THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

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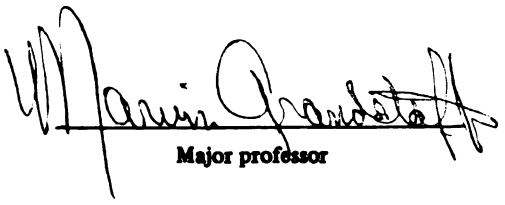

Major professor

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ABSTRACT

THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

By

James Richard Covert

This study analyzed the relationship between the increasing impact of social forces in American society and the decline of professionalism in higher education.

The review of literature began with an examination of several definitions of professional terminology, culminating in a comparison of the academic profession with an ideal professional model. To further examine the discrepancies exposed by this comparison, two conceptual models of the professions were evaluated for their ability to explain the academic profession. The idea of the professionalizing society was also examined.

The role of the scholar was investigated from three different perspectives: a quasi-fictional view, by sociological typologies, and from empirical research, based on the ordering principle of the professions. To set the role of the professor in the proper social context a brief historical review of higher education was conducted

emphasizing the recurrent themes that have steadily moved the academic profession toward a central position of power in the American society. Special attention was paid to the intensity of the social forces following World War II and their effect on the deprofessionalization of the university professor.

From this accumulated information, four indicators of professionalism were selected with which to judge the level of professionalization of the academic profession. They were: client designation, politicalization, bureaucratization and unionization. It was found that colleagues are most often designated as clients, allowing client discretion and evaluation which is non-professional. Politicalization was found to be the most destructive of professionalism because it struck at the epistomological basis of the university and threatens to redefine the function of the university from the objective search for truth to the solution of value laden social problems.

The university professor has accommodated his professional role to the bureaucratic organizational structure by establishing a delicate balance. Faculty unionization threatens to destroy this organizational balance and redefine the role of the faculty in the university. While each of these threaten professional autonomy, the situation is of such a critical nature that this kind of reorganization may be necessary to revitalize the American university.

This study proposes that two kinds of alternative organizational structures will arise to relieve the pressures currently exerted on the university and allow for the relief of the crisis situation. One system will be a separate and specialized organizational structure, existing as adjunct social institutions. They will decentralize the functions of the university to equally autonomous social institutions thereby alleviating the university of such responsibilities as massive research, certain extension and consulting services as well as some social action programs. The second distinct organizational pattern will be parallel structures constructed within the university as colleagual organizations. They will be established to bargain collectively and equalize the distribution of power among such groups as faculty unions, administrative organizations and student groups. The relocation of functions presently residing in the university to new social institutions, coupled with realignments of power within the university itself, will produce a climate in which the professoriate will become more protective of a professional ideology.

THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

By

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A THESIS

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PREFACE

While much has been written about the occupation of college teaching, very little is known about how professors develop their occupational role. It may appear that there is no such thing as "the role of professor" but rather a myriad of alternative roles. To the casual observer it would appear that each professor has created his own occupational role with very little similarity one to the next. If this were the case, then any one person's definition or description of the role of the professor would be as good as another's.

Over the years novelists have done an admirable job in providing a plethora of faculty role portrayals. It may even be said that they have done most of the work. Such novels as Mary McCarthy's The Groves of Academe, Stringfellow Barr's Purely Academic, Carlos Baker's A Friend in Power, Randall Farrell's Pictures From an Institution and Bernard Malamud's A New Life have not only provided the public with an insight into the lives of professors but may have structured the aspirations of those wanting to join this elite group. More recently the movies have run the professional gamut from a musical version of Goodbye

Mr. Chips, to Burton's vivid protrayal in Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf.

Attempts at a methodical scientific characterization have met with limited success. Martin Trow offers this explanation, positing that the professor views with suspicion the use of social sciences as an explanatory device:

> . . . it threatens their role as intellectuals, as interpreters of their own social experience; because it asserts that much of importance, not only in the wider society but in their own classrooms and students' residence halls, can no longer be adequately known and understood by the unaided man of intelligence and sensibility, by the ordinary faculty member. The very existence of social research on campus, as some professors put it in more candid moments, is an insult to their intelligence. And their response, made with more feeling than logical consistency, is at once to doubt that social science is more than a pretentious fraud, and to fear its manipulative consequences if it is as powerful a tool for understanding and control as it pretends to be.[1]

Whether this is the reason or not, the lack of empirical information about the role of the college professor is very real.

Logan Wilson, in his classic work The Academic Man, laments the lack of some organized body of knowledge that might explain the role of the professor.

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[1]Martin H. Trow, "Administrative Implications of Analyses of Campus Cultures," in The Study of Campus Cultures, ed. by Terry F. Lumsford (Boulder, Colo.: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1963), p. 102.

> Nowhere is there available an overall treatment such as cultural anthropologists give of primitive associations, or such as sociologists have set forth for a few occupational groupings in our society. Indeed, on the basis of present sociological literature the future historian would have less difficulty in ascertaining the social behavior of the railroader, the taxi-dancer, or the professional thief than he would that of the contemporary university professor.[2]

One of the express purposes of Wilson's book was to lay the basis for additional work in the definition of the role of the college professor following its publication in 1942. In 1958, however, Caplow and McGee had this to say about the accumulation of reliable data concerning college professors:

> The methods of social research have been applied by university professors to every important American institution except their own. . . . Aside from a few pioneer studies of the academic profession, most of the general writings about education have not been based on empirical data.[3]

This notion was reinforced in 1963 by Burton R. Clark when he stated,

> The social scientist has paid little attention to the culture of the faculty--the perspectives, the attitudes and values held in common by a group of professors, especially as these are distinctively different from those of men located elsewhere in the social structure.[4]

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[2]Logan Wilson, The Academic Man (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 45.

[3]Theodore Caplow and Reese J. McGee, The Academic Marketplace (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958), p. 3.

[4]Burton R. Clark, "Faculty Culture," in The Study of Campus Cultures, ed. by Terry F. Lumsford (Boulder, Colo.: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1963), p. 39.

He goes on to indicate that

> The 1960's promise greatly expanded research on faculties, for it is now clear that in the advanced industrial society--the society of the technological age--higher education plays an expanded role in the training of men and their allocation to adult statuses.[5]

But there seems to be some question whether this research was ever conducted. Gustad, writing in 1963, states: "There is a very considerable body of folklore about college teachers and a small but growing body of research. The folklore is interesting and sometimes informative; the research is informative and sometimes interesting."[6] And in 1968, Florence Brawer states, "Two main conclusions may be drawn from a search of the literature regarding studies of college and university faculty: the studies are few and they are inconclusive."[7] So, it would seem that there is still a need for work which may assist in describing the role of the professor in American society.

There is a growing concern, in the literature, about the urgency of the situation of the university. Many of the recent authors are writing about crises of the

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[5] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[6] J. W. Gustad, "The Complete Academician," Teachers College Record, LXV (November, 1963), 112.

[7] Florence B. Brawer, Personality Characteristics of College and University Faculty (Washington, D.C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior College Information, American Association of Junior Colleges, 1968), p. xvi.

university and the foreboding prospects for the future. The forward of Robert Nisbet's most recent book, The Degredation of Academic Dogma: The University in America, 1945-1970, begins with the following sentence: "No one needs to be told that the university in America is in trouble."[8] Henry Steele Commager writes in 1971,

> The crisis of the university today is a tribute to its importance. Within a quarter-century the university has moved to the very center of American life; the center of ideas, the center of research, the center of criticism and of protest. Students who once went to the university to prepare for a career or, as we amiably say, "to prepare for life," now find that the university is life.[9]

A more precise cataloguing of the difficulties of the university in crises is done by Lewis B. Mayhew:

> As indexes of this mood, all colleges and universities have begun to experience financial limitations; private institutions, drops in enrollment; public institutions, legislative scrutiny; and all of them, the constant threat of campus violence.[10]

In view of this documented information, two very basic notions undergird this study. The first is the very real need for research into the role of the college

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[8]Robert Nisbet, The Degradation of Academic Dogma: The University in America, 1945-1970 (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), p. v.

[9]Henry Steele Commager, "The Crisis of the University," in In Defense of Academic Freedom, ed. by Sidney Hook (New York: Pegasus, 1971), p. 94.

[10]Lewis B. Mayhew, "And Now the Future," in Twenty-Five Years, 1945-1970, ed. by G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), pp. 311-312.

professor, and the second, the crisis situation in which the university finds itself at this particular point in time. There is a growing concern that if a continued ignorance of the role and function of the professor persists, this species will become extinct and no one will have realized that the extermination was in progress. This is not to say that the professoriate, as we know it, should be preserved. There is much that can be improved, but to do this we should have a better knowledge and understanding of what it is and what it is likely to become.

In order to better understand the role of the university professor in the current American society, this study will use as its ordering principle the concept of the professional. It is asserted that this better understanding of the academician as a professional may help to explain some of the problems faced by the professor in this period of crisis for the university. Through an analysis of the continued professionalization of higher education, a system of alternative organizational structures will be proposed.

The hypothesis under consideration may be stated in the following manner. The decline of the professional status of the university professor has been hastened by a combination of social forces occurring since the end of the Second World War, and this decline has played a significant part in the failure of the university to perform its intended function.

In order to test this hypothesis it is necessary to collect and analyze several kinds of information. First should be an understanding of the concept of the professional and how it is interpreted by the university professor. Second should be a knowledge of the role of the professor as it has historically developed and as it is portrayed in the current society. Third is a grasp of the importance of the social forces as they have shaped the role of the professor both in the early history of the American university and more importantly since World War II. Finally, it will be important to devise, for the compiled information, a conceptual framework that could be empirically verified.

CHAPTER I

PROFESSIONAL CONCEPTS AND MODEL

This chapter will contain operational definitions of terms as they will be used in the remainder of the study as well as an ideal professional model with its implications for the academic profession.

The definitions have been obtained from a review of the literature and will parallel the public usage of the terms and phrases whenever possible.

A problem immediately arises in trying to identify the human subject to be investigated by the study. Logan Wilson assailed this same problem and derived this workable solution:

> Broadly stated, the basic functions of academicians everywhere are the conservation, dissemination, and innovation of knowledge. So varied and complex are these tasks, however, that the English language has no precise generic word for the functionary. In the line of professional duty, academicians may be engaged in everything from lecturing to mother's clubs to peering into the outer limits of the universe. The words teacher and professor connote the diffusion of learning, while neglecting other kinds of endeavor. The word scientist implies cultural discovery or invention, but underemphasizes conservation and dissemination. Using any existing appellation does some violence to the fact that the functionary seldom operates exclusively in any one role. As we are obliged to refer to materials using common designations in a rather loose sense, we shall refrain from furthering

> confusion by the coinage of still another term. Instead, with distinctions noted wherever necessary, the academician will be variously referred to as a scholar, teacher, educator, researcher and scientist.[1]

While the job description of the professor still is vague, it should be clear that his work setting is post secondary school, or what is generally referred to as higher education.

In concurring with the sentiment expressed in the preceeding passage one further clarifying point should be added subsequent to its writing in 1942. There has evolved a distinction between persons employed in those two year institutions usually designated as community colleges, junior colleges and agricultural and technical institutes and those persons employed in primarily four year institutions often with an affiliated graduate school. More recently there has developed a further specialization within higher education that has been designated as upper division, or senior college. This division often emphasizes teaching but may be closely affiliated with a graduate school also.

It is generally considered that faculty members in four year institutions have three primary responsibilities, research, teaching and public service, while two year college and upper division faculty members are primarily

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[1]Wilson, The Academic Man, pp. 3-4.

responsible for teaching and may, in addition, perform some public service functions or even conduct research. But the instances of research and public service functions are usually much less frequent in the two year colleges. While there are some developmental and programmatic differences between these three branches of higher education for the purpose of this study, their similarities will be emphasized more than their differences.

The greatest differences among these three groups are the result of the faculty socialzation programs undergone in both education and work experience. The certifying credential for the four year and the senior college is usually the Ph.D. degree. The Masters Degree is the major certifying credential for the two year college. These two educational programs differ in emphasis, duration of training, and exposure to such important socializing features as faculty, students and colleagues. It is quite possible that individuals undergoing these two different socialization processes might perform quite differently in their career role as professor. But this difference might be less significant than the training received by two individuals in the same degree program but in different departments within the same university. Therefore, this study will operate on the assumption that there is more variance within each group of faculty members than there is between the three separate institutional groupings.

The division of faculty members in junior colleges, senior colleges and four year colleges is an illustration of a trend that will be discussed in the final chapter of this study. It seems quite logical that the post-modern American society will continue to segment and compartmentalize its social institutions even further into junior, senior, four year, and graduate colleges, centers of scientific research, centers providing primarily professional and graduate training and centers for vocational and career specializations. It is interesting to note that while the four year institutions have provided most of the behavioral models for the two year colleges, the unionization movement had its origins and developed its impetus in the two year, junior and community colleges. This illustrates an important professional discrepancy that should be investigated but is beyond the scope of this study.

Professional Concepts Defined

For several centuries scholars have attempted to define and give meaning to the term 'profession.' Its elusiveness may be a direct result of its intimate connection with the society. The origin of the term is the topic of some dispute, except there seems to be a common understanding of the oldest profession.

A most useful discussion of the professions has been forwarded by Vollmer and Mills. In clarifying the usage of the term they suggest "that the concept of professionalization be used to refer to the dynamic process whereby many occupations can be observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a profession."[2] This is differentiated from professionalism which refers "to an ideology and associated activities that can be found in many and diverse occupational groups where members aspire to professional status."[3] They go on to state that "professionalism may be a necessary constituent of professionalization, but professionalism is not a sufficient cause for the entire professionalization process."[4] This distinction between the process and ideology will be observed during this study.

Herbert Blumer states that

> Professionalization seeks to clothe a given area with standards of excellence, to establish rules of conduct, to develop a sense of responsibility, to set criteria for recruitment and training, to ensure a measure of protection for members, to establish collective control over the area, and to elevate it to a position of dignity and social standing in the society.[5]

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[2]H. M. Volmer and D. C. Mills, eds., Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966), p. vii.

[3]Ibid., p. viii.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. xi.

This distinction between professionalism and professionalization seems to be quite clear, but it does not explain what it is to be a professional or how one identifies a profession. A further explanation of professionalization may help to clarify this point. The process of professionalization is usually pictured as a series of steps which an occupation progresses through on its way to becoming a profession. These steps have been suggested by several authors and are compiled by Harold Wilensky in his article "The Professionalization of Everyone."[6] Briefly stated, the steps in order are the following: first, the occupation becomes a terminal career; second, there is the establishment of a training school; third, there is the formation of a professional association; fourth, is the winning of public support either by law or by public affirmation; and finally, comes the adoption of a formal code of ethics. The successful completion of this series of steps should lead to the position of a professional. But there are many occupations that have undergone this process and have never been designated a profession. There are two further choices remaining: they can choose to become further professionalized, indicating that a mere progression through these steps is not enough, or they can lose some of the attributes of a

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[6]Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone," The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (September, 1964), 137-158.

profession and begin to decline, or deprofessionalize. The notion of further professionalization and deprofessionalization is extremely important to the future of the academic profession.

It is partially for these reasons that Vollmer and Mills use profession only as an ideal type and not as any occupational organization which exists in reality. To them a profession is the model form of an occupational organization that would result if any occupational group became completely professionalized. They suggest that the term profession refer only to the abstract model and

> professional groups be used to refer to associations of colleagues in an occupational context when we observe that a relatively high degree of professionalization has taken place. Professionals, then, are those who are considered by their colleagues to be members of professional groups.[7]

While this distinction between professional groups and the profession as an ideal model is extremely important and useful, it is awkward and poorly understood by the public. For the purposes of this study, the term profession will be used to indicate those occupational groupings that are usually considered to have gained the title of profession by undergoing professionalization and having achieved the recognition of the society.

In an effort to clarify the definition of a profession, an extensive review of the literature was

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[7]Vollmer and Mills, Professionalization, p. viii.

undertaken by Morris Cogan. He compiled the following comprehensive definition which will serve as a beginning effort to understand this complicated concept. He states,

> A profession is a vocation whose practice is founded upon an understanding of the theoretical structure of some department of learning or science, and upon the abilities accompanying such understanding. This understanding and these abilities are applied to the vital practical affairs of man. The practices of the profession are modified by knowledge of a generalized nature and by the accumulated wisdom and experience of mankind, which serve to correct the errors of specialism. The profession, serving the vital needs of man, considers its first ethical imperative to be altruistic service to the client.[8]

This definition seems to be complete and comprehensive but still fails to provide an adequate level of understanding. Turning to some of the other authors, a pattern develops that will help to place the concept of profession in the proper perspective for this study.

In 1915, Abraham Flexner did his pioneering work in the professions and identified six major components of a profession. He labeled professional activity as basically learned, requiring much intellect to grasp the large amount of information that it was necessary to master. This knowledge was not to be applied routinely to every situation. The techniques of the profession could be taught to those of high intellect and were

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[8]Morris L. Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII (Winter, 1953), 48-49.

primarily practical rather than academic or theoretical. Professions had a strong internal organization and worked for some aspect of good for the society, always motivated by altruism. After presenting this objective list of criteria for comparing professions to occupations, he concludes with this statement:

> What matters most is professional spirit. . . . The unselfish devotion of those who have chosen to give themselves to making the world a fitter place to live in, can fill social work with the professional spirit and thus, to some extent lift it above all the distinctions which I have been at such pains to make.[9]

It would seem that the list of objective criteria are overridden by the moral issues defined as the "genuine professional spirit."

From this early beginning, many have seen the value of dividing the definition of profession into two parts. These two parts are given various names, but the descriptions remain similar to those originally provided by Flexner. Harold Wilensky has labeled this division in the first part as technical, based on systematic knowledge or doctrine and the latter portion, as a set of professional norms based on the moral considerations of the profession. Richard Hall has fortified this definitional division with some interesting research

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[9]Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession," Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (Chicago: Hellmann Printing Co., 1915), p. 590.

that indicates that as one portion advances (the definitional portion that he calls structural), the other portion (that which he calls ideological) may actually decline. The notion that these two may not vary together is the reason for a more extensive examination of the Hall and Wilensky studies in a later chapter.

Peter Berger adds still another dimension to the division of the definition when he proposes a possible conflict resulting from individual perceptions of these two parts of the professional definition. He is concerned that the way the role is reconstructed in reality (the structural portion) may be quite different from, and in conflict with, the individual's prior conception (the ideological portion) of what the role should be. He cites such things as formal education requirements, certification standards and bureaucratic restraints, as limiting to the amount of self-realization that any individual can receive from fulfilling a professional role, especially if his ideology of the profession involves a high "sense of calling."

Howard Becker provides the most detailed explanation of the ambiguities present in the definition. He states,

> On the one hand, profession is used as a scientific concept. Carefully defined with a precise list of differentia, the term is meant to point to an abstract and objectively discriminable class of human phenomena. It is a verbal tool with which the social scientist

> isolates a particular kind of occupational organization for further analysis and investigation, . . . In using this term, the social scientist means it to be as neutral and descriptive as other concepts he uses, like bureaucracy or Crow kinship system.[10]

However, when used in the ordinary language of our society,

> it portrays a morally desirable kind of work. Instead of resembling the biologist's conception of a mammal, it more nearly resembles the philosopher's or theologian's conception of a good man. It is a term of invidious comparison and moral evaluation; in applying it to a particular occupation people mean to say that the occupation is morally praiseworthy just as, in refusing to apply it to another occupation, they mean to say that it is not morally worthy of the honor.[11]

In this conflict, Becker sees the perennial problem of trying to reconcile the scientific use of a term with the usage of the term by the general public. One solution is to simply regard those occupations fortunate enough to have gained the honorific title in that particular society as professions, and those that haven't gained public acceptance as less than a profession. There would then be no such thing as a true profession and no set of characteristics associated with the title. This kind of definition admits that the term profession is mainly an honorific title bestowed by the society.

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[10]Howard S. Becker, "The Nature of a Profession," Education for the Professions, Sixty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: Chicago Press, 1962), p. 30.

[11]Ibid., p. 31.

The problem with this stance is that then there is no way of knowing where a particular occupation stands or what is necessary for moving from one position to the next in the process of professionalization. One solution for this problem is to establish what would be the most desirable professionalized state or an ideal professional model.

The Ideal Professional Model

Howard Becker has compiled a set of criteria which may be combined to provide an ideal professional model. In doing this he avoids some of the pitfalls described previously and gives a reference point by which it may be possible to judge the merit of the university professor as a professional. By describing an ideal model it is possible to avoid listing the criteria of existing occupations as professional or nonprofessional. It will also avoid the problem of compromising the scientific with the public definition. This approach postulates that there is substantial agreement on a set of interconnected characteristics which symbolize a morally praiseworthy kind of occupational organization, which is viewed as an honorific symbol used by our society. Becker never intended his model to be taken literally as something that all professions should work toward, but rather as an ideal to be used to measure the degree of

professionalization of various occupational groups. The following description is taken from his article, "The Nature of a Profession."

> Professions as commonly conceived, are occupations which possess a monopoly of some esoteric and difficult body of knowledge. Further, this knowledge is considered to be necessary for the continued functioning of the society. What the members of the profession know and can do is tremendously important, but no one else knows or can do these things.
>
> The body of knowledge over which the profession holds a monopoly consists not of technical skills and the fruits of practical experience but, rather, of abstract principles arrived at by scientific research and logical analysis. This knowledge cannot be applied routinely but must be applied wisely and judiciously to each case. This has several consequences.
>
> In the first place, it is supposed that only the most able people will have the mental ability and the proper temperament to absorb and use such knowledge. Therefore, recruitment must be strictly controlled, to ensure that those who are not qualified do not become members of the profession. Recruitment is controlled, first, by careful weeding out of prospective candidates, and, then, by a lengthy and difficult educational process which eliminates those who were mistakenly selected. Lengthy training is considered necessary anyway, because the body of knowledge is supposed to be so complex that it cannot be acquired in any shorter time.
>
> Secondly, it is felt that entrance into professional practice must be strictly controlled, and that this control must ultimately lie in the hands of members of the profession itself. Difficult obstacles, in the form of examinations of all kinds, must be surmounted by candidates for practice, and no one must be allowed to practice who has not so demonstrated his competence. This means that the police power of the state must be utilized, through the device of licensure procedures, to control entrance into practice. But if the knowledge monopolized by the profession is so difficult to acquire, it follows that no layman can fully acquire it and, therefore, that the governmental bodies which grant licenses must be

controlled by members of the profession itself. Similarly, the approval and accreditation of educational institutions and procedures must also be done by members of the profession. In short, the professional, by virtue of the esoteric character of his professional knowledge, is free of lay control.

Finally, since recruitment, training, and entrance into practice are all carefully controlled, any member of the professional group can be thought of as fully competent to supply the professional service.

Any profession which so monopolizes some socially important body of knowledge is likely to be considered potentially dangerous. It might use its monopoly to enrich itself or enlarge its power rather than in the best interests of its clients. The symbol of the profession, however, portrays a group whose members have altruistic motivations and whose professional activities are governed by a code of ethics which heavily emphasizes devotion to service and the good of the client and condemns misuse of professional skills for selfish purposes. This code of ethics, furthermore, is sternly enforced by appropriate disciplinary bodies. Professional associations have as their major purpose the enforcement of such ethical codes.

The client, therefore, is supposed to be able to count on the professional whose services he retains to have his best interests at heart. He rests comfortable in the knowledge that this is one relationship in which the rule of the market place does not apply. He need not beware but can give his full trust and confidence to the professional who is handling his problems; the service given him will be competent and unselfish.

If the client is to trust the professional completely he must feel that there are no other interests which will be put before his in the performance of the professional activity. Among the other interests which might intrude are the interests related to institutions within which the professional makes his career. Thus, the ideal professional is a <u>private</u> practitioner, in business for himself, so to speak. He has no ties to a superior officer or bureaucratic system of rules; he receives his income directly from fees paid by the client, not from any third party.[12]

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[12] <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 35-37.

One final element of the ideal professional model is the image of the profession and the professional as occupying an esteemed position in the society. Members of the professions are accorded high status and prestige and are often considered among the elite.

Given this as the ideal professional model, it may be instructive to see the points of conflict and agreement when the academic profession is held up against this theoretical construct.

First is the notion that a profession has a monopoly on some difficult body of esoteric knowledge. There is little doubt that academic knowledge is esoteric and often difficult. Much of the mystique surrounding the academic profession is practiced to portray a high level of difficulty. However, in many of the recently emerging disciplines it is difficult to establish if there is a body of knowledge that is unique to that particular discipline. Many of these disciplinary fields are amalgamations of knowledge borrowed from several other disciplines and applied to their own field of interest. It is even more difficult to establish a monopoly of any particular academic body of knowledge. One of the primary functions of the professor is to prevent a monopoly of knowledge by the dissemination of information. So, while academic knowledge is usually esoteric and difficult, it should not be the private domain of the professor.

One further difficulty is encountered when the question is asked if the knowledge of the university professor is necessary for the continued functioning of society. This question will be explored further in a later chapter, but it is important to remark here that there are several other social institutions that perform many of the same functions that the university provides as far as conservation, dissemination, innovation and creation of knowledge, but there is no single institution that engages so many youth in a non-producing capacity for as long a period of time as the university. This may indeed be the indispensible function of the university, which may lead to a very real conflict between the professors, who are teaching for students to learn, and the students, who are present mainly for socialization into adult roles.

Secondly, one of the most obvious conflicts of the ideal model and the university is its application of "abstract principles arrived at by scientific research and logical analysis" not routinely but wisely and judiciously applied in each case. The college teacher as the professor of abstract principles is under constant attack to make things relevant. He is also forced to apply his knowledge routinely rather than in each individual case. Large university enrollments, conflict of interests among the three basic functions and a confusion of roles to be

played by the professor, often prevent the professor from performing his role in accordance with the ideal professional model.

Thirdly, the recruitment and entrance of members into the academic profession is quite tightly controlled by the certifying professional doctoral members and these requirements closely parallel the ideal model. There is, of course, a great variance among the certifying bodies, but this is a question of quality control rather than a question of compliance with the ideal model. Even though the profession reflects these controlling criteria, one of the paradoxes of the university professor is his subserviance to "lay control." This lay control comes in many forms and can be seen as student evaluation sheets, alumni pressure groups, boards of trustees, university administrators and the public; as legislators, private contributors or government granters.

Fourthly, there is no profession where each member is thought to be fully competent to supply its "central professional service" and college teaching is no exception. Not all college professors are equally competent in all of the basic functions they are supposed to provide. It is quite clear to many that professors may not be competent to supply any of the functions that they are hired to provide. Not only are there incompetents practicing, but there are also many levels of competency. This factor

becomes important when coupled with the level of the freedom of student choice. In the ideal model the clients don't have the knowledge to make choices among the professionals and the professionals are all fully competent to provide the professional service. In actual practice, students often have formal as well as informal means of making selections among the available professionals. Students continually make judgments about which teacher to select, how much work to do, and whether to attend class or not. Furthermore, judgments are made about professors by various other laymen. Only certain professors are given research grants and asked to do consultant work, while others are selected to give speeches, publish reports and write books. Many groups of clients make various judgments about professionals contrary to the professional model. Although clients often make selections, they do so on selective criteria which may or may not be professionally valid in each case. Often selection is based on non-professional criteria, as much from a lack of knowledge and understanding as anything. It is still the rule that the professional has more knowledge than any of the laymen making the selection.

While the symbol portrays the professional as an altruistic and ethical practitioner, there are exceptions in each profession. It may be that some of the unethical practices are done in ignorance and without malice, but

some examples are obviously for monetary gain and clearly in violation of the commonly held professional ethical norms. Professors who publish student research and perform consulting work at the expense of their university functions are clearly stretching ethical practice. While there are several codes of ethics set down by various academic organizations, there is no single organization that can claim that their members adhere to the code, nor is there any stipulation that a professor must join an organization which has an established code of ethics.

Professors acting in a university setting have obvious limits on their autonomy. Some of the constraints are a result of the bureaucratic structure and others are a result of the nature of the position in the society. While the bureaucratic hierarchy often protects the professor from the demands of the students, it also limits their decision making ability and often diverts their time and energies to administrative tasks not always closely connected to scholarship. There is a subtle referral system that exists among faculty expecially at the graduate level. The most desirable students often seek professors that have interests similar to theirs and who have expressed themselves in writing. While this referral system is not as blatant as the medical profession it does exist, expecially in those disciplines where the professor can benefit from student research. Often the

acceptance of certain students by a professor will limit the autonomy of that professor in time as well as in ideas, if he allows the student to pursue his own interests. The other alternative is relative isolation from students, which is antithetical to the teaching function of the professor. To protect himself he often posts office hours and meets with students only by appointment. The autonomy thus gained may be at a greater expense; that of the idea of the university, and the function of the professor. Either way there is a loss of autonomy; one is to the student, the other is to the structure.

The final element of the symbol discussed has to do with the public acceptance and prestige of the profession. College teaching has enjoyed a high prestige rating among the various occupations. It has ranked among the top three in several surveys in the 1950s and early 1960s. But recently there has been some question about the altruistic motives of the profession, especially since it has received a high level of support from various financial sources.

There is one further notion that should be discussed before continuing, and that is the relationship of the professor to the university. Is it possible to discuss the function of the university by viewing the functions of the faculty that comprise the university? It is obvious that the university is tied very closely to the interpretation given it by the individual faculty members, but this

is not to say that the entire faculty, the administration and the students are not also important components of the university. It should be understood that these segments compose a university which is greater than the sum of its individual parts. The analysis of the role of the faculty is not identical to the analysis of the role of the university. The faculty are only one portion of the university but are the prime interpreters of the university function. When politicalization and unionization are discussed they necessarily involve the faculty, but they also reflect the functioning of the university. Even though there is a wide divergency in the functions of any university and even a wider divergency in the way that individual professors interpret their role, the university would not exist without the faculty and the professional role being discussed in this study would not exist without the university.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

Two Sociological Models for the Professions

Before further consideration of the academic professional, it might be useful to examine some of the theoretical frameworks which scholars have constructed for viewing the conceptual problems of the professions.

There are two general sociological models along which the theory of professions have developed. The oldest and most universally held model conceptualizes professions as occupations organized around some vital public service function that continues through time because of its necessity to the maintenance of society. This may be termed the functional or structural functionalist model because of its emphasis on the centrality of the social function performed by the profession.

> Functionalism sees a profession largely as a relatively homogeneous community whose members share identity, values, definitions of role and interests. . . . There is a steadfast core which defines the profession, deviations from which are but temporary dislocations, socialization of recruits consists of induction into the common core. There are norms, codes, which govern the behavior of the professional to insiders and outsiders. In short, the sociology of professions has largely been focused upon the mechanics of

> cohesiveness and upon detailing the social structure (and/or social organization) of given professions.[1]

Most scholars adhere to this model of the professions and see no problem in shaping their ideas to the structural-functionalist theory. Goode used the structural-functionalist model when he termed the professions a community.

> Its members are bound by a sense of identity. Once in it, few leave, so that it is a terminal or continuing status for the most part. Its members share common values in common. Its role definitions vis-a-vis both members and non-members are agreed upon and are the same for all members. Within the areas of communal action there is a common language, which is understood only partially by outsiders. The community has power over its members. Its limits are reasonably clear, though they are not physical and geographical, but social. Though it does not produce the next generation biologically, it does so socially through its control over the selection of professional trainees, and through its training processes it sends these recruits through an adult socialization process.[2]

Clearly, Goode provides a vivid illustration of the structural-functionalist position.

Bucher and Strauss have developed the other major model, building on the earlier work of Everett Hughes in occupations and professions and the symbolic interaction position of George Herbert Mead in social psychology. Bucher and Strauss criticize the functionalist position

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[1]Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, "Professions in Process," The American Journal of Sociology, LXV (January, 1961), 325.

[2]William J. Goode, "Community Within a Community: The Professions," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 194.

because of its failure to account for many significant aspects of professions.

> Particularly does it bias the observer against appreciating the conflict--or at least difference--of interests within the profession; this leads him to overlook certain of the more subtle features of the profession's "organization" as well as to fail to appreciate how consequential for changes in the profession and its practitioners differential interests may be. In actuality, the assumption of relative homogeneity within the profession is not entirely useful: there are many identities, many values, and many interests.[3]

The Bucher and Strauss model emphasizes the more dynamic nature of the professions and pictures the divergencies from the norms as more than simple adjustments within the large homogeneous organizational pattern. These differences within the professions lead to separate and obviously distinct groups that they call segments.

> They (segments) tend to become patterned and shared; coalitions develop and flourish--and in opposition to some others. . . . We shall develop the idea of professions as loose amalgamations of segments pursuing different objectives in different manners and more or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history.[4]

They call this the process model of professions.

In using the medical profession as an example they illustrate their case in the following way.

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[3]Bucher and Strauss, "Professions in Process," p. 326.

[4]Ibid.

> Of the medical profession as a whole a great deal could be, and has been, said: its institutions; its personnel; its organizations; its recruitment policies; its standards and codes; its political activities; its relations with the public; not to mention the professions' informal mechanisms of sociability and control. All this minimal 'structure' certainly exists.
>
> But we should also recognize the great divergency of enterprise and endeavor that mark the profession; the cleavages that exist along with the division of labor; and the intellectual and specialist movement that occur within the broad rubric called 'organized medicine.'[5]

A more careful examination of the categories devised by Bucher and Strauss may help to understand application of this model to the academic profession. They claim that these categories represent more than areas of disagreement; they picture situations within a profession where various individual segments represent very different answers to the problems presented. These categories are theoretical constructs which appear to have in common only their ability to generate the separate segments that produce new definitions of problems.

First is the sense of mission; which refers to a unique contribution of a particular segment within the profession, spawned from a conflict with the power segment and emphasizing its own peculiar contribution. An academic example of this phenomenon might be the Agricultural Extension Service which began as an adjunct of the University Agriculture Department for the dissemination of

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[5] Ibid.

information. It now has a life of its own, performing teaching and public service functions and often vying for the same money as its previous parent. The sense of mission of these two sub-groups have developed quite differently within the university and each may be thought of as a segment, one with primarily a research mission and the other with a clinical mission. Other examples of the separation of the research, teaching and service into separate segments each with a distinct sense of mission could be readily described. It should be noted that this example of the separation of a sense of mission produced the establishment of a specialized and separate social institution for the performance of different and distinct social functions.

Second is work activities; meaning the kinds of work the professional should be doing, how the work should be organized and the priority of the tasks. As stated earlier, the work activities of the university professor are divided among at least these three tasks: teaching, research, and public service. It is generally conceded that each professor should conduct a sufficient amount of research to keep his teaching current. But within a single English Department it is possible to describe professors who (a) divide their time equally between research and teaching with virtually no public service performed; (b) administer the department, perform public relations

work and do no teaching; or (c) publish best selling novels which may require a major portion of their time but have little or nothing to do with their teaching (e.g., Erich Segal, Yale professor of literature and author of Love Story). Other examples could be cited within any department, but these three clearly establish a varying sense of priorities, and a significant disagreement of how work should be organized. There exists in this example a basic disagreement on what the most characteristic professional act in this particular discipline might be.

The third is methodology and techniques, referring to the methods employed in performing those acts said to be professional. Differing opinions of research and teaching methods and techniques are a vital part of the university setting. It may indeed be the way that academic progress is made. New methods that arise from theory and practice often secure converts who become disciples and establish dogmatic doctrines which create entirely new disciplines within the university, perhaps even leading to new professions within the society. Various branches of medicine might be cited as examples. Colleges of osteopathy, schools for chiropractors and courses in acupuncture all support quite different claims of truth resulting in different methodology and techniques.

The fourth is clients; the professional client relationship is usually pictured as monolithic

superior-subordinate relationship, however this is often not the case on the American university campus. While there seems to be a general trend toward more student involvement in decision making, both in the classroom and out, some colleges and departments adhere to the superior-subordinate, teacher-student relationship. There are those that see the students included in the community of scholars more as colleagues than apprentices to the master. Several colleges have been founded along these ideas and established separately precisely because of their incompatability with the more traditional system. The building of these new kinds of programs could be taken clearly as process model segments constructed from basic disagreements on the proper client relationship for the academic profession.

The fifth is colleagueship:

> Insofar as colleagueship refers to a relationship characterized by a high degree of shared interests and common symbols, it is probably rare that all members of a profession are even potentially colleagues. It is more feasible, instead to work with a notion of colleagueship.[6]

This may be especially true of the academic profession where members of different disciplines have widely divergent interests and perform many different roles within the institution. There are certain cliques or groups that have a unique mission rather than a shared mission with others,

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[6] Ibid., p. 331.

even in the same discipline. In large departments the administrative personnel such as deans and assistant deans often group together and perform a unique mission quite different from the teaching faculty of the same department. It is also the case that one particular group may have more in common with a neighboring discipline that it does with the remaining members of its own discipline. In the field of Chemistry, there are separate groups which have specific applications outside the field of chemistry and often project their allegiences in that direction rather than within their own academic department. Those members of organic chemistry freely admit their separation from inorganic chemistry, which is equally distinct from physical chemistry. The language spoken by biochemists could scarcely be understood by the inorganic chemist and would have much more in common with the biophysicist or the nutritionist. The interests of the colleagues in any one professional department may be quite varied as an accounting of the journals on any one professor's desk might prove.

The final four categories have to do with power distribution. The first two Bucher and Strauss call <u>interests and associations</u>. They identify interests with a sense of fate or destiny, and see associations as serving those interests by exercising power. The sense of fate of a profession may be controlled by one major interest group but that often does not prevent several other lesser

interest groups from establishing contravening power bases of their own.

An interesting example of interests and associations controlling the sense of fate has developed recently in relation to the question of faculty unionization. Many professors in certain departments may be inherently opposed to faculty unions. There are other faculty members within the same departments that agree in principle but believe their fate is sealed by the advent of collective bargaining. Even though they would prefer to remain non-unionized they picture themselves as only small cogs in a great wheel turned by the university administration.

In addition, segments could be organized by young faculty members who see their destiny as servile in long apprenticeships without tenure. These non-tenured young members might be joined by a strong contingent of faculty known as functionaries, who do the routine work of the university largely without recognition, to form a strong pro-union movement in order to better their circumstances. This group would undoubtedly be opposed by the anti-union movement supported by the "stars" or those individuals that have wide-spread national and international reputations and can bargain effectively as individuals. These segments are present on most campuses that are currently considering unionization and represent divergent and often very strongly

held views. These segments may see their interest served only by unionization or only by staying out of unions.

In this same regard, the action of associations involved in the union movement is of great interest. The National Education Association has gradually shifted its position to come in line with the more militant Federation of Teachers Association which has supported unionization of faculty in higher education. The American Association of University Professors has long represented the most "professional" viewpoint of the national organization and has opposed unionization tactics as useful means for gaining faculty demands. These three associations historically have represented three very divergent positions and actually could have been said to espouse separate interests leading to separate segments. As indicated, the NEA and the AFT positions have come closer together indicating a shared interest in unionization, leaving only the AAUP as the guardian of the "professional segment." An extremely important development in sense of fate has recently occurred in the AAUP. They have been designated as the sole bargaining agent for a large mid-western university indicating a more consolidated sense of fate among the various national higher education associations and an unwillingness of the AAUP to maintain its highly professional stance in the face of significant gains by the more militant, union oriented organizations. This is a very important development in

regard to the sense of fate or destiny projected by the national associations of higher education.

The final ideas examined are spurious unity and public relations. Bucher and Strauss contend that certain dominant groups gain a transient power, and through a public relations front simulate the presence of unity. These dominant power groups regulate and control the profession as well as the process of becoming a professional and so delude themselves into believing they are the locus of power. The inner circle is usually a tightly knit group of individuals that jealously guard the institution from the revolutionary inroads of the young militants. The spurious unity of the inner group was severely tested in May of 1970 when many universities throughout the country were closed down for a period of several days. The advertised singleness of purpose and outward facade of unity exhibited by the university administration was dissipated by the militant student and faculty usurpation of power. Were there not dissatisfied segments and some basic divisions among the faculty, the strike could never have occurred. Calm has been restored to most campuses, but the administration is no longer complacent about their position and there is a new willingness to listen to divergent opinions about the power structure of the university.

The process theory with its loose amalgamations of powerful coalitions is a dynamic model that appeals to the

common sense notions of how a university operates. It is not difficult to cite several examples of conflicting situations where disagreement runs deep and accommodation seems unlikely. But as indicated previously most scholars prefer the functional model as the best means of explaining the professions. They hold that the centrality of the social function and the deviations from the established norms are not due to the basic ideological inconsistencies but rather to the healthy competition of divergent means of arriving at the same ends. The empirical information supporting the functional model is more prevalent and more substantial; but that may be due to its traditional pre-eminance and ease of collection and measurement. Most of the information presented in this study is based on the structural-functional model emphasizing the importance of professional autonomy and stability achieved through prolonged, specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge oriented to public service. This is not meant to dismiss the process theory entirely. Quite the contrary, it is important to recognize and perhaps even emphasize conflicts as they occur within a profession. Often they may provide a basis for understanding the dynamic process of change as it occurs within the academic profession. Bucher and Strauss provide the reader with the following choice in their article: "The model can be considered either as a supplement of, or an alternative to, the prevailing

functional model."[7] Given this option, most researchers would prefer to use both models in trying to explain the very complex concepts of the academic profession. This study will use both models where they best explain the ideas under discussion. Generally, the structural-functionalist model will be used to describe interaction between the society and the academic profession and the sociological process model will be used to help describe interaction within the academic profession.

The Professionalizing Society

Many scholars concerned with the modern American society have conducted research which will help to explain the trends toward professionalization of most occupations. In addition, this study is concerned about the continued professionalization of an established profession and what steps are necessary to prevent the deprofessionalization of the academic profession.

> An industrializing society is a professionalizing society. Two indices of this relationship may be drawn from American experience: One is an increase in the proportion of the labor force in the white-collar occupations generally, and the professions and semi-professions specifically. The other is the increase in the number of occupations trying to acquire the symbols of professional status. . . . Ultimately most occupations will professionalize, that is be engaged in developing a body of abstract knowledge, dedicated to service, concerned with improving the training of recruits, and so on. . . . Consequently, an important part

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[7] Ibid., p. 326.

> of the process by which an occupation becomes a profession is the gradual institutionalization of various role relationships between itself and other parts of the society.[8]

Goode uses this passage to set the stage for an overview of the emerging professions. He continues by providing several insights into professionalization as it is progressing in the modern American society. He states that those occupations striving to become professions must necessarily define some of the present professionals as incompetent to be able to provide the service they are proposing. Developing professions must win support for their position from the public as well as their colleagues. But the public must not be allowed to evaluate their competency because that would constitute non-professional behavior. "Professionals admit that they need their client's cooperation for a good performance; for survival they also need their client's faith."[9] This is further complicated by the fact that most emerging professions work in areas where empirical information is incomplete and difficult to evaluate. In addition, they dare not submit their claims to scrutiny because that would acknowledge a higher authority. He further states that these new professions are more science than art and so can be inter-subjectively tested with less need for certification,

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[8]Goode, "Encroachment . . . ," pp. 902-903.

[9]Ibid., p. 904.

licensure or guild protection. Goode observes that the new professions increasingly operate within a bureaucratic context. The current bureaucracy employs an extensive division of labor which encourages specialization and employment of experts.

The importance of the new professionalization movement for the academic profession is explained in this following passage.

> The more usual professional development today, and one which encompasses a large portion of all professional work, stresses the marketing of special scientific skills, without the strong growth of guild concerns. Such professional fields emerge from a parent body of knowledge, usually in an academic context, and their model remains the academic man. Their professional associations are not guilds, imposing rigid controls over members in their client-professional relations, or protecting the guild member against lay evaluations. Rather, these associations are learned societies. The allegiance of the members is primarily to the substantive field, not the guild. Their professional behavior is guided far more by the ethic of science than by an ethic of the client-professional relationship. Their academic counterpart is the professor who does consulting work.[10]

In this passage, Goode emphasizes several factors that have important implications for the academic profession. Scholars are particular types of professionals which organize around academic disciplines, which in turn rely on the scientific method for the validation of their truth claims. As scientism has overtaken the university, the professorate has become exposed to the scrutiny of

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[10] Ibid., p. 906.

scientific evaluation, and been forced to abandon the notion of teaching as an art.

Goode also lays the groundwork for a compatability of academics and unions by redefining what it is to belong to a new professional group; i.e., no rigid controls over members, expertness freeing them from lay evaluations, and guidance by the scientific ethic rather than the professional-client relationship. Finally, he illustrates the compatability of the professions and bureaucracy.

> Throughout Western history, most professionals have been bureaucrats: the military officer, the clergyman, the university professor, most engineers and architects, and much earlier, both the lawyer and the physician.[11]

Goode characterizes the new professions as having no precise social definition of when a client may seek a professional's help nor is there a definition of what problems are best served by the profession. There is rather a definition of skills and knowledge which comprise a field of study. These new professions, therefore, fail to have clients with problems. They work on problems that affect clients.

Goode seems to identify the academic man as the pattern for the emerging professional. Robert Maynard Hutchins sees an even closer parallel between the scholar and the society:

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[11] Ibid.

> Business may eventually be organized like a university, with the staff claiming a kind of academic freedom, participating in the formation of policy, and enjoying permanent tenure. Where that happens the university administrators of America will derive a certain grim satisfaction from the struggles of these captains of industry who have had the habit of complaining about the mismanagement of universities.[12]

What they both seem to be indicating is that there is a new trend in the development of the professions, and the pattern of the professional may be changing to closer emulate the scholar. In the new professions, as in the academic profession, it is difficult to know who is client and who is colleague; who is superior and who is subordinate. In these complex organizations of bureaucratized professionals, Hughes is concerned about autonomy:

> The problem of freedom becomes one of distinguishing between one's obligations to the person, if it be such a case, on which one performs some action or to whom one gives some advice, and to one's employer or organization. . . . As professions become more organized, business organizations become more professionalized.[13]

T. H. Marshall was one of the early functionalists who laid much of the groundwork for understanding the emerging professionalism in his 1939 article "The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy." In discussing the development of the

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[12]Robert Maynard Hutchins, "The Administrator," in The Works of the Mind, ed. by R. B. Heywood (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 137.

[13]Everett C. Hughes, "Professions," Daedalus, XCII (Fall, 1963), 655.

social services in England he sees this pattern developing for the new professions in the modern society.

> In short, the professions are being socialized and the social and public services are being professionalized. The professions are learning, not merely to recognize their obligations to society as a whole as well as those to individual clients, but also to break down the traditional isolation which separated them from one another.[14]

Marshall believes that the professions are coming to better fulfill their true public service ideal through a broader service to the public.

> First, that professionalism is an idea based on the real character of certain services. It is not a clever invention of selfish minds. Secondly, the individualistic bias of the major professions was a product of circumstance. It was not the cornerstone of the building. Thirdly, the professions today are being weaned from this excessive individualism and are adapting themselves to the new standards of social service.[15]

Everett Hughes, building on Marshall's work twenty-five years later, found little quarrel with the original article. Hughes concurred with Marshall's definition that the professions are those occupations in which caveat emptor cannot be allowed to prevail and which, while they are not pursued for gain, must bring their practitioners an income of such a level that they will be respected and able to live

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[14] T. H. Marshall, "The Recent History of Professionalization in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, V (February, 1939), 335-336.

[15] Ibid., p. 337.

a life of the mind. Hughes pointed out in 1966 that the social changes had created an even greater dependence of the modern society on the professions, along with a greater tendency to work in a complex organization.[16]

If increased professionalization of the society is the trend, then there are several important implications for the academic profession. These professionals must have more education relating to their occupations, they will insist on colleague control and evaluations, and they will shift their routine work to subordinates and claim an area of expertise in defining the public interest in technical matters relating to their work. Research has become an important sign of progress and the researchers have become increasingly separated from practitioners and actually form the elite of most professions. So, a sign of further professionalization will be the increased division of labor, resulting in the positions of greatest prestige going to those furthest removed from practice.

Hughes continues by drawing parallels between developing professions and the academic profession and stating that the new organizations have become more staff than line organized because traditionally the staff professionals are allowed to display more loyalty to their colleagues and their profession than their employer. The

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[16]Everett C. Hughes, "The Professions in Society," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXVI (February, 1966), 54.

profession provides them with a sense of solidarity, and autonomy not always provided by the place of employment. This is also true of many university settings.

Professionals often choose to become part of a bureaucracy because of their loss of autonomy to their clients. They become choreboys of their clients and do not specialize the way they want to but rather in accordance with the demands of their clients. As Hughes states it,

> The effective freedom to choose one's special line of work, to have access to the appropriate clients and equipment, to engage in that converse with eager and competent colleagues which will sharpen one's knowledge and skill, to organize one's time and effort so as to gain that end and customs and opinions seem in many lines of work to be much greater for those professionals who have employers and work inside complicated and even bureaucratic organizations, than for those who according to the traditional concept are in independent practice.[17]

These three authors provide sound observations on the increased professionalization of the society and their implications for the academic profession become quite clear upon closer investigation.

Wilensky does not share the notion that everyone is becoming more professionalized and backs it up with some empirical research. He states rather emphatically,

> If the marks of a profession are a successful claim to exclusive technical competence and adherence to the service ideal, the idea that all occupations move toward professional authority--

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[17] Ibid., p. 61.

> this notion of the professionalization of everyone is a bit of sociological romance.[18]

His research questions the universal professionalization of all occupations and makes several astute observations that help to clarify the positions presented by the previous authors.

To support his thesis that the society is not universally becoming professionalized, he cites several examples where there are significant deterrents to professionalization. His first claim is that a profession must have a technical basis and that some of these bases are more acceptable than others. The technical basis is a program of systematic knowledge or doctrine acquired only through long prescribed training, and science is the primary doctrine adhered to by most modern societies. Using this information, it is possible to construct a continuum with science based professions at one end and a practical lay understanding at the other, including spiritual authority somewhere in the middle but still recognizing it as a potent validating principle for professions.

As an illustration of this continuum, he cites the following:

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[18]Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" p. 156.

> In modern societies where science enjoys extraordinary prestige, occupations which shine with its light are in a good position to achieve professional authority. Thus, while medicine has its sectarian dissenters (chiropractors, osteopaths and at one time psychoanalysts), it enjoys more acceptance than the ministry, whose doctrines are anchored in conflicting religious communities. There is clearly more consensus about the products of applied science than about spiritual values; the best way to avoid smallpox is more certain than the best way to achieve salvation. Nevertheless, in some places the ministry comes close to science-based professions in its monopoly of recognized skill while carpentry does not; many of us might construct a home made bookcase, few would forego a clergyman at the grave.[19]

The academic profession often relies on the sacred to reinforce the scientific in extending its jurisdictional claims. College teaching employs both scientific principles and sacred rites to maintain its professional position in the eyes of the public. The religious faith expressed by the public in higher education seems more likely to decline than their faith in science. There is, however, a threat to both existing in the society undermining the authority of the academic profession.

Wilensky continues to support his argument against the professionalization of everyone by explaining that technical basis alone is not enough to be designated as professional. Many craftsmen who are not professional have a high level of technical competence but they lack something else.

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[19] Ibid., pp. 138-139.

> The success of the claim to professional status is governed by the degree to which the practitioners conform to a set of moral norms that characterize the established professions. These norms dictate not only that the practitioner do technically competent, high-quality work, but that he adhere to a service ideal-devotion to the client's interests more than personal or commercial profit should guide decisions when the two are in conflict.[20]

He supports the service ideal as the paramount moral claim for professional status.

This service ideal incorporates several lesser professional norms which he cites as important influences on the various professional relationships. Professional norms governing client relationships dictate they be impersonal, objective and provided on an impartial basis. Professional norms for colleague relationships include avoiding criticism of colleagues in public, condemning unqualified practitioners, honoring the technical competence of formally qualified members, and avoiding doing too little or too much work. The professional should be aware of his own limited competence and be ready to refer clients to colleagues of greater competence in other specialties. The erosion of any of these norms will lead to a deterioration of the professional ideology which will eventually undermine the profession.

> In short, the degree of professionalization is measured not just by the degree of success in the claim to exclusive technical competence, but also

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[20] Ibid., p. 140.

> by the degree of adherence to the service ideal and its supporting norms of professional conduct.[21]

In speaking about threats to professionalism, Wilensky discusses some of those things that may lead to the deprofessionalization of those established professions such as university teaching. He speaks about bureaucratic threats to autonomy in the following passage.

> These complex organizations develop their own controls; bosses, not colleagues, rule--or at minimum, power is split among managers, professional experts and lay board of directors. The salaried professional often has neither exclusive nor final responsibility for his work; he must accept the ultimate authority of non-professionals in the assessment of both process and product.[22]

Strong arguments have been made by Goodman, Berger, Luckman, Galbraith and others that institutions, once established, tend to extend and protect themselves for maintenance of the institution rather than the performance of the function they were originally established to perform. Wilensky enlarges this argument, stating that these institutions such as the universities

> . . . organize their work in ways that protect the income, security, and well being of their most valued personnel--and that where such institutional considerations are prominant, the technical service ideal will be threatened, whatever the anxious effort to preserve it. In brief, perhaps bureaucracy enfeebles the service ideal more than it threatens professional autonomy. Both salaried and self-employed professionals are vulnerable to loss of autonomy when demand for service is low

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[21] Ibid., p. 141.

[22] Ibid., p. 146.

> and dependence on powerful clients or bosses unreceptive to independent professional judgment is high. But where comfortable organizational routines take command, the salaried professional may lose sight of client needs more quickly than his solo brother.[23]

The threat to the academic profession is great from both of these sources. There is evidence of a break-down in the service ideal of the university as seen by the public, and threats to autonomy are coming from student-clients, research-clients, legislative-clients and the central administration. It seems like a difficult task to maintain the service ideal in the face of these difficulties, and if the service ideal is destroyed, the raison d'etre of the academic profession will have disappeared.

Wilensky's next deterrent to professionalization is stated this way:

> If the technical base of an occupation consists of a vocabulary that sounds familiar to everyone or if the base is scientific but so narrow that it can be learned as a set of rules by most people, then the occupation will have difficulty claiming a monopoly of skill or even a roughly exclusive jurisdiction.[24]

Part of the problem with all of education is that everyone is acquainted with learning and knowing and each has experienced a situation where they accomplished some significant learning and they believe they know how best they learn. But on the other end of the learning continuum

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[23] Ibid., p. 148.

[24] Ibid.

are the behaviorists that program steps to learning that anyone can master. In either case, the threat to exclusive jurisdiction is great and the lay public has the possibility of claiming to know and understand everything about the profession.

To retain their exclusive jurisdiction, all professionals establish an aura of mystery about their professional knowledge. The university professor projects the image of a man who knows so much that all he can communicate is a very small part. Usually he so cloaks his communication in jargon that even simple concepts, readily understood by laymen, take on the quality of the unknown and unknowable. This tacit component of all professional knowledge is relatively inaccessible, so it is less subject to criticism and change and is the basis for the traditionalism (recruits must pass through the same socializing ritual) and conservatism (there is no other means of knowing) of the established professions. "The theoretical aspects of professional knowledge and the tacit elements in both intellectual and practical knowing combine to make long training necessary and to persuade the public of the mystery of the craft."[25] Wilensky, in speaking about client threat to professionalization says,

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[25] Ibid., p. 150.

> Perhaps more subversive of autonomy and the service ideal are pressures from the non-organizational users of service--where the client is not a boss but just a customer. . . . In any work context where the professional lacks strong colleague constraints, the customer complaints, real or imaginary, are likely to receive prompt and costly attention; his real problems if they require professional skill, may be overlooked.[26]

In this final threat to professionalization he destroys the traditional notion of the professional working alone and being highly autonomous. Wilensky concludes his argument by indicating that there is not an increased professionalization of everyone but rather a development of new and different organizational structures which will be necessary to accommodate the new power relationships that are in the future.

> The occupational group of the future will combine elements from both the professional and bureaucratic models; the average professional man will combine professional and non-professional orientations; the typical occupational association may be neither a trade union nor a professional association . . . the role orientations of many professionals reflect a resolution of the clash between the requirements of profession, organization and social movement. Most obvious, professional orientations rooted in a colleague group will increasingly be found mixed with careerist orientations rooted in a workplace hierarchy.[27]

Citing some probable role orientations, Wilensky lists the technical professional who will provide neutral and objective advice about long-run goals and ongoing programs; program professionals, with their in-depth specialties

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[26] Ibid., p. 154.

[27] Ibid., p. 157.

and expert competence but committed to particular programs when they act as technical advisor; and the social action expert who supplies ideology and programs for the professional stance on public relations and political action. Speaking of these new role orientations he says,

> End products of broad movements of social reform, these men combine professional standards of work with programmatic sense and constitute an important link between professional culture and civil culture, the man of knowledge and the man of power.[28]

In reviewing this chapter, the intimate connection between the society and the professions becomes obvious. Both sociological models emphasize this interaction and the examples of writings in professionalization constantly referred to the interdependency of the professions and the society. The Wilensky study provides some empirical information about the barriers to professionalization of many occupations and presents information about the fate of the continued professionalization of the academic profession. He does not differ greatly from Marshall, Hughes and Goode in his final analysis.

> There is another way to view what is happening to professionalism: it is not that organizational revolution destroys professionalism, or that the newer forms of knowledge (vague human-relations skills at one extreme, programmed instruction at the other) provide a poor base for professionalism, but simply that all these developments lead to something new. The culture of bureaucracy invades the professions; the culture of professionalism invades organizations.[29]

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[28] Ibid., p. 158.

[29] Ibid., p. 150.

It becomes obvious that the changing social climate will encourage changes in the academic profession. These changes will be both structural and ideological and require new and innovative administrative structures to adapt to the shifts in equilibrium that are inevitable.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

Approximately a quarter of a million persons are engaged in American college and university teaching, and this chapter will investigate some of the common functions that these people share. With increasing enrollments and confounding of functions the complexity of the bureaucracy has tended to reconstruct the traditional role function of the professor. Several groups of persons have tried to describe the professor (including fictional writers, theoretical sociologists and empirical researchers) each having met with varying degrees of success. The first group might better be classified as quasi-fictional authors. A professor's rather disgruntled view of the way others see him was written by Richard Welch.

> The image which they entertain of a college professor is that of someone who has decided not to enter the race, but rather to live a life of leisurely calm, chatting with a few students, browsing through a few books and generally having a soporific time of it while his more aggressive companions exhaust themselves in the rat race of the Communications Industry.[1]

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[1]Richard E. Welch, Jr., "What's the Image?" in The New Professors, ed. by Robert O. Bower (New York: H & H, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 17.

A more serious attempt is made by another professor:

> The professor is no longer a community landmark around whom the legends of veneration arise. He is no longer a member in a higher personalized fraternity of colleagues. He is rather, likely to belong to a large faculty of specialists. He must face not a circle of students but a room or lecture hall of students, most of whom he knows slightly or not at all outside the confines of the classroom. His discussion is addressed to no homogeneous group of seekers after knowledge: popular education means diversity in background, interests, and many levels of intellectual incentives to get a 'college education.' And perhaps most important of all, and but partially graspable even by professors whose college days were in the twenties, the students whom he faces know that college has a direct bearing upon livelihood, and that marks have a direct bearing upon staying in college.[2]

This view may be contrasted with this literary treatment:

> Professors too often feel that teaching is a personal and individual activity which takes place in a classroom and in which their private personal efforts somehow result in learning by students. If we regard the teaching accomplished by a college as embracing all the activities of the college from which students learn, it becomes apparent that much of the teaching of a college results from collaborative rather than individual effort.[3]

And one final example:

> A teacher is a veteran of an art, profession, or science who teaches because he ought to and must. . . . I do not think that college teaching is a profession, for it has no proper subject matter. The sciences that are taught really exist in the practice of them. The youth taught are too

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[2]John W. Riley, Jr., Boyce L. Ryan and Marcia Lifshitz, The Student Looks at His Teacher (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950), p. 10.

[3]John S. Diekhoff, The Domain of the Faculty in Our Expanding Colleges (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), p. 25.

> old and independent to be objects of professional attention like children or the sick; yet they are not like the clients of a lawyer or architect who are given an objective service. . . . But at the college age, one is teaching young people by means of proper cultural subjects or even teaching proper subjects to them. There is no way to be a master of subjects without non-academic practice of them; and it is in that practice, and not as a teacher, that the college teacher is a professional.[4]

As in most literature if you looked long enough you would be able to find something that described the role of the professor to fit your bias. In viewing this dilemma, one of the founding fathers of American sociology made these observations:

> It is strange that we have so few men of genius on our faculties; we are always trying to get them. Of course, they must have undergone the regular academic training (say ten years in graduate study and subordinate positions) and be gentlemanly dependable, pleasant to live with, and not apt to make trouble by urging eccentric ideas. . . . Institutions and genius are in the nature of things antithetical, and if a man of genius is found living contentedly in a university, it is peculiarly creditable to both. As a rule professors, like successful lawyers or doctors, are just hard-working men of some talent.[5]

Other sociologists took up this challenge and devised various typologies which were used to categorize professors into understandable groups.

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[4]Paul Goodman, The Community of Scholars (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 249-250.

[5]Charles Horton Cooley, Life and the Student: Roadside Notes on Human Nature, Society and Letters (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1931), p. 184.

Burton Clark developed such a typology building on the "cosmopolitans and locals" notion of Gouldner. Clark groups professors into four categories according to their interests and behavior. The teacher: a professor identified primarily with his college or university, committed to students and their liberal education; he is impatient with researchers and believes professionalism and vocational studies are inappropriate in a university setting. The scholar-researcher: this cosmopolitan is not particularly identified with his college, but is more interested in his discipline and the pure and disinterested study of liberating arts; he is not concerned with application or practice. The demonstrator: this professor is identified mainly with his college and the local community, he may be part-time at the college while pursuing his vocational interests elsewhere; he is not committed to pure disinterested work or study, and is vocationally oriented. The consultant: the professor who is neither identified with his college nor committed to pure, disinterested study; he is a professional man with a national reputation, he is also primarily concerned with the application of knowledge but on a much wider scale than the demonstrator.[6]

An anthropological typology will be used to illustrate a slightly different view of the faculty role.

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[6]Clark, "Faculty Culture," pp. 43-45.

Adelson projects the following model for the professor from his anthropological study of the healer. His typology divides professors into three religious groups: the shaman who heals with personal powers, using craft, charm and cunning; the priest, acting as an agent of an omnipotent authority; and the mystic who treats the source of the illness.

> Assuming the role of shaman, the teacher adopts the most narcissistic orientation, he keeps the students' attention focused on his own demonstrations of charm and skill. In some cases this type of teacher has a strong impact on the student. More often, once away from his spell, the student finds his influence transient.
>
> The teacher as priest claims his power through his office rather than through personal endowment. He is an agent of omnipotent authority, seeing himself in terms of continued identity with the agency, generally the graduate or professional school. The teacher priest believes in stratification of prestige and authority and in the hierarchical system that follows, emphasizing discipline, trials and self-transformation. . . . [The student] is encouraged to adopt this teacher as his model. His mode of teaching is effective because he offers his students a stake in a collective, utopian purpose which is associated with power, position, money, and intellectual exclusiveness.
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> The third kind of teacher, the mystic healer, finds a source of illness in the patient's personality. He helps the patient (the student) realize both his flaws and his hidden strengths and, in this sense, he might be considered altruistic. . . . It demands that the teacher set aside, for the moment at least, his own desires and his own concerns, . . . If the teacher's selflessness is false, expedient or mechanical, then the teaching at best will not come off, and at worst, may end in damaging the student.[7]

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[7]Brawer, Personality Characteristics, pp. 16-17.

These two sociological typologies are examples of many such efforts to categorize and sort professors for easier study. But they have the same weaknesses of most typologies, in that no one professor fits neatly into any one of the groups but is rather a mixture of several. In addition, these studies quite often fail to offer any positive examples or desirable models to work toward. While it is possible to detect these flaws as they exist in various professors, they fail to provide any direction to structure a personality.

While both the literary portrayals and the sociological typologies are extremely useful means of approaching the problem, something more is needed to provide the kind of information necessary to understand the role of the university professor. Feldman and Newcomb have published a staggering two volume compilation of empirical information concerning college students and faculty. They have documented information and references concerning research conducted through 1969, that tends to overwhelm the reader.

Empirical information is not enough; it needs an organizing principle to order its presentation of facts. This study has chosen the academic profession as the ordering principle for examining the role of the university professor. While most authors deal with the comparative professionalization of several occupations, this

study will consider the continued professionalization of the already highly professionalized academic profession. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will confine itself to the study of professionalism and the role of the university professor. Professions are in a constant state of flux and it is conceivable that an occupation that has been traditionally considered to be highly professionalized might so expose itself to public scorn that it could lose some of the perquisites accorded the professions.

The structural and ideological distinctions made by Becker in his description of the professions will be briefly restated and further explored to assist in making statements about the degree of structural professionalization of the university professor. By applying the structural criteria to the specific case of the university professor, it will be possible to better understand why the society has awarded the professor the status and prestige of a professional. These structural criteria as outlined in the previous chapter, include the following: the first is the creation of a full-time occupation involving the performance of an essential function, and viewed as terminal. With the relatively recent increase in salaries and the tightening of the job market, many of the "moon-lighting" activities of the professor are no longer necessary. In addition, those positions that

were previously part-time are now being filled with fully competent but inexpensive full-time doctorates. The resultant effect on the role of the professor has been to encourage the view of the occupation as a full time profession. Traditionally, the society has viewed the function of the university as it related to the creation and dissemination of knowledge as essential to the well-being of the society. While there are reservations and counter trends it does not seem likely that the society will make any major reversal in this area.

The second is the establishment of a training school reflecting the body of knowledge associated with the profession and usually affiliated with a university. With essentially the universal adoption of the doctorate as the license to practice, the university training program is assured. However, there is considerable discussion about a body of knowledge that is unique to the profession of college teaching. Some argue that the unique body of knowledge is not associated with teaching but rather with the specific academic discipline. Often the academic discipline is not a singular discipline but rather the compilation of several disciplines into what results in a uniquely new and separate discipline not like any other. The mere fact that the new discipline is the result of a compilation of many disciplines should not preclude its

being considered as a unique discipline with its own body of knowledge. While teaching may be the only common denominator of the academic profession, this technical academic disciplinary discrepancy has not prohibited college teaching from being considered a profession by the society.

Third is the formation of professional associations to define the nature of the professional tasks and to eliminate incompetent practitioners. The academic profession cannot be accused of having a lack of professional associations. Each discipline has at least one academic society and there are many national and local honorary associations, as well as at least three national associations of university professors. The academic profession has traditionally chosen to eliminate incompetents through screening prior to entry rather than expulsion from the profession. This has been accomplished either by failing to certify a candidate as acceptable to practice or by rejection through a subtle inner circle of communication regulating available faculty positions. In periods of scarce doctoral candidate supply, the inner circle selection process breaks down and the gross academic market place takes over, but in periods of over supply of doctoral candidates the inner circle works very effectively. The effectiveness of these screening devices has long been debated but a sufficient mystique has remained to convince

the public that an adequate job of public service is being performed. In addition, the professional associations were formed long after the occupation had been designated a profession by the public.

The final structural criteria of a profession is the formation of a code of ethics for the regulation of both colleague relations and client-public relations. This code of ethics is usually enforced by the professional association and is ideally given legal support. The academic profession has numerous written codes of ethics which seem to be adhered to generally, therefore initiating relatively little complaint from the public. The American Association of University Professors has a comprehensive code of ethics which is generally supported by members and non-members alike. The extensive educational and work socialization apparently has instilled a strong sense of duty which is reflected in an adherence to a strict code of ethics.

From the evidence presented here and in Chapter II, it appears that the university professor has satisfied the structural requirements of a profession; generally most scholars, and the public consider them to be professional. The important questions then become those of professionalism or the ideology of the academic profession.

The ideological aspects of the profession are discussed by Richard Hall as attitudinal. He emphasizes

their importance for explaining role behavior in the following passage.

> The attitudinal attributes of professionalism reflect the manner in which the practitioners view their work. The assumption here is that there is some correspondence between attitudes and behavior. . . . If he or his occupation has met the structural prerequisites of professionalism, the approach taken in practice becomes the important consideration.[8]

Given the high structural level of professionalization attained by the academic profession, an investigation of the attitudinal aspects of role performance now becomes the focus of attention.

The following attitudinal attributes of the professional role have been enumerated by Hall.

> First, the use of the professional organization as a major reference, this involves both the formal organization and informal colleague groupings as the major source of ideas and judgments for the professional in his work.[9]

There are several organizations that might be chosen for investigation as major formal and informal reference groups. The most obvious reference group for the scholar is the department. In his recent analysis, Dressel underlines their importance as a major reference group by indicating that only fifteen percent of the

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[8]Richard H. Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," The American Sociological Review, XXXIII (February, 1968), 93.

[9]Ibid.

the faculty members see themselves primarily as a member of the university rather than the department or discipline.[10]

The community of scholars concept may be taken as a statement of informal colleague grouping providing ideas and judgments for the university professor. Much has been written both for and against the community of scholars concept, but it is generally considered that with the complexity of the modern multiversities, there are at best smaller communities within the larger academic community.

Hall suggests that peer group interaction may either enhance or detract from the performance of a professional within a formal organization. These peer groups are usually informal networks formed either within or outside of the prescribed formalized organizational structure. Characteristics of the "inner fraternity" are often conserving of the organization and reaction to this elite may range from bitterness to an accommodating behavior which may enhance chances of being accepted into the elite group.

William Goode has stated that the more closely knit the elite group of a professional community the more professional the organization will appear. Brawer suggests

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[10]Paul Dressel, Craig Johnson and Phillip Marcus, The Confidence Crisis--An Analysis of University Departments (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1970).

that the informal colleague groupings of college teachers often express feelings of inferiority toward other professional groups. She states that professors often picture themselves as socially inept, lacking the social presence of other professional groups and, therefore, are restricted in social mobility. Whatever the case, formal and the informal groups seem to be vital to the professional role.

Hall's second attitudinal attribute is: "A belief in service to the public--this component includes the idea of indispensibility of the profession and the view that the work performed benefits both the public and the practitioner."[11] The ideology of the university is usually given as "the serach for truth"; when stated in this expansive sense there can be little doubt as to its value for any society, and in general, the public supports this notion. The implementation of this ideology creates a much greater concern from all involved. Many of the services taken on by the university are not their exclusive domain, and indeed may cause conflict within the university structure itself. Many professors question the necessity of the myriad of functions performed by the university. In fact, they argue, many of these functions are better performed by various other social institutions now in existence.

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[11]Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," p. 93.

There are two major issues that should be discussed in relation to the benefits derived from the university for both public and practitioner. The first question asks who should define the problems under investigation? Should the scholar accept and work on problems defined by the society, i.e., solve social problems, or should the scholar define the problem for investigation irrespective of its social application? Kristol speaks for many when he says,

> Social problems are of a political nature not of a scholarly nature. Social problems are not of theoretical rectitude but practical sagacity. This is not an academic virtue; indeed, where it exists it can be an academic weakness. Academic men ought not manage society.[12]

Other individuals have argued that the university is a political institution, should admit it and go about the business of solving social problems. Harold Taylor states,

> What the society needs is a university which acts as a central community for sensitizing its students and scholars and the community at large to the moral and social issues on which responsible citizens everywhere in the world should be taking humane action.[13]

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[12]Irving Kristol, "What Business is a University In?" New York Times Magazine, March 22, 1970, p. 106.

[13]Harold Taylor, Students Without Teachers--The Crisis in the University (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1969), p. 120.

Julian Foster goes even further in presenting a political model for the university which replaces the traditional corporate model. He believes we should recognize the inability of scholars to view any problem objectively and without bias and admit the political nature of the university and try to perfect that. He argues that the political model is pluralistic while the corporate model is hierarchical: the principal of academic freedom has no parallel in corporations while politics has rights, freedoms, and due process; the university has no universal test, such as profit making, which it must pass to survive. He states that the corporate model leads to economic goals with efficient means while the university goals and means are ill-defined. The purpose of stressing the analogies between the university and politics is to destroy the notion that the university is non-political.[14]

Another major difficulty with the academic profession is its unusual relationship with, and definition of, the client. It is possible that the professor, by serving many publics, could designate several clients. If a professor receives a grant from a particular source, has he not accepted a client as well as a definer of problems? The professor as consultant works on specific problems

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[14]Julian F. S. Foster, "A Political Model for the University," Educational Record, XLIX (Fall, 1968), 435-443.

designated by specific clients. Extension specialists often work for clients which other professors would not recognize, i.e., farmers, housewives and 4-H children. Post-doctoral researchers would probably not select any of the above groups, but rather choose his immediate superior or his colleagues as clients and direct his efforts at satisfying their requirements. Even the student is not the obvious client of the teacher. In professional areas the college student may be only an intermediary when there is an ultimate recipient of a public service, i.e., the medical patient, the legal defendent or the public school child. This complicated network of professional-client relationships has important implications for Hall's next attitudinal attribute. This is stated as:

> Belief in self regulation--this involves the belief that the person best qualified to judge the work of a professional is a fellow professional, and the view that such a practice is desirable and practical. It is a belief in colleague control.[15]

The belief in colleague control must include admission to the program, quality control while in the occupation, licensure upon graduation, and insurance of due process upon rejection from the occupation. The Ph.D. has been accepted as the means of admission to the university professorate, but this standard has not always been

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[15]Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," p. 93.

consistent in quality. With the projected over supply of doctorates for the next decade the standard of quality will undoubtedly change once again.

If there is to be quality control within an occupation there must be goals and evaluation of the members' relative progress toward reaching those goals. One method developed for assessing the quality of the professor's performance is peer evaluation. Peer evaluation has been praised by some as the most professional means of evaluation, and certainly preferable to administrative or student evaluation. Faculty members have fought long and hard to overcome the authoritarian rule of the administration as it existed in the early American colleges, and have gained significant faculty power. Student participation is encouraged on most matters with the exception of the faculty promotion and tenure committee where at best they may serve to advise in a perfunctory way. It is fallacious, however, to think that students don't exercise choice among faculty members. The rating of faculty by students has progressed to such a science that published descriptions of course and instructor are often sold at bookstores or published in the local underground paper. The impact of such loss of autonomy could be devastating to a professional image.

One critic sees peer evaluation as "a formal ritual cannibalism which no other profession has inflicted upon itself, and the means by which a professional face can be put on an activity which is purely businesslike and bureaucratic."[16] He goes on to provide collective bargaining as a means to avoid the competitiveness of peer evaluation and protect the profession from the threat of a business oriented society. Given the bigness of the various bargaining agents in the society he sees the only hope for survival the establishment of an equally big union with collective bargaining power. If this labor-management paradigm is established, it seems logical that one of the first items to be bargained for will be the tenure protection of professors. Another consideration may be the bargaining power of student unions should they arise. The professionalism of faculty members would then be threatened on two counts; student rather than peer evaluation and the elimination of tenure with its contingencies of administrative evaluation and academic freedom. In addition, the pressure of a surplus of young faculty members may encourage them to join unions to insure job security forcing the older faculty members to retire at a younger age. It is obvious that the question of colleague

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[16]John C. Livingston, "Collective Bargaining and Professionalism in Higher Education," Educational Record, XLVIII (Winter, 1967), 82.

control is very complex and has important implications for the continued professionalization of the university professor.

The fourth attitudinal attribute listed by Hall is "A sense of calling to the field--this reflects the dedication of the professional to his work and the feeling that he would probably want to do the work even if fewer extrinsic rewards were available."[17] Historically this has been the rationale provided by underpaid professors. They felt a sense of obligation to the scholarly pursuit of truth in a friendly atmosphere apart from the troubled world. There are those that still see the "ivory tower" notion as the only alternative for a viable higher educational system. Thompson and Kelly stated that the professional commitment for the university is the objective and scholarly inquiry into truth and the instruction that follows from this inquiry. A college is without a heart or soul but not without a mind.[18] In their view, if the university becomes more political there will be no place in the entire society for the objective inquiry of disinterested scholars.

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[17]Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," p. 93.

[18]Ralph Thompson and Samuel Kelly, "The Case for the Ivory Tower," Educational Review, L (Winter, 1969), 89-94.

The sense of calling to a profession indicates a special social obligation which can't share its position with profit. Society awards stature and prestige to the professional and receives in return a sense of public service. The professional must have a sense of altruism and its incompatability with the profit motive is classical. The discrepancy between a sense of calling and performing for pecuniary gains has been discussed by many authors. Laski makes a strong bid for the complete unfettered public support of scholarship in the following passage.

> Their purposes cannot be fulfilled so long as their members are dependent upon the hazards of a commercial market. It is notable that in each of them the best work is done, the highest public spirit displayed by those of their members from whom the virus of insecurity has been removed.[19]

This plea for untainted and adequate wages has been the basis for most of the unionization activities of university faculties. The public reaction to higher faculty wages has been a demand for increased faculty output referred to as accountability. This economic view of the labor-management model will continue to precipitate confrontations of large interest groups seeking further power.

Many of the younger faculty have been socialized in a system that has been based on a sense of calling. When they assume their position in the organizational

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[19]Harold J. Laski, "The Decline of the Professions," Harper's Magazine, CLXXI (November, 1935), 682.

structure they find a role conflict between what they expected and what actually exists. What they find is a more tightly structured organization moving toward controls and away from academic freedom. The resolution of this conflict may take the form of a professional confrontation.

The final attitudinal attribute listed by Hall is also structural and is the key to the understanding of the professional: "Autonomy--this involves the feeling that the practitioner ought to be able to make his own decisions without external pressures from clients, those who are not members of his profession, or from his employing organization."[20] The structural aspects of autonomy include those generally associated with professional organizations. These organizations protect a professional's autonomy by excluding unqualified persons from entering the profession, and by restricting evaluation to professional colleagues.

The much debated aspect of professional autonomy as it is affected by the imposition of the bureaucratic structure has been discussed elsewhere, but will be strengthened here by the arguments of two eminent researchers. Everett Hughes sees professionals operating in bureaucratic structures better able to become more specialized because they don't have to perform all the

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[20]Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," p. 93.

functions of persons practicing privately.[21] Barber states that it is a myth that professionals can't operate in a bureaucracy. He suggests differential staffing with "professional-administrators" judging and directing other professionals as an alternative solution to the professional-bureaucratic dilemma.[22] Barber's suggestion has importance for the university setting because professors obviously work in a relatively highly structured bureaucracy, often under the supervision of persons not trained in their discipline. It is becoming more prevalent for central administration personnel to be specialists in administration, and even though they might have been trained in a discipline, their allegiance is elsewhere.

The attitudinal aspects of autonomy deal primarily with the belief that the professional should be free to exercise his own judgment in decision making. There are various members outside of the university that might infringe on the professor's ability to make decisions, these have been enumerated under the listing of clients.

In examining the two aspects of autonomy more closely, Hall states that

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[21]Everett C. Hughes, "Professions," Daedalus, XCII (Fall, 1963), 655-668.

[22]Bernard Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions," Daedalus, XCII (Fall, 1963), 680.

> . . . the combination of the structural and the attitudinal aspects serve as a basis for the professional model. It is generally assumed that both aspects are present to a great degree in highly professionalized occupations, while they are present to a lesser degree in the less professionalized occupations.

He then adds this important qualification:

> . . . occupations which are attempting to become professions may be able to instill in their membership strong professional attitudes, while the more established professions may contain less idealistic members. . . . The established professions such as medicine or law appear to fit the professional model in most ways, although attitudinal attributes may or may not adhere to this pattern.[23]

This work on professionalization and bureaucratization has several implications for the future of the role of the university professor.

> Among the major findings of this research is the fact that the structural and attitudinal aspects of professionalization do not necessarily vary together. Some 'established' professions have rather weakly developed professional attitudes, while some of the less professionalized groups have very strong attitudes in this regard. The strength of these attitudes appears to be based on the kind of socialization which has taken place both in the profession's training program and in the work itself.[24]

This being the case, it is also conceivable that an occupation maintaining a structurally sound professional facade may be declining attitudinally.

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[23] Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," p. 93.

[24] Ibid., p. 103.

Hall found another social factor operating. He believes that a profession that receives relatively few material rewards is more likely to exhibit a higher level of dedication. In addition, if an occupation has experienced a high level of self regulation, it will believe strongly that it is a desirable attitude and fight to retain this position. It appears that changes in the structure of a profession will bring about corresponding attitudinal adjustments in that profession.

According to Hall's findings there are certain attitudinal indicators that are much more meaningful predictors of professionalism than others. The use of professional organization as a major reference, the belief in self-regulation, and the degree of autonomy are central professional indicators. The other two attitudinal indicators, belief in service to the public and a sense of calling to the field, he finds, have little relevance to the professional's ideological beliefs. It is interesting to note that the strongest indicators of professionalism are the ones that are in the greatest state of flux currently in the academic profession.

The second major implication of Hall's research illustrates the importance of public acceptance of the occupation as a profession. A combination of performance and public relations unite to foster the public acceptance

necessary to be considered a profession. The society is questioning all professions at this time, and the university professor has not escaped this scrutiny. Many critical articles and books have questioned the performance of the university. Public investigations of government sponsored university programs have cast doubt on the integrity of the institution and state legislatures have clamored for an accounting of funds, and a reconsideration of the universities autonomous position. Universities have never been particularly good at public relations and never tried very hard until the financial picture darkened and they were forced to rely on alumni for funds. University public relations suffered a severe setback in the spring of 1970 as the result of a student strike which was the culmination of two years of unrest and dissatisfaction with the academic institutions. The repercussions of that event are still being felt in many states.

The third major finding of Hall's research concerns the intra-occupational variation. "Even among the established professions, members vary in their conformity to the professional model in both the structural and attitudinal attributes."[25] These variations are based on three factors: first is the way the general social structure expresses its needs by giving or refusing legal and

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[25] Ibid., p. 94.

behavioral sanctions for performance of functions. Second lies within the organization and deals with the competition and divisiveness of standards for entrance and regulative norms in the multiple divisions within the organization. And the third is the degree to which the work situation allows the profession to be self regulative and autonomous.

Social sanctions and performance standards are currently being redefined and it remains to be seen how this will be reflected in the future performance of the university. The university has been described as a holding company for professions and this description accurately illustrates the wide diversity which exists among the various disciplines. Disciplines seem to vary generally as a group, due largely to their socialization patterns but variance among disciplines may be great, creating an extremely heterogeneous profession. The university has also been characterized as a community of scholars indicating the general conformity to professional norms which exist across disciplines. As indicated previously, individual role variation within these broad professional norm descriptions is great. But there are some general identifying characteristics that help to identify all university professors.

Clearly all college teachers work within a bureaucratized work setting. However, the degree of bureaucratization may be quite varied at different sized colleges, in different departments within the college and among the academic ranks. One of the distinguishing characteristics of a bureaucracy is its division of labor. The several roles played by department chairmen, research-scholars and instructors vary greatly in their degree of autonomy, assignment of administrative tasks and teaching duties. The norms governing the behavior in these academic ranks may be in conflict with one another and in conflict with the individual's perceived role. So, conflicts result not merely from the reaction against loss of autonomy to the organization of the work setting, but also to conflicts within the various work levels.

The individual socialized as a professional but working in a bureaucratic setting may have an internalized set of rules that conflict with the bureaucratically imposed set of rules. The professor may resist bureaucratic standards, i.e., refuse to give grades because he believes they inhibit learning. The professional may resist bureaucratic supervision especially when the supervisor has no expertise in the professional's discipline, i.e., the professor's refusal to be "visited" for the purposes of teacher evaluation. The professional may have

only conditional loyalty to the bureaucracy, i.e., the university professor who has his primary loyalty to his discipline and sees the university merely as a place of employment. These role conflicts appear because of the professional ideology that places the professional in an autonomous work setting. It must be remembered that most professors have always worked in a bureaucratic structure and the trend is toward increased bureaucracy. As illustrated elsewhere, the threat to professional autonomy exists regardless of the work setting, be it bureaucracy or private practice.

In a complex social institution such as the university the importation of professional standards resulting from numerous socialization schemes may be a very real source of role conflict. It is unlikely that such a complex organization will have established organizational standards that will correspond to the great variety of professional standards being imported.

From the evidence presented here, it would appear that professional autonomy may be adversely affected by bureaucratization, and for a profession to exist within a bureaucracy many of these conflicting organizational concepts and role concepts must reach some kind of equilibrium. Changes in any of these features will destroy the equilibrium and cause resultant changes in the bureaucratic structure or adjustments in professionalism. The

key question to be discussed in the remainder of this study is whether the academic profession and the society can adjust quickly enough in this period of rapid transition to preserve the professionalism of the university professor.

Of the various approaches to explaining the role of the university professor outlined in this chapter, the most acceptable one seems to be the approach taken by Richard Hall in his examination of the various levels of professionalization of different occupations. The quasi-fictional accounts tend to build public stereotypes and the sociological typologies lend support to these claims. The empirical approach to sociological analysis builds on both of these, and tries to support or reject notions on the basis of some publicly verifiable scientific statements. Hall seems to have provided an approach and some structural means of looking at continued professionalization within the academic profession. His research findings emphasize that ideological turmoil may exist even within the "established professions" such as college teaching.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY PRIOR TO WORLD WAR II

A History of the Academic Profession

There exists an interesting, though academic, discussion about the origin of the academic profession. Alfred North Whitehead believes the origins of the various professions are to be found in the academies fostered by the teachings of Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, while others see no recognizable beginnings prior to the medieval times. Those who choose the Greco-Roman Period summon such examples as the lawyer and physician and point to Plato's Republic as an example of an extremely stratified society with various public services performed by selected civil servants. Carr-Saunders and Wilson reject this notion stating that the lawyers were generally merely a friend asked to plead a plaintiff's case rather than a specialist trained in law, and the physicians were merely pupils of non-professional practitioners. To strengthen the argument they note that teachers and Roman physicians were often slaves.

Origin: The Middle Ages

Those who choose the medieval times as the origin of the professions have the stronger argument and

definitely the most support. Norman K. Henderson states flatly that:

> Universities originated in the Middle Ages when scholar-teachers of great repute gathered around themselves a steadily increasing number of students. Other able teachers, taking advantage of these student groups set up their 'chairs' nearby, and thus when more teachers and students came, what was called a 'studium generale' was created.[1]

Cogan is equally emphatic in choosing sides: "Whatever the merits of the argument for a pre-Christian origin of profession, there can be little doubt that genuine antecedents were to be found in eleventh century Europe."[2] It is not merely coincidental that the professions and the universities developed simultaneously during the Middle Ages. The universities provided the theoretical portion of the professional training and often served as certifying agencies for the developing professions.

> The rise of the medieval university marked an important advance in professional training. Here we have a center of instruction for the first time which was exclusively devoted to professional education. In fact, the medieval university was nothing if it was not an incorporation of professional faculties. But even more important is the fact that here the classical relation of master and apprentice inclines to the newer one of professor and student.[3]

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[1]Norman K. Henderson, University Teaching (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1969), p. 1.

[2]Morris L. Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII, No. 1 (1953), 34.

[3]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1956 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 50-51.

The medieval society sought to have services performed by certified professionals and the universities were established to perform this certifying function.

> The award of degrees in the professional schools of the medieval university was jealously guarded because the award carried with it the license to practice. . . . Professors were just as anxious as any of the other medieval guilds that their ranks be recruited only from those who satisfied them of their command of professional knowledge. It is notable at this point that the professors had an autonomous control not only over the training of future professionals but of licensing them as well.[4]

Even during the very early beginnings the professions were intimately tied to the university, each adding impetus to the other, as they interacted with the society. This symbiotic relationship had progressed to such an extent during the Middle Ages that Wilensky was able to state that: "Established solidly since the late Middle Ages have been law, the clergy, university teaching and to some extent medicine."[5]

It is interesting to note that two of the early models of the university developed in Paris and Bologna. In Paris there was a corporation of teachers which accepted students and in Bologna there was a corporation of students which employed and paid its teachers. As this was eventually transferred to England, the teachers and students formed exclusive societies for the housing of professional

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[4] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[5] Wilensky, "Professionalization of Everyone?" p. 141.

practitioners under the domination of the church. At this juncture there was little question about which model would be adopted.

So it would seem that even though the roots of the professions might reach back to ancient times the important developments for the professions and the university came during the Middle Ages. Harris makes a cogent summary of this position.

> Universities and society have traditionally had a close relationship to each other. Universities in their present form can trace their origins to the Middle Ages and medieval universities were institutions of operational utility. In fact, they were primarily professional schools. The University of Salerno arose in the eleventh century as a medical school. The greatest university of Southern Europe, Bologna, emerged in the twelfth century as a school of civil law. Paris, the pattern for universities in Northern Europe, trained theologians and scholars for the church. Doctors, lawyers, and theologians all held very practical positions in the society of the Middle Ages, and the universities existed to train these leaders.[6]

From its very beginnings, the university and its faculty adopted certain operational patterns directly from their interaction with the professions. They adopted such characteristics as a superior-subordinate professor-student relationship, control over recruiting, licensing and expulsion of members, and the general autonomous functioning of the professions. The central notion of the

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[6]Michael R. Harris, Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education (Corvallis: Oregon University Press, 1970), pp. 23-24.

professions has always been public service in an altruistic fashion. The university professorate serving as training and certifying agent for the professions adopted this stance, and therefore was accorded professional status by the public. In viewing these compatable origins of the professions and the university professor it is easier to understand how the professorate gained the title of professional while still exhibiting many discrepancies with the ideal professional model.

There is one further clarification of terminology necessary before reviewing the academic profession in America. The word university has been used in reference to the social institutions of the Middle Ages, and will again be used in the following section to indicate the German influence on the American college. These two usages of the same term are widely accepted in the literature and seem to cause little confusion.

Universities, as used when referring to the Middle Ages, have their origins in those places where lectures and discussions were open to anyone. These places were called "studia publica" or "studia generalia" which was later changed to the Roman word "universitas" meaning "corporation." This term accurately reflected the coming together of groups of students or teachers in a more formalized teaching and learning relationship.

The second use of the term university has reference to the influence of the German scientific and research orientation on the American college of the middle and late nineteenth century. Prior to 1850, the "universities" in America had a variety of meanings and descriptions but with the mass training of American scholars in Germany (over 8,000 between 1850 and 1900) the American university took on a distinctly German character and indicated a more specific academic institution. Among the many contributions of the German university were the conception of a university as a research institution, the German philosophy of idealism, the notion of "Wissenschaft" signifying a dedicated and sanctified pursuit of science, and the idea of the student learning side by side with the teacher rather than listening to the exposition of classical texts.

The tremendous impact of the German university presupposed a certain receptiveness from the American society which was not obvious prior to this time. Metzger, in explaining the German influence on the American college and society states:

> The emergence of the university coincided with the growth of industrialism, urbanism, agricultural commercialism, and corporate enterprise. Dynamic and growing, the machine society needed technical skill to run it, scientific knowledge to improve it, managerial experience to organize it, engineering competence to give it cost advantages.[7]

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[7]Walter P. Metzger, Academic Freedom in the Age of the University (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 106.

This provides an excellent example of the impact of social forces on the function of the university and the role of the university professor.

It is quite obvious that the European higher education system has played an extremely important role in molding and shaping the American university as it exists today. While the American society practiced selective acceptance of the educational ideas, there is little reason to believe that they did not import the social ideas and beliefs that had long established the university professor as a professional. Good states, "Societies at similar stages of industrialization may grant roughly equivalent prestige ranking to the same occupation, such as lawyer, physician or university professor."[8] So it seems fair to assume that as the university professorate was imported and modified by the American society it retained a relatively high level of professionalization.

There is general agreement among scholars that the university professor has been and still is a highly professionalized figure in American society. This being the case, questions about further professionalization of an occupation already considered to be highly professionalized revolve about the ideology of a profession rather than the

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[8]William J. Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology and Medicine," American Sociological Review, XXV (December, 1960), p. 902.

steps toward professionalization. Major concerns arise when there is some threat to the professional position or when the professional role description no longer fits the actual role as it is performed. There have been several periods of time in American history when the professional position of the university professor has been challenged. By briefly recalling these historical periods, the impact of the social forces will be illustrated and the ideology of the academic profession will be explored.

The Colonial College

Prior to the American Revolution there were nine colleges established in the English colonies. Rudolph claims that they were not merely copies of the Ox-bridge model but were adapted to the needs of the developing society. It seems obvious that there was a heavy reliance on the European scholars who had been imported to act as faculty for those early colleges.

> In 1776 there were 3,000 living graduates of the American colleges. The college had long been a necessity for society, but it had not become a necessity for the people. The college was clearly a source of political leaders, but not everyone aspired to be a leader. The college sustained a literate, indeed a learned ministry, but many Americans could get along without any ministry at all, for most colonial Americans, college was something that could wait.[9]

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[9]Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 22.

The colleges of the colonial period were relatively insignificant in their impact on what was to eventually become the American university.

> In early nineteenth-century America, no university as such existed. The American literary college characterized American higher education before the Civil War. It did not relate to the operational needs of society. It was able to supply neither the personnel nor the knowledge needed to solve the operational problems of a dynamic industrial country. Instead of relating closely to its environment, it held to one overriding purpose: the disciplining of the student's mind. While doing this, those in charge of collegiate policy expected they would also produce Christian gentlemen with a common educational experience.[10]

The function of higher education was narrowly conceived by these educational planners and they were to be overrun in the transformation that followed the Civil War. The role of the professor during this period was to build character in the young men of the colonial and post-Revolutionary War elite, by example, through traditional lecturing and classical literature. This was a professionally simple task without the complicating factors that were soon to arise.

Jencks and Riesman have little good to say about the American colleges prior to the Civil War period.

> During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries American colleges were conceived and operated as pillars of the locally established church, political order, and social conventions. These local arrangements were

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[10]Harris, Five Counterrevolutionists, p. 26.

> relatively stable, widely accepted as legitimate, and comparatively well integrated with one another. . . . An American college was in some respects more like today's secondary schools than today's universities. . . . With the wisdom of hindsight it is tempting to conclude that these colleges influenced neither the intellectual nor the social history of their era. Perhaps the resources devoted to colleges might have been better allocated to libraries, scientific societies, or primary schooling.[11]

The Civil War Period

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century some sweeping changes were taking place in the American society that were to be reflected in the institutions of higher education. A national government was forming, the state churches were struck down, new lands were opening up and the established institutions were under attack. The election of Andrew Jackson was a symbol of this changing atmosphere and the higher education institutions, under the pressure of declining enrollments, were encouraged to become more involved in the awakening of the industrial society.

During this period the first science and engineering courses were introduced in 1828 and many others shortly followed. The influence of the German university ideals were being introduced. But it was not until after the Civil War that these changes were to provide the

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[11]Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1969), pp. 1-2.

impetus for what was to be the American university. Johns Hopkins, in 1876, became the first institution committed to graduate instruction and research. In 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed the Land-Grant College Act which gave formal recognition to the use of higher education for the direct operational utility of the society. So began the irreversible trend of the American university. No longer would the literary colleges be devoted only to general education which bore no direct relationship to the problems of the American society.

> In the new colleges and universities the nature of general education itself changed and two new basic varieties of education entered: that concerned with vocational technique and that concerned with the expansion of the boundaries of man's basic knowledge.[12]

The research and service notions thus established, were to begin a cumulative action which would eventually overtake the teaching and character building functions of the early university and nearly supplant them.

Once again the interplay of the society and the university is demonstrated. The society demands, the university complies, and the professor acquiesces. The changes in the role of the professor were extremely important. The character-building function was greatly diminished in this realignment of priorities. The

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[12]Harris, Five Counterrevolutionists, p. 31.

professor could no longer devote all of his time to teaching. A new role was being defined including teaching, research and public service. Even the teaching methods were undergoing change, with a new emphasis on practical and applied research some scientific equipment was making its way into the college labs. For the first time in American history the society had penetrated the walls of the colleges and the interaction had provided many significant changes for the college and the professor.

Jencks and Riesman cite this period of the rise of the university as an extremely important phase in the development of higher education in the United States.

> Changes in the character of the American society have inevitably been accompanied by changes in higher education. The most basic of these changes has been the rise of the university. This has had many consequences. College instructors have become less and less preoccupied with educating young people, more and more preoccupied with educating one another by doing scholarly research which advances their discipline. The result is that higher education has ceased to be a marginal backward-looking enterprise shunned by the bulk of the citizenry.[13]

The gradual rise of the university during this period was not to have its full impact until the beginning of the twentieth century.

> The first PhD was awarded in 1861 by Yale. Cornell opened in 1868 with Andrew White as president. Charles Eliot was inaugurated as president of Harvard in 1869. Yet it was not until the

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[13]Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, p. 12.

> 1880's that anything like a modern university really took shape in America. Perhaps the most important breakthroughs were the founding of Johns Hopkins and Clark as primarily graduate universities. Eliot's success in instituting the elective system at Harvard was also important, both in its own right and because it facilitated the assemblage of a more scholarly and specialized faculty. The 1890's saw further progress, with the founding of Chicago, the reform of Columbia, and the tentative acceptance of graduate work as an important activity in the leading state universities. This was also the period when knowledge was broken up into its present departmental categories, with the department emerging as the basic unit of academic administration.[14]

Critics of the Turn of the Century

The beginning of the twentieth century saw struggle and change shape the future of the university. The dynamic institution that had developed in the late eighteen hundreds experienced several power struggles and counter trends but failed to vary from its course toward more social involvement and mass education. Many of the critics indicated that the university was too much influenced by the social forces. Thorstein Veblen was among those who saw the university tied too closely to the society.

> Higher learning of the modern world . . . has grown and shifted in point of content, aims and methods in response to the changes in habits of life that have passed over the Western peoples during the period of its growth and ascendancy.[15]

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[14] Ibid., p. 13.

[15] Harris, Five Counterrevolutionists, p. 19.

Veblen was very critical of the direction of the university and its reliance on the society.

Veblen saw this period of the late eighteen hundreds as crucial to the development of the American university. "It is from this period--from the era of the Civil War and the Reconstruction--that the changes set in which have reshaped the academic situation in America."[16] Writing in 1918, he suggested that the university should be "given over to the disinterested instruction, not specialized with a vocational or even a denominational, bias."[17] He further attacked all professional education in the university. Brubacher says of Veblen,

> Thorstein Veblen took the radical stand that scholarly training in the university should be thoroughly purged of any professional influences. Research must be quite objective, which it cannot be if it tries to serve professional ends as well. The lawyer or doctor ultimately is interested in a particular client or particular patient. This interest in the individual and the unique warps generalization.[18]

This recurrent theme of working for the welfare of the client rather than the good of the society continues to plague the existence of the university professor and the

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[16]Thorstein Veblen, Higher Learning in America (Palo Alto: Academic Reprints, 1954), p. 22.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 67.

position taken by Veblen in 1918 has become a crucial issue for the survival of the university of the seventies.

Veblen's claims were supported by empirical evidence amassed by Abraham Flexner in his Carnegie Corporation study of medical education in the United States and Canada. The findings of the 1910 report showed medical education to be carried on in antiquated and unsanitary hospitals where unscrupulous physicians were ignoring the public welfare and teaching solely for profit. Students who had not even graduated from high school could readily be admitted to a medical school, graduate and practice medicine without learning the fundamentals of health care. Flexner recommended that 120 medical schools be closed.[19] Following this study, he became an authority on higher education and often attacked the ideals and practices of higher education because of their short sighted ends. He saw the universities as a site for the formulation and transmission of conceptual knowledge only.

John Dewey was also concerned about the direction of professionalization in the society in general and higher education specifically. In "Culture and Professionalism in Education" he writes concerning the direction of higher education.

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[19]Abraham Flexner, I Remember: The Autobiography of Abraham Flexner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940), p. 113.

> Hence, there is lively solicitude as to whether our higher schools are going to surrender to the practical and industrial spirit of the age, until that discriminating love of thought and its products that we call culture shall have been buried under modes of training that prepare students for their future vocations.[20]

He goes on to tie the higher education even closer to the social experience: "The rapid growth of professional tendencies and aims in higher education appears then to be the effect of the social and economic changes of the last century and a half."[21] Given these strong social forces he was concerned that the training of the professional in the university emphasize the social function of the profession rather than individual monetary gain.

> In other words, the more the scientific spirit of inquiry and love of thinking is introduced into professional teaching, the surer is broad and liberal intellectual interest and taste to be the product. Again while professional studies have to be conducted with ultimate application in practice in view, this application may be to personal success, pecuniary and competitive, or it may be more widely social.[22]

Dewey ends this paper with a thesis quite similar to Veblen and Flexner but with some important moderations. He suggests that the university promote these things: "interest in inquiry and liberal discussion and love of

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[20]John Dewey, "Culture and Professionalism in Education," School and Society, XVIII (October, 1923), 421.

[21]Ibid., p. 422.

[22]Ibid., p. 423.

scientific thinking, that is of free and disinterested thinking."[23]

One further persistent professional problem that had its origin at the turn of the century is that of protection of faculty members from arbitrary dismissal by the then all-powerful administration. The dismissal of J. McKeen Cattell prompted him to make militant speeches berating the professorate for its lack of political power and public understanding.

> The professor in America seems to think that self-respect requires silence and discretion on his part. He thinks that by nursing this gigantic reverence for the idea of professordom, such reverence will, somehow be extended all over society, 'till the professor becomes a creature of power, of public notoriety, of independent reputation as he is in Germany. In the meantime, the professor is trampled upon, his interests are of no social consequence, he is kept at menial employments and the leisure to do good work is denied him. A change is certainly needed in all of these aspects of the American professor's life.[24]

In the midst of this conflict and controversy, an organization was formed, by some of the very critics of the university, to insure the professionalism of the scholar. In 1915 the American Association of University Professors was begun to provide several professional functions. The AAUP developed code of ethics, which most professions see as an essential step in professionalization.

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[23] Ibid., p. 424.

[24] Wilson, The Academic Man, p. 122.

It acts as a policing agency, hearing faculty grievances and acting to censor offending institutions. Throughout its history, the AAUP has maintained a highly professional stance, generally ignoring political issues and minimizing militancy as a useful means for achieving professional goals.

There have been many critics of the AAUP but few as caustic as Myron Lieberman.

> Although commonly regarded as both a "professional" and an employee association, the AAUP fulfills only a few limited functions of either type of organization. . . . The Association exerts no control over admission to college teaching. It enforces no educational standards for institutions of higher education. . . . Politically it is doubtful that the Association has even a nuisance value.[25]

He goes on to charge that it has failed to raise professor salaries or protect them in the event of dismissal. He believes that the AAUP has not even been able to protect the integrity of higher education. He states that many professors see little value in joining the Association and instead join academic associations, thereby forfeiting their position in either a professional or an employee organization. As a result of the ineffectiveness of this Association other professional organizations have forced their way into the foreground of professional negotiations and have gained increased support in the 1960's.

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[25]Myron Liebermann, The Future of Higher Education (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1962), p. 199.

The Twenties and Thirties

Following this early period of formulation and definition of the American university, lasting from the 1850's until after 1910, there was a short period of consolidation and expansion. University enrollments increased and the scientific and utilitarian ideals of the university prevailed. In this favorable climate the university professor also developed in his role as something more than a teacher and builder of character. A definitive role was developing which would exhibit a professional scholar of many talents and persuasions.

> First, the university granted its teachers the time to engage in outside activities: . . . Secondly, the university appointed men whose interests were not engrossed by campus duties. It brought in the professional scholar, whose works were appraised by other specialists; it brought in the new-style president, a man of wider affairs; it brought in the technical expert, available for outside consultation. Thirdly, the university professor began to given up the quiet retreat of moral philosophy for the more worldly concerns of social science. This movement was accelerated by a fourth development, the rise of the philosophy of pragmatism which sanctioned the application of the trained intelligence to the varied problems of life.[26]

It can readily be seen that most of the ingredients of the current professorate were present in this earlier, less complicated time.

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[26]Metzger, Academic Freedom in the Age of the University, p. 130.

This wave of pragmatic popularization foreshadowed some of the professional problems that were to result from increased philanthropy and the increased involvement in solving social problems. Rudolph cites this example from the 1920's:

> A five-and-ten-cent-store millionaire would endow a chair of civil rights at Lafayette College and then complain that he was having difficulty hiring for the chair a professor prepared to sell the donor's political and social views.[27]

Irving Babbitt led the revolt against vocationalism and the pandering to practical societal needs. He echoed Veblen's earlier criticism of professional education as an expression of scientific materialism and a preoccupation with power. Babbitt thought the universities should sponsor research to discover new humanistic standards of culture and did not want higher education to concern itself with the immediate problems of society. He favored the Platonic rule of an elite, trained in and dedicated to high cultural standards. Another advocate of returning to high cultural standards for the university was Albert Jay Nock. He favored the return to the character building function of earlier American literary colleges.

While these humanists were not able to turn the tide of the pragmatic philosophers, they were able to influence the professorate toward more interaction with students. Many more students from various social classes

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[27]Rudolph, The American College, p. 454.

were now attending the university and they needed additional assistance from the faculty. Counseling of various kinds was instituted to help the students adjust both academically and socially to their unfamiliar surroundings. In the twenties the students were embracing and fully enjoying collegiate life. College was a place to become socially mobile by meeting students from various social classes as well as being relieved of the pressures of home.

The university of the twenties did little to prepare their students for the calamities that would shortly occur. The American society had never experienced such a series of disasters as befell them during the thirties. The economic collapse followed by the threat of world war was bound to have a dramatic effect on the university and its professorate. It is during such times of stress that the most traditional of the social institutions come under a concentrated attack. The society looked to the recently self-proclaimed solver of social problems for the answers, and heard few responses.

Professors suffered on many levels during the thirties not the least of which was the financial level. Salaries which were already low, in some instances, became non-existent. The protectors of democratic principles were disillusioned by the incapacity of the political

system to deal with major social problems. In this atmosphere protests and demonstrations were inevitable.

> Everywhere most students were in revolt over something or thought they were: perhaps only compulsory chapel or compulsory military training. Disillusioned by the nature of the post-Versailles world, they registered their disgust in peace demonstrations and in solemn pledges never to go to war. They joined picket lines, they helped to organize labor unions. In the great urban centers a small number even signed up with the Communist party.[28]

A lack of jobs kept many students in college, and others went back to graduate school or to continue professional study.

A new seriousness of purpose was seen on most campuses and those students who had been fun-loving collegians in the twenties were quite concerned about such things as the Aluminum Company of America's four million dollar endowment of Oberlin College and the militant reaction to antimilitarists during a Communist-inspired demonstration in the spring of 1933.[29] The faculty encouraged a social awareness through a proliferation of courses on American culture and American studies. Students were encouraged to pursue social problems across disciplinary lines in order to be able to comprehend the scope of the social problems. Faculty saw the need for critical generalists in a reaction to the previous production of narrow scientific specialists.

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[28] Ibid., p. 467.

[29] Ibid.

This climate of change encouraged other experimental programs in addition to the interdisciplinary approach to social problems. Dewey's progressive education ideas connecting education closer to direct social experience gained a rather wide acceptance during the thirties. Co-educational programs were encouraged and several colleges for women were formed. This was a time of experimentation and change.

Not all experiments concurred with Dewey's notions, in fact, some of the most notable exceptions were begun during this period after World War I and before World War II. Abraham Flexner, after his widely acclaimed critical analysis of American universities in 1930, became a foremost spokesman for research in the university. "He feared that concern with short-range operational problems was diverting talent from the pure research which in the long run would bring the greatest return to society."[30] Robert Maynard Hutchins established at the University of Chicago a general education program centered about abstract, rational and metaphysical principles, which he believed would lead to the establishment of the proper ordering of society. His program centering on the great books of civilization was continued at Saint Johns College after he left Chicago. Alexander Meiklejohn, at Wisconsin,

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[30]Harris, Five Counterrevolutionists, p. 45.

established a program concentrating on the notion of developing social intelligence to control the social environment.

> He differed with the advocates of operational utility primarily because he believed that they concentrated on immediate technical problems. He thought that control comes through a philosophical understanding of the broader ideological issues facing a society.[31]

These were but a few of the major experimental programs that were taking place during this period. The individual programs started by these men failed for the most part or continued only in some minor way. The important fact remains, however, that many experimental ideas were tried during the twenties and thirties and the mood of social involvement was established. The commitment to mass education at the level of higher education was firm and the academic man was moving toward the center of power in the social structure.

In speaking about this period prior to World War II, Jencks and Riesman make the following comments.

> The pace of change accelerated somewhat after World War I, for the 1920's and 1930's were a period of unprecedented growth in enrollment. By the outbreak of World War II the majority of the nation's college students attended institutions staffed by academic professionals. The professionalization of the faculty reduced the internal homogeneity of many special-purpose colleges. . . . Until World War II many, if not most, undergraduates came to the old special-interest colleges

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[31] Ibid., p. 46.

> in order to kill time, get away from home, make new friends, enjoy themselves, acquire salable skills, and so forth. Undergraduates with such aims were not by and large very vulnerable to faculty pressures. . . . The spread of graduate study altered these attitudes appreciably.[32]

The counter-revolutionary movements set in progress by the American educators following the turn of the century were extremely useful for the moderating influences they had on the pragmatic movement of the time. The Humanists made sure that students were not lost entirely in the rush to science. Counseling was established, living arrangements were planned to assist students, co-education was encouraged and the student culture developed into a recognizable collegiate entity. In the thirties the students responded to a chaotic society with protests and demonstrations against many of the existent social institutions and so created a seriousness of purpose not before exhibited.

The professor adopted all of the features during this time period that were to characterize him up to and including the present time. He had accepted the various functions defined by the society; those of research, teaching and public service. He became a professional scholar, virtually shunning all attempts to organize and bargain against the administration. His work situation

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[32]Jenks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, pp. 21-23.

was bureaucratic but with an amazing amount of autonomy in the form of academic freedom.

The university had cast the mold to which it would adhere long after the Second World War. The university was not solely an educational institution. It gave that role up shortly after the Civil War when it accepted the extension service of the Land-Grant Act and the consultant service of business and the professor as social critic. In addition, it accepted the responsibility as solver of social problems, which involves the funding, selection and execution of scientific findings. In accepting all of these functions, the university had moved a long way from the original building of character in the young men of a new nation.

In reviewing this brief history of the academic profession in America it is possible to extrapolate many of the features that shaped the role of the professor. It is obvious that the profession borrowed very heavily from Europe and was especially influenced by the German university after the Civil War. It is equally obvious that the ideas were not merely transported from Europe to America but were selectively incorporated into the American university, due largely to the influence of the society.

The implications of this brief history are inescapable. Society shapes and molds the university by exerting social pressures to the exclusion of a free will choice by the university. Regardless of the importation of professional norms and standards, the institution so controls the professor that even the strongest individuals have little enduring effect on the social institution. They seem like a small voice calling in the wilderness, with no choice or influence.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY AND DEPROFESSIONALIZATION SINCE WORLD WAR II

The Impact of Social Forces Since World War II

From 1865 to 1945, there were periods of great social turmoil, but the resultant fluctuations in the academic profession were only minor gyrations compared to the twenty-five year period following the Second World War. The reasons for these drastic changes following World War II are many and varied and a few of them will be explored in this section.

The academic profession since the end of the Second World War has achieved a central position in the American society. This achieved position has been based largely on the meritorious service rendered by the academic profession both during and following World War II. Our culture came to regard the university as a scientific bastion against the irrational forces at work in the society. In reviewing the history of other periods of rapid expansion of the academic profession, it is instructive to note the influence of major social events and their resultant effects on the student subculture of the university, which in turn has

played an important part in shaping the nature of the university. Each period of social change resulted in an extension of higher education to a wider range of social strata and socioeconomic groups. The society made broader demands on the university and sent a force of students in to insure that these demands were met.

These students had a different set of interests than those already attending college; they were generally interested in a more practical and scientific kind of education that would make them better able to cope with the daily problems of a rapidly developing society.

Each expanded admissions policy allowed the entrance of a new wave of students that were previously classified as unqualified. The reasons for disqualification were quite similar in each case; these students were not academically sound enough to attend college prior to the enactment of this new policy. The results in each instance were convulsive changes in the university.

The Civil War marked the beginning of massive enrollments and curricular changes both scientific and vocational that were to shape the next century. The end of World War I and the rise of industry again altered the university curriculum and brought warnings of declining academic standards and the encroachment of the business ethic into the academic profession. The rapid increase in

student enrollment was once again coupled with the advent of a new type of student. Following the Second World War, the floodgates were once again opened allowing a third deluge of students that had a different view of what the university should be. The returning GI had a new set of aspirations, demands and inputs into the university. The fourth wave of students, with different needs, desires and interpretations of the role of the university is occurring in the present university setting. The beginning was the "Open Door" policy initiated at the city universities of New York and adopted in various forms by many universities in the United States.

The social setting surrounding each of these student waves is intimately related to the activities that occurred in the universities. This study does not seek to establish causal relationships among the variables under consideration, but rather to indicate the cyclical nature of the variables, that reoccur in the academic profession of the American university. The relative importance of these social factors is due to the intensity of the relationship of the society and the university which has continued to increase, especially during the period since the end of the Second World War.

The Social Climate: World War II

> Enrollments in colleges and universities suddenly doubled at the end of World War II as a result of the provisions of the G.I. Bill. Administrators were deeply involved in study and planning to cope with the tremendous job immediately ahead. The task of securing facilities alone--quonset huts, empty army barracks, and other surplus properties--involved many changes in Federal laws and regulations. In addition, recruiting and preparing additional faculty, reshaping the curriculum, securing funds, and other challenges were faced and dealt with by the total academic community.[1]

It might be said that these students on the GI Bill were simply an extension of the increased enrollments that had occurred since the end of World War I, but this would be missing the important differences that accompanied these students. It is the contention of this study that the influx of funded students, in the form of GI Bill holders, freer to make discriminating choices among various models of higher education was one factor that helped to bring about the decline of professionalism in the American university. Rationale were devised to make accommodating curricular changes that would lure endowed students onto campuses and into programs that were more vocational than academic. This action offended the ideal professional model on two counts: first, it placed economic interests ahead of professional principles, and secondly, it validated

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[1]G. Kerry Smith, Twenty-Five Years, 1945-1970 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1970), p. xi.

the client's ability to choose among professional offerings. Therefore, the students were an important variable in establishing this atmosphere.

> . . . The return of the veterans brought to the campus older, more mature students, many of them married and burdened with family obligations of their own; they had lost time in life, had experienced much, and were totally in earnest about what they were doing. In fact, for such people the tensions of college life were likely to arise out of the competitive desire for getting ahead.[2]

The pressures exerted by the rapid growth of the community colleges during the 1930's and 1940's coupled with the powers of selection on the part of the funded student, caused universities to re-examine their curriculum. The community colleges had catered to the needs of the vocationally inclined student as well as the industrially oriented investments. The faculty teaching at these institutions were more concerned with teaching than research and saw the employment of students at the end of two years in a vocational position as a desirable goal. This was quite a different set of assumptions than was apparent on the university campus.

> Drawn from a wider segment of the whole society than previously, it (the student body of the 40's) lacked the common assumptions basic to earlier college life, was more susceptible to the influence

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[2]Oscar Handlin and Mary F. Handlin, The American College and American Culture (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 81.

> of such external events as war and depression, and was, therefore, more serious about its studies. The prospects of few families were so secure, even in the 1950's that their offspring could afford to ignore the problems of finding a career.[3]

This type of student, when choosing where to spend his money, would make quite different decisions about what constituted a college education than those students previously described in the 1930's and early 1940's. Most college administrators and many college professors rushed to fulfill the requests made on them by the students and the society.

The students were not the only group exercising preferential funding of university programs following the Second World War. Handlin outlines the faith society exhibited in the academic profession following its series of successes in science, technology and influencing government policy following World War II.

> The faculties, having steadily and successfully fought for recognition of their professional status, brought an exhilarating sense of confidence--even of arrogance--to their work. . . . Moreover, professors had been gaining in popular esteem. . . . Practical men of affairs had run the country into a depression; the brain trust and its successors, consulted by government and by business, controlled the knowledge that could save the nation. War service confirmed that impression. The value set upon research grew rapidly; and the foundations, which had already begun to operate earlier in the century increasingly supplied support that relieved

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[3] Ibid.

> scholars of total dependence upon the college budget, despite some initial resistance from the universities.[4]

Jencks and Riesman support this position and illustrate the continuing independence of the university professor.

> These attitudes (of independent professors) were greatly strengthened by World War II and its aftermath. Not only in the Manhattan Project, but in other less glamorous ones, academic scientists helped contribute to the war effort, and for this and other reasons a dramatic increase in federal support for academic research ensued. . . . Unlike previous support for universities, these federal grants and contracts are for all practical purposes given to individual scholars or groups of scholars rather than to the institution where they happen to work. More often than not, if a man moves to a new institution, his federal grants are transferred too. Not only that, but these federal grants are made largely on the basis of individual professional reputation and competence. Federal agencies usually give only minimal consideration to an institution's location, sectarian ties, racial composition, and the like. The result has been further to enhance the status of the academician, who is now a prime fund raiser for his institution.[5]

This new found power and wealth provided great support for a rearrangement of priorities and a revised role description for the scholar and a redefinition of purpose for the university.

From these rather inauspicious beginnings in the late forties and early fifties, it is possible to see the writing of the society on the walls of the universities.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[5] Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, p. 14.

The fifties were good times for the academic profession in terms of public faith and public support. The universities had not only met the challenge of the increased student enrollments, but they had continued to provide solutions to the difficult problems of society. This societal infatuation with the university is underlined by Jencks and Riesman:

> Two factors seem to us crucial, and both are cultural rather than strictly economic. The first was the increasingly visible role of academic research in shaping both technology and social policy. Legislators, philanthropists, and publicists were more persuaded than ever before that productive scholars were a national asset--quite aside from whether they taught undergraduates anything. Money poured into the universities to support such scholars in the same way and for some of the same reasons that it had earlier poured into the church to support monastic orders. The second factor was growing public concern with the quality of higher education for the young. As the over-all number of B.A.'s rose, the psychological importance of quality differentiation within this cadre rose correspondingly. More legislators were anxious that their state have a first-rank public university rather than a second-rank one, for the mere existence of the university no longer seemed much of an achievement. Similarly, more parents were concerned with where their children went to college, for a degree in itself no longer seemed unusual. Both legislators and parents were evidently willing to pay for the slightly more valuable certification of an academically reputable institution.[6]

Contrary to the usual conception of the quiet fifties, it can be seen that the university was growing and branching out into many areas of the society and working in many areas simultaneously. The student body was working with purpose

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[6] Ibid., p. 114.

and the faculty was enjoying a reign of power. The growth and expansion of the university of the fifties was a heady experience that was doomed to explode from its own internal pressure. The expansion in students and faculties and the campus construction reflected the faith of the society in the ability of the academic scientists to solve all kinds of problems. This enthusiasm seemed to infect the professors who willingly tackled all problems with equal vigor whether they had the expertise needed or not. This unbridled faith by the public, and the inaccurate transferral of scientific knowledge was to suffer a crushing blow in the late fifties.

In 1957, the shock of Sputnik was to have serious reverberations and harken the end of an era. Galbraith, commenting on the effect of the Sputnik on the university said: "It was less the blow than the fragility of what it struck that caused the attention and created the alarm."[7] The society began losing faith in the university because it had failed in the very area that it professed expertise. Once the system was exposed several other deficiencies were located which led to the turmoil of the 1960's.

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[7]J. K. Galbraith, "Social Balance: 1959," in Twenty-Five Years, 1945-1970, ed. by G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), p. 88.

The Social Climate of the 1960's

It scarcely seems possible that such terms as the "multiversity" and the "military-industrial-educational complex" could have been coined less than ten years ago and that they could have carried such truth and impact. Speaking about the turmoil in the 1960's and their background in the 1950's, Handlin says:

> The trends toward change were already in existence however little attention they attracted. The massive infusion of federal funds into higher education after Sputnik had precedents, although it thereafter operated on a larger scale than before. Enrollments more than doubled between 1960 and 1969, rising to over 7 million in the latter year, responding to the rise of birth rate two decades earlier, and to the weak position of youth in the labor market and society, and to the effects of prosperity and federal aid upon the income constraints which had formerly blocked access to college. The subsequent strain upon a curriculum already in flux and upon student life already fragmented and disoriented was early evident.[8]

This massive federal support is illustrated by Rudolph:

> During the years after 1957, 25 percent of the cost of construction on the American campus was paid for with funds borrowed from Washington. By 1960, 20 percent of the operating income of the colleges and universities was being provided by federal funds. Indeed, university research became a major enterprise of the federal government, which now bought (and therefore paid for) 70 percent of all university research.[9]

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[8]Handlin, The American College and American Culture, p. 84.

[9]Rudolph, The American College, p. 490.

These social factors represented a strain on the professor as well as the student and the outcome was quite unforeseen.

> No one could have dreamed, in the first decade following World War II, what the new breed of students in the Sixties would be like--and how it was that conflicts were no longer to be a private matter between a recalcitrant, ill-tempered student, barely more than a child, and an all-knowing and all-powerful parent-surrogate dean or faculty member.[10]

The students of the 1960's were on campus for several reasons: educational, social and ideological. They had affluence, leisure time and a cause that could be forwarded through some eloquent, or at least popular, speakers. The issues of interest to students in the sixties were primarily issues of social conscience that were the social problems of the society.

> By the late Sixties, the universities of the nation were carrying out with great efficiency the tasks demanded of them by American industry, by the government bureaus, and by the war machine. It is ironic that during the very years those tasks were being performed so well, American higher education should have been so heavily criticized for its "irrelevance." Thus began a series of conflicts of interest that marked the period of disenchantment.[11]

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[10]Joseph Axelrod and Mervin B. Freedman, "Prologue: Twenty-Five Years: 1945-1970," in Twenty-Five Years, 1945-1970, ed. by G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), p. 5.

[11]Ibid., p. 8.

For the students, this sense of disenchantment began back in the Civil Rights movements of the 1950's and even the alternative life styles of the "beat generation," up through the campus protests and the national protests culminating in the student strike of the Spring of 1970. The disenchantment of the faculty began in the McCarthy hearings of the 1950's with the loyalty oath purges and the exposure of university support of various counter insurgency plans through the student strike of 1970 and into the throes of unionism of the 1970's.

> Since the end of World War II we have witnessed considerable erosion of morality on the part of faculty members and administrators. To come extent this has resulted from involvement in various kinds of programs and activities--for example, research for agencies of the federal government--that have little relationship, in some cases no relationship, to the kinds of things an institution of higher education should stand for. When a role shifts in a bureaucracy and people take on roles that were not intended within the legality of the original system, concern for the protection of this role by exercise of power frequently ensues. . . . We have witnessed increasing concern with the protection of their roles by means of exercise of power and abdication of the moral sense that should devolve upon teachers when they are involved actively with students in the process of liberal education.[12]

The sixties were traumatic times for both students and faculty; the power and prestige built in the forties and fifties seemed to crumble. This may be an illustration of what can happen to a social institution that loses the

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[12] Ibid., p. 14.

faith of the society and fails to take steps to correct this situation.

The Social Climate of the 1970's

The acceleration of history makes social changes of but a few years ago seem like massive movements of ancient history. The latest wave of students has been the result of yet a different set of social forces. The newest group to be admitted to the university en masse has been the socially disadvantaged student. This has been accomplished through various forms of open enrollment from the massive acceptance programs of several city universities to the selection of highly qualified women and certain minority groups to fill largely token positions in elite universities. The altruistic motives behind this movement are to equalize the educational opportunity for some of those not usually enrolled in college but the actual results of the programs have not been analyzed as yet. It seems as though there may be some unexpected dividends from the open enrollment program, if previous student expansion programs are any gauge. It may be anticipated that there will be an infusion of federal funds, an increase in the emphasis of vocationalism and a proliferation of programs with several curricular changes to accommodate to the new student group.

There are, however, some important differences that are already apparent in this new trend. The students have

come to regard the university's primary function to be the solution of social problems. Many of these students have experienced these problems and will no longer settle for the academic rhetoric and promises to solve them in the future. They want action programs, now! The students that have faith in the ability of the university want these social problems solved more efficiently and with more humaneness, regardless of the academic implications. Those that reject the university may also reject the scientific method as a means of solving any problems. These kinds of student objections raise a larger epistomological question which is undergoing considerable scrutiny at this time. The university of the twentieth century has been tied very closely to the scientific method and as stated previously made some unwise judgments in the transferral of this scientific knowledge into the realm of the social sciences. The students' impatience with the ability of the scientific method to solve complex social problems has encouraged them to seek other ways of knowing and an extreme cultural relativistic position along with their alternative life styles. This lack of faith in the scientific method and the university has seriously weakened the position of the scholar as the purveyor of knowledge, because the question of the proper knowledge base is being raised. In establishing their alternative life styles they reject

social norms and rely on various non-scientific means for validating truth claims, such as mysticism, divine authority and intuition. It is very difficult for any functioning social institution to deal with this kind of unrational student. Students are seeking additional means of collecting information and knowledge and may choose to go to places other than a university to gain that knowledge. Often the pattern of attendance is broken and rigid institutional planning may be destroyed.

The faculty are also faced with quite a different set of problems in the 1970's. As the student becomes freer to make choices from a wider range of alternatives, and the professor is restricted to operating in larger institutions with a more highly developed bureaucracy, the professional ideology is threatened. The scholar finds only certain broad areas of problems available for research because they are the only ones with available funding. In the university setting, professors are working with decreased budgets and less autonomy because of increased student participation in decision making both in the classroom and in the governing bodies, and increased pressure for efficiency and accountability coming from superiors. Because of the complexity of the society and the depth of commitment of the university to the society the professor has serious doubts concerning the ability to

perform any research that is value-free, objective and scientific. All of these factors are combining with the over supply of doctoral graduates in most fields to make the professor consider new sources of protection from the society, his students and the administration.

The social forces of the 1970's have become so pervasive that the university and the professor have no choice but to accede to the social demands.

The Decline of Academic Professionalism

The preceeding section has illustrated the accelerated effects of the social forces as they have interacted with and shaped the academic profession since the end of the Second World War. Because of the scope and magnitude of this social interaction, only certain indicators of professionalism have been selected to research and relate to the professionalism of the university professor. This selection has been made on the information presented in the earlier chapters of the study, and has relied heavily on the research results presented by Richard Hall and Harold Wilensky. It is the contention of this study that an understanding of academic professionalism, as it has developed in the past twenty-five years, is essential to approaching the crisis situation of the university professorate today.

> No one seriously surveying the academic scene today can conclude other than that the American university is an exceedingly precarious position. The luster of even the most historic and distinguished universities is fading rapidly. For the first time in the history of this country there is valid reason for wondering whether the university will survive. Alarmism may be the refuge of the timid, but any optimism at this time would be little more than euphoria. The blunt and inescapable fact is, the university in America is in the most critical condition of its history.[13]

The preceeding passage emphasizes the urgency of the situation. To better understand the steps that have led to this crisis situation it is suggested that the vital social forces shaping the university professorate be examined through the further analysis of four indicators of professionalism. The four indicators that have emerged from the research are: designation of client, increasing politicalization, bureaucratization and unionization. These four can be measured, and serve to indicate the level of professionalism of an occupation and the direction that continued professionalization is likely to take. In studying the particular case of the academic profession, the most logical entry point is the designation of client. The consequences that flow from this determination are very closely related to the increased politicalization of the university. The other two indicators are also closely connected and the trend toward unionism seems to grow

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[13]Nisbet, The Degradation of Academic Dogma, p. 197.

indirectly from the increased bureaucratization of the work setting of the professor.

Four Indicators of Professionalism: Client Designation

In reviewing the possible client candidates for study, one is struck by the volume of literature written about the student revolutions around the world and the increased student activism on the American campuses. Much has been written about the increased awareness of college students, especially in the political realm both on and off campus. There is little question that students have gained more relative power in the period of the sixties than any of the other competing forces in the academic scene.

The student militancy of the 1960's arose largely from the university's role in solving social problems and not from academic concerns about the university. Students were concerned about Civil Rights, the morality of the Viet Nam War, and the pollution of the environment, rather than the fairness of grading systems, the honesty of student scholarship and the more effective use of pedagogical techniques. There are, most assuredly, student concerns voiced about the quality of instruction at the college level, but any attempts to improve instruction come within the jurisdiction of the university power structure which must be dealt with on its own terms and not on those

of the students. Attempts to improve the university's ability to solve social problems comes under the heading of politicalization and will in only an oblique way increase the student's power to determine his own destiny within the university confines.

Student efforts to become recognized have taken three general tacks. The first has already been alluded to as "working within the system." The hazards for student power gained in this way are great. Those faculty and administrative groups that have the power will not relinquish it easily, and they have the social structure on their side. The meritocratic American society still has the need for certification which is accomplished primarily through the universities. The sifting and screening of talent, both academic and occupational, is accomplished by the university. As long as this meritocratic hierarchy is maintained in the society, the student remains low man in this stratified social system and is under the constant threat of co-optation.

The second alternative involves some kind of "dropping out" process which is occurring more frequently in the college student of the 1970's. The "Free University" movement of the late 1960's was an attempt to drop out by establishing alternative methods of higher education. Unfortunately, this model was merely a variation on

the existent university theme and encountered all of the same difficulties of the university: lack of attendance, poor teaching, insufficient teaching facilities and limited funds. This movement has dissipated generally or has been co-opted by the higher education system. The other student drop out process takes various forms of rejection of the society by the students. This may vary from the adoption of "counter culture" appearances and actions within the university to communal living beyond the grasp of society, with almost all conceivable variations in between. Those who adopt the counter-culture norms may work within the societal structure, i.e., postman, cab driver or bar tender, to obtain enough money to travel and receive their education in some other more experiential way. There is some evidence that these students may adopt an alternating attending and leaving pattern in the higher education system. This is a self defeating exercise because it extends their length of stay in the social structure, the university, and in adolescence.

None of these pretentions to student power seem to have much influence on the designation of students as clients by the university professor. Sociological interpretations of the academic scene and empirical studies of the professional role seldom find the student as a serious contender for the role of client. There is, however, a third alternative that may cause a reevaluation of this

position in the future. This is the growth of student unions as a collective bargaining adversary in the developing parallel power structure of the future university.

If students are not currently designated as clients, and pose no serious or immediate threat in being considered as such, then who are the clients of the academic professions? Wilensky makes this distinction between scientists and professionals in their client designation:

> A science, in contrast to a profession, has no clients except, in an ultimate sense, society; and bosses, if any, are often indeterminate. The main public for the scientist is fellow-scientists, who are in a position to judge competence; the main public for the professional is clients or employer-clients, who usually cannot judge competence.[14]

This seems to leave the university professor in a grey, but mainly non-professional area. Moore explains the difficulty in this way:

> The research scientist or scholar is a limited case. It would perhaps be more accurate to argue that scientists and scholars, except as teachers or advisory consultants, are much like professionals in nearly all of the scalar or definitional criteria, but must be considered as "professional-like" if they genuinely lack clients "needing" their services for the solving of problems of moment. Wilensky would not consider them professionals, for want of clients. It might be argued, somewhat tenuously, that even where the research is "basic," without apparent practical applications to human goals or problems, the researcher's clients are in effect his fellow specialists.[15]

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[14]Wilensky, "Professionalization of Everyone?" p. 141.

[15]Wilbert Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), p. 87.

Wilensky's research verifies these findings by placing the professor's professionalism rating high and his client rating low. This same research firmly establishes the professor's colleagues as his client, with eighty percent responding in this way and only nine percent designating students as clients. Further support for the colleague-client notion may be found in Jencks and Riseman.

> College instructors have become less and less preoccupied with educating young people, more and more preoccupied with educating one another by doing scholarly research which advances their discipline.[16]

They further explain the separation between student and professor in this way:

> Today's scholars are still willing to monitor the academic lives of the young, at least by proxy, insisting that students take certain courses, pass certain examinations, and so forth. . . . Many professors and administrators are also less certain than they once were as to what students ought to be or become. . . . They want undergraduates to act like graduate apprentices, both socially and intellectually, and when a particular undergraduate deviates from this norm they tend to say that he "doesn't belong at a university." . . . They view the faculty and its apprentices as the "heart of the university" and the still uncommitted undergraduates as an expendable penumbra.[17]

This information lends further support to the notion that the university professor does not see the student as his client, but rather designates his colleagues as clients, in a special sense of the word.

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[16] Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, p. 13.

[17] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

While this finding is not unexpected, there are certain implications that gain significant meaning when viewing the various roles that the scholar plays. A professor concerned about judgments of colleagues rather than students will engage in different kinds of scholarly acts and be rewarded differently according to these behaviors. If he views his students as clients he loses his sensitivity to his colleagues; and as a professional, exercising a high degree of sensitivity to his colleagues, reduces his openness to his students or his college. Clients making judgments of this magnitude are contrary to the professional model and may have serious implications for the future professionalization of the academic profession. If needed the colleagues are seen as clients and in the professional model only colleagues are able to evaluate the work of other professionals, then the clients as colleagues are making all judgmental decisions. The question of politicalization gains even greater import if the designation of clients is other than students or colleagues. If the professor were to designate the society at large as a client, he is extremely vulnerable to the political whims of the society. Should the professor designate the funders of research as his clients, the business ethic has replaced scholarly investigation and the university has redefined its central purpose and destroyed all pretenses of professionalism.

Politicalization/Politicization

Both of these terms are used extensively in the literature to describe the process of making any social institution more politically attuned to the society. The first term, politicalization, is defined as follows: to cause to be political or to color with politics. The second term, politicization, is defined in the following manner: to bring a political character or flavor to; or to make political. Both terms, as used in the literature, convey the same concept, and there seems to be little difference in the actual meaning as they are defined.

One rather confusing illustration should serve to illustrate the interchangeable use of these two terms. Two members of a conference held in SUNY Brockport New York on February 20, 1970 failed to agree on terminology.

The following is a quote from Sidney Hook's rebuttal to Henry Aiken's paper "Can American Universities be Depoliticized" from a conference on "The Politicalization of the University."

> In short, the "depoliticalization" of the university means the growth, defense, and vitality of academic freedom, the "politicalization" of the university means threats to and erosion of the principles of academic freedom. By academic freedom is meant the freedom of professionally qualified persons to inquire into, to discover, to publish, and to teach the "truth" as they see it--or reach "conclusions" in such fields as the fine or practical arts where the term "truth" may be inapplicable--

> without interference from ecclesiastical, political, or administrative authorities.[18]

From these three illustrations it is clear that these two terms are used interchangeably in the literature as they will be in this study. Perhaps the most valid grounds for choosing politicalization over politicization is its ease of pronunciation. An attempt will be made to be consistent with the author's terminology when discussing his concepts.

The importance of this concept has been underscored by several authors. Krause uses politicalization in speaking about some important trends since the end of World War II.

> Gradually the field of American education has become politicalized and activist in its own interests and some segments of it have also become altruistically active on behalf of causes of a general political nature, such as anti-war activity, or the ultimate aims of education. In historical terms, the increasing militancy and activism of the educator is of very recent origins, contrasting with a long past in the service of the powerful at the expense of occupational and individual self-interest and in many cases at the expense of the pursuit of truth as well.[19]

In speaking of the same period and about the same phenomena, Robert Nisbet says:

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[18]Hook, In Defense of Academic Freedom, p. 252.

[19]Elliott A. Krause, The Sociology of Occupations (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), p. 299.

> The final, and in many ways the crucial, manifestation of the university's Reformation during the past quarter-century is its extreme politicization. There are many ways of showing this: the ever closer relation of the university to the federal government through the multitudinous contracts and projects that the universities took on; the dislodgement or erosion of many of the time created immunities and autonomies of the university within the larger political order; the rising intensity of national political issues assimilated into the halls of the university and made into divisive university political issues; the slowly rising belief on the part of many faculty members that the university must take, as the university, an active role in politics; and along with these more obvious examples of politicization, the steady increase through the 1950's and 1960's of that adversary type of relationship one founded on the utilization of litigation, which one encounters wherever traditional consensual relationships are undergoing severe change.[20]

Krause summarized this position in the following passage:

> The fact that education and educational settings are inherently political in function has now been deliberately singled out by reformers, and the "value free" nature of education itself is increasingly less accepted as a truth by the layman or the student. Thus, in the future, the concept of "expertise" may change, especially in the social sciences and the humanities. This will make the definition of a given educator's mandate, or a school's, one that is more in the hands of its clientele or consumers and less of a professional prerogative. In other words, the increased understanding of the political role of education--by teachers and community at all levels--is leading to a "politicized" occupation in the overt instead of the covert sense of the term, and politics here means not simply internal occupational politics but the politics of the community and nation. Political events in the wider scale

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[20]Nisbet, The Degradation of Academic Dogma, pp. 137-138.

> will then have a greater effect on the role of American education than ever before.[21]

Nisbet and Krause are indicating a very fundamental epistemological shift in the modern American university. Professors are no longer seen as guardians of the truth but merely as interpreters of a sociology of knowledge which is created and consumed within the society. The politicalization of the university makes the scholar vulnerable to the social interpretation of truth and fundamentally alters his role from seeking the existence of truths to composing transient truths that fit the social context. These authors agree that politicalization is the greatest threat to the continued professionalization of the scholar.

It is important to note that this is not the first incidence of political influence on campus but all agree that it is the most potent. Nisbet discusses the politicization of the campus in the thirties as of minor importance when compared to the current trend.

> I am certainly not suggesting that political behavior on the part of academics was utterly new to the university in this period. . . . Anyone who thinks that either students or faculty members eschewed politics in that earlier decade is utterly uninformed. I have no reliable figures at hand, but I would confidently venture the guess that proportionately far more students were then declared members of radical political organizations than was the case in the 1960's. . . . Politics was indeed a strong current on the American campus

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[21]Krause, The Sociology of Occupations, p. 315.

> in the 1930's, and it is fair to say that a certain radicalization of the faculty took place. . . . And yet I do not think that the university as such became politicized during this earlier period. . . . The national issues, the national lines of ideology, the national cleavages may have been, as indeed they were, reflected on the campus. They did not, however, often become translated into curricular issues, academic ideologies, and faculty, qua faculty, cleavages. . . . By comparison, however, with what was to exist in the 1950's and 1960's, it was small in scope and mild in intensity. It is with no intent of lauding the Old Left that I can report from considerable personal experience with it that it did not seek to remake, much less destroy, the university: only capitalism and bourgeois culture![22]

Nisbet emphasizes the differences in nature and degree of the politicization in the 1930's compared to that of the 1960's. The factors that he selects once again illustrate the interrelation of the society and the university.

> There was the Hiss Case, the spy trials generally, the establishment of the Independent Progressive party under Henry Wallace with its strong radical foundations drawn from the Soviet-oriented left, the occasional dismissals of Communists from schools and colleges, the long, strongly inflaming issues of loyalty oaths for teachers--with the fateful struggle over the oath at Berkeley a matter of obsessive concern to academics nationally--and the whole bitterly controverted issue of political tests of faculty qualification.
>
> Above all, there was McCarthyism. . . . I would suppost that McCarthyism, above any other single force, had the effect of quickening the already proceeding radicalization of the American campus.[23]

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[22]Nisbet, The Degradation of Academic Dogma, pp. 139-141.

[23]Ibid., p. 143.

Nisbet credits the intense emotionalism directed against McCarthy for carrying the politicization of the 1960's beyond that of the 1930's. It seems that cultural circumstances and social institutions so combine as to leave the frail individual professor no real choice. The complex interrelationships of the governmental funding agencies and the legitimate social agencies made sorting out political implications difficult to say the least. But when this was backed by a very substantial sum of money awarded mainly to an individual, the temptation provided a host of rationale for pursuing these social problems as disinterested, objective scientists.

With the funding of individuals rather than institutions, a new hierarchy arose with status and prestige being awarded to professors on their ability to perform research, with very little concern for teaching. This massive infusion of money had the inevitable effects of emphasizing the judgment of colleagues and de-emphasizing the judgment of students. Scholars were awarded contracts on the evaluation of their peers and superiors, not on their ability to develop character in the classroom. In the 1940's and 1950's, individuals were able to amass sums of money that would allow them to establish entire research centers which were essentially the domain of one professor.

Nisbet says,

> In the American university, however, the kind of institute that came so richly into being after World War II was limited by prescription as well as scholarly preference substantially to research alone. After all, it was the function of the department to teach. In the institute or center, research would be alone. . . . More and more, one became aware of "department oriented" individuals on the campus and of "institute oriented" members of the faculty. Increasingly, the first came to be thought of as locals and the second as cosmopolitans.[24]

This division of teaching and research which had a long-standing symbiotic relationship had been overcome by massive infusions of money into a social institution run by mere humans.

> We might have turned our backs on the new wealth with its built-in demands for a radical restructuring of the university and said in effect: we shall continue with research of a degree of size, individuality, and character that the university has always known; a type of research that is reconcilable with the sovereign role of teaching in the university; of teaching-in-scholarship, of scholarship in teaching. . . . It is always fashionable in universities and colleges to blame industry, profession, and government for all the ills that befall academic man. Even now a mythology is forming that makes big government and big industry responsible for the degradation of the academic dogma, for the conversion of scholarship into organized, factory-like research for the transformation of literally thousands of professors from teachers and scholars into entrepreneurs of the research dollar, business and government consultants, managers, directors of essentially industrial organizations on the campus, and most recently, founders of lucrative businesses just far enough outside academic walls to escape university patent regulations.[25]

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[24] Ibid., p. 78.

[25] Ibid., pp. 81-82.

The entrepreneurship of the professorate led to a new affluence not known on the American campus and the division of labor arranged scholars into funded researchers, non-funded scholars and teaching locals with great disparities among the various categories. The aspirations of professors were raised to a level that was not to be maintained by the future society and the depletion of funds changed the academic picture even more.

Nisbet notes that the new economic affluence came to the social sciences for the first time, while the physical sciences and agricultural experiment stations had experienced federal funding for several decades. The new governmental funding of the social sciences gave infusions of cash to programs intimately involved with students and campus activities, not some separated scientific laboratory or remote agricultural station. These newly funded scholars were somewhat disenfranchised from the regular departmental structure often set apart in institutes or centers that established themselves as independent entities. In addition, there was the continued escalation and increased visibility of various administrative groups during this politicization process. The great wheel was set in motion when the administration insisted on loyalty oaths and the faculty responded negatively, leading to administrative repression and the resultant increase in faculty committees.

Prior to the 1940's issues that could have been settled by faculty concensus were now subjected to committee scrutiny and adversary relationships in a highly political atmosphere of liberals and conservatives. With the tenure system in effect, a solid base for each political group was always provided that would carefully recruit new membership loyal to their beliefs.

Nisbet summarizes these developments in the following passage:

> The national scene, the enormous increase in numbers of students and faculty members, the fracturing of the traditional structure of authority, the existence of more and more situations incapable of resolution through processes other than those of the adversary relationship of academic litigation, the rising number of blocs, caucuses, and similar groups, so suggestive of political parties, the ever more noticeable structuring of the faculty into persisting lefts, centers, and rights, with position on a given academic issue almost predictable when one knew what a given individual's "party" was, and the constantly proliferating issues of direct or derived political character,--all of these were the signs of a politicization of the academic community that had never existed before, not at least, in anything like the degree that had been reached by the middle 1950's.[26]

The pervasiveness of the politicalization of the university faculty has been the topic of authors concerned with relationship of the military-industrial-educational complex. One side of this argument is presented by Sidney Hook when he cites the findings of a

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[26] Ibid., p. 149.

> Report of a Special Faculty Committee appointed to supervise the operation of grants declared that no political strings were attached to any grant, that no government or foundation financing had subverted research. It is interesting that some research grants to Chomsky, and other critics of American foreign policy have come from Navy and other governmental institutions with absolutely no political strings attached.
>
> The subject is very complex, but three things are clear. No one compels a university or a faculty member to undertake any research of which it or he disapproves. The faculty as an educational body has the right to lay down guide lines governing the use of its facilities, the time of its members, the limits of secrecy, et cetera. No accredited university I know of accepts grants to prove a point of view in advance or to inculcate opinions or conclusions specified by the donor.[27]

Hook continues to defend the right of the professor to undertake research in the defense of the free society for the protection of the free university. This point of view seems to rest the burden of guilt squarely on the professor and on this view, there must be several immoral practicing professors.

On the other end of the spectrum are such authors as Roszak and Chomsky who believe the role of intellectuals should be that of critics of society. These authors often emphasize the socializing function of the university as a means of conserving the traditional social institution.

> One might perhaps count on the fingers of one hand the eras in which the university has been anything better than the handmaiden of official society;

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[27]Hook, In Defense of Academic Freedom, p. 254.

> the social club of ruling elites, the training school of whatever functionaries the status quo required.[28]

Roszak's indictment of the university professor continues as he illustrates the increased politicalization occurring following the Second World War.

> . . . the ideal of service has matured into a collaboration between the universities, the corporate world, and the government, so indiscriminate that the American warfare state has had no greater difficulty finding academic hirelings for any project--bar none--than its totalitarian opposite numbers. Ranking physicists and engineers at the "best schools" unquestioningly pursue classified research in the refinement of the thermonuclear arsenal. Biologists at the University of Pennsylvania work under secret contracts to develop chemical-biological weaponry. As part of the Army's Project Camelot, leading social scientists have pooled their expertise in order to help the American military plan counterinsurgency activities in Latin America. . . . But the picture is clear enough: in the name of service universities and university men have been prepared to collaborate in genocide, espionage, deceit, and all the corruptions our government's sense of omnipotence has led us to. "Service," by becoming a blanket willingness to do whatever society will pay for, has led the university to surrender the indispensable characteristic of wisdom: moral discrimination.[29]

Chomsky views the role of the professor, as it is currently constructed in the society, as incorrect. "Perhaps the most important role of the intellectual has been that of unmasking ideology, exposing the injustice and repression that exists in every society that we

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[28]Theodore Roszak, ed., The Dissenting Academy (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 4.

[29]Ibid., pp. 11-12.

know."[30] Chomsky goes on to implicate the university in this process.

> I think it would be important for the university to provide the framework for critical work of this sort. The matter goes well beyond politics in a narrow sense. There are inherent dangers in professionalization that are not sufficiently recognized in university structure. There is a tendency as a field becomes truly professionalized, for its problems to be determined less by considerations of intrinsic interest and more by the availability of certain tools that have been developed as the subject matures.[31]

Chomsky's severe criticism of scholars as pawns of the military-industrial academic complex is certainly warranted, but the alternative that he offers here has in it the dangers of becoming politicalized to the same extent but from a different special interest group.

The seriousness of the threat of politicalization should not be under-emphasized. It strikes at the very heart of knowing as it has been defined in the twentieth century. The university professors, as the guardians of truth, have sought to project knowing by the scientific method almost exclusively and any breach of this methodology should be seen as a serious threat to the university.

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[30] Noam Chomsky, "Philosophers and Public Policy," in Philosophy and Political Action, ed. by Virginia Held, Kai Nielsen and Charles Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 209.

[31] Ibid., p. 212.

The scientific method relies in part on the objective, intersubjectivity of disinterested observers which politicalization destroys. Because the university has backed this method so strongly and become involved so deeply in the solution of social problems, the very basic method of knowing is in question. As the investigator becomes increasingly a part of the thing that he is investigating he loses the ability to remain a disinterested, objective observer. Investigations of this nature are devoid of the value-free status so important to the scientific method.

The society has begun to question the ability of the scientific method to solve social problems. Stephen Toulmin stresses the separation between the ability of science to predict and explain, emphasizing its explanatory power. The social sciences have virtually abandoned any pretenses of prediction, which the society finds particularly annoying. Politicalization of the university has tended to expose the academic profession as purveyors of the wrong kind of knowing much as the medical profession has been exposed as backing curative rather than preventative medicine. Both are being questioned on very basic grounds that professions would rather not lay open for examination. Politicalization threatens the academic profession as a social institution but also more fundamentally it questions their epistemology.

Bureaucracy and Unionization

These two indicators of professionalism will be considered together because they are closely related and because of the previously explained effects of bureaucracy on the professional. There is a variance of opinion concerning the degree of compatibility of the professional and bureaucracy, but most scholars now agree that professional autonomy is limited by a bureaucracy only to a minor degree. Pavalko summarizes several studies in the following way:

> The general conclusion that emerges from these and other studies of professionals in bureaucracies is that within the same profession there may be divergent orientations toward both the employing organization and the profession. While it is possible to be oriented toward both, it is difficult to maintain this state of marginality without some negative consequences for either the individual, the organization, or both. Although the degree of professionalism varies among persons in the same profession, the stronger this orientation is the greater will be the conflict between the professional and the organization.[32]

So, rather than a bureaucratic organization inhibiting professional autonomy, there is a resolution of conflict within the organization that works to their mutual benefit. Parsons explains the academic profession in terms of collegial relationships which sets it apart from the usual bureaucracy.

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[32]Ronald M. Pavalko, Sociology of Occupations and Professions (Hasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1971), p. 189.

> Despite necessary differences in levels of distinction, the faculty and its most important subunit, the department, are basically companies of equals where major status differences are those of stages of career, especially the line between probationary and tenure status. This stands in sharp contrast to the pyramidal structure of bureaucratic hierarchies, with their steadily increasing concentration of all the components of status as one moves toward the top, which can often be occupied only by one individual at a time. In a society where many say the process of bureaucratization is coming to dominate everything, it is notable that this type of organization has not only survived, but has actually been strengthened.[33]

In studying highly professionalized occupations similar to the university professorate, Hall made the following observation.

> Thus, the professional may not find himself necessarily in conflict with the larger organization. A higher level of bureaucratization was found among less professionalized groups, suggesting that in the absence of professional norms, organizational norms may maintain equilibrium. As a group becomes more professionalized, conflict may increase unless the level of bureaucratization is reduced.[34]

The academic profession being a highly professionalized occupation, has developed a particular kind of relationship that has sought to maintain an equilibrium with the bureaucratic structure in which it resides. Any change

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[33]Talcott Parsons, "New Roles for Faculties: 1966," in Twenty-Five Years, 1945-1970 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), p. 243.

[34]Richard H. Hall, "Some Organizational Considerations in the Professional Organizational Relationship," Administrative Science Quarterly, XII (December, 1967), 461.

by either party in this equilibrium situation could lead to conflict and deterioration of the profession.

The academic profession is in the midst of experiencing an organizational disruption of this equilibrium in the form of unionism. Some university faculties already are unionized (about six percent of the total) but the trend is unmistakable. The roots of this movement go back at least to the Second World War and may be traced to the socialistic movement of the 1930's. Shortly after World War II, the rapid expansion of the universities caused increased pressure of existing faculties and facilities. Increased student numbers forced faculty to try new techniques of teaching introducing technology and methods for mass lecturing into various classroom situations.

The strain was also on faculty recruitment. It was important to obtain more faculty to teach the swelling courses and these faculty were recruited from various places and various walks of life. There was concern to maintain quality in the midst of this influx of teachers. Often scholars were imported from other countries with their international views and cultures. The effect was to dissipate the parochialism of the colleges and lend a new worldmindedness to the faculty. There was, however, another unanticipated effect, and that was to emphasize a candidate's credentials rather than his personality. The

most reliable information that could be obtained about a faculty member was derived from careful scrutiny of his degrees, publications and other credentials. These pressures tended to release the grip of the inner fraternity which had traditionally obtained new faculty by a word of mouth network. While this network was not entirely eliminated, it often broke down in its screening of new faculty and some "undesirable" faculty were hired. Because of the continued pressure of high enrollments, these faculty were often retained and placed on tenure. There is some suspicion that these members became the "deadwood" and radical faculty leaders of the 1970's.

In addition, the favorable job market provided for great job mobility and the influx of questionable scholars. The result was what Veblen and Dewey had warned against earlier, the mixture of scholarship with the business ethic.

> The velocity of movement from job to job weakened the feeling of community among members of the same faculty or discipline; and the readiness to make a place for outsiders--journalists, politicians, and bureaucrats from government and business-blurred the sense of the university as a unique institution dedicated to scholarly ends and values of its own.[35]

In this environment of rapid expansion and favorable employment opportunities, wages trended upward, forced by the pressure of "imports" from other fields and a scarcity of

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[35]Handlin and Handlin, The American College, pp. 84-85.

qualified individuals. It may be postulated that this release from poverty coupled with the increased governmental funding tended to undermine the integrity of the university professor. This allegation would be difficult to prove but many authors have alluded to the decline in professionalism directly proportional to the increase in salary, wages and funding.

The increase in size meant an increase in the distance between student and the faculty. The impersonality of the large university was to be blamed for much of the student discontent of the late sixties. As suggested previously, the rewards for the scholars did not emphasize teaching nor did the Ph.D. socialization. Those professors who were student oriented were so at the risk of promotion and tenure.

There is also a new atmosphere surrounding the university which is more conserving of its gains. The unforecast glut of Ph.D. graduates will have a marked effect on the future of the university. During the last nine years, over one-half of all the Ph.D.'s ever awarded in American universities have been given, and over half of these have gone into college teaching. Projections indicate that the colleges and universities will require only about one quarter of the doctoral graduates in the next ten years.[36]

[36]Dale Wolfe and Charles V. Kidd, "The Future Market for Ph.D.'s," Science, CLXXIII (August 27, 1971), 791.

Wolfe has made several speculations based on these figures. He estimates that there will be more professors with Ph.D.'s and that young professors will remain untenured longer. New doctorates will accept lower post-doctoral stipends and spend more time teaching and less time doing research; in other words, perform many of the functions now done by graduate students. Young faculty members will receive fewer salary increases, slower job promotions and generally less upward mobility. These projections, according to Wolfe, make young professors especially vulnerable to unionism. Unions claim to protect faculty members that already have jobs by restricting the number of doctoral graduates, by insisting on certification for all job holders, and by increasing retirement benefits to encourage early retirement. The threat of unionism to the delicate balance of the academic profession may be the critical academic issue of the 1970's. The power base of the departmental structure will certainly be disrupted and large bargaining agents tend to beget large bargaining agents.

With the withdrawal of large federal funding programs and the pressure on higher education from social critics, the universities are experiencing economic difficulties unknown in the 1960's. Student enrollments have recently trended downward. Lieberman states that

"everywhere higher education is under unprecedented budgetary pressure threatening basic salaries and tenure as well as traditional professional perquisites such as sabbaticals and travel allowances."[37] These kinds of pressures will tend to unite the professors and force them into a collective bargaining situation which ultimately favors unionism.

Lieberman sees the unionization of faculty as inevitable. Speculating on this notion one can foresee some drastic changes for the professor. It is probable that such a move will lead to some method of accountability of academic services. Faculty accountability will undoubtedly limit the autonomy of the individual and may break down departmental structures because of its emphasis on some common denominator such as teaching. The departmental structure is already showing signs of stress from the organization of interdisciplinary institutes and the demands of students for direct channels to present grievances about faculty members without following the hierarchical bureaucratic structure. The destruction of the university department will force the replacement by some alternative structure which will undoubtedly be more powerful and probably larger than its predecessor. The new faculty

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[37]Myron Lieberman, "Professors Unite!" Harper's Magazine, October, 1971, p. 63.

structure will probably be a large unionistic structure representing all faculty members united in a collective bargaining arrangement against the forces of the administration. As Lieberman portrays it, the future will appear like this:

> The role of a faculty should not be to administer an institution but to insure that administration is fair and equitable. Unfortunately, pathetic confusions about professionalism have misled faculty members into believing that professors at each institution are entitled to make management decisions. The tragedy is that so many administrators, governing heads, and legislators have been cornered into accepting this irresponsible doctrine. Collective bargaining will force professors out of administration, but administrators will be monitored by faculty unions in the performance of their administrative duties.[38]

The adversary model that Lieberman proposes has some notions that are contrary to the professional model and will undoubtedly hasten the decline of the academic profession. It should be emphasized that the decline of the academic profession may have several positive connotations. There are many who view the traditional professional superior-subordinate relationship as the incorrect model for a "community of scholars," and welcome the colleagual structure of collective bargaining as a revitalizing force for the university.

This section has attempted to analyze four indicators of professionalism and demonstrate how they may

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[38] Ibid., p. 69.

combine to cause a decline in what has come to be understood as the academic profession. The designation of colleague as client represents an unusual professional situation. The pervasiveness of the concept of politicalization has caused a social infiltration of a profession to such an extent that it threatens to redefine the function of the institution as well as the knowledge base on which it is founded.

The scholar has reached a delicate balance with the bureaucratic organization in which he works and has actually overcome this threat to professional autonomy. Through long years of carefully constructed power moves the faculty has flattened out the hierarchical structure to a staff oriented colleagual network. Recent moves by administration, faculty and the lay public agencies to gain power have led to a disruption of this organizational structure and the emergence of a new organizational model better able to bargain equally for authority. Collective bargaining and unionistic tactics are not usually considered to be the tools of a professional, mainly because of their effects on autonomy.

The analysis of each of these four indicators of professionalism leads to the same conclusion--the decline of the traditional ideology that surrounds the professional in this particular instance, the decline of the academic profession.

CHAPTER VI

ALTERNATIVE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

Given the increasing probability of the unionism of many faculties, and its effects on the delicate equilibrium of the bureaucratic structure that now exists, it is certain that organizational conflict and accommodation will exist in the near future.

It is proposed, by this study, that two distinct kinds of alternative organizational structures will arise to accommodate this destroyed equilibrium. One alternative structure will mediate conflict between the university and the society and the other will alleviate conflict within the university. The former type of organizational structure will be termed separate and specialized because their job will be to take over some of the specialized functions that are currently performed by the university. The latter type of organizational structure will be termed a parallel structure because it indicates the construction of co-equal organizations, each having approximately the same power and autonomy.

Parallel Structures

This study has demonstrated that where professional and quasi-professional collide in a bureaucratic setting an equilibrium is reached where role conflict is accommodated and a shared power arrangement is established. It is proposed that because of the nature of the current administrative-faculty adversary relationship, the future organizational pattern within the university will take the form of large, co-equal, collective bargaining units that may be termed parallel structures. These parallel structures may be two or more, dependent on the number of quasi-professional units striving for power and the strength of the profession that is in power. Another feature of these structures will be the intercession of some mediating group that will act as communicant among the various parallel power groups.

Evidence of the construction of parallel structures can be found in the occupational literature about professions. Wilensky, speaking of this kind of power struggle for authority, says:

> A preview of these mixed forms of control may be seen in some of the newer, marginal, or would-be professions--in occupations in which careers do not lead to management but where control is split among professionals, laymen, and administrators (e.g., the many occupations ancillary to medicine such as hospital administration, nursing, pharmacy). The crucial question concerns how much weight professionals, bosses, laymen or clients

> carry in decisions regarding standards of entry, performance, reward, and promotion.[1]

In another study, Wilensky emphasized the ability of professionals to adapt to bureaucratic organizations in one of two ways. Professionals may modify their work role so that its demands and expectations are more compatible with their professional orientation, or shift their entire role orientation from the professional group to the bureaucratic organization. These kinds of role modifications are inevitable in the event of unionization. The professional must decide whether his allegiance will remain with the department or shift to the new professional organizational unit, the union. It is also conceivable that the professor might divide allegiance between the two or even among additional groups such as the university, the wider academic discipline or an administrative or student-oriented group. What unionization does indicate is a more complex set of role relationships. Wilensky has found that professional orientations depend very heavily on the educational and work socialization of the professional, which has important implications for the future training of doctoral candidates.

Several authors concerned with the academic profession have alluded to the notion of parallel structures. Parsons, in 1966, saw the beginnings of this process.

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[1]Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" p. 155.

> These considerations about the convergence of functions in the academic world raise important questions about the form of social organization which develops in response to these demands, but also in relation to a variety of other major developmental forces in modern society. . . . Perhaps the best available term to designate it is collegial structure. It is closer to the pattern of the voluntary association, and indeed in its own collective decision-making functions is one, than it is to the classical conception of bureaucracy with the implications of the primacy of line authority. . . . Concurrent with the strengthening of collegial structures, we have been seeing an immense growth in the complex we call university administration. . . . This administrative bureaucracy could readily encroach seriously on the position of faculties as defined in the traditions of academic freedom and tenure, but the striking thing is how little this has taken place.[2]

The most obvious example of the formation of parallel structures occurs in the modern hospital. In this case the professionals (doctors) work in a bureaucratic work setting (the hospital) and are confronted with several quasi-professional groups (i.e., nurses, pharmacists, anesthestists and even interns). The professional group is not about to reduce its authority or alter its professional role, but they must have the support of all these quasi-professional groups in order to perform their central professional function. The resolution of this conflict has been achieved by the intercession of another quasi-professional group, the hospital administrators who are appointed jointly by professionals and non-professionals

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[2]Parsons, "New Roles for Faculties: 1966," pp. 243-244.

and struggle to gain their authority from both groups in order to perform their job of coordination.

There are some obvious comparisons that can be drawn between the organization of the hospital and the organization of a university. Each has a lay board of directors which has a limited amount of control, an established professional group with its contingent power base and an administrative group responsible for the coordination of professionals, semi-professionals and the lay groups. An analogy can also be made between the medical intern and the graduate assistant. While it would be difficult to term either of these as quasi-professional, it is equally difficult to define the point at which one is no longer apprentice and becomes professional. The rite of passage is not at all distinct and many of the functions performed by the professional are performed equally by the sub-professional apprentice.

It would not be too difficult to manufacture quasi-professional groups that are contending for the authority of the professional groups in the university setting. Most of the recently developed academic support units could be given the same status as nurses and anesthetists. Many large universities maintain their own testing service and counseling center with its multiplicity of student-personnel services which operate in a marginal authority situation.

Seldom considered as faculty but not desirous of the administration label, these non-professional groups often organize separately from either and bargain independently.

The recent development of the office of ombudsman can be seen as a close parallel to the situation of the hospital administrator. Each is hired by a group of professionals and quasi-professionals with the approval of some lay board. The function in each case is to act as mediator among the various power groups smoothing the waters and receiving its authority to act from a consensus of those participants over which it has jurisdiction. This is a precarious position designed to facilitate communications within a bureaucratic structure.

The Third Party: Student Unions

The recipient of the professional service becomes the key to the continued professionalization in the academic situation because they may control the balance of power. There is an increasing level of client dissatisfaction with the medical profession as there is in most professional areas. Student dissatisfaction has been displayed more forcefully, however, and they seem to be in a better position to affect a change in the authority relationships of the university. This is not to say that the students, as they are currently constituted, will wield this kind of power nor does it mean to imply that they have in the past. Previous demonstrations of student power have

been isolated incidents mainly in reaction to the politicalization of the university and not indications of a move toward power usurpation of the authority structure of the university. These isolated incidents (i.e., the Free Speech Movement, the Columbia Strike and the Cornell Incident) should be indications of the depth of feeling that the student body has sustained toward the increased politicalization of the university, but students fail to have power or organization to overcome the co-optation of the university structure. Hook seems to over-state the case in his book edited shortly after the student strike of May, 1970. He provides examples of the decline of professionalism in the university and attributes the failure of the SUNY Buffalo revitalization to the destruction of academic freedom by the radical students.

> . . . these principles of academic freedom are being threatened more by extremist students than by fundamentalist bishops, economic royalist tycoons, and political demagogues. For these students presume to determine who should speak on campus and who shouldn't, break up meetings of those with whom they disagree, disrupt the classrooms of teachers of whom they disapprove, demand the cessation of research they regard as not in the public interest, and clamor for the dismissal of teachers whose views they denounce as racist, reactionary or imperialist.[3]

This present study of professionalism in higher education would propose that this is an over-simplified view of the situation and is actually placing the blame in the wrong

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[3]Sidney Hook, In Defense of Academic Freedom, p. 253.

place. Furthermore, the clamorings of the students should be taken as indications of the deeper disease, here described as the decline of academic professionalism.

The real threat to authority posed by students is not through their isolated disruption of classes or even their sporadic stoppage of university functioning. Their only hope of real power can come from the construction of a parallel organizational structure with a collective bargaining power similar to that of the faculty union and the administrative-lay-public complex. The formation of a student union would leave the academic professional no escape from client evaluation and client selection.

This type of client evaluation is quite different from the colleague as client notion, spelled out in the previous chapter. It is generally conceded that a university faculty could agree that some broad statement of creation and dissemination of knowledge would be valid grounds for the selection and evaluation of colleagues. To impute these same ideas of the university to the student population is to ignore much of what it means to go to college in the American society of the 1970's. Evaluation from a student perspective may be much more closely tied to the relevance of education to the current society and the immediate worth of his diploma in terms of a vocation or another means of upward social mobility. When students

want the same things out of education that the professors want, it will either be a utopia or an Orwellian Society.

As Dr. Blackington phrases it,

> They (professors) seek to make sense out of the world and this takes enormous amounts of time in reading, writing, thinking and teaching. These activities are engaged in to clarify thought--theirs as well as those of their communicants. As such, these activities constitute communal endeavors to develop a more adequate conceptual apparatus by which the world may be addressed. For those less smitten by the desire to reformulate the conceptual apparatus of a field of inquiry, there is a similarly demanding task of critically translating the ideas of the ages into the modern idiom for the purpose of understanding and evaluation. These two types of activities, related and somewhat overlapping, constitute the intent--the community of professors.
>
> Professors are seldom judged in terms of this intent. Few students and administrators are equipped by interest or competence to assess its embodiment. This is not their world--this maze of substantive claims and counterclaims of soul-wrenching doubt, of methodological battles, of 'splitting hairs' and occasional infinitives. It is, however, the professional world and it contains seeds of their conception of education and success.[4]

There will be other educational items at issue with the development of student unions and it may mean that the items under consideration would be more in the professional purview than those highly political issues outlined in the previous chapter. Lieberman sees student unions as quite logical extensions of the collective bargaining situation and instrumental in negotiating for more effective teaching.

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[4]Frank H. Blackington III, Unpublished Manuscript.

> The student unions will seek to participate in bargaining between the faculty and the administration, and they will often be the decisive factor in resolving disputes between these groups. In these disputes, students will usually line up with the administration against the faculty. . . . In any case, the viability of student unions will depend on their ability to act effectively on campus issues. If they can do this, they could have a beneficial impact on higher education.[5]

Lieberman's optimism is not shared by all educators, but the construction of parallel organizational structures widening the circle of colleagual relationships may be an essential step in the reaffirmation of the central functions of the academic profession. The socialization and social allocation functions of the university while necessary and important, are not sufficient grounds for the continuation of the university. There are too many other social institutions that are willing and able to perform these social functions. The university is primarily an institution of knowledge.

Separate and Specialized Institutional Structures

It is the further contention of this study that alternative organizational structures, not confined to the organizational patterns within the university will be constructed. There is evidence in the wider academic community to indicate that separate and specialized institutional structures may relieve the intense political

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[5]Lieberman, "Professors, Unite!" p. 70.

pressures that the university receives from the society. Jencks and Riesman illustrate this point in this way:

> Over the next generation it seems likely that many more academic specialists with outside research grants will re-group themselves in exclusively graduate departments or in university-based research institutes, leaving the bulk of undergraduate education to professors in less affluent specialties.[6]

This movement has already begun in several ways in and out of the university.

One could list the various centers and institutes on many campuses, which for all intents and purposes, are separate and equal organizations existing on their own with their own money and personnel. Often these are strictly research oriented organizations with little or no teaching function. The fact that they are housed on a university campus should not disguise their function as the same as that of the university. There are also research and development centers located separately from the university campus, established with the stated purpose of performing research rather than teaching. Often these are agricultural extension offices and agricultural experiment stations established throughout the state for the express purpose of disseminating information to the residents of that particular area, devoid of any pretense of academic trappings. These are truly specialized social institutions that should function autonomously from the university and

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[6]Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, p. 246.

relieve it of the awesome responsibility of managing and coordinating all these separate organizations.

Other examples of separate academic structures are in existence in various parts of the United States. The community college and junior college systems with their various sub-units of vocational and technical training perform a recognizable function without the encumberances of the university stigma. The upper division universities of California and Florida exhibit specialized structures that exist for a particular specified purpose that is definable and understandable. Other examples of academic but non-university affiliated social institutions could be conceived from separate and specialized structural organizational patterns.

In summary of this position, Nisbet asks some pertinent questions about the future of the university that could be answered by the institution of these separate and specialized organizational structures.

> What should the university be in the future? Stating the matter differently, what vitalizing function can be seen for the university that is alone capable, given the special character of its resources and character, of restoring academic authority and rebuilding academic community?
>
> Keystone of the research establishment? But there are other organizations better qualified for this, given the technical requirements of large scale research today. Adjunct government? But government has its own special demands and requires its own distinctive roles. And these appear ill suited to academic aptitudes. Radical critic or conscience of society? But societies do not

> generally support, with tenure, their radical critics; and anyhow there are more fertile contexts for the Gracchi, Robespierres, Benthams, Marxes and Lenins of history. Supreme humanitarian, responsible for all of society's political, economic and psychological ills and deprivations? The university is basically no more qualified for this than is either the church or the labor union. Therapeutic community designed to heal identity crises in middle-class youth? But even to the extent that this function may now be said to exist more or less successfully, it does so only in the reflected glow of the university believed to be a genuine intellectual community. Microcosm of culture, of the creative arts? To some extent, without doubt, but any thought of the universities cloistered community being seed bed for the Shakespeares, Mozarts and Picassos of history, of providing necessary incentives, flies in the face of all that we know about the nourishing contexts of the arts in society.[7]

To establish separate, autonomous specialized social institutions for each of these seems to be a probable extension of his argument. He further wants to free the university to enable it to perform once again its proper function, which he sees as research-in-teaching and teaching-in-research of such a magnitude that does not dwarf the rest of the institutional functions. He concludes this argument by stating,

> There is no inherent, self-sustaining, irresistable majesty in the university; only that majesty that is conferred upon the university by a social order that, for whatever reason, has come to believe that there is something distinctive, something precious, something profoundly important in the university that is to be found nowhere else in society--and when this belief is allowed to erode, majesty erodes with it.[8]

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[7]Nisbet, Degradation of Academic Dogma, p. 206.

[8]Ibid., p. 235.

It is imperative that the university find some method to retreat from the multiplicity of functions that it now performs and concentrate on those functions central to its traditional construction, namely teaching and scholarly research closely connected with the teaching.

Reformulation of Academic Structure

The flexibility of the academic role and the social institution called the university seems to have been able to accommodate the many social impositions enumerated by this study. The professor has made an adjustment to the bureaucratic work setting and emerged as an even more powerful force than those once above him in the administrative hierarchy. The threat of client intervention usurping authority and power seems to have been overcome by the colleagual structure entered into by the faculty. The threat of student power developing beyond its present level seems unlikely if it maintains its present individualized form.

The role of the academic professional will be markedly changed by the unionization of faculty and the possible unionization of students. The organizational threat of unionism is such that it will upset the delicate balance described by the various authors referred to in this study. This kind of adversary rather than collegial relationship could restructure the various professional

roles in the university setting to such an extent that the conflict of allegiance to professional discipline, union organization or university setting would confuse the public service notion assigned to the university by the society. Present socialization patterns existing in the educational programs of the university professor do not provide adequately for these new organizational models nor do the work socialization patterns. This lack of adequate preparation in coping with the new organization of the university may lead to the decline of the academic profession as it is now conceived.

However, as indicated previously, the decline of the currently constructed academic profession may be necessary to reformulate an organizational pattern that will facilitate the rebirth of the university. The unionization of the faculty will most probably cause dramatic changes in the role of the university professor. But some reaction to the build-up of large administrative structures by the faculty and confusion of purpose due to increased politicalization seems inevitable.

Academic professionals and university quasi-professionals have experienced differences of opinion concerning that which should be designated as the central function of the university. Some of the professional faculty continue to offer the creation and dissemination of knowledge while some quasi-professionals counter with

socialization and social criticism. While this is an over simplification, inaccurately stating the position of either, it establishes the core of disagreement. The resolution of this dispute is crucial to the continuance of the university. The most amiable solution to this part of the problem seems to be the construction of separate social structures in addition to, and in relief of, the university. The decentralization of the multiplicity of functions now performed by the university is imperative. Removal of politically involved research and development programs to other social institutions is right and proper. The institution of less formal socialization structures is possible but more difficult. Private patronage of individual scholars of promise might be encouraged so that alternative institutes or individual incentive programs could augment the university's traditionally hostile institutional environment toward genius.

In addition to the specialized and separate social structures constructed outside of the university to alleviate pressure on the institution, parallel collegial structures should be constructed within the university so that power is more equally divided among the various contestants within the university. While faculty may wish for consensus or the old authorative administrator, the immediate realities of the situation dictate large collective bargaining organizations. Until the social

pressures enumerated in this study are lifted from the academic profession, each professor would be better advised to consider carefully those items he believes to be most important for negotiation rather than the advisability of collective bargaining per se. Observation reveals the administrative-lay forces already separate and organized while the professional faculty forces are inhibited by ideals of declining professionalism.

The prime professional considerations of the university of the 1970's should be the depoliticalization of the university, the reestablishment of the delicate organizational balance within the university, and the understanding of the factors involved in the decline of the academic profession. The romance of the professions and the society are a thing of the past. Members of society are asking hard questions of their social institutions and often finding the intended functions have changed over time and other unintended functions have taken their place. In these instances the society has often challenged the existing institution and sought to construct another structure in its stead or destroy the institution entirely.

The university has not reached this latter stage of decay as yet, and measures may still be taken to prevent this from happening. The steps outlined here lead to the building of parallel structures within the university and separate and specialized social institutions in addition

to the university, with the primary results being a decentralization of social institutions and equalization of power groups within the university.

Implications for Further Research

> If the lack of adequate studies of the college professor is apparent, the need for them is equally evident. No one in the early 1960's can doubt that our society is changing at an ever increasing rate. And our educational system in particular is in all probability confronted with a turbulent and revolutionary period. . . . If these challenges of the future are to be met, they will, in the final analysis, be met by college professors. It clearly behooves us to study this profession more thoroughly and more extensively if clear and effective answers are to be found to the problems that confront us now and will confront us still more forcibly in the future.[9]

Even though Knapp wrote this ten years ago, it is even more true today. The failure of scholars to predict and study systematically what would happen in their own professions has led to grave consequences during the late 1960's and early 1970's. The world-wide student revolution, the rampant politicalization of the university, the anti-scientism of the counter culture and the drastic over supply of doctoral graduates are but a few of the examples of issues of great social impact that have influenced primarily the university and were unpredicted and virtually unknown until the academic society was immersed in them.

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[9]Robert H. Knapp, "Changing Functions of the College Professor," in The American College, ed. by Nevitt Sanford (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 306-307.

Scholarship in this area has become an act of reporting rather than a logical extension of theoretical frameworks into the future. This attempt to analyze the academic profession should raise a series of questions for which empirical research could provide answers.

The first set of concerns might revolve around the theoretical framework which underlies this analytical study of the academic profession.

First is the notion that the deep roots of the academic profession in the society ties the profession very closely to the society. The academic profession may be quite different in different societies. Similar literature reviews might be conducted in various other societies, especially those that have not followed the same paths to mass education at the college level; or societies that have not undertaken such massive research programs as have been conducted by the government in conjunction with the American university.

Secondly, the professions are based on a work ideology institutionalized through the educational system and supported by professional organizations. The professions need a culture of work coupled with the propensity toward a stratified society where the society awards position, stature and prestige to those who attain the professional position. Societies that are not based on a stratified society or a more traditional society that may

not be based on a work ideology might yield comparative information showing future alternatives.

Thirdly, professionalization is a democratic notion based on equality of educational opportunity and a competative meritocratic system rather than an aristocratic premise. This is one of the reasons that the professional idea is spreading so quickly into the quasi-professional and non-professional occupations in the American society. Those societies not based on these premises still have an academic profession and they must receive social sanction in some way. A comparative study of these cultural positions would be of interest.

As the academic profession has paralleled the development of the industry in the American society, it has adopted an economic model of production and efficiency which closely coincides with the industrial model. Many other university work settings have rejected this efficiency model and insisted on providing an academic service to the society. Paradyms of academic organizations could be constructed based on models other than the economic industrial model. The centrality of the university in the society indicates that the solution of social problems may lead to a new institutional model with a public service orientation.

Other kinds of empirical studies could result from the analysis presented here. The most obvious are those

dealing with surveys of faculty members obtaining their attitudes toward professionalization and unionization. The client designation problem may have changed since the student strike of 1970 and the adverse publicity connected with the increased politicalization of the campus. Surveys concerning the recognition of politicalization by various faculty members would be of value in assessing the future of the university.

Another very useful study could involve a reading of professional attitudes of faculty members before and after unionization. This opportunity is available presently on many university campuses and would make an interesting and informative longitudinal study.

If the projection of student unions is at all accurate, there is an entire field of labor relations never before explored open to the scholar concerned with a long term study starting from the very outset of organizational formation. Student unions bargaining collectively for academic issues have their precedent in medieval history and more recently in graduate student organizations. The faculty reaction to graduate student organization has been assisted by the virtual closing of the job market allowing faculty to eliminate graduate assistant positions and severely restrict graduate enrollments. This would not be possible with under-graduate enrollments, at least not to the same extent.

A final category of research that might result from this analytical study of the academic profession is the area of professional role models. Since the Spring of 1970, many professors have noted a change in the atmosphere of the university, especially in the seriousness of the students and the calm of the campus. Faculty members that took definite stands during the student strike have had an opportunity to quietly reflect on this position and could provide a more accurate account of the situation both now and then. What of the role of those faculty members associated with research institutes and centers? What are their concerns about the depoliticalization of the university and the construction of separate specialized social institutions? What are the attitudes of the new group of students in search of relevant higher education? What do they see as the future of this social institution?

Some comparative work has been done within this society regarding two year and four year institutions of higher education. It would be fully within the spirit of this study to conduct an investigation into the reasons for the development of the union movement in the two year colleges and determine how it spread into the four year schools. The modification of role behavior within the two institutions might be quite different and their relative professional position may be significantly altered in the future. Several other comparative studies might be

conducted within the society involving the specialized and separate junior, senior, graduate and four year institutions.

Many implications for the future of the university can be drawn from this analysis of the decline of professionalism in the American university. The future is uncertain. But a failure to recognize and organize research around some principle such as professionalization will not aid in alleviating this uncertainty. The decline of academic professionalism may mean the loss of a vital public service function traditionally provided by the university. No society can exist for long without the advance of knowledge by a group of scholars free to explore and extend understanding in an atmosphere of freedom from political restraint and interaction. The depoliticalization of the university is essential. The study of the client relationship in the academic profession is long overdue. The unionization of the faculty is taking place with a minimum of research and review, which is unfortunate for a profession that claims to be scholarly and prides itself on research.

This may, however, be the beginning of a new era ushering in the establishment of many different kinds of institutions for the advancement of knowledge. The notion of alternative organizational structures allows for a broad interpretation of human and institutional goals. The future

American university may be dependent upon a better understanding of the professional issues questioned by this study. It is imperative to choose a path to better understanding through a theoretical framework, backed and supported by empirical research and practiced by an understanding group of individuals.

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