt behavior. To put the matter crudely, they are more alike in what they say they ought to do than in what they do in fact."[29] This emphasizes once more that individuals, not groups or social systems, behave. Members of a social system are very much alike in one sense: they are more like each other than they are like non-members. Nevertheless, they are not wholly alike. In speaking of the norms "of a social system," therefore, one speaks of a statistical fiction, an approximation of the mean

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[27] Ibid., p. 17.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Homans, op. cit., p. 126.

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Loomis says, "Beliefs are primarily cognitive and represent 'what we know' about the world no matter how we know it; sentiments are primarily expressive and represent 'what we feel' about the world no matter why we feel it."[23] The element belief is held to be activated by the process of cognitive mapping and validation; jointly, element and process are termed the structural-functional category "knowing." The element sentiment is held to be activated by the processes of tension management and communication of sentiment; sentiment and those related processes are referred to as the structural-functional category "feeling."

The process "cognitive mapping and validation" refers to the activity (i.e., experimentation, revelation, etc.) by "which conceptual tools and the fund of knowledge are utilized, developed and changed."[24] The process "communication of sentiment" is that by which a social system, through the use of symbols that evoke feeling, motivates a member to behave in desired fashion.[25] "Tension management" is the process by which sentiment is (a) prevented from obstructing goal-directed activities and (b) so channeled as to facilitate such activities.[26]

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[23] Loomis, op. cit., p. 13.

[24] Ibid., p. 12.

[25] Ibid., p. 15.

[26] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

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Norms are the "rules of the game," says Loomis.[27] They are statements not of ideal behavior, but of expected behavior. Norms, says Loomis, refer to "all criteria for judging the character or conduct of both individual and group actions in any social system" and constitute "the standards determining what is right and wrong, appropriate and inappropriate, just and unjust, good and bad in social relationships."[28] The element norm together with the related elemental process "evaluation" constitute the structural-functional category "norming," also referred to as standardizing or patterning.

Homans makes a significant observation regarding norms. He notes, "the members of the group are often more nearly alike in the norms they hold than in their overt behavior. To put the matter crudely, they are more alike in what they say they ought to do than in what they do in fact."[29] This emphasizes once more that individuals, not groups or social systems, behave. Members of a social system are very much alike in one sense: they are more like each other than they are like non-members. Nevertheless, they are not wholly alike. In speaking of the norms "of a social system," therefore, one speaks of a statistical fiction, an approximation of the mean

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[27] Ibid., p. 17.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Homans, op. cit., p. 126.

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of those norms held individually by each member of the system. The same is true of the beliefs, sentiments, and other ideas attributed to a "social system."

Men bring ideas with them when they become members of social systems within a society, and new or modified beliefs, sentiments, norms, and other ideas "emerge from ongoing activities" of the social systems, as Homans says.[30] "Men bring their norms to a group; they work out new norms through their experience in the group; they take the old norms, confirmed or weakened, and the new ones, as developed, to the other groups they are members of. If the norms take hold there, a general tradition, the same in many groups, may grow up. The freight most easily exported is the kind carried in the head."[31] Thus, for example, upon joining a college, a new member brings ideas with him, ideas prevalent in the culture of the society to which he belongs as well as ideas representative of other social systems of which he is or has been a member; as a member of the college, he comes to share in some measure with other members ideas representative of that college.

Achieving

A fourth element identified by Loomis is that of ends, goals or objectives. A goal of a social system "is the change

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[30] Ibid., p. 127.

[31] Ibid.

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(or in some cases the retention of the status quo) that members of a social system expect to accomplish through appropriate interaction."[32] Activity engaged in for furthering the stated ends of the social system is termed goal-attaining activity; goal-attaining activity is an elemental process which activates the element of end, goal, or objective. Such activity may have latent functions in addition to the manifest, i.e., it may serve some end other than that recognized by the members of the system. For example, an activity undertaken for the ostensible purpose of achieving a specified goal may be continued long after its instrumental end has been served or found unattainable by means of such activity; such an activity may be continued because it develops and sustains effective relationships among members or serves some other function which may be recognized by an observer but is not recognized by the members of the social system.[33]

Activity engaged in for the purpose of accomplishing stated goals is termed instrumental activity. Activity engaged in to help accommodate the social system to its environment is termed adaptive activity. Recreational or creative activity engaged in for its own sake, i.e., which itself becomes an end, is termed expressive activity. Activity which strengthens

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[32] Loomis, op. cit., p. 15.

[33] Ibid., p. 16.

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norms or other elements of the system is termed integrative or moral activity. Instrumental or adaptive activity is said to be "Gesellschaft-like," and integrative or expressive activity "Gemeinschaft-like."[34]

The structural-functional category "achieving" includes the element of end, goal, or objective and the process of goal-attaining and concomitant "latent" activity.

Dividing the Functions

Specialization and division of labor lend importance to the element of position or of status-role and to the related elemental process of status-role performance. Status-role is a combination of element and process, where status is approximately equivalent to position and role relates to the process. "Status-role is that which is expected from an actor in a given situation."[35] Status-role performance is the process, what the actor actually does. The element status-role and the elemental process status-role performance comprise the structural-functional category "dividing the functions."

Ranking, Controlling, and Sanctioning

These three structural-functional categories are closely related to that of dividing the functions. Each status-role

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[34] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[35] Ibid., p. 19.

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has a rank in a hierarchy of super- and sub-ordination. Obligations, rights, duties, privileges, and authority are imputed to a status-role. Status-role performance is evaluated in terms of pertinent norms, and applicable sanctions may be applied.

Loomis conceives of power as the capacity to control others. Decision-making and the initiation of corresponding action are activities involving the exercise of power. Power may be authorized or institutionalized; when it is, it becomes an aspect of status-role and is termed authority, which is conceived of as the right to control others. The right to control others is attributed to specified status-roles and is exercised by their incumbents. Non-authorized or non-institutionalized power may also be exercised by some members of a social system; these members may possess the capacity to exercise power, through coercion or by the exercise of influence, although their incumbency in specified status-roles does not grant them the right to control others in certain respects.[36]

The structural-functional category "ranking" includes the element "rank" and the elemental processes of the evaluation of actors and their allocation to status-roles. The structural-functional category "controlling" involves the element "power" and the elemental processes "decision-making" and the

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[36] Ibid., pp. 20-23.

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initiation of decisions into action. The structural-functional category "sanctioning" involves the element "sanction" and the elemental process "application of sanctions"; this category refers to the manner and extent to which a social system metes out rewards and penalties to its members in order to induce their conformity to objectives and norms.[37]

Facilitation

This structural-functional category involves the element of "facility" and the elemental process "utilization of facilities." Loomis defines a facility as "a means used to attain ends within the system."[38] He defines possessions as "rights to use, control, or disposal of objects," and says that those "possessions which are means to be used for further goals are facilities."[39] A possession which cannot be used to further instrumental ends is not considered a facility. On the other hand, time and space, though not possessions, are deemed facilities when and to the extent that "they are controlled in obtaining objectives of a collectivity and when their utilization is determined by group norms."[40] In short, the point is that it is the use of a facility, not its intrinsic qualities, which determines its significance in a social system.[41]

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[37] Ibid., p. 26.

[38] Ibid., p. 27.

[39] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[40] Ibid., p. 28.

[41] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

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Before proceeding to an introduction of the comprehensive or master processes, it should be noted that the elements are not mutually exclusive. To some extent they overlap, as in the case of belief and sentiment, for example, or in the case of norms, which are found to pervade all elements. Similarly, the processes are not exclusively related to the elements to which they most clearly correspond. For example, the process of evaluation, although related particularly to the element of norm, pervades all the elements and processes.

Comprehensive or Master Processes

These six processes affect any and all elements, and are not primarily related to any one element.

Communication

Loomis defines communication as "the process by which information, decisions, and directives are transmitted among actors and the ways in which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified by interactions."[42]

Boundary Maintenance

In Loomis' conceptualization, a social system maintains an equilibrium among its elements and among its members. Compatibility of the elements, as their processes make them operative, lends them mutual reinforcement. The extent to which

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[42] Ibid., p. 30.

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they reinforce each other determines the degree to which the system is integrated. Integration affects the degree to which the members share a sense of solidarity and of identification with the system and their mutual belief, sentiment, norms, etc., in short, the degree to which they share a sense of membership. Boundary maintenance is the process by which the system sustains this sense of membership or of identification, hence the process by which the system retains its identity and interaction pattern.[43]

Loomis hypothesizes that boundary maintenance mechanisms will be more strongly sustained in proportion as (a) the solidarity of the system increases or (b) the threat increases of encroachment upon the system by forces outside it.[44]

Systemic Linkage

Systemic linkage is the process whereby one social system is so articulated with one or more additional systems that in some measure they behave as one. In order so to operate, the separate systems must share some elements in common, i.e., in some significant particular, there must be a convergence as to ends, norms, status-roles, or some other element.[45]

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[43] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[44] Ibid., p. 31.

[45] Ibid., pp. 32-34.

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Institutionalization

When the members of a social system legitimize a pattern of culture as "rightful," it is said to be institutionalized. The process of institutionalization patterns the structural-functional categories; in this process are involved the elements, the elemental processes, and the other comprehensive or master processes, so that institutionalization is the most comprehensive of the "comprehensive or master processes." According to Loomis, it is the process by which (a) social systems are given structure and (b) social action and interaction are made predictable. "A given mechanism," says Loomis, ". . . may be said to be institutionalized when there is conformity to the procedures and when deviancy results in moral indignation."[46]

Socialization

This is the process whereby "the social and cultural heritage is transmitted," says Loomis.[47] It is the process by which a member "learns" and internalizes the system and his part therein, learns the beliefs, ends, and norms of the social system and internalizes "the interaction and expectancy patterns which make status-roles and the elements of power

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[46] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[47] Ibid., p. 34.

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Social Control

This is the process by which "deviancy is either eliminated or made compatible with the functioning of the social groups," says Loomis.[49] Social control is the process whereby conformity to established norms is achieved; in addition to norms, this master process also very clearly involves the elements of power, sanction, and sentiment.

Conditions of Social Action

The three conditions of social action enumerated by Loomis are territoriality, size, and time. As previously noted, they are to some extent facilities of the social system, but they are not completely controlled by the system's members, hence are classified as conditions rather than as facilities.[50]

Territoriality

This term refers to "the setting of the social system in space."[51] Population density is a measure of an aspect of territoriality. Boundary maintenance is a process closely related to this condition, as is systemic linkage; these two processes may be activated in quite different fashion in a geographically isolated social system than they are in a

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., p. 35.

[50] Ibid., p. 37.

[51] Ibid.

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social system which is in constant contact with other systems.

Size

To the extent that greater size denotes greater power, size may be an important characteristic of a social system if and when that social system engages in a power struggle with another.[52] Whether in other respects size is a controlling condition of social action is less clear, although it may well be. Merton, in his discussions of reference group theory, discusses both absolute size and relative size as group properties significant in the strategic classification of groups.[53] Homans also observes the importance of size.[54] A small social system may utilize primary, face-to-face relationships; a large social system cannot do so to the same extent. This may affect the frequency and affective quality of interaction, so that a small social system may become rather more Gemeinschaft-like and make relationships ends in themselves, as Loomis notes, whereas a large social system may become rather more Gesellschaft-like.[55] However, the seeming importance of size in this regard may be misleading and the operation of the processes of communication may be more significant. Size would seem to influence the structural-functional category

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[52] Ibid., p. 40.

[53] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), pp. 312-13.

[54] Homans, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

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"dividing the functions," for the number of status-roles that are differentiated increases with increased size of the social system.[56] Ranking may also be influenced by the condition of size, and there is some evidence that the extent of stratification increases as does the size of the system.[57]

Time

Time is a significant condition in two different respects. First, time inexorably does roll on, the seasons do change, and men do age. Second, timing, the temporal aspect of the sequence of events affects the outcomes of activities calculated to achieve specified ends.[58]

The Internal and External Patterns

One major consideration remains to be introduced regarding the analysis of social systems. That is the question of the "internal" and "external" patterns of relationships of the social system. This discussion was anticipated to a certain extent when, with reference to the element of ends or goals, a distinction was drawn between instrumental, adaptive, integrative, and expressive activities. Instrumental and adaptive activity were referred to as being Gesellschaft-like, and integrative and expressive activity as being Gemeinschaft-like.

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[56] Ibid., p. 39.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., p. 38.

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Loomis distinguishes between the internal and external patterns approximately as does Homans, who is quoted here.

> ". . . we note that the group is, at the moment we study it, persisting or surviving in its environment; and we infer, not unnaturally, that the behavior of the group must be such as to allow it to survive in the environment. Then we turn to the elements of group behavior: sentiment, activity, and interaction, and we say that the external system is the state of these elements and of their interrelations, so far as it constitutes a solution--not necessarily the only possible solution--of the problem: How shall the group survive in its environment? We call it external because it is conditioned by the environment; we call it a system because in it the elements of behavior are mutually dependent. The external system, plus another set of relations which we shall call the internal system, make up the total social system.[59]

Homans then addresses himself to ". . . the internal system--the elaboration of group behavior that simultaneously arises out of the external system and reacts upon it. We call the system 'internal' because it is not directly conditioned by the environment, and we speak of it as an 'elaboration' because it includes forms of behavior not included under the heading of the external system. We shall not go far wrong if, for the moment, we think of the external system as group behavior that enables the group to survive in its environment and think of the internal system as group behavior that is an expression of the sentiments toward one another developed by the members of the group in the course of their life together."[60]

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[59] Homans, op. cit., p. 90.

[60] Ibid., pp. 109-10.

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Quoting Loomis on the same matter: "A pattern of interaction which displays the relationships necessary for the group's adjustment to its environment and for the attainment of its goals is an external pattern."[61] "The internal pattern is a pattern of interaction which consists of those relations that focus upon the expression of sentiments of system members toward one another."[62]

It is clear that the elements and processes most significant to the internal pattern are not the same ones that are most significant to the external pattern. The element "sentiment" and its related process "communication of sentiment" are central to the internal pattern. Also important to the internal pattern are influence, informal ranking, the evaluation of actors, and the non-authority component of status-role.[63]

The master process "systemic linkage" is central to the external pattern, because (1) adaptation to the environment necessarily includes adaptive relationships to other social systems and (2) systemic linkage is the process by which one social system is articulated with other systems. Also central to the external pattern are the structural-functional categories "achieving" and "controlling." These categories involve the

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[61] Loomis, op. cit., p. 40.

[62] Ibid., p. 42.

[63] Ibid.

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elements "end, goal, or objective" and "power" plus the elemental processes "goal attaining activity" and "decision-making and its initiation into action."[64]

Curiously, the structural-functional category "feeling" includes one component (tension management) which is central to the external pattern but also includes components (sentiment and communication of sentiment) which are central to the internal pattern. Tension management is important to the external pattern because its purpose is that of causing sentiment to facilitate rather than to impede the achieving of goals.

Some components of the Loomis model are important to both patterns, internal and external. This is true of the master process of boundary maintenance. It is true also of the element "norm" and the elemental process "evaluation."[65]

Reviewing the foregoing discussion of social systems very briefly, we have seen that social system theory conceives of society as a master social system which is structured and differentiated into a number of lesser social systems. Any social unit may be viewed as a subsystem of the master system, or it may be viewed as a social system. Master system or component subsystem, however, social system theory holds that

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[64] Ibid., pp. 40 ff.

[65] Ibid., p. 41.

each system is constituted of the same elements and activated by the same processes, however much they may differ in the manner in which the elements and processes are articulated. Furthermore, two major patterns of relationships may be distinguished in each social system: the external pattern and the internal pattern. The external pattern emphasizes the system's adaptation to its environment and the achieving of its express goals. The internal pattern emphasizes particularly the sentiments of members toward each other.

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