

The Way Forward: Educational Leadership and Strategic Capital

by

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## **Dedication**

To my family

“To know that we know what we know,  
and to know that we do not know what we do not know,  
that is true knowledge.”

~ Nicolaus Copernicus

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“The untold want, by life and land ne'er granted,  
Now, Voyager, sail thou forth, to seek and find.”

~Walt Whitman, *The Untold Want*

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## Abstract

The vast majority of historical research on socioeconomic status (hereafter SES) and social capital in the field of higher education has utilized quantitative data, providing a rich source of demographic, economic, and educational information. A more nuanced understanding of social networks and the “strategic capital” that such networks leverage—namely synergized forms of capital (e.g. human, cultural, and social) that are deployed to achieve a strategic objective—may emerge from an qualitative analytical methodology that investigates college presidential leadership through historical, legal, and policy artifacts at three elite institutions. Elite institution is defined here using the Carnegie Classification Undergraduate Profile: full-time four-year, more selective, lower transfer-in (2015). Through exploration of the historical educational leadership demonstrated by the presidents of Harvard University, Dartmouth College, and the University of Chicago—either encouraging or discouraging various social networks and their medium of exchange, social capital—one may gain a deeper insight into the mechanisms that foster social networks and the strategic deployment of social capital. Why is this inquiry important? Presidential leadership at institutions of this ilk often set the pace for the field, serving as bellwethers or leading indicators of future trends at colleges and universities nationally.

*Keywords:* educational leadership; elite colleges; cultural capital; human capital; social capital; social networks.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a multitude of Christian factions fought in Europe; those groups rejecting the both Roman Catholic and Protestant State Churches—such as the Congregationalists, the Anabaptists, the Society of Friends, and the Moravians—were the object of both political and religious persecution. In the conventional university survey course, Martin Luther leaps onto the historical stage out of nowhere: an unknown monk in an obscure German provincial town who, by performing the rather routine academic exercise of nailing a thesis to the doors of the local church, triggers the Protestant Reformation. Woodward (2015, December 18) reveals a central and heretofore little-appreciated aspect: “Luther’s master role in the imagination and execution of what had to have been the world’s first mass-media-driven revolution. Luther didn’t just reimagine the Christian faith, he figured out how to share his vision through the innovative use and manipulation of a nascent communications technology: the printing press.” When Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door in the Saxon backwater town of Wittenberg nearly 500 years ago, moveable type was a useful and expensive tool used by academics and elite institutions. Most customers were churchmen, scholars, or students, with a smattering of rich collectors from the nobility. The first printers aligned their production to the established best sellers in these customers’ favored fields, typically works that were long, expensive, and in Latin. “Luther recognized the untapped potential of print as a mass medium and used it to broadcast his message to lay readers across the German states, bypassing the traditional gatekeepers via this new social media. He responded to the first scholarly criticism of

his theses not in Latin, the language of scholarship, but in German, with a clear, straightforward 1,500-word essay that could be read aloud in 10 minutes. It fit perfectly into an eight-page pamphlet that could be quickly and cheaply printed and reprinted, each copy using but a single sheet of paper, folded in quarto” Woodward (2015, December 18).

The moniker “Protestant”—literally, “to protest” the hated practice of the selling of indulgences—was applied to members or followers of any of the Western Christian churches who were separate from the Roman Catholic Church and followed the principles of the Reformation. Protestants were instrumental in establishing colonies in what became the United States. Colonial European settlers, for the most part, did not come to England’s North American colonies seeking religious freedom writ large. Rather, the majority who came for religious reasons came for the freedom to practice their own form of religion and to impose it on all other residents of their colony. As Fraser (1999) notes, “And when they founded schools, which most of them did rather quickly, they expected the schools to raise up the next generation in the faith of the established church, whether it was the Congregationalism of Puritan Massachusetts or the Anglicanism of Virginia or the Dutch Reformed tradition of New Netherlands” (p. 10).

A decade after the Mayflower sailed from England, the Winthrop Fleet, comprised of 11 ships, followed in 1630 with the charter for the Massachusetts Bay Colony and a bold vision. John Winthrop, the future governor of the Colony, wrote *A Model of Christian Charity* while aboard the *Arabella* during the voyage to Massachusetts: “For we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us” (Winthrop, 1867, p. 19). As Tiryakian (1993) notes, America was from its very beginning a Protestant majority nation. Whereas Protestants were persecuted across Europe as dissidents against the established hierarchical church and Crown-mandated social order, “Protestants in America were from the beginning the

arbiters and formulators of the norms of social life” (p. 49). Tocqueville, during his travels to America, noted the exceptional coexistence of the spirit of religion and the spirit of freedom, elements that in European societies were in constant conflict, one with the other. As Tocqueville (1835-1840/2013) wrote:

Every religion is to be found in juxtaposition to a political opinion which is connected with it by affinity. If the human mind be left to follow its own bent, it will regulate the temporal and spiritual institutions of society upon one uniform principle; and man will endeavor, if I may use the expression, to harmonize the state in which he lives upon earth with the state which he believes to await him in heaven. The greatest part of British America was peopled by men who, after having shaken off the authority of the Pope, acknowledged no other religious supremacy; they brought with them into the New World a form of Christianity which I cannot better describe than by styling it a democratic and republican religion. (p. 330-331)

The European immigrants arrived on a continent whose indigenous inhabitants had both highly developed forms of faith and government. Soon after their arrival, the Europeans also began importing African slaves, adding yet another set of cultural and religious traditions to the North American mix. As Fraser (1999) notes, “The American religious scene cannot be understood without paying serious attention to the contribution of indigenous American, African, and more recently Asian traditions as well as those of European Christianity, Judaism, and Enlightenment secularism. And these diverse contributions had powerful implications for the relationship of religion and education” (p. 10).

Nine colleges, referred to here as the Colonial Colleges, existed in the British colonies at the opening salvo of the American Revolution. While one might entertain the notion that

America's institutions of higher learning exist in rarefied air, beyond the reach of pedestrian concerns and invigorated solely by a dynamic, impartial exchange of ideas in pursuit of truth, such thinking is naïve. Higher education in America is and always has been political. Hoeveler (2002) notes that while Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth were all Congregational colleges, they had clearly demarcated intellectual affiliations. Princeton (The College of New Jersey at its founding) was Presbyterian, but catered to a particular branch of American Presbyterianism. Similarly, Rutgers (Queen's College) was formed by a faction of the Dutch Reformed church. The Colonial Colleges, mediators and transmitters of norms, played a vital role in the American Revolution and in forming an American intellectual culture. While all of the Colonial Colleges were founded by Protestants, there existed intellectual warfare between and among the institutions and their founding faith traditions to define the American Mind. At the time of King George II's death in 1760, for example, the six schools then in existence competed vigorously in memorializing the monarch's death. By 1773, however, many students in the Colonial Colleges had a change of heart and stopped drinking British tea, had formed their own militias, and drilled on college grounds. As war broke out, seven of the nine institutions suspended instruction as British troops took over campus buildings (Hoeveler, 2002).

If, as Granovetter (1985) asserts, behavior and institutions are subject to the problem of "embeddedness," namely that any analysis of behavior and institutions must recognize the constraints imposed by social relations, much of the utilitarian tradition in economics has failed to accurately capture the nature of the forces at work between individual and society. Classical and neoclassical economics, for example, assume rational, self-interested behavior, which at best is unaffected by social behavior and, at worst, is minimally affected by social relations. Granovetter (1985) posits that this economic tradition invokes an idealized state not far removed

from Thomas Hobbes' "state of nature"—a concept in moral and political philosophy to denote the hypothetical conditions of what the lives of people might have been like before societies came into existence (1661/2010)—or John Rawls "original position," a thought experiment to replace the imagery of a savage state of nature of prior political philosophers like Hobbes (1971). In some versions of social contract theory, there are no rights in the state of nature, only freedoms, and it is the contract that creates rights and obligations. In other versions, the opposite occurs: the contract imposes restrictions upon individuals that curtail their natural rights. In his review of the literature, Portes (1998) provides a consensus definition of social capital where actors are able to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures, with the caveat that these networks are not a natural state or a given; they must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations. Social capital affords three key functions: first, social capital serves as a source of social control; second, social capital serves as a source of family support, and; third, social capital serves as a source of benefits through extrafamilial networks (Portes, 1998).

### **Statement of the Problem**

Weber (1904-1905/2011) argued that individuals in the West, driven by the unceasing logic of rationalization—where one can theoretically quantify all aspects of life and which was born of ascetic Protestantism or the Puritan vocational ethic (*Berufsethik*) that reduced humans to mere tools of God's providence—have become nothing more than cogs in a machine, trapped as it were in an iron cage. Kim (2012) asserts that while the calculability and predictability of the social environment brought about by rationalization arguably enhances individual freedom by clarifying the route that one must navigate through a complex social environment to achieve desired outcomes, the counter argument is that individual freedom and agency are greatly

restricted when the irresistible efficiency that rationalization spawns does so at the expense of substantive rationality, as Weber (1904-1905/2011) wrote:

No one any longer knows who will live in this casing (*Gehäuse*) and whether entirely new prophets or a mighty rebirth of ancient ideas and ideals will stand at the end of this monumental development. Or, however, if neither, whether a mechanized ossification, embellished with a sort of rigidly compelled sense of self-importance, will arise. Then, indeed, if ossification appears, the saying might be true for the “last humans” in this long civilizational development: narrow specialists without minds, pleasure-seekers without heart; in its conceit this nothingness imagines it has climbed to a level of humanity never before attained. (pp. 177-178)

While Weber’s perspective offers one lens through which to view early 20<sup>th</sup> century America, Alsop (1989), a descendent of the first Dutch settlers of New Netherland, offers a dramatically different interpretation—a gilded, rather than iron, cage:

What, precisely, was Alsop’s social class? “I am,” he says of himself, “by way of being a very minor member of the ever-diminishing group of survivors of the WASP ascendancy.” Those capital letters, of course, stand for White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, but behind them stands a good deal more: a concatenation of genealogies, social relationships, financial arrangements, and institutional affiliations which, in their inter-connections, and in their preponderant spirit of taking care of one’s own, could make city hall in Chicago under the late Mayor Daley look like the agora in 5<sup>th</sup>-century Athens. (Epstein, 1992, p. 38)

Beyond the traditional economic model of physical capital producing output and earning a return commensurate with its productivity, an array of researchers from varied fields seek to understand how human, cultural, and social capital inform one’s acquisition of capability, the potential to

achieve desired functioning in the different domains of life (Côté & Levine, 2002; Schuller, Brassett-Grundy, Green, Hammond, & Preston, 2002; Sen, 1992). Bourdieu (1986) astutely noted that the social world is accumulated history, not a “discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents who are treated as interchangeable particles” (p. 280). Rather, Bourdieu asserts that one must account for the notion of capital in all its forms and, along with it, accumulation and its long term effects. As Bourdieu shrewdly observes, roulette offers a fairly accurate model for a world in which perfect competition and perfect equality of opportunity operate: one may win a great deal of money and, therefore, change one’s social status almost instantly. One may stake and lose the winning of the previous spin of the wheel with each new spin, where every moment is perfectly independent from the previous moment. Capital in all its forms, on the other hand, takes time to accumulate. Once accumulated, capital in all its forms requires an environment in which to be deployed.

### **Purpose of the Study**

Individuals from the same social stratum quite often have a shared perception of the goals and strategies best utilized for attaining the social profits they desire, defined by Bourdieu as an individual’s *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977). One generation passes on these dimensions of cultural capital to the next in a constellation of beliefs, preferences, and behaviors that are invested for social remuneration. Social capital, on the other hand, focuses on social networks and the ways in which social networks and connections are initiated and sustained (Morrow, 1999). Some scholars argue that a strong and sometimes indistinguishable interplay exists between cultural and social capital (Dika & Singh, 2002; Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003; Perna, 2005). Bourdieu (1986) posits that, “the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world” (p.



280). To better understand gaps in upward mobility of various populations (e.g., racial groups, religious groups, socioeconomic groups), scholars have engaged the constructs of human, cultural, and social capital (Bergerson, 2009). This study employs the frameworks of “strategic capital” and social network theory to better understand how the presidents of Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago have since 1950 facilitated access to and accumulation of “strategic capital” on their respective campuses.

### **Research Question**

Harvard’s lead in expanding financial aid to the lower- to mid-portion of the SES applicant pool serves as a strong signal from the University’s leadership that Harvard in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is steering a very different course from its historical approach. Harvard announced in December 2007 a sweeping change in financial aid for middle and upper-middle income families, establishing a zero-to-10 percent of income contribution standard for families with incomes up to \$180,000 a year, removing home equity from financial aid calculations, and eliminating loans for all students (Ide, 2009). Harvard certainly receives enough annual applications for admittance to the incoming freshman class that it would not have to extend financial aid at all.

Philip J. Hanlon, Dartmouth class of 1977 and former provost of the University of Michigan, finds the opening volley of his tenure as Dartmouth’s newly-appointed president requiring him to assume the helm as the Dartmouth community undergoes federal investigation by the Department of Education (DOE) for the College’s handling of sexual assault complaints. Dartmouth shares this dubious historical distinction by being part of the group of 55 institutions the DOE has named in the first action being brought under federal antidiscrimination law, specifically Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (20 U.S.C. §1681 et seq.), which

prohibits gender discrimination at colleges that receive federal money. Harvard and the University of Chicago, the other two institutions in this study, are also under investigation (Anderson, 2014). In an email to the Dartmouth community, President Hanlon stated (personal communication, April 17, 2014):

We are a great institution, 245 years old, poised for an even better future. But Dartmouth's promise is being hijacked by extreme behavior, masked by its perpetrators as acceptable fun. . . . There is a grave disconnect between our culture in the classroom and the behaviors outside of it—behaviors which too often seek not to elevate the human spirit, but debase it. . . . It is time for us to act in order to preserve what is unique, joyous and fun about the undergraduate experience at Dartmouth and to end the extreme behaviors that are in conflict with our mission and fundamentally harmful—to individuals, and to the fabric of our community. This is the right thing to do, and the time to do it is now.

This study seeks to answer the following research question: how has presidential leadership since 1950 enhanced access through socially structured opportunities at Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago, opening what have been historically closed social networks and thereby strategically altering their respective campus communities?

### **Directional Hypothesis**

If the presidents of Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago have, since the opening days of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, endeavored to pry open what have been exclusive social networks—much like trying to shuck an oyster to reveal the pearl—by strategically manipulating, socially re-engineering, and essentially recasting their respective campus communities, how and why have they chosen to do so? Given the various stakeholders, have

these three elite institutions elected, through the leadership of their respective presidents, to embrace the concept of egalitarianism because doing so is just? Or, on the other hand, are these institutions acting in their own self-interest, recognizing that by capitalizing on diversity, replete with the strength of weak ties that a multicultural campus arguably offers (Granovetter, 1973), all boats rise with the tide and the very real possibility of strengthening their market position may well be the outcome? If weak network ties strengthen the weak, might weak ties not also fortify the strong? The motivation for altering a campus landscape over time is likely a combination of the two suppositions, ebbing and flowing as presidential values, mission, and lived experiences change, adapt, and aspire towards envisioned outcomes; applicant marketing materials, presidential correspondence, speeches, and policy initiatives, and the waxing and waning of various social organizations on campus may well serve as guideposts in discerning the veracity of Granovetter's theory.

### **Delimitations**

This study employs a qualitative analytical methodology to explore leadership vision at three elite institutions through historical artifacts, seeking broad emergent and resonant themes, setting the boundaries for the study. I selected Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago because, as an alumna of each, I had access to historical archival data needed to complete the study and was particularly interested in the narrative that awaited my exploration. In addition, each of these three institutions meets the Carnegie Classification definition of a selective or elite college or university. The study reviewed the literature on human, cultural, and social capital—taken in the aggregate as what I have termed “strategic capital”—as well as the role each of the presidents have played since 1950 in either facilitating or limiting access to social networks on their respective campuses.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

Lived experience and strongly held values of educational leaders have exerted a great influence on American higher education since well before the founding of the country. Who would be permitted to study and what would be studied stand as exemplars of the power and influence of collegiate presidential vision over nearly four hundred years.

### **Curriculum 1638-1950: Religion via Social Stratum**

Marsden (1994) suggests that the 1885 19<sup>th</sup> Century Club debate on the elective system in New York City between President Charles Eliot of Harvard and President James McCosh of Princeton, in many ways foreshadowed by forty years the same fundamental debate about the mission of education that would be revisited in the Scope's Monkey Trial in 1925—a case in which a high school teacher in Tennessee was charged with teaching evolution based on ideas developed from those set out in Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859/1979) in direct violation of state law. The trial served as the sensational culmination of a long-standing struggle between two strongly held, deeply divisive perspectives on the purpose of education. Darwin (1859/1979) argued that individuals having any advantage, however slight, over others would have the best chance of surviving and of procreating their kind, preserving favorable variations, a process Darwin termed natural selection. The clash between William Jennings Bryan, arguing on behalf of creationism, and Clarence Darrow, serving as defense attorney for John Scopes and his decision to teach evolution in his classroom, cast a white-hot spotlight on a thorny issue with which we continue to grapple even today, serving as a microcosm for divisive issues which

persist in American society. Scopes was found guilty and fined for teaching human evolution in any state-funded school.

The transition from antebellum society to 20<sup>th</sup> century industrial power created great currents of upheaval on many fronts: economic, religious, educational, and social. With the passage of the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act (Veysey, 1965), the federal government strengthened its role in educational policy with the creation of the land-grant colleges, institutions that expanded the opportunities for women and ushered in curricula that would focus upon the useful arts, including applied sciences, engineering, military training, and agriculture. The Morrill Act altered the educational landscape, insofar as institutions predicated on exclusionary religious perspectives would no longer provide the only access to higher education in America.

In 1769 King George III of England granted a charter to Dartmouth College, articulating the purpose of the school, set up the structure to govern it, and provided land to the College through a grant to build it. In 1816, the state legislature of New Hampshire passed laws that revised the charter, changing Dartmouth from a private to a public institution. The legislature also changed both the duties of the trustees and how the trustees were to be selected. The existing trustees filed suit, claiming that the New Hampshire state legislature had violated the United States Constitution. The Dartmouth trustees asserted that Article 1, Section 10, of the U.S. Constitution prevented a state from impairing or weakening a contract. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (17 U. S. 518, 1819) would decide the issue as to whether, under the U.S. Constitution, a state legislature can change the charter of a college, raising the very interesting question of whether the Dartmouth College case was an early attempt to broaden access to higher education on the part of the state of New Hampshire? The case was argued before the Supreme

Court of the United States by Daniel Webster (Dartmouth class of 1801) who, as Dartmouth lore reveres, said, “It is, Sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet there are those who love it.” By a 5-1 margin, the Supreme Court agreed with Dartmouth, striking down the New Hampshire law. Chief Justice John Marshall wrote the majority opinion stating that the charter was a contract between the King and the Dartmouth trustees and, even though New Hampshire was no longer a royal colony, the contract was still valid under the U. S. Constitution.

With the federal government’s entrance into the higher education arena, whether for education’s sake as a public good or for furthering the United States’ manifest destiny to settle the great expanses of the West in conjunction with the Homestead Act of 1862, the real issue under discussion when Presidents Eliot and McCosh met in 1885 to debate the elective system was the place of religion in the curriculum. Marsden (1994) asserts that President Eliot’s position was that a national college could not be sectarian, while President McCosh was, “. . . alarmed that one could gain a Harvard education without being taught anything of either morality or religion. Rumor had it that Harvard was close to giving up required chapel as well” (p. 199). Not even Dartmouth—an historic liberal arts institution celebrated for its famous court case in which “private” and “public” were clearly articulated by the United States Supreme Court in 1819—was immune from the prevailing utilitarian sea change in higher education. In 1881 Dartmouth President Samuel Colcord Bartlett was brought to trial by a group of Dartmouth faculty, students, alumni, and trustees on the charge that he, “. . . had thwarted inquiry and innovation on all fronts. ‘Old Dartmouth’ was literally put on trial and the anachronistic Bartlett was removed as president of the college” (Thelin, 2004, p. 91).

Dartmouth’s first charter, granted by King George III, explicitly stated that its purpose should be “for civilizing and christianizing the children of pagans, as well as in all liberal arts

and sciences, and also of English youths, and any others.” “We must confront the ghosts of the past,” said James O. Freedman, president of Dartmouth College from 1987 to 1998. While dedicating the new Roth Center for Jewish Life at the college, Freedman used the occasion to look back to Dartmouth’s past and a legacy of “bigotry” the college had long since repudiated (Mohler, 2009). Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, a leading light of the first Great Awakening, founded Dartmouth with the purpose of evangelizing American Indians. “Moor’s Indian Charity School” began operations in 1750, but Wheelock quickly set about making the College a peer institution with Harvard and Yale. Dartmouth under Wheelock’s presidency was clear about its evangelistic mission, matriculating liberal arts students with the goal of graduating them as missionaries. Dr. Freedman read from selected letters written by Dartmouth admissions officers before World War II, indicating Jewish admissions to the college should be limited. The letters reveal what is to today’s ear shocking language and anti-Semitic arguments from both alumni and college officials. That Dartmouth admitted Jewish applicants during the 1930s—albeit a very small percentage—might be considered progressive by some, given public sentiment and the standards of 1939 America.

As the 20<sup>th</sup> century dawned, the United States stood as an exemplar of global power with a population of 76 million, far surpassing the populations of Great Britain, Germany, or France. The decision by the United States in 1898 to enter into the Spanish American War—“the splendid little war” that made America a colonial power, owning the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, along with *de facto* control of Cuba—secured America’s place among the great imperial powers in a world increasingly divided into zones controlled by the major European powers (Karabel, 2006). Though members of the Protestant upper class, most notably Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, Elihu Root, John Hay, and Alfred T. Mahan, were at the

forefront of the imperial project, the WASP elite was bitterly divided over America's new imperial role. The Anti-Imperialist League was comprised primarily of the graduates of Harvard and Yale.

It's [sic] forty-one vice-presidents soon included ex-President Cleveland; his former Secretary of war, William Endicott; former Secretary of the Treasury, Speaker Carlisle; Senator "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman; President David Starr Jordan, of Stanford; President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan; Jane Addams; Andrew Carnegie; William James; Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and numbers of other Congressmen, clergymen, professors, lawyers and writers. (Tuchman, 2014, p. 169)

The proponents of a more virile and muscular American global role carried the day, their cause greatly enhanced by the brute reality that European powers had gained control of one-fifth of the world's land and one-tenth of its population between 1870 and 1900. Additionally, both Japan and Germany were nascent colonial powers; Japanese expansion in China and the Pacific worried Americans, but not as much as the Germans' occupation of the eastern Chinese province of Shandong, through which American products entered China. As Painter (1987) notes:

Race probably counted for as much as relative strength in American estimates of power because few Americans entertained the possibility that a great power could be nonwhite . . . many white Americans—with the glaring exception of Irish Americans—renounced their traditional anglophobia (a legacy of the American Revolution and, especially, the War of 1812) to proclaim the kindredness of the English-speaking people and the natural superiority of Anglo-Saxons. The American nation became the expression of a single "race," the Anglo-Saxon, in a view that swept under the rug the Native American Indians,



Irish, blacks, and Jews who had been Americans since colonial times and the Asians, Slavs, and Italians just now disembarking in increasing numbers. (p. 149)

From 1870 to 1900, the Protestant elite had transformed themselves writ large into a national upper class. Under the stimulus of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and nationalization of what had been a largely regional economy, the upper class developed a set of institutions that helped weld it into a national entity that bridged cultural and social divide between the old patricians and the *nouveaux riches* of the Gilded Age (1878-1889). Karabel (2006) notes that among the upper class institutions that either were invented or came to prominence in the 1880s and 1890s were the *Social Register* (its first edition was published in New York City in 1888), the country club, the exclusive summer resort, and the elite men's social clubs that arose in cities such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Educational institutions—notably, boarding schools and the elite private colleges—played a critical role in socializing and unifying the national upper class. During this time at the Big Three—Harvard, Princeton, and Yale—it became a student obsession to gain entry into the right clubs. Perhaps, however, even more than the Big Three, the emblematic institution of the Protestant upper class was the private boarding school. Karabel (2006) asserts that in bringing together children as young as eleven from the upper classes of the major eastern metropolitan areas, the boarding school was the ideal instrument through which to shape the personal qualities and instill the social values most esteemed by the Protestant elite. Educational and cultural ideals, as Weber (2009) observed, are always “stamped by the decisive stratum's . . . ideal of cultivation” (p. 268). Thomas Hughes, the author of the popular *Tom Brown's School Days*, also published a two-part series entitled “The Public Schools of England” in the venerable periodical *North American Review*, founded in Boston in 1815. Hughes' article was intended to introduce an American audience to the peculiar

British institution that had proved so successful in welding the aristocracy and the rising *bourgeoisie* into a cohesive ruling class:

“It is not easy,” he wrote, “to estimate the degree to which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most—for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigor and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sport and exercise . . . . However discriminating a nation may be in spirit and character,” he argued, “the time must come when it will breed a gentry, leisure class, aristocracy, call it by what name you will.” (Middlemas, 1977, p. 60)

Immigration is not novel to America. With the exception of Native Americans, all United States citizens can claim some immigrant experience, whether by force or by choice. Early European immigration to the colonial America during the 1600s saw the first sustainable British colony founded in Jamestown, Virginia in 1607, followed by the settlement of Plymouth Plantation in Massachusetts in 1620 (Bailyn, 1988). Dutch trading settlements along the Hudson River down to New Amsterdam, later renamed New York City by the British, began in 1626 (*Dutch New York*, 2009). Adoption of the Constitution of the United States in 1789 (U.S. Constitution 1789), which succeeded the Articles of Confederation that had governed the union of states since the conclusion of the Revolutionary War and, subsequent ratification of The Naturalization Act of 1790 by the 1<sup>st</sup> United States Congress, established a uniform rule of naturalization and a two-year residency requirement for aliens who are “free white persons” of “good moral character” (The Naturalization Act of 1790).

As America prepared for war with France, however, the Alien and Sedition Acts—comprised of four distinct pieces of legislation—were passed by the Federalist dominated 5th United States Congress and signed into law by Federalist President John Adams in 1798 (Library of Congress, 2015). These acts made it harder for an immigrant to become a citizen by increasing the residency requirement for American citizenship from five to fourteen years (Naturalization Act), authorized the president to imprison and deport aliens who were considered “dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States” (Alien Friends Act) or who were from a hostile nation (Alien Enemies Act), and restricted speech critical of the federal government (Sedition Act). Three of the acts were repealed in 1802, shortly after the Democratic-Republican party of Thomas Jefferson came to power. The Alien Enemies Act, however, remained in effect and was revised and codified in 1918 for use during World War I, was utilized by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to imprison Japanese, German, and Italian aliens during World War II, and following cessation of hostilities, was employed by President Harry S. Truman to continue to imprison, then deport, aliens of formerly hostile nations (Truman, 1945). The revised Alien Enemies Act remains in effect today.

Massive immigration to the United States began in the 1840s as the result of crop failures in Germany, social turbulence triggered by the rapid industrialization of European society, political unrest in Europe, and the Irish Potato Famine (1845–1851). While Germans and Irish continued to arrive on American shores, the period from 1880-1920 saw even greater ethnic diversity, with many immigrating from Southern and Eastern Europe, as well as Asia. New complexions, new languages, and new religions confronted the already diverse American mosaic. The early waves of immigrant groups that had come to America by choice seemed distinct, but in fact shared more similarities than differences. Most had come from Northern and

Western Europe. Most had some experience with representative democracy. With the exception of the Irish after 1845, most were Protestant. Many were literate and some possessed a fair degree of wealth (Independence Hall Association, 2015).

Newer groups arriving during the Gilded Age were characterized by few of the traits of those who preceded them, hailing from Greece, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, Serbia, Russia, Croatia and other non-Northern or Western European countries. Similarly, until prohibited in 1882 when Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, and in 1907 when Japanese immigration was restricted by executive agreement, Japanese and Chinese settlers relocated to the American West Coast. Of the new immigrant groups coming from Western Europe, few were predominantly Protestant; the vast majority were Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox. However, due to increased persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe, many Jewish immigrants sought freedom from torment. Very few newcomers spoke any English and large numbers were illiterate in their native tongues. None of these groups hailed from democratic regimes. The American form of government was as foreign as its culture (Independence Hall Association, 2015). The stupendous growth of industry and surging waves of immigrants are hallmarks of the Gilded Age. The production of iron, steel, and oil rose dramatically and western resources like lumber, gold, and silver increased the demand for improved transportation. Railroad development boomed as trains moved goods from the sparsely populated, resource-rich west to the seething east. The boom in industry created vast wealth for a number of businessmen like John D. Rockefeller (oil), Andrew Carnegie (steel), and Cornelius Vanderbilt (railroads), men who came to be known as robber barons, because many believed that their fortunes were built on ruthless and illegal business dealings (Library of Congress, 2015).

The Big Three were widely viewed as training grounds for the nation's leaders. Between September 1901 and March 1921, no one occupied the White House who was not an alumnus of the Big Three. Big Three alumni were also well represented among leading corporate chieftains. Though self-made men of the Horatio Alger ilk such as Andrew Carnegie still loomed large in the world of corporate magnates, they overwhelmingly sent their own sons to elite private colleges. Karabel (2006) notes:

William Rockefeller (a brother and partner of John D.) and Edward Harriman, for example, were among the leading robber barons of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and neither had attended college. But their sons, William Rockefeller Jr. and Averell Harriman, both graduated from Yale. Even the great John Pierpont Morgan, a cultivated man from a privileged background, was not a college graduate; John Pierpont Morgan Jr., however, graduated from Harvard, where he founded his own final club (Delphic, also known as Gas) when he was slighted by the existing clubs. (p. 18)

By contrast, teeming American cities became the destination of many of the most destitute. Once the trend was established, letters from America from friends and family beckoned new immigrants to ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown, Greektown, or Little Italy. This led to an urban ethnic patchwork, with little integration. The “dumbbell tenement” and all of its woes became the reality for most newcomers until enough could be saved for an upward move. These apartments were less than twelve and a half feet wide and the rooms measured approximately 11 by 13 feet. This type of floor plan was attacked by tenement reformers, who launched a vigorous campaign to get dumbbell tenements to be declared illegal to construct in the future. The first major tenement house law was passed in 1879 and led to what are referred to as old-law tenements or dumbbell tenements (Dolkart, 2015).

The rise of national universities and the push to expand educational access coincided with the enormous waves of immigration in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where one could find distinctly different cultures co-existing in the proverbial melting pot. Fogel (2000) characterizes the Third Great Awakening, beginning about 1890, as being precipitated by the urban crisis where Evangelicals were divided on how best to reform the cities, which were growing at alarming rates and were viewed as, “. . . centers of corruption, crime, drunkenness, prostitution, and graft that threatened to infect the entire society” (p. 23). Economic and social disparities in American society were exacerbated by the Industrial Revolution, which required labor to be well-versed in the practical disciplines. The shift in population from dispersed agrarian life to concentrated urban centers following the Civil War and the rise of land-grant colleges and their mission of teaching practical, utilitarian skills to any who might apply, threatened the Princetonians’ innate view that the Scripture is to be interpreted literally.

The diverse demands that would be made on higher education with the coming tectonic shifts in American society were anathema to the fundamental beliefs and common sensibilities of Princetonians. One must recall that the Colonial Colleges were founded in colonies that were Christian, Protestant, and predominantly Calvinist. Thelin (2004) notes that in the early 1700s, “. . . Yale, was founded by Congregationalists. . . . In their new venture as ‘wilderness prophets,’ they soon faced some bad news; college board members were surprised to discover that their newly selected rector and their one tutor, upon whom they had relied to uphold a strict Congregational orthodoxy, had publicly declared for Episcopacy” (p. 14). McCosh was continuing to fight the good fight in a world that was no longer recognizable. While immigrants came primarily from Germany, England, and Ireland in the first major waves and were assimilated into American culture with varying degrees of difficulty, the diversity of cultures,

faith traditions, and physical appearances of later immigrants presented an even greater challenge for society writ large. By the 1860s, much of the higher criticism of Scripture had been conceived and accepted in Germany. Historical consciousness coming out of German criticism, reoriented the role of human thought from the quest for truth to explaining how human belief changes and progresses; hence, the study of history becomes paramount and the Bible amounts to just another text (Thelin, 2004). By contrast, the Transcendentalists in Concord, Massachusetts—primarily Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau—had articulated a philosophy that held that there exists a spark of divinity that resides in each person. To the Princetonians, holding yet another disparate view, the human mind was universal and the mind was given to man to help him discover fixed truths. Historicism was an entirely foreign concept to the Presbyterians, whose worldview was fixed, not relative. With Protestant factions unable to come to agreement on key religious tenets, one may appreciate the complexity and challenges of introducing non-Christian faith traditions into the social mix.

The confluence of events near the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century—the overwhelming need for non-sectarian, practical education and the amassing of great wealth by robber barons—brought religion and industry together in a symbiotic relationship that has come to be known, in its positive manifestation, as the Protestant work ethic where hard work and good works walk in cadence. Bender (1993) notes:

The institutional structure of intellectual life was radically transformed in the United States between the Civil War and World War I. The product of these changes was a system of professionalized, academic scholarship that brought a very high proportion of learned discourse under the aegis of the university and gave power to a wide range of professions on the basis of authority conferred by a university connection. . . . I want to

direct attention to the subtle but vital relationship between a crisis in urban culture and these changes in the social organization and authority of knowledge, particularly in reference to serious social inquiry and commentary . . . (p. 31)

The Protestant work ethic is one outcome of the economic turbulence occurring at the time; the other was characterized by Veblen in his work *The Theory of the Leisure Class* as conspicuous consumption. Veblen (1899/1979) asserted that abstention from labor serves as the outward manifestation of wealth and served as a proxy of social standing. The merit of wealth necessarily leads to a more strenuous insistence on leisure. In Veblen's more extreme view, labor becomes not only disreputable in the eyes of the community, but morally impossible to the noble, freeborn man, and incompatible with a worthy life. In a society that was becoming ever more complex and differentiated socially and economically, John Dewey was promulgating a view containing Hegelian elements and no longer tethered to historical claims of Scripture. As Dewey says, "It is shown that every religion has its source in the social and intellectual life of a community or race. . . . Every religion is an expression of the social relations of the community . . . its rites, its cult are a recognition of the sacred and divine significance of these relationships" (Dewey, 1882-1898/1971, p. 3). One might reasonably argue that the philanthropic motivation on the part of the captains of industry for doing good works may well be a combination of using their wealth to improve the lot of all, as well as a profound demonstration of ambition, given the increasing relativism and secularization of American society and the general shift in values towards the material and away from the spiritual, intellectual, and philosophical.

Thelin (2004) notes that the practices that were being used in American business of the era were being replicated on the American campus: "Given this environment of ambition and



wealth without order or rules, between 1880 and 1910 there was a high shakeout rate among ambitious institutions. Competing for talent, raiding the faculty of rival institutions, and building lavish facilities were common practices” (p. 112). According to Veysey (1965), the American university as one knows it today is based in large measure upon developments that occurred during the period 1865 and 1910, whether grand campus architecture, administrative structure, or intellectual organization. Bender (1993) asserts:

In early modern Europe and even into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the learned world—by then no longer sustained by the church—was identified with “Society,” either at the court or in cities, rather than with colleges and universities. It was a world created by a leisured aristocracy, an aspiring bourgeoisie, and elite members of the professions. Paris represented the model, and Goethe’s praise for its service to artists and writers is both famous and succinct. “Conceive a city like Paris,” he told Eckermann in 1827, “where the highest talents of a great kingdom are all assembled in a single spot, and by daily intercourse, strife, and emulation, mutually instruct and advance each other; where the best works, both of nature and art, from all the kinds of the earth, are open to daily inspection.” Stated differently, Paris offered mutual criticism, recognition for talent, models and standards, museums and libraries.

In the American republic, of course, there was no court. Nor did America’s provincial cities absorb all serious intellectual discourse. But with the partial exception of the denominational community of discourse associated largely with Princeton Presbyterians, aspirations and to a large degree reality placed intellectual life in the nation’s cities. A dense network of personal associations and urban cultural institutions made the nourishment of intellectual life a dimension of the urban experience.

The learned world of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, as well as of such lesser cities as Albany or Cincinnati, was an association of gentlemen. The conjunction of learning with wealth and power was easily recognized within the city, and this gave authority to the city's learned circle. This pattern was sustained by the sociology of the city. (p. 32)

There was no better master of the requisite skills needed to exploit the university-building frenzy than President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago at its inception in 1892. "Harper's reputation as a prodigious scholar of religion, and his Baptist affiliation, attracted the attention of John D. Rockefeller, who was making plans and donating generous amounts of money for the founding of a university" (Thelin, 2004, p. 120). The University of Chicago under Harper's management was co-educational from its inception and Harper capitalized on the opportunity to solicit philanthropic funding for laboratories, Ph.D. programs, professional schools, and intercollegiate football, thus putting the university on solid footing to become a renowned national university. Veysey (1965) characterized Harper as a brash managerial exploiter, consumed with applying business practices to the academy, noting that, ". . . the University of Chicago represented a blending of the small-town promotional spirit of the adolescent Middle West with big-city standards of sophistication . . . rather like a factory in many respects" (p. 368).

One can appreciate Veysey's perspective on the dramatic shift in the model Americans were using to think about and build their great modern universities. Ida M. Tarbell (1966), one of the preeminent muckrakers of her era, captured the competitive essence of the day in her book *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, where she detailed the anti-competitive practices that Rockefeller utilized to establish Standard Oil's position in its industry. With the use of a trust for

its organizational metric, Standard Oil was able to restrain trade with predatory pricing in such a manner that it either absorbed or destroyed most of its competition, thus establishing a monopoly in oil and having free reign over pricing. Tarbell characterized Rockefeller's genius, such as capturing the Cleveland refineries in 1872, as a clear-minded calling: "The man saw what was necessary to his purpose and he never hesitated before it. His courage was steady—and his faith in his ideas unwavering" (Tarbell, 1966, p. 202). The abuses perpetrated on the market by Standard Oil were so extreme that the United States government enacted The Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890, authorizing the Justice Department to limit cartels and monopolies or to pursue trust busting. Of note, Pilon (2015) writes that:

. . . Monopoly's [the board game] story began . . . with an all-but-forgotten woman named Lizzie Magie, an artist, writer, feminist, and inventor.

. . . in 1904, Magie received a patent for an invention she called the Landlord's Game, a square board with nine rectangular spaces on each side, set between corners labeled "got to Jail" and "Public Park." Players circled the board buying up railroads, collecting money and paying rent. She made up two sets of rules, "monopolist" and "anti-monopolist," but her stated goal was to demonstrate the evil of accruing vast sums of wealth at the expense of others. A firebrand against the railroad, steel and oil monopolists of her time, she told a reporter in 1906, "In a short time, I hope a very short time, men and women will discover that they are poor because Carnegie and Rockefeller, maybe, have more than they know what to do with."

The Landlord's Game was sold for a while by a New York-based publisher, but it spread freely in passed-along homemade versions: among intellectuals along the Eastern

Seaboard, fraternity brothers at Williams College, Quakers living in Atlantic City, writers and radicals like Upton Sinclair.

It was a Quaker iteration of *Monopoly* that Charles Darrow sold to Parker Brothers during the Depression. As for Magie, she appears in the decennial census of 1940, taken eight years before she died, with her occupation listed as “maker of games.” In the column for her income, she wrote “0” (Pilon, 2015).

It is no wonder, then, that Harper’s leadership style resonated with Rockefeller. Harper recognized early on the impact to the bottom line of building epic football stadiums and populating their seats with paying customers. With the nationwide popularity of intercollegiate football came the abuses of doing whatever it took to have a winning team. Harper raided Yale’s athletic department, hiring Amos Alonzo Stagg as the football coach and athletic director, a figure instrumental in making the Chicago Maroons dominant in the Western (later known as the Big Ten) conference. Stagg is credited with creating the revenue-focused governance structure that called for the athletic director to report directly to the president and board of trustees, circumventing the faculty (Thelin, 2004). There was a meeting of the minds between Harper’s and Rockefeller’s views of the world, both of which were informed by low-church Protestant ideals: pragmatism, their competitiveness, their dependence on the market, their resort to advertising, their emphasis on a laissez-faire approach to freedom as free enterprise for professors and individual choice for students, their anti-Catholicism, their scientific spirit, their congeniality to business interests, and their tendency to equate Christianity with democracy and service to the nation (Marsden, 1994). Perhaps Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago recognized the wisdom of keeping one’s friends close and one’s enemies, namely peer institutions and able competitors, closer. While the progenitor of this notion has been variously

attributed to Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, and Petrarch, the efficacy of the concept has resurfaced in Granovetter's (1973) strength of weak ties framework. By diversifying its student body, an elite institution may well be tapping, mining, and harnessing unexploited natural resources in the competitive marketplace in which it must operate.

While the spirit of unbridled capitalism was influencing the development of the modern university, the Colonial Colleges were coming to terms with the increasing coexistence of creationist and evolutionary theories within their traditional structures. When President McCosh retired from Princeton in 1888, he was still arguing that the first chapter of Genesis was a marvelously concise anticipation of the sequences of creative development that modern geology had discovered, "Suppose . . . that the opening chapter of Genesis, all unknown before, were discovered and published in our day, it would at once be denounced as a forgery, constructed by one who knows geological science, and who varies the record simply to keep the trick from being detected" (pp. 205-206). It was not until Woodrow Wilson assumed the presidency of Princeton in 1902 that the stronghold of Puritan-era thinking began to truly accommodate a changed and changing world. Wilson was, without question, a devout Presbyterian, but he blended his traditional principles with some of the prevailing currents of moral idealism. As Marsden (1994) says, "Most essential to his outlook was that like his Old School forebears and unlike his more liberal Protestant contemporaries, he made a sharp distinction between the church and society" (pp. 225-226). Wilson viewed churches as private institutions set apart from societies as "nurseries of belief," wherein they were not instruments to rule over people with differentiating standards. As the President of one of the most stalwart of Protestant institutions of higher learning in an age of great and momentous change, Wilson struggled to make peace with inevitable progress when he states, "I am much mistaken . . . if the scientific spirit of the

age is not doing us a great disservice, working in us a certain great degeneracy. . . . We have broken with the past and have come into a new world” (Marsden, 1994, pp. 226-227).

While Wilson did reduce the theological influences during his presidency at Princeton, he did not succeed in converting Princeton into a nation-serving institution offering broad access. Neither women, nor African Americans, nor Jews were given fair hearing during Wilson’s era at what would remain an elite bed of Presbyterian Protestantism for years to come. The unifying and egalitarian moral ideals that were at the heart of the Christian spirit would require the significant passage of time to be realized. The 1925 courtroom debate between Bryan and Darrow during the Scope’s Monkey Trial in Dayton, Tennessee was a microcosm of a larger battle still being waged in American higher education as to the appropriate role of religion in the classroom, particularly in the face of a new and deeper understanding through science of the individual’s place in evolutionary theory. While religious sectarianism was the norm in relatively homogenous pre-Industrial Age American higher education, one now finds a preponderance of campuses that are, perhaps by design, largely secular and increasingly more diverse.

### **Schools: “Great Equalizer” or Social Stratum Archetype?**

Scholars know that children begin formal schooling with different skill levels, in part because they are exposed to different home environments and neighborhoods (Gladwell, 2008). How does education affect these initial disparities? One argument is that schools play an active role in reproducing or even exacerbating inequity (Bourdieu, 1977). Advantaged students often attend schools with rich and varied resource levels (Condron & Roscigno, 2003), are assigned to higher tracks and ability groups (Oakes, 1985; Gamoran & Mare, 1989), and enjoy more favorable interactions with teachers (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). A counter argument is that,

while important inequalities in school resources persist, schools serve to reduce disparities in skills between advantaged and disadvantaged students, harking back to the notion of a “common school” (Cremin 1951; Lareau and Weininger, 2003; Swartz, 1997).

Feinstein, Duckworth, and Sabates (2008) argue that the intergenerational transmission of educational success is a key driver of the persistence of social class differences and a barrier to equality of opportunity. In his study of 1,292 children in the 1970 cohort in the United Kingdom, Feinstein (2003) developed an index of development that assessed children at 22, 42, 60 and 120 months, noting the importance of these early scores as measures of human capital formation. Researchers have found that the attainment gap is nearly as steep, whether one stratifies children by parental education or traditional background measures of social class, such as parental occupation, family structure, income, neighborhood, or parents’ education (Feinstein, 2003; Haveman & Wolfe, 1995; Hobcraft, 2003). The vast majority of empirical results suggest that the association between SES—a proxy for social class—and academic achievement remains significant after controlling for education and income (Heath, 1990; Lareau, 2003; Sullivan, 2001).

Prior to about 1950, the WASP ascendancy had long supplied the role models followed by other Americans, whether WASP or non-WASP, who were on their way up in the world (Alsop, 1989). The WASP ascendancy was a far narrower group than the commonly understood White Anglo Saxon Protestants, in fact an inner group that was recognizable as a group, on the one hand, because its members tended to resemble one another in several ways, frequently knew one another as friends or at least acquaintances, and might even be related to one another by blood. On the other hand, this inner group was on average considerably richer and enjoyed

substantially more leverage—“privileged” would be the word one would employ today—than any other Americans. As Alsop notes:

Language was the true empire of the dos and don'ts however. Here, very roughly, the rule was that the earliest English name for any thing or any occupation was desirable, and anything later was highly undesirable—so you were buried in a coffin, not a casket, and the coffin was supplied by an undertaker, never a funeral director and (God preserve us) not a mortician. Windows had curtains, not drapes or draperies. “Drapes” remains the most teeth-grating word in the language to old WASPs like me. But a close second is the phrase, “gracious home.” In the first place you live in a house, not a home, unless you've been “put away” by your relations; and in the second place it is never good style to use the adjective “gracious. . . .” This sort of thing, I need not point out, always grows up when it is desired to mark off “us” from “them,” and this was the real purpose of all the silly recognition signals. . . . (Alsop, 1989, p. 50)

While these ethnographic annotations may appear trifling now, there is a compelling reason for giving wide berth to the WASP ascendancy: its duration. By 1950, the power of this unique group and its special place in American life had endured for more than three centuries. As Alsop notes, “The Winthrops, all descended from the first Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, were still very much on hand, as they are today. . . . When I was at Harvard, the daughter of the enormously rich Boston Mr. Winthrop wished to marry a rather nice man called Standish Bradford, who bore, after all, a well-known *Mayflower* name. The *Mayflower* also reached Massachusetts rather earlier than the *Arabella*, the ship that brought the Winthrops with the second echelon, which established the colony in Boston. But when Dorothy Winthrop engaged herself to Standish Bradford, Mr. Winthrop was heard to grumble that he didn't want his



daughter to marry into “that Mayflower lot” because they were “a pack of thieves and poor debtors” (Alsop, 1989, p. 53).

The arrival of a figurative tidal wave of new money into New York City after the Civil War required a firm hand to reestablish social equilibrium among the Knickerbocracy, the old Dutch merchant and landowning families who traced their lineage back to the days of colonial New Amsterdam (Vanderbilt II, 1989). Samuel Ward McAllister, born into a socially prominent Savannah, Georgia judicial family, established himself as successful attorney in California during the Gold Rush. McAllister used his earnings to journey throughout Europe’s capital cities and spas—Bath, Pau, Bad Nauheim—where he keenly observed the mannerisms of the titled nobility. McAllister was an early summer colonist of Newport, Rhode Island and was largely responsible for turning the simple seaside resort into the geographical epicenter for the Gilded Age’s status-conscious pleasure seekers (McAllister, 1890/2013). Upon returning to the United States, McAllister settled in New York City with his wife, heiress Sarah Taintor Gibbons, whom he had married in 1852. Through opportune good fortune, McAllister used his wife’s wealth and social connections to become a tastemaker among New York’s old line families. Caroline Schermerhorn Astor, who had been *the* Mrs. Astor—wife of William Backhouse Astor, Jr. and mother of Colonel John Jacob Astor IV, who perished on the *RMS Titanic*—could and did claim New York’s social leadership as a birthright through her Dutch Schermerhorn ancestors who went back to the founding of the city. McAllister’s list contained the names of the people in New York who really mattered, but was suspiciously biased with *nouveau riche* industrialists and McAllister’s southern allies seeking a new start in the nation’s financial center after the Civil War (Homburger, 2002). With all of the available power at her disposal, Mrs. Astor and her protégé, Ward McAllister, set about polishing New York’s upper class. America was no stranger

to class. Boston, Philadelphia, and other east coast metropolitan cities were trying to establish a more permanent order by compiling Social Registers. Genealogical lineage societies like the Sons of the American Revolution (1889), the Daughters of the American Revolution (1890), and The Mayflower Society (1897) came into being as waves of new immigrants arrived on America's shores. With the concentration of financial wealth and its transatlantic connections, every big interest needed to have an office in New York City. As Rutherford (2010) writes in *New York*:

Copper and silver magnates, railroad owners, oilmen like Rockefeller from Pittsburgh, steel magnates like Carnegie, and coal barons like Frick, from the Midwest and the South and even California, they were all flocking to New York. . . .

Yet surely, Mrs. Astor and her mentor argued, money alone was not enough. Old New York had always been about money, but it was not without grace. Money had to be directed, tamed, civilized. And who was to do that, if not the old guard? At the apex of society, therefore, there needed to be a cadre of the best people, the old money crowd, who would let in the new-money families slowly, one by one, after a period of exclusion during which they must show themselves worthy. McAllister set the opening barrier at three generations. In short, it was what the English House of Lords had been doing for centuries. (pp. 569-570)

As Dedmon (1953/1981) notes, McAllister wrote a column about the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in which he urged that if Chicago's society hostesses wanted to be taken seriously, they should hire French chefs and "not frappé their wine too much." The *Chicago Journal* reporting on a dinner which the mayor was giving for sixty foreign naval officers, assured McAllister that, "the mayor will not frappé his wine too much. He will frappé it just enough so

the guests can blow the foam off the tops of the glasses without a vulgar exhibition of lung and lip power. His ham sandwiches, sinkers, and Irish quail, better known in the Bridgeport vernacular as pigs' feet, will be triumphs of the gastronomic art." Thus was born the list that came to be known as "The Four Hundred," because, as McAllister said, "If you go outside that number, you strike people who are either not at ease in a ballroom or else make other people not at ease" (Mordden, 2010). The number 400 was popularly supposed to be the capacity of Mrs. William Backhouse Astor Jr.'s ballroom (Vanderbilt II, 1989).

Although the Netherlands only controlled the Hudson River Valley from 1609 until 1664, in that short time, Dutch entrepreneurs established New Netherland, a series of trading posts, towns, and forts up and down the Hudson River that laid the groundwork for towns that still exist today. Fort Orange, the northernmost of the Dutch outposts, is known today as Albany; New York City's original name was New Amsterdam, and the New Netherland's third major settlement, Wiltwyck, is known today as Kingston. In 1609, two years after English settlers established the colony of Jamestown in Virginia, the Dutch East India Company hired English sailor Henry Hudson to find a northeast passage to India. After unsuccessfully searching for a route above Norway, Hudson turned his ship west and sailed across the Atlantic. Hudson hoped to discover a "northwest passage," that would allow a ship to cross the entirety of the North American continent and gain access to the Pacific Ocean, and from there, India. After arriving off the coast of Cape Cod, Hudson eventually sailed into the mouth of a large river, today called the Hudson River. Making his way as far as present-day Albany before the river became too shallow for his ship to continue north, Hudson returned to Europe and claimed the entire Hudson River Valley for his Dutch employers (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior).

In taking over New Netherland in 1664, the English did not expel any of its residents or seize their property, and they even permitted a series of Dutch mayors in New York City. Sprinkled all over Mrs. Astor's Four Hundred were great names—both Dutch and English—going back to the region's 17<sup>th</sup> century beginnings: Van Rensselaer, Stuyvesant, Winthrop, Livingston, Beekman, Roosevelt, Rockefeller. As a result, the Dutch maintained a cultural and linguistic presence, with words like “cookie” and “coleslaw” creeping into the American vernacular. Their distinct architectural style also lived on, as did place names, such as Brooklyn (Breuckelen), Harlem (Haarlem), Coney Island (Conyne Eylandt) and Broadway (Breede Wegh). Furthermore, the street pattern of lower Manhattan below Wall Street, along with that of Kingston, New York, and Albany, stayed largely intact. On September 8, 1664, the Dutch surrendered the colony of New Netherland to the English, who subsequently renamed it New York after the king's brother, the Duke of York. Kings and Queens counties were established, as was New Jersey. Yet despite losing power 350 years ago, Dutch cultural influence persists to this day in the mid-Atlantic settlements, which developed concurrently with Jamestown, Virginia to the south and Plymouth, Massachusetts to the north.

It would be foolish to assume that politics more than intermittently preoccupied the WASP ascendancy after the first decades of the American Revolution. Money was the true occupation and nexus of the ascendancy's authority. The centers of power in the banking system were in the East and these centers were the ascendancy citadels. In true fictional narrative form, the character flaw of the ascendancy led to its decline: the grossly selfish mismanagement of the nation's credit structure in the 1920s is what finally brought down the WASP ascendancy with the Crash of 1929 and the ensuing Depression.

According to a Pew Research Center analysis of Census Bureau data, the start of the 2014-2015 school year marked the first time that public schools in the United States were majority minority (50.3% non-white; 49.7% white). While the number of white students has declined, there have been large enrollment increases of Hispanics and Asians, two groups that have seen overall population growth. Since 1997, the number of Hispanic students nearly doubled to 12.9 million, and the number of Asians jumped 46% to 2.6 million. The number of black students enrolled in schools in fall 2014, 7.7 million, has been relatively steady during this time. Most of the growth is driven by U.S.-born Hispanic and Asian children rather than immigrant children (Hussar & Bailey, 2013). By contrast, Alsop (1989) notes:

. . . the group [WASPs] was highly recognizable, and not just by the fairly extreme but regional New England/New York accent I happen to possess. The recognition signals were often very odd indeed. Moreover, new recognition signals were constantly replacing old ones. By my time, for example, not a great many members of the WASP ascendancy had what were called “Family Houses,” which merely meant large, rural tribal dwellings going back a century or more, but those who had hung on to these redoubts somehow contrived that all family houses should smell the same. I believe the secret was beeswax, rather lavishly used, year round, to polish floors and furniture, plus a great many flowers from the summer gardens. At any rate, the front door would open, this splendid scent would waft outward toward you, particularly in the summer, for this was before air conditioning and the summer rule was still in force that all windows were closed and shades were pulled until after dusk, when windows were thrown open again to let in the cool night air. And so the house’s smell would tell you just what sort of décor and human atmosphere to expect after you had passed the front door. (p. 54)

American public schools, as well as their private counterparts, serve as the pipeline to American institutions of higher education. Pew Research (2015, December 9), in an article entitled *The American Middle Class Is Losing Ground: No longer the majority and falling behind financially*, noted that “. . . after more than four decades of serving as the nation’s economic majority, the American middle class is now matched in number by those in the economic tiers above and below it. In early 2015, 120.8 million adults were in middle-income households, compared with 121.3 million in lower- and upper-income households combined, a demographic shift that could signal a tipping point, according to a new Pew Research Center analysis of government data.” The tectonic demographic shifts that have occurred in the United States since 1950 have not gone unnoticed at America’s colleges and universities.

### **Capital**

The contemporary notion of capital stems from Marx (1887/1938), but the etymology of the word “capital” in its prevailing meaning was first used in England around 1611, deriving from “capital grant,” meaning a grant of land from the King. The new estate, or “original funds,” carried in its genealogy a mirror of the changing sources and origins of power, the genesis of which necessarily reside in social relations. Marx (1887/1938) noted that the distinction between money which is money only (M) and money which is capital arises from the difference in their form of circulation. Money which is used to buy something is only money (M), facilitating the exchange of commodities (C): Marx represented this concept as C-M-C. Capital, on the other hand, is money which is used to buy something only in order to sell it again: Marx represented this concept as M-C-M’, where  $M' > M$ . Marx argued that capital is “wealth” in an explicit historical context: wealth that grows through the process of circulation. Wealth itself is a social relation, not just an accumulation of assets.

Building upon Marx's notion of capital, Becker's (1993) human capital theory posits that in the example of whether or not to attend college, a student weighs the expected benefits of college, such as enhanced social mobility and increased lifetime earnings, against the expected costs, including tuition and foregone earnings (Becker, 1993; Simon, 1955):

To most people, capital means a bank account, a hundred shares of IBM stock, assembly lines, or steel plants in the Chicago area. These are all forms of capital in the sense that they are assets that yield income and other useful outputs over long periods of time. But such tangible forms of capital are not the only type of capital. Schooling, a computer training course, expenditures on medical care, and lectures on the virtues of punctuality and honesty are also capital. That is because they raise earnings, improve health, or add to a person's good habits over much of his lifetime. Therefore, economists regard expenditures on education, training, medical care, and so on as investments in human capital. They are called human capital because people cannot be separated from their knowledge, skills, health, or values in the way they can be separated from their financial and physical assets. (Becker, n.d.)

Human capital refers to human capacities such as the skills and knowledge of employees, the trust between employees, and the effectiveness of the division of labor within the workforce employed by a given capital, which can be used to make profit; in other words, human capital is comprised of all those values which are commanded by a given capital, but which cannot be property because they are human. Human capital fails to meet the rigid definition of capital because all of its elements remain the property of the individual who's intellectual and physical powers constitute it. An individual chooses whether or not to contribute his/her assets, may transfer his/her assets elsewhere, and takes his/her assets when he/she departs a given

employer. On the other hand, human capital is subsumed under capital to the extent that the given capital brings together such a concentration and combination of human capacities that synergy results. Thus, human capital is an integral component of the workforce employed by a given capital, but its ownership and value-form are controlled by the employer's ability to retain and utilize the skills of its employees. Contemporary social scientists employ notions of capital (e.g., human capital, cultural capital, and social capital) as organizing concepts to understand the mechanisms that affect life chances of individuals and the well-being of communities (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964/1993, Bourdieu, 1980; Lin, 1982; Coleman, 1988; Burt, 1992; Portes, 1998). Lin (2000) notes:

While the basic definition of capital employed in these theories is consistent with that in Marx's "classic" analysis (Marx, 1867), the orientation and, therefore, theoretical attention have moved from a class-based perspective (where capital is invested and accrued by the bourgeois only) to an actor-based perspective (where the actors, whether individuals or communities, invest and accrue such resources). We may call these theories of capital the *neo-capital* theories, in contrast to the Marx's classical capital theory. (Lin, 1999a; Lin, 2000a)

The principal explanation shared by the various capital theories posits that investment and mobilization of capital will enhance the outcomes desirable to individuals and communities. (Lin, 2000b)

While human capital theory offers a framework for decision-making, it is limited in its ability to examine the nature of imperfect information and cost-benefit analyses made under uncertainty (Altonji, 1993). More recently, Piketty (2014) provides the following definition, ". . . capital is defined as the sum total of nonhuman assets that can be owned and exchanged on some market



. . . . Nonhuman capital . . . includes all forms of wealth that individuals (or groups of individuals) can own and that can be transferred or traded through the market on a permanent basis” (p. 46). Piketty acknowledges that he chose to use the words “capital” and “wealth” interchangeably, although he notes that by some definitions it would be better to reserve the word:

. . . “capital” to describe forms of wealth accumulated by human beings . . . and therefore to exclude land and natural resources, with which humans have been endowed without having to accumulate them. . . . Capital in all its forms has always played a dual role, as both a store of value and a factor of production. I therefore decided that it was simpler not to impose a rigid definition between wealth and capital. (Piketty, 2014, p. 48)

Differential socialization of individuals emanating from various social classes lies at the heart of Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital and social reproduction. Building upon Bourdieu’s earlier work, Putnam (1995), an influential thinker in the field, utilizes a framework by which he seeks to understand the mechanisms through which civic engagement and social connectedness produce better schools, faster economic development, lower crime, and more effective government. In Putnam’s formulation, cultural and social resources are the requisite tools needed to succeed in the selection process for elite status, given that the effects of cultural capital are institutionalized, primarily through intergenerational transmission within a family, but also secondarily through wider social networks, and at a tertiary level through gate-keeping institutions (De Graff, De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Social class is a complex notion, but vitally important to understanding the attainment gap that persists between socioeconomic classes. Feinstein, Duckworth, and Sabates (2004) state that, “Elements of social class may include income, education, occupation and cultural capital, but even together these

factors do not sum to social class. Social class is in some ways a relational and positional measure. It exists in the distribution of assets and advantages across society and not at the level of the individual” (p. 15). Nisbett (2009) continues:

While their children are still in the crib, higher-SES parents begin to push them in directions that put them in good shape for the kinds of questioning, analytic minds they will need as professionals and high-level managers. Lower-SES people are not raising doctors and CEOs; they are raising children who will eventually be workers whose obedience and good behavior will stand them in good stead with employers who are not looking to be second-guessed or evaluated. (pp. 85-86)

The vast majority of empirical research results suggest that the association between SES—a proxy for social class—and academic achievement remains significant after controlling for education and income (Heath, 1990; Lareau, 2003; Sullivan, 2001). Many college-bound students and their parents are quite knowledgeable about the fact that there are very few baccalaureate-granting college and universities that are regarded as excellent (Astin & Oseguera, 2004). Longitudinal research demonstrates that attending an institution where the majority of students come from high-SES backgrounds confers numerous educational benefits not available at institutions that enroll students from lower SES levels (Astin, 1993). Additionally, scholars have noted the considerable advantage that residential students enjoy over commuters, many of whom are lower SES students working while attending college on a part-time basis (Astin, 1977, 1993; Chickering, 1974; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

Putnam (1995) employs the concept of social capital to further explore features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Cultural capital theory enhances one’s understanding of how

various social classes navigate both institutional standards and the actions of individuals in complying with them, but does not explain the process by which norms of generalized reciprocity and social trust are built. Putnam (1995) asserts that social networks facilitate coordination and communication, amplify reputations, and allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved. Networks of civic engagement, according to Putnam (1995), embody past success at collaboration, which can serve as a cultural template for future collaboration, likely expanding an individual's sense of self from the "I" into the "we" and, thus, transforming a given individual's "taste" for collective benefits. According to Fukuyama (2001), "The norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends all the way up to complex and elaborately articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confucianism" (p. 7). Scholars have warned about possible negative externalities of social capital, including the conundrum that membership in a community also brings demands for conformity (Portes & Landolt, 1996) and solidarity in human communities often results in hostility towards out-group members (Fukuyama, 2001). Lin (2000) asserts that inequality exists in both the acquisition and activation of social capital for two primary reasons: first, a certain group clusters at relatively disadvantaged socioeconomic positions, and, second, there is a general tendency for like individuals to associate with others of their same SES level, defined as "homophily." One may consider the case of the exception, the outlier: from a microeconomic perspective, for example, introverts may choose to build human, cultural, and social capital—what I am calling strategic capital as illustrated in Appendix A—to achieve a desired outcome, even though doing so requires a concerted cultivation (Gladwell, 2008) to overcome natural tendencies to avoid social engagement.

Bourdieu (1977) emphasized the fungibility of the various forms of capital. Portes (1998) asserts that the acquisition of social capital requires deliberate investment of both economic and cultural resources, but that the processes that bring about the alternative forms of capital are distinct, with social and cultural capital exhibiting far less transparency and more uncertainty. Rather than the clarity brought about by market transactions, social capital transactions are characterized by “unspecified obligations, uncertain time horizons, and the possible violation of reciprocity expectations” (Portes, 1998, p. 4).

According to Coleman (1988), “Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure” (p. S98). As Burt (2002) says, “Cast in diverse styles of argument (e.g., Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Burt, 1992; Putnam, 1993), social capital is a metaphor about advantage” (p. 148). Portes (1998) highlights the role of social networks in what he terms enclaves, dense concentrations of immigrant or ethnic firms that employ “a significant proportion of their co-ethnic labor force and develop a distinctive physical presence in urban space” (p. 13).

Through study of the social contexts at the three institutions included in the study—as elucidated by presidential vision since 1950 through writings, speeches, meeting minutes, and public relations communications—I hope to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of presidential leadership in opening historically closed social networks, thereby perhaps demonstrating the adaptability of Harvard’s, Dartmouth’s, and the University of Chicago’s leadership to the demands of the society in which they operate. My methodological approach is in line with a phenomenological strategy of inquiry, in which a researcher seeks to understand

the lived experiences of study participants by studying a small number of subjects through extensive and prolonged engagement to develop patterns and relationships of meaning (Cresswell, 2009).

The importance of this inquiry is two-fold: 1) America's majority population will cease to be of Western European extraction by mid-century, and; 2) elite educational institutions are increasingly viewed by many with skepticism, essentially having to justify return on investment to prospective students and their parents. As Professor Charles K. Kao, the Vice-Chancellor at Chinese University noted in the thirty-seventh congregation for the conferment of first degrees (1988):

The once elitist university system is now moving towards a popular system with broader access and greater diversity. This situation has been described by Dr. Clark Kerr, a past president of the University of California system and an overseas member of the Council of this University as follows. He said, "Higher education has been moving over the past century from a guild-like status on the periphery of society, serving the learned professions and the higher levels of the civil service with students drawn from the more advantageous elements of society, to a more central position. . . . The wealth of nations now depends on the performance of higher education, as never before, through its contributions to building human capital and accumulated knowledge." ("Chinese University Bulletin," 1988)

### **Neo-Capital**

Theoretical research in the field of education on the generational transmission of the forms of capital has deep roots in the fields of economics and sociology (Paulsen, 1990a). Marx (1887/1938) noted that the distinction between money which is money only (M), used to buy

commodities (C-M-C), and money which is capital, money used to buy commodities which are then resold for more money (M-C-M'), arises from the difference in their form of circulation, arguing that wealth grows through the social relations process of circulation. Marx (1887/1938) asserted that the circulation of commodities—selling in order to buy—is simply an appropriation of use-values, the satisfaction of wants. The circulation of money as capital, on the other hand, was viewed by Marx to be an end in and of itself for the bourgeoisie. With the expansion of value taking place only within the constantly renewed movement of the circulation of capital—which Marx argued has no upper limit—Marxist theory posits that the bourgeoisie in seeking to monopolize the benefits of capital circulation by exploiting the proletariat will precipitate a final revolution in which the property of the bourgeoisie is expropriated and class conflict, exploitation, and the state are abolished (Marx, 1887/1938).

**Human capital.** Building on the notion of capital, human capital investment posits that a student weighs, for example, the expected benefits of a college education, such as enhanced social mobility and increased lifetime earnings, against the expected costs, including tuition and foregone earnings (Becker, 1993; Simon, 1955). Ben-Porath (1980) emphasizes the importance and pervasiveness of another kind of human capital, which he terms the F-connection: the specific human capital invested in institutions such as families, friends, and firms, and in the creation of one's own identity and reputation. Ben-Porath states that, "Giving people an identity, in addition to a past and a future, permits the discussion of much that is of interest even in narrowly defined economic activity" (p. 5).

Attempts by economists to explore some of the consequences of such relationships have taken the form of introducing the utility of others in the individual's utility function in the form of altruism (Becker 1974, 1976). McCloskey (1990) describes the revelation of the concept of

human capital for Theodore Schultz, the agricultural economist who, shortly after the Second World War, spent a term based at Auburn University in Alabama, interviewing farmers in the area. “One day he interviewed an old and poor farm couple and was struck by how contented they seemed. Why are you so contented, he asked, though very poor? They answer: You’re wrong Professor. We’re not poor, we’ve used up our farm to educate four children through college, remaking fertile land and well-stocked pens into knowledge of law and Latin. We are rich” (p. 13). Arrow (2000), on the other hand, urges abandonment of the metaphor of capital and the term “social capital” stating, “There is considerable consensus also that much of the reward for social interactions is intrinsic—that is, the interaction is the reward—or at least that the motives for interaction are not economic” (pp. 3-4). Solow (2000) continues that, “many economically important situations are too anonymous or too idiosyncratic or too rare for reputation-building to be a useful strategy” (p. 7).

**Social capital.** In broadening the notion of capital to attend to the concept of the utility of others, the widening debate among both economists and researchers outside the field of economics ushers in other potential forms of capital. Beyond the traditional capital model of physical capital producing output and earning a return in line with its productivity, a broad array of researchers seek to understand how human, cultural, social, and, more recently, identity capital might inform one’s acquisition of capability, the potential to achieve desired functioning in the different domains of life (Côté & Levine, 2002; Schuller, Brassett-Grundy, Green, Hammond, & Preston, 2002; Sen, 1992). Portes (1998) provides a useful perspective on the distinctly unique character of social capital vis-à-vis other forms of capital, asserting that to possess social capital, one may only do so in relation to others. “The motivation of others to make resources available on concessionary terms is not uniform” (Portes, 1998, p. 7). Portes

distinguishes between two forms of motivation to make resources available to other members of the community or network: consummatory and instrumental. Consummatory motivations on the part of donors are predicated on strongly internalized norms of behavior by potential recipients in the community or social network (e.g., obeying traffic rules, paying bills on time). The community's norms of behavior may be used as resources by other members of the community or social structure. For example, Portes (1998) notes that the holders of this social capital may extend loans knowing with full confidence that other community members feel a strong sense of obligation to repay their loans on time as stipulated in their agreement. Instrumental motivations on the part of donors to extend social capital, according to Portes (1998), are "much closer to the undersocialized view of human nature in modern economics," (p. 7) where the accumulation of obligations from others is activated by the norm of reciprocity. However, Portes notes that even instrumental motivations to extend or loan social capital to recipients varies from a regular-way economic exchange on two dimensions: there is no standard coin of the realm—defined as something valued or used as if it were money in a particular sphere (Merriam Webster, 2015)—by which loans and repayments are made, and; the timing of repayment is unspecified.

The economic literature continues to grapple with how best to quantify the generational transmission of non-economic forms of capital exemplified by an individual's SES, perhaps due to the difficulty in determining whether aspirations and expectations cause behavior or whether they are symptomatic of a more nuanced process of motivation and preparation (Long, 2007). In the United States students of different social class backgrounds are still likely to be exposed to qualitatively different types of educational knowledge. Students from higher SES backgrounds may be exposed to legal, medical, or managerial knowledge, for example, while those of the working classes may be offered a more "practical" curriculum (e.g., clerical knowledge,



vocational training). While human capital theory offers a framework for decision-making, it is limited in its ability to examine the nature of imperfect information and cost-benefit analyses made under uncertainty (Altonji, 1993). Conversely, sociological constructs enhance one's understanding of how individuals gather information via social connections, but do not explain the process by which individuals ultimately make decisions based on the information (Manski, 1993).

**Cultural capital.** Bourdieu introduced the term *cultural capital* in his work relating to class and education to explain the ways in which individual agency interacts with socially structured opportunities and aspirations to reproduce the existing social structure (Bourdieu, 1977). Individuals from the same social stratum quite often have a shared perception of the goals and strategies best utilized for attaining the social profits they desire, defined by Bourdieu as an individual's *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977). One generation passes on these dimensions of cultural capital to the next in the form of beliefs, values, preferences, and behaviors that are invested for social remuneration. Social capital, on the other hand, focuses on social networks and the ways in which social networks and connections are sustained (Morrow, 1999). The literature in education draws heavily on Bourdieu's social reproduction theory (1977, 1986, 1993), which asserts that individuals attempting to navigate social institutions make socially constrained choices that reproduce the existing social order. Individuals who possess the forms of capital that are acknowledged and rewarded by various social organizations are able to achieve their desired outcomes more efficaciously than those whose capital is not recognized or valued. Tramonte and Willms (2010) argue that, "to explain educational reproduction, we need to consider two important mechanisms of exchange: one is the effect of students' cultural

resources on their educational attainment; the second is the transmission of cultural resources from parents to children” (p. 202).

According to Grusky (2001), “The stratification system rests on ascriptive processes to the extent that traits present at birth (e.g., sex, race, ethnicity, parental wealth, nationality) influence the subsequent social standing of individuals” (p. 6). Gamoran (2001) offers a forecast for 21<sup>st</sup> century inequality: “To foreshadow my current findings, the updated evidence and new policies do not provide a basis for overturning the earlier conclusion that the outcomes of U.S. education will continue to be stratified by social class” (p. 169). While low-SES students have made great advances in generalized academic achievement and attainment in the United States (Gamoran, 2001; Thomas & Bell, 2008), such improvement pales in comparison to that of the privileged. As Weis (2010) argues, “Those involved in the production of privilege (parents, children, schools, colleges, and universities) in fact work hard on a day-to-day and year-to-year basis to ensure that this happens” (p. vii). Research has shown that low-SES and high-SES students attend very different types of higher education institutions in the aggregate, with students coming from high-SES backgrounds attending selective institutions at a much higher rate (Astin, 1993). Persistence through these elite institutions has the long-run payoff of highly paid positions or acceptance to prestigious graduate schools (Kingston and Smart, 1990).

Hungerford & Solon (1987) assert that this “sheepskin” effect suggests the benefits of receiving a credential, above and beyond the numerous skills and knowledge such receipt implies (i.e., being judged more positively by others because of the credential). On the other hand, “receipt of a degree may be a marker for characteristics such as perseverance that have implications for later achievement. Achieving higher levels of education also expands individuals’ social resources, providing broader social networks and shaping social norms and

expectations to which they are exposed” (American Psychological Association Task Force on Socioeconomic Status, 2007, p. 10). McDonough (1997) argues that, “not all college-bound students face equal choices if they start out with different family and school resources that enable or constrain their educational and occupational mobility possibilities. These differential resources contribute to the persistence and reproduction of a social-class-based stratified system of postsecondary opportunity that thwarts meritocratic ideals” (p. 76).

Lareau and Weininger (2003) emphasize that Bourdieu argued for the capacity of a social class to impose advantageous standards of evaluation on educational institutions, of import because in virtually all economically advanced countries, schools play a crucial and growing role in the transmission of advantage across generations. While each social class possesses economic capital, it also possesses social and cultural capital to a greater or lesser degree. Bourdieu’s (1977) social reproduction theory is predicated on three tenets: habitus, capital, and field. One generation passes on these dimensions of psychological capital to the next in the form of values, beliefs, preferences, and behaviors that are invested for social remuneration. Cultural capital is a proxy for an individual’s cultural status and knowledge, including, “verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information about the school system, and educational credentials” (Swartz, 1997, p. 75). DiMaggio (1982) posits that any association between cultural capital and students’ grades stems from the fact that educators, at the mean, value high-status cultural capital, rewarding behavior innate to high-SES students who possess this capital and exposing low-SES students, who are at-risk for poor academic performance on account of their lack of cultural capital, to academic mediocrity. For example, students possessing a modicum of cultural capital learn to employ a communicative style that enables them to manage their impressions and manipulate adult authorities; teachers unconsciously reward these

communicative styles as the cultural ideal (Foley, 1990). Researchers often invoke notions of an “elite status culture” in their conceptualizations of cultural capital, characterizing appropriate manners and tastes with the beaux-arts and high-brow cultural forms (Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Kalmijn & Kraaykaamp, 1996; Kastillis and Rubinson, 1990).

Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, and Shaun (1990), on the other hand, argue for cultural capital being less about an elite status culture and more about, “informal academic standards by which teachers reward more general skills, habits, and styles” (p. 128). Farkas’ (2003) distinction between the high-brow conceptualization of cultural capital and ability acknowledges four forms of capital: economic, social, noncognitive skills (e.g., habits, and styles, which are associated with cultural capital), and cognitive capacity (e.g., which is aligned with human capital).

According to Bourdieu, the habitus of a student from a low-SES family would quite naturally lead that student to have lower aspirations, as well as incline the student to employ educational strategies that may not be effective in attaining the desired social profits, thus resulting in the maintenance of the student’s lower social position. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) suggest that the strategies or “practice” people use to compete in a field are informed by their habitus and available capital. “Practice is the product of a particular economic condition, defined by the possession of the minimum economic and cultural capital necessary actually to perceive and seize the ‘potential opportunities’ formally offered to all” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 124). Differential socialization of individuals emanating from different social classes lies at the heart of Bourdieu’s theory of social reproduction. Cultural and social resources are the necessary “passwords” to succeed in the selection process for elite status, given that the effects of cultural capital are institutionalized (De Graff, De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Reay (1998), in her study of mothers of elementary school children in London, argues that

cultural capital is the ability to assume the role of educational expert and advocate on behalf of one's children to get teachers and school authorities to respond to and address deficits in their children's schooling. Other researchers have demonstrated the role that parents, and, in particular, mothers, play in activating cultural capital that is critical to understanding class differences in children's school experiences (Blackledge, 2001; Lareau, 2000). Portes' (1998) enumeration of the functions of social capital (e.g., social control, parental/kin support, and extrafamilial support) is in alignment with the field's general body of research, where he emphasizes that both parental and extrafamilial support serve to stratify access to employment, mobility through occupational ladders, and entrepreneurial success. Just as one dollar invested in a child's savings account will compound over time, the same principal is at work with social capital resources. Early and frequent gifting of social capital resources by a donor within the network is most beneficial to the recipient over his life.

According to Coleman (1988), "Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure" (p. S98). As Burt (2002) says, "Cast in diverse styles of argument (e.g., Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Burt, 1992; Putnam, 1993), social capital is a metaphor about advantage" (p. 148). Social capital theory offers an alternative lens through which to consider how individual students navigate the educational landscape, a process that incorporates college aspirations, expectations about the likelihood of those aspirations becoming reality, laying the groundwork of their plans, and actions taken to actualize those aspirations. Family background characteristics—in particular, parents' education and income—are believed to strongly influence college enrollment decisions, with both parental

education and income reflecting a positive relationship to parental expectations and parental encouragement, key components in forming students' college predispositions (Hossler & Stage, 1992; Reynolds & Pemberton, 2001). Goddard (2003) found that students experienced a higher level of academic achievement in schools with high-trust relationships among parents, students, and teachers, favorably influencing a predisposition towards college.

Bourdieu (1977) argued that schools contribute to the reproduction of social inequity. Research conducted by McDonough, Antonio, Walpole, and Perez (1998) found that predominantly high-SES students and their families used college rankings (e.g., *U.S. News and World Report*), were more inclined to apply to and enroll in the higher-ranked schools, and were better able to negotiate the field of education as it has become more privatized (McDonough, 1994; McDonough, Ventresca, & Outcalt, 2000). Bergerson (2009) notes that, "as a result, students whose families have high levels of economic, cultural, and social capital are advantaged because they have the resources and networks necessary to access private information sources" (p. 57).

Bourdieu (1986) notes of intergenerational cultivation: "the best-hidden and socially most determinant educational investment, namely, the domestic transmission of cultural capital" (p. 48). Economic studies of the relationship between academic ability and educational investment show that economists have difficulty quantifying the fact that ability or talent are themselves products of an investment of time and cultural capital (Becker 1962). Mullen (2009), from her qualitative study of 50 Yale students, notes that families in the study transmit educational advantages to their children in three important ways. First, families with knowledge of Ivy League institutions communicate the importance of attending these institutions to their children, often at an early age, inculcating expectations in their children such that children perceive them

as their own; second, through their knowledge and sometimes personal experience with elite education, the families in the study convey to their children that Ivy League institutions are appropriate destinations, acculturating these students so that they fully expect to ‘feel at home’ when they arrive in New Haven or Cambridge, and; third, the study underscored the important role of private college preparatory high schools in priming the pump and serving as a pipeline to elite institutions of higher education. The many benefits of educational qualification are vastly augmented from the compounding effect of years of “concerted cultivation” of social capital on the part of the family, as Gladwell coined the phrase (2008) in *Outliers*, which can be used to amplify the effects of educational investment. As one of the students in the Yale study says:

My dad was Yale class of ’68, my brother was Yale class of ’93. Not even just Yale, but it was never, it was always just the next step. I mean, it was like high school and middle school, there was never a thought of a year off. I don’t think the thought ever crossed my mind. Just because I’d grown up with ‘For God, for country and for Yale. My father went to Yale, and it was just kind of like, if that’s another question about why I chose Yale, it was that I’d been exposed to it since I was eight years old. (Mullen, 2009, p. 21)

Portes (1998) notes that, while Bourdieu recognized that resources obtained through a donor in the social networks take the form of a gift for the recipient—assuming that the recipient possesses membership in the requisite social network to access the gift—Coleman failed to distinguish the resources from the process by which the resources are obtained. Portes (1998) provides a compelling discussion of the absolute necessity of relationships for social capital to emerge. While economic capital may be quantified by taking inventory of one’s financial accounts and human capital may be generally tallied using academic credentials and professional licensures as proxies, social capital exists only in relation to others. The source of one’s social

capital is fully reliant on another, emanating from either consummatory or instrumental motivations according to Portes.

The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, for example, in the form of what is commonly referred to as culture or cultivation, presupposes a process of incorporation that requires the expenditure of labor to assimilate. This labor involves costs, primarily in time, time that must be invested personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done vicariously; the work of acquisition is work on the self. The most precise of all the measurements of cultural capital by economists are those that take as their standard the length of acquisition—so long, of course, as this is not reduced to length of schooling and allowance is made for early domestic education by giving it a positive value (a gain in time, a head start) or a negative value (wasted time, and doubly so because more time must be spent correcting its effects), according to its distance from the demands of the scholastic market. The acquired or embodied capital—external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus—cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange (Becker, 1962). Bourdieu (1986) states that, “human capital, despite its humanistic connotations, does not move beyond economism and ignores, *inter alia*, the fact that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family. Moreover, the economic and social yield of the educational qualification depends on the social capital, again inherited, which can be used to back it up” (p. 48). Stated another way, the share in profits that scarce cultural capital secures in class-divided societies accrues disproportionately to some classes than others, given the fact that not all classes have the economic and cultural means for prolonging their



children's education beyond the minimum necessary for the reproduction of the labor-power at a given moment (Bourdieu, 1977).

While parental encouragement and parental support are vital elements in a child's educational experience, the capacity of parent-child relations may differ dramatically depending upon the store of resources parents (e.g., all forms of capital) are able to transmit to their children. According to Kim and Schneider (2005), network closure, "among parents with limited education and few social ties could result in a network that provides few resources for helping students gain access to information necessary for college aspirations" (p. 1183). Bourdieu (1986) noted that, for the privileged class, it would be preferable to have network closure so that resources are preserved and reproduced. Closure for Coleman indicates sufficient ties between members of a community to facilitate internalization of norms by the membership (Portes, 1998). McDonough (1997) argues that the central role of habitus is to define and limit the scope of what an individual sees and how that individual interprets what he or she sees. Researchers have shown that educational decisions are made within the context of one's habitus in an effort to build and accumulate capital that can be converted at a future date in pursuit of educational and occupational gains (Cabrera and La Nasa, 2000; Hossler, Schmit, and Vesper, 1999; Lareau, 1987).

### **Social Network Theory**

Social network theory offers an alternative lens through which to consider how individual students possessing—or aspiring to possess—various forms of capital align themselves with, navigate through, and imbue themselves of elements from the targeted social landscape, amplifying their reserves of strategic capital (Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999a). As Burt (2002) states, "Cast in diverse styles of argument, social capital is a metaphor about

advantage” (p. 148). According to Granovetter (1983), “The argument (i.e., strength of weak ties) asserts that our acquaintances (*weak ties*) are less likely to be socially involved with one another than are our close friends (*strong ties*)” (p. 201). Granovetter’s (1973) analysis of social networks focuses on the strength of dyadic relational ties between individuals, where he argues that the power of weak ties—indirect influences outside the immediate circle of family and close friends—serve as an informal network providing different information than that which would be obtained by strong ties. Granovetter (1973) proposed a model that built on the principle of transitivity: if A is connected to B and A is connected to C, then likely B is connected to C. Furthermore, Granovetter noted that if the two ties A-B and A-C were strong, then B had to be tied to C, either strongly or weakly. As a result, in his model all local bridges were necessarily weak ties. In this model (Appendix B) all local bridges were necessarily weak ties. Appendix B illustrates this rule and makes the point that some bridges are more important or critical than others: (a) shows a bridge, a weak tie between A and B; however, the same A-B bridge in (b) is far more important the A-B bridge in (a). Consider how much further C and D are from B without the bridge.

Burt’s (1992) concept of structural holes argues that social capital is predicated on the relative absence of network ties, rather than on their density. Lin (1999), on the other hand, asserts that social capital as a resource is embedded in dense social structures, which are accessed and mobilized for purposive action. Portes (1998) highlights the role of social networks in what he terms enclaves, dense concentrations of immigrant or ethnic firms that employ “a significant proportion of their co-ethnic labor force and develop a distinctive physical presence in urban space” (p. 13). Portes’ enclaves share some striking overlap with the eight

cultural groups identified by Chua and Rubinfeld (2014) for their success across a number of metrics (e.g. Mormons, Cubans, the Jewish community in New York).

The negative externalities of social capital (Appendix C), specifically, and unbridled enthusiasm for community, generally, that Portes (1998) details, have likely been experienced by other cultural groups going back to the founding Puritans. As Portes (1998) states, “the same strong ties that bring benefits to members of a group commonly enable it to bar others from access” (p. 15). Adam Smith (1776/1979) observed in *The Wealth of Nations* the proclivity of merchants to conspire against the public by restricting trade, limiting supply, and driving up prices. As Portes (1998) notes, the public in this case are all those excluded from the networks and mutual knowledge linking the colluding groups. More interesting and less obvious is the second negative effect that Portes raises. Precisely because of network closure and strong norms of reciprocity and mutual assistance, certain members of a community may experience tremendous success, setting them up for a continuous stream of requests for money, jobs, and favors, turning these promising enterprises into what Portes (1998) termed “welfare hotels,” creating a free-riding problem and diminishing their capacity for economic expansion. Portes notes that, “Weber ([1922] 1965) made the same point when he stressed the importance of impersonal economic transactions guided by the principle of universalism as one of the major reasons for Puritan entrepreneurial success” (Portes, 1998, p. 16). A third potential problem in tight social networks is the community demand for conformity. As Portes (1998) correctly notes, when social control becomes too oppressive and restrictive of personal freedoms, independent-minded individuals will depart the community, likely diminishing the robustness of the network (Portes & Landolt, 1996). Finally, the emergence of downward leveling norms, as Portes (1998) terms, “situations in which group solidarity is cemented by a common experience of adversity

and opposition to mainstream society,” is highly reminiscent of lamentations heard in educational debates in America about “teaching to the lowest common denominator” (p. 17). Essentially, these norms function to keep members of a marginalized group in their place, forcing the more independent-minded, ambitious, and talented individuals to escape from the community.

Portes’ (1998) assessment of the potential negative aspects of social capital is compelling. Nonetheless, one may argue that the economic model of human capital theory deriving from Becker (1993), the tradition of rational choice models (Becker, 1993; Simon, 1955), and the augmentation of power by the infusion of cultural and social capital to the mix of tools available to an individual, offer far more potential benefits than detriments. Feinstein, et al. (2004) posit that the application of the economic model to education stipulates the family as a firm, where, “the family can be figured as a production unit, producing the basic goods of family well-being such as health, consumption goods and the successful development of children on the basis of the allocation of the time of the productive members of the family in the relevant production processes” (p. 17). As Becker and Tomes (1986) state, “Some children have an advantage because they are born into families with greater ability, greater emphasis on childhood learning, and other favorable cultural and genetic attributes. Both biology and culture are transmitted from parents to children, one encoded in DNA and the other in a family’s culture” (p. S4). There exists a large body of economic literature devoted to an individual’s investment-in-education process (Becker, 1962; Griliches, 1997; Jorgenson and Fraumeni, 1992; Schultz, 1960). Human capital theory posits that an individual adds to his store of human capital by combining the allocation of human capital with which he was born with his own time and other market resources, subject to, “diminishing returns because costs rise as one attempts to speed up

the production process and also because returns decline eventually as the result of the finiteness of life” (Griliches, 1997). Individuals will first identify all of the various educational choices that are within their realm of possibility. The model stipulates that an individual weighs both benefits and costs when contemplating whether to invest in education. Benefits would include the expectation of a higher future income stream, while costs are both direct (e.g., tuition, fees, and books) and indirect (e.g., the opportunity cost of foregone earnings). Under various formulations of intergenerational altruism, for example, members of each generation may take as given the optimal decision rules of their offspring or they may simply allocate their wealth optimally between their own consumption and the bequests to the offspring (Hanushek, 1986; Kohlberg, 1976; Loury, 1981).

Putnam (1995) posits that, “for a variety of reasons, life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. In the first place, networks of civic engagement foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust” (p. 67). By contrast, Glaser, Laibson, and Sacerdote (2002), economists by trade, offer an alternative definition of social capital on the individual level: “We define individual social capital as a person’s social characteristics—including social skills, charisma, and the size of his Rolodex—which enables him to reap market and non-market returns from interactions with others. As such, individual social capital might be seen as the social component of human capital” (p. F438). Putnam (1995), utilizing civic engagement as a key construct of social capital, argues that, “By almost every measure, Americans’ direct engagement in politics and government has fallen steadily and sharply over the last generation, despite the fact that average levels of education—the best individual-level predictor of political participation—have risen sharply throughout this period” (p. 3).

## Educational Leadership

In laying out the foundational theories of the various forms of capital and social network theory in a higher education setting, one may discern the navigational challenges through the landscape from a student's perspective. I am interested in understanding how the vision of educational leaders at Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago since 1950 may have translated to widening access to social networks within their respective campus communities.

Bass (1990) notes that leadership is one of the world's oldest preoccupations and that written philosophical principles emerged early: "Egyptian hieroglyphics for leadership (*seshemet*), leader (*seshemu*) and the follower (*shemsu*) were being written 5,000 years ago" (p. 3), as shown in Appendix D. Bass (1990) continues, "The understanding of leadership has figured strongly in the quest for knowledge. Purposeful stories have been told through the generations about leaders' competencies, ambition, and shortcomings. . . ." (p. 3). While there have been—and will continue to be—numerous definitions of leadership (see Appendix E), Northouse's (2013) construct is used in this study: "Leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (p. 5). When one considers the definition of each of the components of the above definition in greater detail, one will recognize that the sum of the parts of the definition aggregate to a larger whole: process means that a leader both affects and is affected by followers. The process of leadership is iterative, non-linear, and typically involves a feedback loop. The concept of influence pertains to how the leader affects followers; leadership takes place in the larger context of groups, not in isolation. French and Raven's (1962) work on power as a dyadic relationship identified five important bases of power: referent, expert, legitimate, reward, and coercive. Each these forms of power enhances a leader's ability to influence their followers along a number of dimensions,

including attitudes, values, and behaviors. According to Kotter (1990), two primary types of power occur in organizations: position power and personal power. Position power arises from a particular office or rank in a formal organizational system. Personal power, on the other hand, is the influence capacity a leader derives from being seen by followers as likable and knowledgeable (Kotter, 1990). What practices must educational leaders of the 21<sup>st</sup> century incorporate into their repertoire so that they are authentically modeling and infusing the culture with their values, providing leadership that will set students in good stead to navigate an ever-flattening world (Friedman, 2005) that is in a state of continuous flux?

Napoleon's witticism regarding the importance of leadership—saying he would rather have an army of rabbits led by a lion than an army of lions led by a rabbit—remains prescient today (Bass, 1982). Leaders as prophets, priests, chiefs, and monarchs served as symbols, representatives, and models for their people in the Old and New Testaments, in the Upanishads, in Confucian writings, in the Greek and Latin classics, and in the Icelandic and Norse sagas (Bass, 1990). Bolman and Deal (2013) note that, "Myths, values, and vision bring cohesiveness, clarity, and direction in the presence of confusion and mystery. Heroes carry values and serve as powerful icons. Rituals and ceremonies provide scripts for celebrating success and facing calamity" (p. 270). Since time immemorial, societies have created myths to provide credible and fitting explanations for the dominance of their leaders and the submission of their subordinates. The greater the socioeconomic injustice in the society, the more distorted the realities of leadership—its powers, morality and effectiveness—in the mythology (Paige, 1977). Bennis (1959) stated that, "Of all the hazy and confounding areas in social psychology, leadership theory undoubtedly contends for the top nomination. And, ironically, probably more has been written and less known about leadership than about any other topic in the behavioral sciences" (p.

259). Burns (1978) asserted that, “Leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth” (p. 2). Stogdill (1974) added, “There are almost as many definitions of leadership as those who have attempted to define the concept” (p. 7).

Beginning in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was a widely held notion that great leaders possessed a certain lexicon of special leadership traits that were innate and the phrase “he’s a born leader” captures the essence of trait leadership. Stogdill’s (1948) challenge to trait theory recast leadership as a relationship between people in a social situation, rather than a catalogue of qualities that an individual must possess to be a good leader. Stogdill’s (1948) first survey analyzed and synthesized more than 124 trait studies conducted between 1904 and 1947 and he found that leaders differ from non-leaders on the following eight traits: intelligence, alertness, insight, responsibility, initiative, persistence, self-confidence, and sociability. Prentice (1961) defined leadership as, “. . . the accomplishment of a goal through the direction of human assistants” and stipulated that a successful leader is one who not only understands followers’ motivations but is able to enlist followers’ participation in such a way as to marry individual needs and interests to the group’s purpose. Mintzberg (1973) suggested that the leadership role is one of ten managerial roles, albeit the most important one. The nine other managerial roles are: 1) figurehead; 2) liaison; 3) monitor; 4) disseminator; 5) spokesperson; 6) entrepreneur; 7) disturbance handler; 8) resource allocator, and; 9) negotiator. Tannenbaum & Schmidt (1973) proposed that successful leaders are those who are keenly aware of the social forces with which they must interface. These leaders understand themselves, their followers, and the broader social environment in which they operate. Burns (1978) asserts that leadership is the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and sundry resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently



or mutually held by both leaders and followers. The objective in Burns formulation need not be a joint effort for persons with common aims acting for the collective interests of followers, but rather, a bargain to aid the individual interests of persons or groups going their separate ways (Burns, 1978, p. 425). According to Gardner (1987), the qualities and skills required of a leader go far beyond cultivating a congenial personality or possessing facility with the application of sophisticated methods and principles of management and/or administration; a leader's vital function is to visualize and concretize the ethos of values in the work and objectives of the work groups.

Rost (1991) defines leadership as "an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes," asserting that the dynamic interaction between leaders and followers has been largely overlooked in the leadership literature. Crucial to Rost's post-industrial formulation is the seminal importance of ethics within the process of leadership. Rost challenges the industrial paradigm of leadership. The leopard can't change its spots: management is management and leadership is leadership. Rost credits Burns (1978) for laying the groundwork for the transition from industrial to post-industrial leadership theory, where the relationship of leaders and followers is multidirectional. In his seminal work, Burns (1978) demarcated the difference between the term transactional (leader) and transformational (leadership).

Goleman's (2006) work on emotional intelligence (EI) builds upon Stogdill's earlier work and has become a fundamental part of any discussion of leadership. A community's or a social network's ability to change the life course of its members in a positive direction is very much influenced by the visionary leaders that emerge from the membership. Boyatzis (2009) views EI in terms of competencies and skills and offers several definitions related to the

construct. He defines an EI competency as an “ability to recognize, understand, and use emotional information about oneself that leads to or causes effective or superior performance” (p. 757). Additionally, Boyatzis (2009) defines a social intelligence competency as “the ability to recognize, understand and use emotional information about others that leads to or causes effective or superior performance” (p. 757). As Cherniss (2010) enumerates, the concept of EI is based on three premises: 1) emotions play an important role in daily life; 2) people may vary in their ability to perceive, understand, use, and manage emotions, and; 3) these variances may affect individual adaptation in a variety of different contexts, including the workplace (p. 110).

Since the early 1980s, scholars have been interested in how personal charisma and affective elements of leadership have become part of the leadership culture, not only in traditional fields like management and social psychology, but also in fields as far-ranging as nursing, education, and industrial engineering (Antonakis, 2012). The term “transformational leadership” was first used in the literature by Downton (1973) and the idea of this charismatic form of leadership was carried forward by Burns (1978), as he endeavored to draw a connection between the roles of leadership and followership. Interestingly, much earlier Weber (1947) described as charismatic those leaders who, “. . . reveal a transcendent mission or course of action which may be in itself appealing to the potential followers, but which is acted on because the followers believe their leader is extraordinarily gifted” (p. 358). House (1977) observed that the literature on charismatic leadership repeatedly attributes three personal characteristics to leaders possessing charismatic natures, namely extremely high levels of self-confidence, dominance, and a robust conviction in the moral righteousness of his or her beliefs. Burns (1978) distinguished between two types of leadership: transactional and transformational. Traditional forms of leadership are largely transactional and focus on exchanges that occur

between leaders and followers; transformational leadership engages with followers and creates a connection that elevates the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower. Bass and Riggio (2006) assert that transformational leadership's gaining popularity may well be due to its emphasis on intrinsic motivation and follower development, very much in line with the needs of today's work groups and teams, who need and want to be inspired by their leaders in an uncertain climate.

While multiple definitions of authentic leadership are evolving, Shamir and Eilam's (2005) work focuses on the intrapersonal perspective, literally what is going on inside the leader. By contrast, Eagly (2005) focuses on interpersonal dynamics or the relationships that leaders and followers co-create. A third approach to understanding authentic leadership is through a developmental perspective. Avolio and Gardner (2005) argue that authentic leadership is something that can be nurtured in a leader, rather than authentic leadership being a fixed or innate trait. Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, & Peterson (2008) identified four components of authentic leaders: self-awareness, internalized moral perspective, balanced processing, and relational transparency. There exists a wealth of current research into authentic leaders and these four successful behaviors that many researchers believe can be acquired through practice; the field is currently split between practical approaches to authentic leadership and theoretical approaches, emanating from social science research.

Based on interviews with 125 successful leaders, George (2003) discovered that authentic leaders embody five key characteristics: they understand their purpose, they have strong values about the right thing to do, they establish trusting relationships, they demonstrate self-discipline and act on their values, and they are passionate about their mission. Teams are groups of people with common goals working in coordination, whether study groups, project management teams,

task forces, or athletic teams. Porter and Beyerlein (2000) suggest that research on groups began as early as the 1920s, where the focus was on the human relations movement in collaborative rather than individual efforts, and the preference for nimble and competitive organizations today is built on the flatter organizational structure that teams and new technologies that facilitate communications across time and space provide (Porter & Beyerlein, 2000). A large portion of research on teams has dealt with how team work may be done more effectively, recognizing that teams have shown higher productivity, efficacious use of resources, overall better decision-making, and superior innovation (Ilgen, Major, Hollenbeck, & Segoe, 1993). On the other hand, if teams are to be successful, the organizational culture must be conducive to employee involvement, rather than the traditional hierarchical authority structure (Levi, 2011).

Cambron-McCabe & Cunningham (2004) note that one of the most difficult jobs in America is that of being a school superintendent, due in large part to the complexity of constituencies that a superintendent must orchestrate to achieve common goals. One may envision that the challenges confronting 21<sup>st</sup> century college and university presidents is no less daunting for many of the same reasons and may extrapolate therefrom. Les Omotani, former superintendent in West Des Moines, Iowa, and current superintendent in the Hewlett-Woodmere district on Long Island, notes that “We need to think systems, not programs,” noting that public discussions of schools isolate discrete issues like standards or assessment, promoting, “. . . a quick-fix mentality—what is often called ‘single-loop’ thinking. What Senge (2006) encourages is in-depth, ‘double-loop’ thinking that attacks core assumptions, not their manifestations. Tim Lucas, former superintendent in Ho-Ho-Kus, NJ, says, “Technical issues require expertise, which is available. Single-loop thinking is ideally suited to solving technical problems” (p. 177). The more difficult challenge, however, is adaptive, not technical, requiring transformation of existing

structures and practices. Lucas continues, “Expertise can’t resolve these dilemmas, which involve emotions and the loss of inherited ways of doing things. Communities have to coalesce around solutions that require deep-rooted change and double-loop thinking” (p. 177). Cambron-McCabe and Cunningham (2004) bemoan the fact that the extremely challenging leadership required of superintendents often creates leaders who devolve into “one-trick, single-loop ponies.” Peter Negroni, former superintendent of schools in Springfield, MA, was accustomed to using a command style of leadership, but found that he was obtaining poor results. As Negroni says (Cambron-McCabe and Cunningham, 2004), “I went from being the Lone Ranger to being the Lead Learner” (p. 178). Munro (2008) characterizes this transformation or shift in leadership as recognition that the work requires leaders to engage other constituencies in the process, to turn the work over, by creating a process in which stakeholders may work through difficult issues.

Akoff (1999) focuses his attention on the critical importance of learning from experience in an organization, due to the continuous flux and turnover of personnel. Akoff says, “Not only are the differences between the various contents of learning important, but they also form a hierarchy of increasing value, as reflected in the adage: An ounce of information is worth a pound of data; an ounce of knowledge is worth a pound of information; an ounce of understanding is worth a pound of knowledge; and an ounce of wisdom is worth a pound of understanding” (p. 159). Akoff argues that most organizations are focused on data, to the long-term detriment of garnering the wisdom to be able to draw the distinction that Peter Drucker did between doing things right and doing the right thing. Akoff asserts that systems that facilitate learning enhance a leader’s ability, “. . . to change oneself or one’s environment so as to maintain or increase efficiency/effectiveness when changes of internal or external conditions, if they are

not responded to, result in decreased efficiency/ effectiveness. Therefore, adaptation is learning under changing conditions” (p. 164).

Burkhardt (2002) observes that the adaptive capacity of higher education is not only rooted in the ability for institutions to change one by one, but in a systems level capability which depends upon a specific form of leadership; this leadership process is constructed at the boundary between higher education at large and its interface with society. Not only has higher education adapted to societal changes, it has simultaneously changed the societies in which it exists. As Burkhardt (2002) says, “This ability to be changed and at the same time to influence change in society, also requires a form of leadership, one rooted in higher education’s deeply held traditions, values and sense of purpose” (p. 146). Birnbaum (1988) suggests that systems share some common characteristics, including interacting components, boundaries, and inputs and outputs; systems can be described as either generally closed or open, tightly coupled, or loosely coupled. According to Burkhardt (2002), “The typical ‘systems approach’ to understanding higher education leadership focuses on the individual college or university as a complex organization. . . . stops short of explaining how a whole system of institutions (in effect a ‘system of systems’) exercises the ability to adapt and renew itself in response to a changing environment” (p. 147). Palmer (1992) writes, “the organizational approach to change is premised on the notion that bureaucracies—their rules, roles and relationships—define the limits of social reality within which change must happen” (p. 10); Palmer goes on to observe that this perspective fails to recognize the comparatively greater power for systemic change that lies between and beyond the context of individual organizations.

Greenleaf’s (1977) formulation of servant leadership anticipated an externally, rather than internally, focused leadership style and crystalized after his reading of Hermann Hesse’s

(1956) *Journey to the East*, in which the central meaning of the story is that the great leader is first a servant to others; true leadership emerges from those whose primary motivation is a deep desire to help others (Spears, 1998). Servant leadership begins with an individual's desire to serve; the conscious choice to aspire to lead comes second. As Covey (1990) posits, leadership is a choice, not a position.

As China aspires to create universities of excellence that possess the stature to win Nobel Prizes, a study conducted at Shanghai Jiao Tong University (2008) evaluating the research performance of 500 of the world's universities found that 17 of the 20 most distinguished research universities are in the United States, as are 40 of the top 50, and 54 of the top 100. As Cole (2009) observes, "Since the 1930s, roughly 60 percent of all Nobel Prizes awarded have gone to Americans. Before then, a majority went to the Germans, French, and British. In fact, until Hitler came to power in January 1933, German universities were the best in the world. Today, not one German university is ranked among the world's top 50" (p. 4). During much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, German universities emphasized pure research, and their work was self-consciously divorced from practical application. But by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the fruits of German research, especially in the sciences, would be used for a great many practical purposes, including industrial and military applications. The combination of teaching and research became the distinguishing feature of the system and throughout much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Americans interested in higher learning and the university were simply envious of what they saw in Germany. Cole (2009) notes that the quality of the scientists and scholars who worked at places like Berlin and Göttingen was reflected in the Nobel Prizes that were awarded in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Nobel was often awarded for work done at an earlier time; German scientists, along with the French, dominated the prizes in the first three

decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. “Most of the future university presidents, those who would transform the idea of the university, admired German universities and had spent time at one” (Cole, 2009, p. 19). Although the transmission of knowledge is a core mission of America’s universities, it is not what makes them the best institutions of higher learning in the world; it is the *system* of higher learning—fostering creativity and discovery—which has led to their preeminence and which has served as the engine of our prosperity, whether one considers development of the laser, FM radio, the algorithm for Google searches, Global Positioning Systems, DNA fingerprinting, fetal monitoring, scientific cattle breeding or the host of other inventions, devices, medical miracles, and ideas that have emanated from American universities and have transformed the world. Clark Kerr’s efforts on behalf of higher education in California serves as an exemplar of systems thinking. In the late 1950s, Kerr faced the daunting task of building a state system that would be designed dually for access and excellence, at a time when the population was exploding and competition for talented, world-class scientists and scholars was at a fever pitch. Through Kerr’s three-tiered Master Plan of 1960 for Higher Education in California, a national model emerged for how both of the basic and often competing values of access and excellence might be realized (Cole, 2009, p. 135).

More recently, Bolman & Deal (2013) offer a multiframe method of thinking about leadership that addresses the problem of a leader claiming that s/he resolved a particular issue the “only way” it could be done. The authors assert that, “Such statements betray a failure of both imagination and courage and reveal a paralyzing fear of uncertainty” (p. 19). Framing—often referred to as maps, paradigms, or cognitive lenses—offers a mental model against which ideas, assumptions, and theories may be tested. In cadence with framing, it is of paramount importance that leaders possess what Gladwell (2005) termed “rapid cognition;” the gift that makes it



possible to read “deeply into the narrowest slivers of experience. In basketball, the player who can take in and comprehend all that is happening in the moment is said to have ‘court sense’” (p. 44). Goleman (2006) would likely term rapid cognition as being synonymous with a keenly developed sense of emotional intelligence. According to Dane & Pratt (2007), the essence of rapid cognition is the ability to match situational cues with a well-learned mental framework—a “deeply-held, nonconscious category or pattern” (p. 37).

The Dalai Lama (2006) says: “Learn the rules so you know how to break them properly.” While framing requires the ability to match mental maps to circumstances, reframing requires a very different skill—the ability to break frames. As Bolman & Deal (2013) note, “A critic once commented to Cézanne, ‘That doesn’t look anything like a sunset.’ Pondering his painting, Cézanne responded, ‘Then you don’t see sunsets the way I do’” (p. 13). Frames serve as windows on a territory and tools for navigation. “Managers who master the hammer and expect all problems to behave like nails find life at work confusing and frustrating. . . . Experienced managers also understand the difference between possessing a tool and knowing when and how to use it” (p. 13).

None of the four distinct metaphors utilized by Bolman & Deal is revolutionary in and of itself in the study of leadership (e.g., structural, human resource, political, symbolic). The power of the system resides in the combination or confluence of these frames. Appendix F provides an overview of the unique metric used for each form of leadership (Bolman & Deal, 2013, p. 19). Each frame has its own image of reality; learning to apply all four approaches deepens ones appreciation and understanding of organizations. “Galileo discovered this when he devised the first telescope. Each lens he added contributed to a more accurate image of the heavens” (Bolman & Deal, 2013, p. 18). First, drawing from sociology, economics, and management

science, the structural frame depicts a rational world and emphasizes organization architecture, including planning, goals, structure, technology, specialized roles, coordination, formal relationships, and metrics. Structures—commonly depicted by organizational charts—are designed to fit an organization’s environment and technology. Second, the human resource frame, rooted in psychology, envisions an organization as an extended family, made up of individuals with needs, feelings, prejudices, skills, and limitations. From a human resource view, the key challenge is to tailor organizations to individuals. Third, the political frame is deep-seated in the work of political scientists and perceives organizations as arenas, contests, or jungles. Parochial interests compete for power and scarce resources. Conflict, bargaining, negotiation, coercion, and compromise are a normal part of everyday life. Solutions arise from political savvy, as Machiavelli posited centuries ago (Machiavelli, 1514/1961). Finally, the symbolic frame emphasizes culture, symbols, and spirit as keys to organizational success. The symbolic lens, drawing on social and cultural anthropology, treats organizations as temples, tribes, theaters, or carnivals, abandoning the assumptions of rationality prominent in other frames. The symbolic frame depicts organizations as cultures, propelled by rituals, ceremonies, stories, heroes, and myths, rather than by rules, policies, and managerial authority (Bolman & Deal, 2013).

### **Evolution of Social Justice through a Curricular Lens**

What is studied is a litmus test—a canary in the mine, as it were—for who will study. From the Aristotelian ontology of the *Categories* to today’s myriad digital, social, and visual networks, knowledge was, is, and will continue to be socially constructed, culturally mediated, and historically situated. The U.S. Department of Education projected majority-minority by fall 2014, namely that minorities would outnumber those of Western European background in public

schools, due largely to fast growth in the number of Hispanic and Asian school-age children born in the United States (Hussar & Bailey, 2013; Kent, 2015). The K-12 curricular pipeline feeding American colleges and universities may well inform the policies, visions, and social justice efforts of collegiate presidential leadership.

The Tree of Knowledge provides a compelling metaphor for the epistemological roots of 21<sup>st</sup> century curriculum design and development. The allegory of a tree for investigating the origin, nature, methods, and limits of human knowledge makes perfect sense when one recognizes that primordial forests have, for thousands of years, symbolized the mysteries of nature, serving as exemplars of tangible providers of shelter and resources. Bates (2002) explains how forests were considered places of magic and power, “like a great spirit which had to be befriended . . . forests seem to be a natural template for the human imagination,” noting the multitude of ancient folktales from around the world that are set in the woods (Bates, 2002, p. 44). Hageneder (2005) explains the universal nature of the tree:

According to many of the teachings of ancient wisdom, the universe comprises a spiral of circular movement around a central axis, the axis mundi. And this centre pole has often been depicted as the Tree of Life, or Universal Tree. . . . It portrays the universe as much more than a lifeless, clockwork mechanism that blindly follows the laws of physics; rather it presents our world as a living, evolving organism, imbued with divine spirit. (p. 8)

Constructivists assert that meaning making is negotiated socially and historically; it is not simply imprinted on individuals, but is formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism), through historical and cultural norms, in the ways of being within an organization or characteristics and behavior of groups who occupy a particular culture (Guba &

Lincoln, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Manning, 1999, 2000). Trees have been at the center of worship and mythology for thousands of years, steadfastly persisting as a common motif in world religions and a central theme in the art and culture of many ancient civilizations, from Babylon to the Aztecs. Lima (2011) notes that, “While pre-Christian Scandinavia had its Ash Yggdrasil, early Hinduism had its tree of Jiva and Atman, and later its Ashvastha, or Sacred Fig tree—also called Bodhi tree by Buddhists, and under which Gautama Buddha is believed to have meditated and attained enlightenment” (p. 23). Trees—as symbols of prosperity, fertility, strength, and growth—have been considered sacred by, or have had an astral meaning to, numerous societies over the ages. With their roots resolutely entrenched in the ground and branches reaching towards the skies, they embody a link between heaven, Earth, and the underworld—a unifying symbol of all elements, physical and metaphysical.

Our primeval connection with nature and the tree might well explain why its branched schema has not only been a symbol with sacred and pagan meanings, but also an important symbol for the classification of the natural world and the meanderings of human understanding. Lima (2011) notes, “Used to address social stratification, domains of human understanding, family ties, or evolutionary relationships between species, the tree has been a [sic] ubiquitous model since it can pragmatically express multiplicity (represented by its boughs, branches, twigs, and leaves) from unity (its central foundational trunk)” (p. 25). Lima (2011) asserts that as an ontological schema, the tree metaphor may be distilled into two primary domains: genealogy (in its broad philosophical sense, tracing the development of ideas, subjects, people, and society through history) and classification (a systematic taxonomy of values and subvalues). “Where genealogy incorporates the tree to illustrate growth and subdivision over time, classification

applies the hierarchical model to show our desire for order, symmetry, and regularity” (Lima, 2011, p. 25).

Given that the arrangement of a tree implies a succession of subgroups from larger groups, which are in turn connected to a common root or starting point, the idea of capturing the entirety of human knowledge and classifying it by means of a tree remains a powerful metaphor as an organizing principal, whether for 21<sup>st</sup> century hierarchical curriculum development, institutional organizational charts, or one’s genealogical tree. The notion of an arboreal organizational scheme literally has its origins in the work of Porphyry of Tyre (Appendix G). Around the year 270, the neoplatonic philosopher published his *Introduction*, reframing Aristotle’s *praedicamenta* into a list of five classes: genus, species, difference, property, and accident. From these five classes was created the *scala praedicamentalis* or Porphyrian Tree, which in all likelihood represents the earliest metaphorical tree of knowledge (Gontier, 2011). As Lima notes, “Porphyry’s structure reveals the idea of layered assembly in logic. It is made of three columns of words, where the central column contains a series of dichotomous divisions between genus and species, which derive from the supreme genus, Substance” (Lima, 2011, p. 28).

From Aristotle’s *Categories* (Appendix H)—a revolutionary metaphysical picture in which Aristotle claims that, included among what there is, among the entities (τά ὄντα), there are *things* and that these things are ontologically fundamental (Mann, 2000), to the Great Chain of Being derived from Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and Proclus and also known as *scala naturae*, literally “ladder or stairway of nature” (Appendix I)—a top-down natural ordering of the world featuring God at the apex, followed by the angels, then noblemen, down to the animal kingdom, through development of the Porphyrian tree—no longer accommodate the vast epistemological

complexity and interconnectedness of systems of knowledge. The notion of discrete domains of knowledge, as beautifully rendered by Diderot and D'Alembert in *Encyclopédie* (1751) as separate branches in Appendix J, is today fundamentally nonsensical. The relatively recent shift in metaphor from a solitary tree to an iterative and generative multi-node network (Lima, 2011), as demonstrated in Appendix K, visually represents human knowledge as interdependent, decentralized, independent cells or nodes, with no clear chain of command or hierarchy, creating a novel visual taxonomy, a new verbal syntax, a revolutionary lexicon for 21<sup>st</sup> century learning.

**Chaos theory.** Rather than searching for a singular variable or set of variables that causes a result in each and every case or even in nearly every case, all actions are mutually and simultaneously shaped by other actions and circumstances. In chaos theory this phenomenon is known as the butterfly effect, in which there is sensitive dependence on initial conditions and where a slight, almost imperceptible change at one place in a deterministic nonlinear system can result in large differences to a later state. The name of the effect, coined by Lorenz (1972), is derived from the theoretical example of a hurricane's formation being contingent on whether or not a distant butterfly had flapped its wings several weeks before. Chaos theory may be used not only as a descriptive tool, but also as a prescriptive device for improving strategic planning and organizational practices in higher education. Senge (2006) asserts, "Changing education by changing educational administration is like changing the course of the Mississippi by spitting into the Allegheny (James March). But the butterfly effect suggests differently. If educational systems are dissipative structures, then a little bit of "spit" in the administrative Allegheny, [sic] could just change the course of the educational Mississippi" (p. 10). As Gunter (1995) notes:

For the manager-practitioner schooled in the entrepreneurial mindset, the science of fractals, strange attractors, and the butterfly effect seems far removed from organizational

behaviour. To be successful a school or college needs to give recognition to the fact that educational institutions are not linear but complex networks with equally complex feedback loops. However, current orthodoxy is that schools and colleges operate a rational cycle of review, forecast, implement and evaluate in relation to resource management. Therefore curriculum and resource needs are identified and prioritised, and forecasts made of pupil/student numbers and income linked to targets. This is informed by the development plan and the long-term vision of where the school/college wants to be at a given point in the future. During the annual cycle negative feedback (e.g. changes to the funding formula) is prevented from causing a downward spiral or vicious circle by monitoring and so adjustments are made in order to ensure stability. Similarly positive feedback, (e.g. increased demand for places in sixth form) can form a virtuous cycle of success and must be prevented from leading to disintegration or explosively unstable equilibrium. (p. 14)

Lima (2011) asserts that Practical Extraction and Reporting Language (PERL) development (Appendix L) stands as an exemplar of chaos theory in practice. PERL was first developed by Larry Wall, a linguist working as a systems administrator for NASA in the late 1980s, as a way to make report processing easier. PERL has transformed into a solution for a multitude of technical challenges: automating system administration, acting as an interface between disparate computer systems; and, primarily, being one of the most prevalent languages for Common Gateway Interface (CGI) programming on the Web. CGI provides a standard environment for web servers to interface with executable programs installed on a server that generate web pages dynamically (Christiansen, Foy, Wall, & Orwant, 2012). The PERL development process exemplifies the generation of knowledge by independent cells or nodes with no clear chain of

command or hierarchy, a veritable feedback pipeline that is iterative in the extreme. Whether concepts from chaos theory are relevant to facilitating changes in perceptions through group interaction is open to question; others might argue that this is precisely what sharing vision and surfacing mental models informed by systems thinking sets out to do. The idea of using novel notions from chaos theory to promote learning through changing perceptions is compelling, as one contemplates the immense challenges facing teaching and learning in 21<sup>st</sup> century America.

**Systems thinking.** Wheatley (1999) uses systems thinking and self-organizing systems to reframe the way individuals educated in Western culture learned to think and manage a world comprised of separations and clear boundaries. In public education, for example, very few members of a geographically-determined school district share a core of beliefs about the purposes of education. Most districts contain a wide spectrum of beliefs about the role of education, whether one believes that education should support the talented elite, should serve as the foundation of a pluralistic society where education opens doors for all, should focus exclusively on enriching the life of the mind, or should only teach children the values of their parents or church. The fact is that most school systems are not systems at all, but, rather, are purely boundary lines drawn by somebody, somewhere (Wheatley, 1999). School districts are not systems because they do not arise from a core of shared beliefs about the purpose of public education. In the absence of shared beliefs and desires, people are not motivated to seek out one another and develop relationships. Instead, they co-inhabit the same organizational and community space without weaving together mutually beneficial relationships. They co-exist by defining clear boundaries, creating respectful distances, developing self-protective behaviors, and using power politics to get what they want.



By contrast, Wheatley (1999) argues that a living system forms itself as it recognizes shared interests. A system is created when individuals realize they have neighbors, and that they would do better to figure out how to co-exist rather than to try and destroy each another. The recognition that individuals need each other lies at the heart of every system. From that realization, individuals reach out, and seemingly divergent self-interests develop into a system of interdependency. For four to five billion years, life has been developing its infinite variety. Life continues to amaze scientists with its diversity and resiliency, showing up in the coldest and hottest habitats, places where science thought no life could ever exist. Wheatley (1999) asserts that life is a rich source of ideas and wisdom for how humans can approach the challenge of creating schools or any complex system that has the capacity to grow and change yet remain purposeful and effective over time. Within the artificial boundary lines and well-defended territories, people are self-organizing into real systems, reaching out to network with those who share similar beliefs or aspirations.

Wheatley (1995) describes a powerful image from science that radically altered her thinking about public education, namely a chemical process called the Belousov-Zhabotinsky (B-Z) reaction (Belousov, 1959; Zhabotinsky, 1964). The B-Z reaction essentially states that the universe is not all downhill, contrary to the Second Law of Thermodynamics. The Second Law says that with every change, useful energy is expended and there is no way of recouping the energy, so the eventual state will be entropy. Contrary to scientists' hypothesized outcome, however, the chemicals revealed that there is a self-organizing capacity in matter. In the B-Z reaction, red and white chemicals had blended in perfect equilibrium. The next anticipated state for this system, given the traditions of Western science, was that it would disintegrate, or at best remain in disordered equilibrium. "Excitability," otherwise known as the influence of stimuli,

however, generated patterns in what would otherwise be a perfectly quiescent medium. When scientists added chemicals, lit a flame under the mixture, and poked a hot wire into it, the system separated out into its constituent chemical groups, red and white, and instead of falling apart and dissipating, the chemicals restructured themselves. Beyond dissipation, there was spontaneous reorganization—self-organization. The self-organized outcome was quite unexpected, because what the inert chemicals created were intricate spirals. Wheatley argues that the capacity of the world to self-organize should inform one's thinking so as to recognize that any period of chaos and dissipation offers an opportunity for a given system to reorganize into a structure better suited to its environment, whether one is working with a chemical process or social networks at an American university in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Wheatley, 1995). As Bass (1990) notes, "The study of leadership rivals in age the emergence of civilization, which shaped its leaders as much as it was shaped by them. From its infancy, the study of history has been the study of leaders—what they did and why they did it" (p. 3).

**Multicultural and multilingual landscape.** The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2003) reported that in 2000 more than 6,809 languages were in use, including 114 sign languages, in 228 countries. The foreign-born population of the United States (31.1 million) in 2000 represented 11.1% of the total population, with 52% coming from Latin America, 26% from Asia, 16% from Europe, and 6% from other areas of the world (UNESCO, 2003). Pipher (2002) notes that immigration and migration have brought dramatic cultural and language diversity to the Midwest and rural South, areas of the United States that have not experienced this phenomenon in prior waves of immigration. According to the United States Census Bureau (2004), more than 500 ancestries were reported in the United States Census in 2000 and the number of immigrant children aged 5 to 20 living in the United States

was roughly 9 million in 2010, representing 22% of the school-aged population. Ruiz-de-Velasco et al. (2000) note that in 2000 one in 15 schoolchildren was born outside of the United States and one in seven spoke a language other than English at home. While there exists a large body of research on the experience of African American students (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Thompson, 2002); an increasing body of research on the experiences of Hispanic students, including Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Chicanos, Latinos (Noguera, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001); a moderate amount of research on Native American students (Hermes, 2005) and Inuit students (Crago, Annahatak, & Ningiuruvik, 1993); and a developing literature on the experiences of Asian students, including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Cambodian, Hmong, Vietnamese, and Khmer (Lee & Zhou, 2004; Lew, 2004). Despite the increasing body of literature focused on diverse ethnic groups, there remains a tendency to generalize to other members of the same ethnic group. For example, Lee (1994) asserts that stereotypes about model-minority Asian students confound nuanced differences within the ethnic group and hindered the ability of teachers to assist Asian students who failed to perform or meet the expected model-minority outcomes. Given the multicultural and multilingual diversity that is at the heart of any discussion of America's 21<sup>st</sup> century curriculum, a broad spectrum of research inquiries must continue to focus on language, culture, identity, and power issues within a sociopolitical curricular context (He, Phillion, Chan, & Xu, 2008).

**Accelerating technology.** Fuller (1938) coined the phrase *ephemeralization* to describe the trend of doing more with less in the fields of chemistry, health, and other areas of industrial development, highlighting the acceleration in human knowledge acquisition. Whether one views curriculum as a specified body of content or as a set of analytical tools and communication practices that characterize a field of study (Eisner, 1979), technology is being employed by

various factions in the curriculum debate to achieve its desired outcomes. As Means (2008) states, “. . . technology is employed by some as a tool for transmitting the approved curriculum and by others as a means of transforming both what gets taught and how it gets learned” (p. 123). Skinner (1958) was promoting the use of teaching machines in the 1950s, breaking content up into small chunks and shaping a student’s behavior so that the correct response was elicited by each prompt. While the technology utilized today has been transformed from Skinner’s original rolls of paper running through boxes with windows, behaviorists continue to use a drill and practice approach, focusing on practice opportunities in basic reading and mathematics skills. However, Horowitz (2002) notes that another group of curriculum designers, the constructivists, were far more interested in providing a rich learning and problem solving experience for students and viewed computers as a means for supporting children’s cognitive development. A third strand of technology application to educational environments had its roots in the artificial intelligence (AI) research being undertaken at Carnegie Mellon. Newell and Simon (1972) set out to model the process of problem solving by articulating the problem environment, the learner’s goals, and the alternative solution paths. Building on the work of Newell and Simon, Anderson and his colleagues at Carnegie Mellon (1995) incorporated cognitive psychology into their design, providing the transition from declarative knowledge (knowing that) to procedural knowledge (knowing how), developing intelligent tutors for a number of K-12 subject areas.

What has become apparent over time is that teachers typically integrate technology to their existing pedagogy, incorporating technology to suit their comfort level with its use (Becker, 2000; Cuban, 2001). As Means (2008) says, “Whether curriculum is viewed as a body of content or as a learning process, technology can either support the sanctioned curriculum or be a Trojan Horse introducing practices and ideas that will change it” (p. 135). Dede and Honan

(2005) note that learning technology researchers have found that there are strong similarities between the qualities required to scale up technology-supported educational innovations and successful business, including a client-focused approach, a product with true value, and strong customer support.

### **Groups competing for control of the 21<sup>st</sup> century American curriculum**

The word *curriculum* has its origins in the chariot tracks of Greece, literally, a course. In Latin *curriculum* is a racing chariot; *currere* is to run. Aristotle (2013) noted, even in ancient Athens, that there existed no single, ideal course of study:

At present opinion is divided about the subjects of education. All do not take the same view about what should be learned by the young, either with a view to plain goodness or with a view to the best life possible; nor is opinion clear whether education should be directed mainly to the understanding, or mainly to moral character. If we look at actual practice, the result is sadly confusing; it throws no light on the problem whether the proper studies to be followed are those which are useful in life, or those which make for goodness, or those which advance the bounds of knowledge. Each sort of study receives some votes in its favor. (p. 244)

The vigorous debate around who should write the 21<sup>st</sup> century curriculum, what elements the curriculum should contain, and whom is best situated to teach the curriculum evoke much of Aristotle's reflection on the purposes of education and what studies are most conducive to achieving those purposes. Kliebard (1995) asserts that there are four primary interest groups competing for control of the 21<sup>st</sup> century American curriculum (Appendix M)—scholar academics, learner centered theorists, social efficiency educators, and social reconstructionists—within a contextual environment containing three key components: international migration and

globalization, accelerating technology, and an economic landscape characterized by chaos theory. Kliebard's (1995) multiple-stream curricular model evokes comparison to Bolman & Deal's (2013) four-frame model of organizations, in that the issues confronting 21<sup>st</sup> century educational leadership are neither black nor white, but operate in the realm of multitudinous shades of gray. The influence of these four sectors over the course of history continues to occur simultaneously, with each group's influence on the various curricula—rhetorical curriculum (the pronouncements made by leading educators in writing and in speeches), in-use curriculum (the curriculum actually being taught in American classrooms), the received curriculum (what students are actually learning in class), and the hidden curriculum—ebbing and flowing in differing degrees over time. Giroux and Penna (1979) offer the following insight on the elusive hidden curriculum as it pertains, in this example, to the development of social studies curriculum, “. . . developers will have to understand the contradictions between the official curriculum, namely the explicit cognitive and affective goals of formal instruction and the ‘hidden curriculum,’ namely the unstated norms, values and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning in both the formal content as well as the social relations of school and classroom life” (p. 22). Apple and King (1983) assert that a hidden curriculum reinforces existing social inequalities by educating students according to their class and social status. The unequal distribution of cultural capital in a society mirrors a corresponding distribution of knowledge among its students. As Friere (2006) characterizes it:

Narration (with the teacher as narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse yet, it turns them into “containers,” into “receptacles” to be “filled” by the teacher. . . . Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating,

the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the “banking” concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits. . . . For apart from inquiry [sic.] apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry, human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other. (pp. 71-72)

As Larabee (1987) notes, “The American ideology has always had a strong liberal element, which elevates liberty and promotes free markets, and a strong democratic element, which elevates equality and promotes participatory politics. Since capitalist markets tend to produce inequality, and democratic politics tend to interfere with individual liberty, the two elements have been a chronic source of social tension in American history” (p. 489). Friere (2006) continues:

It follows logically from the banking notion of consciousness that the educator’s role is to regulate the way the world “enters into” the students. The teacher’s task is to organize a process which already occurs spontaneously to “fill” the students by making deposits of information which he or she considers to constitute true knowledge. And since people “receive” the world as passive entities, education should make them more passive still, and adapt them to the world. The educated individual is the adapted person, because she or he is a better “fit” for the world. Translated into practice, this concept is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors, whose tranquility rests on how well people fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it. (p. 76)

Decisions about curriculum have been around as long as the enterprise of teaching and learning, given that any educational program must contain content. As Flinders and Thornton (2009) note, curriculum decisions have historically been made by the elite, but, “. . . curriculum began to emerge as a field of scholarly inquiry and professional practice only toward the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a time that roughly coincided with the rise of public schooling for the masses” (p. 7). Up until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many of America’s children received their education in a one-room schoolhouse, where grades K-12 were often taught together. As Kliebard (1995) notes, “At the heart of America’s educational system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the teacher. It was the teacher, ill-trained, harassed and underpaid, often immature, who was expected to embody the standard virtues and community values and, at the same time, to mete out stern discipline to the unruly and dull-witted” (p. 1). With the rise of an impersonal and industrial America in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the traditional role that the school—and the individual teacher—played in integrating the young into society became more and more remote. Kliebard (1995) asserts, “With the change in the social role of the school came a change in the educational center of gravity; it shifted from the tangible presence of the teacher to the remote knowledge and values incarnate in the curriculum” (p. 1). And thus began the earnest struggle for America’s curricular content.

**Scholar academic.** Since the publication of a pivotal report by the faculty of Yale in 1828 that defended traditional education and humanistic values against what they perceived to be an assault by the natural sciences and practical subjects, America’s school children were historically tutored in Latin, Greek, mathematics, and *belles lettres*. However, with the far-reaching effects of the Enlightenment and the shift in focus to the scientific method, Yale President Jeremiah Day bemoaned the upending of what he believed to be the two main purposes



of education, namely, “. . . the discipline and the furniture of the mind” (Kliebard, 1995, p. 5).

With the spread of mass education in the United States in the 1890s, high school principals began to voice dissatisfaction with different colleges and the varying entrance requirements they demanded. In response to the outcry, the National Education Association’s Committee of Ten (1893) took up the matter in 1892 and found the matter far more complex than first imagined.

The Committee of Ten (Committee, hereafter) was comprised of the following individuals:

- Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., Chairman
- William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, Washington, D.C.
- James B. Angell, President of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- John Tetlow, head Master of the Girls’ High School and the Girls’ Latin School, Boston, Mass.
- James M. Tayylor, President of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Oscar D. Robinson, Principal of the High School, Albany, N. Y.
- James H. Baker, President of the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
- Richard H. Jesse, President of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- James C. Mackenzie, Head Master of the Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- Henry C. King, Professor in Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. (p. 4)

Eliot was a humanist in his approach to education, but also recognized the importance of employing reason to make informed inferences, championing the elective system at Harvard.

Eliot recognized that, “. . . the right selection of subjects along with the right way of teaching them could develop citizens of all classes endowed in accordance with the humanist ideal—with the power of reason, sensitivity to beauty, and high moral character” (Kliebard, 1995, p. 10).

The Committee's report highlighted important curricular knowledge within each major instructional specialty including Latin, Greek, English, "Other Modern Languages," Mathematics, and the Sciences (specifically, Physics, Chemistry and Astronomy). The Committee was explicitly asked to address tracking—an issue that remains hotly contested to this day—or course differentiation based upon anticipated postsecondary aspirations. The Committee recommended twelve years of education, with eight years of elementary education to be followed by four years of high school. The Committee's recommendations addressed an initial set of eleven questions, the aggregated crux of which concerned the extent to which a singular curriculum could prepare not only greater numbers of students for college or work, but more particularly, different types of students. The Committee responded unanimously and unequivocally that ". . . every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease" (p. 17).

With the passage of *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001: Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* and today's intense push for standardized testing, teaching a specified curriculum or "teaching to the test" continues to be ardently debated.

Hirsch (1987) argues for a traditional curriculum, asserting that there is a body of knowledge that every American must possess to take part in the cultural life of the country. Quite literally, Hirsch views this traditional curriculum as the coin of the realm, without which one finds oneself disenfranchised on many levels. Hirsch believes that the American school curriculum is fragmented both horizontally and vertically—with clear inconsistencies within and across subject areas—and that the root cause for the fragmentation may be seen in the broader comparison of

two decisive moments in American education: the *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies* (1893) and the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (1918). The Committee of Ten report recommended a traditional curriculum, comprised of humanistic offerings and a new emphasis to the natural sciences. The Cardinal Principles, in stark contrast to the 1893 report, rejected the earlier focus on subject matter, choosing instead to stress the seven fundamental aims of education in a democracy:

1. Health
2. Command of fundamental processes
3. Worthy home membership
4. Vocation
5. Citizenship
6. Worthy use of leisure
7. Ethical character. (Hirsch, 1987, p. 118)

The shift in focus from subject matter to social adjustment had its origins in, “. . . European romanticism and American pragmatism as amalgamated in the educational philosophy of John Dewey. . . . Rousseau and Wordsworth contributed an emphasis on the development of the whole child as a unique individual, under the theory that the infant has an inborn, instinctive tendency to follow its own proper development” (p. 118). The 1918 report incorporated this European perspective and added Dewey’s pragmatic emphasis on direct social utility as an educational goal. Hirsch (1987) argues that the decline of American literacy and the fragmentation of the American school curriculum have been caused primarily by the ever growing dominance of romantic formalism in educational theory, erroneously placing blame on social changes, “. . . rather than on faulty theories promulgated in our schools of education and accepted by

educational policy makers” (p. 110). While one could argue that the Committee of Ten and its tenacious loyalty to traditional curriculum symbolizes the failure of the schools to react to massive social change, another school of thought holds that a traditional curriculum is necessary and appropriate for college-bound students, imbuing them with the cultural literacy to successfully navigate and capitalize on their college experience. As Beyer and Johnson (2014) note, the Constitution of the United States does not provide for a free public education for its citizens, deferring on this question to the individual states in the language of the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution. Consequently, as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s War on Poverty, the federal government chose to influence public primary education through legal action, passing the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA) in 1965 with the goal of equalizing educational opportunities for disadvantaged children and youth, particularly within lower SES groups. With the passage of *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001: Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*, one may observe the “expansion of services and opportunities and the attempts by the federal government to provide equal educational opportunities for all children” (Beyer & Johnson, 2014, p. 2). Often referred to by its short title, the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* has social justice at the heart of its core objectives, namely “To close the achievement gap with accountability, flexibility, and choice, so that no child is left behind” (NCLB, 2001), harkening back to the Committee of Ten’s non-negotiable belief in a liberal education for all.

**Learner centered.** As Jackson (1990) notes, the cultural significance of schooling lies in the humdrum, trivial events that comprise the lion’s share of a child’s nearly 7,000 classroom hours during the elementary school years. Jackson argues that the classroom, like the church, is a highly stable environment, even in so far as the odors of the classroom are fairly standardized: “Schools may use different brands of wax and cleaning fluid, but they all seem to contain similar

ingredient, a sort of universal smell which creates an aromatic background that permeates the entire building. Added to this, in each classroom, is the slightly acrid scent of chalk dust and the faint hint of fresh wood from the pencil shavings. . . . Behind the same old desks sit the same old students, in front of the familiar blackboard stands the familiar teacher” (p. 7). Given that schooling is compulsory, like prisons and mental hospitals, students are in a very real sense, prisoners. Montessori (2009) asserts that the principle of slavery still pervades pedagogy, and, therefore, pervades the school: “I need only give one proof—the stationary desks and chairs . . . . These desks are constructed in such a way as to render the child visible in all his immobility. . . . The development of these scientific benches means that the pupils were subjected to a régime, which, even though they were born strong and straight, made it possible for them to become humpbacked!” (pp. 28-29). Jackson (1990) observes that students must sit in assigned seats in very close proximity to other people for protracted periods of time, must ask permission to get out of their seats, and must learn to successfully navigate crowds, praise, and power. “Learning to live in a classroom involves, among other things, learning to live in a crowd. . . . Adaptation to school life requires the student to become used to living under the constant condition of having his words and deeds evaluated by others. . . . School is also a place in which the division between the weak and the powerful is clearly drawn” (p. 10). The key message of a school’s hidden curriculum is essentially, like in prisons, good behavior pays off. As Jackson (1990) notes, “. . . many features of classroom life call for patience, at best, and resignation, at worst. . . . But the personal qualities that play a role in intellectual mastery are very different from those that characterize the Company Man. Curiosity, as an instance, that most fundamental of all scholarly traits, is of little value in responding to the demands of conformity” (p. 36). Montessori (2009) argues that a teacher’s use of prizes and punishments is

akin to being the bench of the soul, the instrument of slavery for the spirit: “. . . he who accomplishes a truly human work, he who does something really great and victorious, is never spurred to his task by those trifling attractions called by the name of ‘prizes,’ nor by the fear of those petty ills which we call ‘punishments.’ All human victories, all human progress, stand upon the inner force” (p. 32).

John Dewey came to the University of Chicago at the urging of James Hayden Tufts, a colleague at the University of Michigan who joined the Chicago faculty in 1892. Appointed to head the Department of Philosophy and administer the School of Education, Dewey published several books and articles on education and philosophy. *The School and Society* (1899) became a classic among progressive educators. Trained as a philosopher at Johns Hopkins, Dewey was intrigued by the relationship between the individual and society. Firmly committed to a democratic outlook, he considered the school a laboratory to test his notion that education could integrate learning with experience. The University Elementary School or Laboratory School established by Dewey grew quickly. Parents were attracted by a curriculum that emphasized the child instead of the subject matter, where the learning process was at least as important as what was learned, and where curiosity was encouraged (The University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues, 2015). By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Dewey’s experiment in education had captured the attention of teachers at every level of the teaching system; its radically new teaching practices represented a turning point, not only for formal education, but also for larger views of childhood learning. Dr. A. B. Hinsdale (1900) of the National Council of Education writes:

In the field of pure pedagogy, one of the most noteworthy books of the year is also one of the smallest, Professor John Dewey’s “The School and Society.” Probably there is no deep-thinking student of education who has not at times been oppressed by the feeling

that the training in our schools is too remote from the life that the children will afterward lead, or who has not asked himself the question how the interval may be narrowed. . . .

Professor Dewey has not only given the subject much study, but he has done two things in addition, first, organized a school for the express purpose of trying what may be done in this direction, and, second, stating in this book the principles on which, as he sees it, the problem must be solved. More eyes are now fixed upon the University Elementary School at Chicago than upon any other elementary school in the country and probably in the world—eyes watching to see the outcome of the interesting experiment. (p. 160)

John Dewey forcefully argues in *My Pedagogic Creed* (1897, 2009) that the rote recitation of traditional curriculum is so far in the distant past that it becomes dead and inert to a young learner. The Western canon as advocated by Eliot and colleagues is remote and inaccessible according to Dewey; moreover, Dewey asserts that it has very little relevance to the life of the student. According to Dewey (2009), “The true center of correlation on the school subjects is not science, nor literature, nor history, nor geography, but the child’s own activities” (p. 37).

The position that Dewey champions stands in direct opposition to Eliot’s and the Committee of Ten’s perspective and is a relevant today as it was 100 years ago. High-stakes testing and the push for standards are predicated on a fixed body of knowledge, rather than on the actual learning style of children. Dewey (2009) continues:

To prepare him for the future life means to given him command of himself; it means so to train him that he will have the full and ready use of all his capacities that his eye and ear and hand may be tools ready to command, that his judgment may be capable of grasping the conditions under which it has to work, and the executive forces be trained to act economically and efficiently. It is impossible to reach this sort of adjustment save as

constant regards it had to the individual's own powers, tastes, and interests—that is, as education is continually converted into psychological terms. (p. 35)

Whereas the Committee of Ten and like-minded academicians view the disciplines as didactic and inviolable, Dewey argues that knowledge is constructed and reconstructed from the learner's vantage point through experience and interaction with the social environment. The scholar academic school of thought firmly believes that the purpose of education is to preserve and extend the discipline, develop the literacy of the discipline in society, and acculturate children into critical dimensions of the larger culture. By contrast, learner centered educators like Dewey argue that the purpose of schooling is the development and growth of the student, teachers, and other co-learners through stimulating authentic experiences in which learners and teachers may actively engage.

In today's atmosphere of teaching to the test and high-stakes testing, Noddings (2009) raises the compelling notion that, "To be literate today . . . is different from being literate in the days of Charlemagne (who could read but not write) or in colonial America, where people did not need the forms of visual literacy required by present day media" (p. 426). Noddings affirms the seven Cardinal Principles (1918) and would add an eighth to aims-talk: happiness. Curriculum discussions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, are dominated by talk of standards predicated on economically competitive considerations. This monolithic focus on economic standing vis-à-vis the rest of the world has its roots in the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk*, in which the American school system was indicted for "a rising tide of mediocrity," ushering in the era of standards-based testing. Noddings (2009) takes issue with what she sees as the two underlying aims continuing to drive high-stakes testing: 1) keeping the United States economically strong, and; 2) giving every child an opportunity to do well financially. "People



want to be happy and . . . we would expect to find happiness included as an aim of education. Its failure to appear among the aims usually stated might be a sign that Western society is still mired in a form of Puritanism. . . .” (Noddings, 2009, p. 425). While Dewey idealized scientific inquiry as a general model of reflective thinking, the sort of science-applied-to-education that was to emerge had as its key aim exact measurement and precise standards in the interest of maintaining a predictable and orderly world.

**Social efficiency.** With the dawn of the Industrial Revolution in the 1890s came radical social change, urbanization, and a drastically altered view of the role of schooling in American society. The growth of journalism at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the wide range of magazines and newspapers that became available from Pulitzer and Hearst, accompanied by the rapid expansion of railroads, transformed the United States from a patchwork of small isolated communities into an industrial nation. Kliebard (1995) argues that as cities became urbanized, schools were no longer the direct instruments of a unified community but, rather, became, “. . . a critical mediating institution between the family and a puzzling and impersonal social order, an institution through which the norms and ways of surviving in the new industrial society would be conveyed” (p. 1). Cities like Chicago reached a million in population by 1900 due in large part to the arrival of 14 million immigrants in the last four decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Coupled with the panic of 1893 and the subsequent economic depression, as well as the impending millennium, the question of what America’s children should be learning in school was a topic of impassioned deliberation. The curriculum in schools in the United States at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was represented by the doctrine of mental discipline, where the mind was quite literally viewed as a muscle and, like other of the body’s muscle, could be made stronger through vigorous use. What should be taught and how it should be taught was addressed through the analogy of mind and

body. Given the 19<sup>th</sup> century's interest in the natural world, it was believed that there existed a natural order to the curriculum and that it was the job of educators to engage all mental muscles, remaining vigilant to imbalances in the curriculum that might neglect any faculty, thus causing atrophy of that particular muscle. The mind-as-muscle approach to schooling was conducive to monotonous drill-and-practice, harsh discipline, and mindless verbatim recitation.

Bobbitt (1918), a professor of educational administration at the University of Chicago, was instrumental in the opening years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in establishing curriculum as a field of specialization within the discipline of education. Bobbitt is best known for his works *The Curriculum* (1918) and *How to Make a Curriculum* (1924), in which he developed a theory of curriculum predicated on the principles of scientific management, pioneered by Frederick Winslow Taylor (1911). Scientific management, also called Taylorism, was a management theory that analyzed and synthesized workflows with the primary objective of improving economic efficiency, particularly labor productivity, through the notion of a task. Scientific management dictates that each worker should be given a narrowly defined production assignment that he was to perform at a specific rate using specified procedures. Bobbitt (1924) adapted Taylor's work to develop his own procedures for curriculum planning, which he referred to as job analysis. Job analysis began with the identification of the specific activities that adults undertook in fulfilling their occupational, citizenship, family, and other social roles. The resulting activities resulted in the objectives of the curriculum. The curriculum itself, Bobbitt noted, was comprised of the school experiences that educators constructed to enable children to attain these objectives. Some of these objectives, according to Bobbitt, were general in nature and represented the knowledge that all children needed to prepare for their responsibilities as adult citizens. Such an education, he maintained, would provide students with the social

consciousness necessary to act together for the common good. Other objectives, however, were more specific and constituted the skills that students needed to prepare for the array of specialized occupations that adults held in industrial society. The curriculum that Bobbitt advocated included elements of general education for all youth, but was for the most part differentiated into a number of very specialized vocational tracks. Influenced no doubt by the then-popular mental testing movement, Bobbitt believed that schools should assign children to these specialized curricular tracks, on the basis of assessments of their intellectual abilities, which would put them in good stead for their ultimate destinies in life.

Bobbitt arrived in Los Angeles in 1922 for an experiment in "curriculum-making" and his experience in Los Angeles provided the material for his most important work, *How to Make a Curriculum* (1924). As Bobbitt (1923) described it during his stay in Los Angeles, "Education is primarily of interest to adulthood, not to childhood. We simply utilize childhood as the time of preparing for the fifty years of adulthood" (p. 1). Preparation was to be defined by finding out what adults actually do and then using the schools to train students to do those things. While Bobbitt's approach to curriculum was utilitarian, he could not be held up as an exemplar of the progressive education movement that followed on the heels of his scientific management approach to the curriculum. Dewey (1909) argued that, ". . . the constant impression that nothing is worth doing in itself, but only as a preparation for something else, which in turn is only getting ready for some genuinely serious end beyond . . . (would result in a) loss of moral power" (pp. 25-26). Bobbitt's approach, however, is representative of the essentially conservative nature of Progressivism generally and of much of progressive education. As Tyack (1974) asserts, "Not all . . . agreed . . . with . . . (an) open avowal of class-based education . . . but the underlying principle of differentiating schooling to meet the needs of different classes of pupils almost all

would have accepted" (p. 191). The Los Angeles school system in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century provides an interesting case study. By 1920, the political system and the public school system of Los Angeles were among the most Progressive in the nation. In 1907, the Lincoln-Roosevelt League was formed in Los Angeles with the objective, as Starr (1985) says, of putting, “. . . independent, honest men into state and local office . . . (to work toward) the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. . . regulation of public utilities; the conservation of forests; the outlawing of child labor, prostitution, and gambling; hospital and prison reform; women's suffrage and a minimum wage law for working women; the direct election of United States senators; the systemization of public finance; charter reform; public transportation . . . (and) the *sine qua non* of any reform program, curbing the Southern Pacific . . . what one termed the 'constructive destruction of the Southern Pacific machine'" (p. 236). The parallels between the world in which Bobbitt came of age and today are striking. One could reasonably argue that the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is manifesting similar social upheaval, including tremendous economic difficulty, the further breakdown of the family, and the secularization and Balkanization of American society. The impetus for social efficiency likely rings true once again for social efficiency advocates. As Kliebard (1995) notes, the waning of the influence of family and church required the school to be restructured to take up the slack, the scope of the curriculum needed to be broadened beyond the disciplines to include the full scope of life activities enumerated in the Cardinal Principles, and the content of the curriculum had to be altered so that a, “. . . taut connection could be maintained between what was taught in school and the adult activities that one would later be called upon to perform” (p. 77).

While locally initiated curriculum change continued to gain momentum in the 1930s, the most ambitious of the efforts is characterized in the Eight-Year Study fielded by the Progressive

Education Association (PEA). Like the Committee of Ten report nearly 40 years before, PEA members were exceedingly frustrated with the imposition of entrance requirements by the colleges, and, from their perspective, believed that these entrance requirements were the prop that held up the traditional academic disciplines, dominating the high school curriculum. PEA proponents argued vehemently that the colleges were the principal impediment to curricular reform at the secondary level. With grants from the Carnegie Foundation and the General Education Board, a plan was developed in 1932 whereby colleges would accept students from a select group of secondary schools without reference to the particular disciplines in which they had studied and tested. The concept was to free the secondary schools in the test group from the shackles of college domination and then to prove that the graduates of these “unshackled schools” were of equal or greater ability than students who had completed a traditional college-entrance protocol. The PEA tapped Ralph Tyler from the Bureau of Education Research at Ohio State University to head the study. Tyler had earned his doctorate in 1934 at the University of Chicago, where the study of activity analysis had a firm foundation (Kliebard, 1995, p. 183).

The Progressive movement had lost a good deal of its momentum by the late 1940s. The subsequent work of Ralph W. Tyler (1949) continues to inform curriculum theory and practice. Tyler shared Bobbitt's emphasis on rationality and relative simplicity. Like Bobbitt, Tyler emphasized the formulation of behavioral objectives. Since the real purpose of education is to bring about significant changes in the students' pattern of behavior, it becomes important to recognize that any statements of objectives of the school should be a statement of changes to take place in the students (Tyler, 1949, p. 44). Tyler headed the evaluation staff of the Eight-Year Study (1933–1941)—a national program involving 30 secondary schools and 300 colleges and universities—that addressed narrowness and rigidity in high school curricula. Tyler first gained

prominence in 1938 when he was lured by Robert Maynard Hutchins from Ohio State University to the University of Chicago. In 1953, Tyler became the first director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. A decade after completing his work with the Eight-Year Study, Tyler formalized his thoughts on viewing, analyzing, and interpreting the curriculum and instructional program of an educational institution in *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949). In this work Tyler (1949) articulates a deceptively simple structure for delivering and evaluating instruction consisting of four parts that became known as the Tyler Rationale:

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? (p. 1).

Social efficiency advocates believe that the purpose of education is the efficient transfer of knowledge and skills, the development of practical and utilitarian skills in preparation for work as an adult, developing differentiated knowledge and skills to populate different roles in society, and a keen focus on the efficient administration of school, rather than on determining what is taught. With the primary purpose of education being the preparation to become an adult, social efficiency advocates created a scientific curriculum utilizing activity analysis: As with other occupations, one simply had to analyze the particular activities that defined the role and then place these in relationship to the ideals that would control these activities. The training involved in performing the activities well would then become the curriculum (Kliebard, 2009, p. 52). This perspective is radically different from the humanists and the learner centered educators. Social efficiency proponents believe that knowledge provides the capacity to act and privileges the

scientific method as the means for developing and valuing knowledge. Although only a few of the “unshackled schools” made any meaningful changes to their traditional academic programs, a handful of these schools under the general rubric of a core curriculum, undertook experimentation with directly functional courses that were being justified in terms of the needs and interests of the students involved. With similar social efficiency overtones, community colleges have responded to the economic collapse of 2008 with utilitarian courses of study for students to try and provide a relevant set of employable skills for the work world. Like the social efficiency advocates of the 1940s, trimming deadwood off the traditional academic curriculum has become a rallying cry, casting off those inert, remote subjects in favor of subjects that bear a direct relationship to vocational pursuits. Kliebard (1995) says, “Under the aegis of the Eight-Year Study, at least some schools were able not only to introduce directly functional subjects like Personal Development and Immediate Social-Personal Relationships to the existing curricula, they made them the core of the curriculum” (pp. 187-188). Similarly, the framers of the Eight-Year Study left their imprimatur on the stating of objectives in behavioral terms as the initial step in the curriculum planning process, a profound change from the way both humanists and learner centered educators approached curricular discussions.

**Social reconstructionist.** With the pervasive and celebrated work of Charles Darwin, *Origin of Species* published in 1859, largely accepted as dogma by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Lester Frank Ward’s 1883 *Dynamic Sociology* offered a drastically different perspective. Ward took nearly an antipodal position to Herbert Spencer, who had adapted Darwin’s precepts to the field of sociology. Spencer had enjoyed a remarkably successful lecture tour throughout the United States in 1882 and had garnered high-profile adherents, including Yale’s president William Graham Sumner. Spencer asserted that survival of the fittest and natural selection not only

applied as a law in the jungle, but also to civilization: the unequal distribution of wealth and power was simply evidence of the law's validity. Ward, on the other hand, believed that the laissez-faire position that Spencer and the Social Darwinists espoused was a corruption of Darwinian theory, namely that, ". . . human beings had developed the power to intervene intelligently in whatever were the blind forces of nature, and in that power lay the course of social progress" (Kliebard, 1995, p. 21). Ward employed the metaphor of legacy in connection with education, arguing in *Dynamic Sociology* that social inequality was unequivocally the product of a maldistribution of the social inheritance. Like the humanists and learner centered advocates, Ward believed in the power of human intelligence and that any differences noted in class or gender were the result of said maldistribution. Unlike Eliot, however, Ward envisioned education as the most direct and potent instrument of social progress. Many educators and non-educators alike believe that many of today's 21<sup>st</sup> century ills—whether the nefarious achievement gap, increasing socioeconomic disparity in resources and access to social networks, or the continuing gender gap in the work world—are most appropriately addressed by and in schools. Counts (1932/1978) says:

Ordinary men and women crave a tangible purpose towards which to strive and which lends richness and dignity and meaning to life. I would consequently like to see our profession come to grips with the problem of creating a tradition that has roots in American soil, is in harmony with the spirit of the age, recognizes the facts of industrialism, appeals to the most profound impulses of our people, and takes into account the emergence of a world society. (p. 36)

What is notable is that Counts wrote these words in 1932, encouraging the field of education to "deliberately reach for power and then make the most of their conquest" in pursuit of social



justice. Social reconstructionists assert that knowledge is socially constructed, culturally mediated, and historically situated. Additionally, knowledge is valuable as determined by the discourse of the dominant culture. Consequently, Ward, Counts, and their allies believe that the purpose of education is to restructure society in a fashion that ameliorates injustice and inequity, with teachers bearing a duty to facilitate the process. Artis (1993) asserts that:

During the past century, our public educational system has evolved from one that served to provide schooling for a very few to one that works very hard to keep all students in school. On the surface, the evolution of our educational institutions appears to support the expansions of the principles of democracy.

Unfortunately, a deeper review of the role assumed by our educational institutions reveals a very different result: Our schools have assumed the role of selectors and sorters of our youth. The advent of the comprehensive high school designed to offer something for everyone as a means of keeping more and more students in school was also the beginning of a conscious curricular and instructional approach based on the tracking of students into certain social and economic slots. (p. 113)

Freire (2009) notes that it is the reality which mediates men, and the perception of that reality held by educators, that one must address to determine the content of education, terming this notion the people's "thematic universe," the complex of their generative themes, wherein the dialogue of education becomes the practice of freedom (p. 151). Apple (2009) argues that educational institutions provide one of the major mechanisms through which power is maintained and challenged and that the accountability system, ". . . interrupts the ways of knowing that are powerful in the cultures and languages of a diverse student population, making it even more difficult to connect the curriculum to students' lived realities" (p. 30). According to

Ladson-Billings and Brown (2009), “. . . curricula are not static, neutral documents of fact but rather are dynamic, ideological, cultural artifacts . . . According to Woodson (1933/2000) the extant curriculum of his time ensured that members of the dominant group reveled in its cultural heritage while subordinate group members were regularly reminded that they were outsiders to the development of civilization, scholarship, and culture” (p. 153). Consequently, the 21<sup>st</sup> century curriculum is a dynamic interplay between experiences of students, teachers, parents, administrators, policymakers, and other stakeholders; content knowledge and pedagogical premises and practices; and cultural, linguistic, sociopolitical, and geographical forces (Fang He, et al., 2009, p. 223). Beard & Beard (1939) argue that:

As in physical nature the flash of lightening always precedes the roll of thunder, so in human affairs the flame of thought has always gone before a transformation in the social arrangements of mankind. . . . Whenever a great system of thought, called a philosophy, got down into the dusty way of life as a dynamic force—and such systems often had—the intrusion and drive were due, certainly in part, to the fact that the system, in essentials, expressed or was translated into current proverbs and maxims sometimes of hoary age . . . . In the effulgence of the golden glow, the most general system of American thought, upon which professors and nearly everybody else drew for inspiration, was that of smooth and ready acceptance of the prevailing order. . . While all went well with the best of systems, neither business men nor politicians nor practitioners of any type paid much attention to the logic-chopping and hair-splitting of professors occupied in refining the maxims of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Boehm-Bawerk, and John Bates Clark. . . . The situation changed, however, after the depression spread desolation all around. Then economic and political practitioners began to search feverishly for explanations of the

plight into which they had fallen and to wonder how they could get out of it. Then the keepers of the higher learning were remembered and the function of systematic thinking received more consideration than had been the case in the days of automatic prosperity. (pp. 860-863)

Educational leaders will find little comfort in the one issue with which they will be continuously confronted now and in the future: change. The dramatically shifting demographic composition of the United States, in which the majority of citizens will be of non-Western European extraction within the next 20 years, the remarkable unfolding of technological capabilities that are variously accessible and distributed among Americans, and the interconnected web of world-wide economic systems and their precipitous ebbs and flows, all contribute to the anxiety with which our educational institutions will have to live and work, captured by Kirsch, et al. (2007):

Our nation is in the midst of a perfect storm—the result of the confluence of three powerful forces—that is having a considerable impact on our country. If we maintain our present policies, it is very likely that we will continue to grow apart, with greater inequality in wages and wealth, and increasing social and political polarization. If, however, we recognize the power of these forces as they interact over the years—and we change course accordingly—then we have an opportunity to reclaim the American dream in which each of us has a fair chance at sharing in any future prosperity. (p. 3)

Marx (2006) asserts that educational leaders can make nimble and necessary course corrections by reorienting their thinking to be highly strategic: “Unless they are constantly scanning the environment, educators will soon find themselves isolated. . . . Getting a bead on . . . forces that are sweeping across the landscape is essential. Understanding these forces is the key to

unlocking rigidity and reshaping our schools, colleges, and other institutions for the future” (p.

4). Marcellino (2012) notes that the internet and social media have captured and widely broadcast civic activism around the world over the past couple of years, whether it be the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt against autocratic leaders, the riots in London over tuition increases, or the sit-ins in Zuccatti Park in New York City against Wall Street’s excesses and the lack of employment opportunities. There is every reason to anticipate that this trend will continue and likely expand. Knudson (2009) notes that, “Every morning, diverse groups of American students—rich and poor, black and white, rural and urban, gay and straight—begin the school day by rising, facing the flag, and pledging allegiance to a country that claims to be indivisible, ensuring liberty and justice for all” (para 1). While students learn about the core democratic values of equality and justice, Knudson (2009) continues, “We need not look further than the very system that champions these tenets of social justice, the American education system, to recognize that disparate inequalities not only exist, but continue to be perpetuated” (para 1). Leaders will find traditional command-and-control style edicts ineffective in imbuing the ever more diverse school environment with a culture of social justice. Marshall and Oliva (2010) note that, “The huge shifts in cultural understandings and societal and school expectations will happen only with the shared values, coalitions, networking, and mutual support that come with the power of enlarging groups of people in social movements, which results in the building of social capital and, eventually, political power” (p. 14). The type of collaborative leadership Marshall and Oliva characterize may be more natural to the women now rising up into the top ranks of educational leadership. As Grogan (2008) notes:

U.S. women have a history of leading in ways that have not always been labeled “leadership”. . . . Like the educational leaders of today, early North American women

managed human and material resources so that the family enterprise could be successful.

This kind of leadership is not about the hero who risks all in the name of some ideal. It is a much more down-to-earth, messy business that involves navigating constantly changing circumstances and dealing with external forces over which individuals have little control.

(p. 381)

It may well be that new educational leaders emerging from the margins are better suited to and more comfortable with change, having had to employ creative problem solving and self-advocacy skills to gain a seat at the table. Beyer (2012) asserts that to create a socially just society requires, “. . . change and sustainability. It requires changes in policies, economic support, educational expectations, and a development of shared cultural values, beliefs, and norms. It also requires leadership directed toward not only change, but also toward sustainability to ensure it becomes the norm of society” (p. 8).

Graham (1984), then dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, argued that American education needs both commonality and flexibility. One may conceive of the curriculum as possessing two complementary parts, the extensive curriculum and the intensive curriculum. The composition of the extensive curriculum may be thought of as traditional literate knowledge—the informational fragments, attitudes, and assumptions that literate Americans share—cultural literacy. As Hirsch (1987) says, “. . . this curriculum should be taught not just as a series of terms, or list of words, but as a vivid system of shared associations. The name John Brown should evoke in children’s minds not just a simple identifying definition but a whole network of lively traits, the traditionally known facts and values” (p. 127). To understand the full text of Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Farewell Address and the historical circumstances that gave rise to it, for example, students have to know who Eisenhower was and

what a farewell address is in the American tradition. The intensive curriculum is equally essential. Intensive study encourages a fully developed understanding of a subject, making one's knowledge of it integrated and coherent and coincides with Dewey's recommendation that children should be deeply engaged with a small number of typical concrete instances (Hirsch, 1987).

Pinar & Bowers (1992) note that fundamental problems plague the contemporary effort to study the politics of the curriculum, including gender, race, and culture; they are embedded in the modes of cognition as well as the themes and slogans of critical scholarship. Nonetheless, the effort to understand the curriculum as a political text is one of the great achievements of the curriculum field since the 1970s, considering that the field was judged as moribund, dead, and arrested by Joseph Schwab (1970). McCarthy et al. (2003) assert that the most challenging task confronting educators in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century is to address the radical reconfiguration and cultural rearticulation now taking place in educational and social life, arguing that these developments are foregrounded and driven by the logics of globalization, the intensification of migration, the heightened effects of electronic media, the proliferation of images, and the everyday work of the imagination. "All these developments have shifted the commonly taken-for-granted stabilities of social constructs such as 'culture,' 'identity,' 'race,' 'nation,' 'state,' and so forth. The dominant response to proliferation of difference and multiplicity is to suppress the implications for rethinking the ethical, political, and epistemological basis of education by imposing a program of hegemony" (McCarthy, et al., 2003, p. 462). The authors assert that this hegemonic approach constitutes a top-down effort that attempts to hold the Eurocentric core of the curriculum in place, inoculating it by simply adding on selective, nonconflictual items from the culture and experiences of minority and subaltern groups. Whether one is more of the

humanistic persuasion like Graham and Hirsch, arguing for a core cultural literacy requisite for all Americans if they are to participate in our democratic process or more of the ilk of Pinar, Apple, and McCarthy, one may appreciate how the continuing struggle over the curriculum in secondary schools—the pipeline to American colleges and universities—has likely fomented a somewhat concurrent and responsive change in university presidential offices.

While Americans are working harder than ever, collectively, citizens seem to be losing ground. “As millions of Americans arrive at their place of employment, the unfortunate reality is that many see their work environment not as an opportunity, but as a place of mundane misery” (Adams et al., 2010, p. 248). According to Bolman and Deal (2011), our spiritual malaise and longing for something more need to be filled with spirit and faith. *Soul*, the bedrock sense of identity and meaning, coupled with *spirit*, which encompasses belief, hope, and inspired action, a transcendent universal sense of oneness, are the gifts that leaders with soul bring to organizations. As Fox (1994) writes:

Life and livelihood ought not to be separated but to flow from the same source, which is Spirit, for both life and livelihood are about Spirit. Spirit means life, and both life and livelihood are about living in depth, living with meaning, purpose, joy, and a sense of contribution to the greater community. A spirituality of work is about bringing life and livelihood back together again. And spirit with them. (pp. 1-2)

Through the study of key presidential policy initiatives since 1950 at Harvard (from Charles William Eliot, term of office: 1869-1909 to Drew Gilpin Faust, term of office: 2007-present), Dartmouth (from William Jewett Tucker, term of office: 1893-1909 to Philip J. Hanlon, term of office: 2013-present), and the University of Chicago (from William Rainey Harper, term of office: 1891-1906 to Robert J. Zimmer, term of office: 2006-present), the study seeks to

discern patterns of the effectiveness or futility of presidential leadership in its varied forms to open historically closed social networks at American institutions of higher education in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries and the rationale for doing so. In financial parlance, have the presidents of the three elite institutions in this study served as leading or lagging indicators for the field? Have they, through compassionate and just leadership, engendered belief, hope, and inspired action, a transcendent universal sense of oneness within their respective campus communities?



### Chapter 3: Methodology

I have selected a qualitative analytic methodology to address my inquiry. According to Naugle (2002), Kant's inaugural usage of the concept "worldview" (*Weltanschauung*) in its most straightforward definition, "refers to a person's interpretation of reality" or "basic view of life" (p. 260). The study utilizes a constructivist worldview, striving to achieve a better understanding of the efficacy of presidential leadership and its positive or deleterious effect on expanding access to social networks at American institutions of higher education in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, based upon how a leader's vision or worldview informs outcomes. Flexner posits that, "A university, like all other human institutions—like church, like governments, like philanthropic organizations—is not outside, but inside the general social fabric of a given era. . . . It is . . . an expression of an age, as well as an influence operating upon both present and future" (Flexner, 1994/1930, p. 3).

Creswell (2009) notes that social constructivists trace their ideas back to Mannheim, with an emphasis on the cultural and social causes of belief (1936). The social constructivist worldview is well suited to the study of how collegiate presidential leadership since the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has enhanced or detracted from opportunities for students within the campus community to acquire strategic capital. Constructivism asserts that meaning making is negotiated socially and historically; it is not simply imprinted on individuals, but is formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism), through historical and cultural norms, in the ways of being within an organization or characteristics and behavior of groups who

occupy a particular culture (Guba & Lincoln, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Manning, 1999, 2000).

To restate the research question for this study: How has presidential leadership since 1950 enhanced access through socially structured opportunities at Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago, opening what have been historically closed social networks and thereby strategically altering their respective campus communities? By engaging a constructivist approach, this study will triangulate using historiographic methods, ethnographic content analysis, and grounded theory to gain a deeper understanding of how presidential leadership in its varied forms and across time has moved the acquisition of strategic capital in a forward direction. Historian Charles Beard characterized the work of historians as, “we hold a damn dim candle over a damn dark abyss” (cited in Kaestle, 1988, p. 61). Human understanding and, therefore, one’s interpretation of history is relativistic and changeable, as is meaning making. Social truths are mutable and change over time. Neustadt and May (1986) posit that time should be viewed “as a stream” and that one should “imagine the future as it may be when it becomes the past” (p. 22). Through the use of institutional histories (biased though they may be in celebrating the institution and expunging unpleasant or unflattering events)—including the purposes of its founding, circumstance of its chartering, and historical examination of its rituals and traditions, biographies, primary and secondary sources, and internal and external criticism, this study seeks to, “acknowledge and appreciate that much of current American culture and society is based on actions and events in the past. Social institutions, including colleges and universities, mirror those cultural values and histories” (Stage & Manning, 2003).

## **Historiography**

Andrews (2008) defines historiography as the writing of history as opposed to history itself, noting that, “In this sense, historiography involves consideration of the broader cultural, social, economic, and political forces that shape historical writers and their writing” (p. 400). Historiographic research has involved the use of a range of methods, including the use of archived material and written historical accounts. “The distinguishing factor, however, in historiographers’ uses of these sources is a critical comparison and critical perspective on their origins, uses, and biases” (Andrews, 2008, p. 400). Recognizing that my research question may evolve over the course of the study, as well as the fact that unlike quantitative studies, there is no statistical level of significance that can be used to dismiss or confirm an historical interpretation, I will also utilize document analysis to critique generalizations and unfounded assumptions. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue, there is hardly an activity in modern life that does not leave some documentary trail. According to Stage and Manning (2003), “The same can be said for work in higher education and with college students. Memos, e-mail, manuals, flyers, handbooks, web sites, evaluations, incident reports, annual reports, accreditation reports . . . documents are a way of institutional life” (p. 83). Through the use of document analysis, I will be able to triangulate and address discrepancies in the historical data being collected from Harvard’s, Dartmouth’s, and the University of Chicago’s online libraries and archives, as well as be able to identify analytical categories or incipient narrative themes. The study’s initial data collection will be guided by the research question, educated hunches, and emerging findings, systematic but also allowing for serendipitous discovery (Merriam, 1998). Love and Yousey (2001) suggest that at least two sampling techniques be employed: 1) the first is purposive sampling, which means identifying documents that make conceptual sense for including in the study, and; 2) the

other recommended strategy is to analyze documents until the point of data or analytical saturation. Once historical documents have been collected, catalogued, contextualized, and assessed for their respective degree of authenticity, a priori analytic/thematic categories (e.g., primary versus secondary documents) will be identified and then coded by, “the process of breaking down, classifying, comparing, and conceptualizing the data contained in the documents” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The taxonomy of codes in this study, as articulated in Appendix N, are comprised of words and phrases, which have been assigned letters or numbers in an inductive process that involves identifying, “concepts relevant to the data rather than to apply a set of pre-established rules” (Dey, 1993, p. 58). Altheide (1987) noted that, “although categories and ‘variables’ initially guide the study, others are allowed and expected to emerge throughout the study” (p. 68).

### **Ethnographic Content Analysis**

This study will use an ethnographic content analysis, which is focused more on the processes through which documents depict the reality and culture of the group in question, rather than whether such documents contain true or false statements, are accurate or inaccurate, or a true or biased (Silverman, 2001). Stage and Manning (2003) assert that, “More than anything else, an ethnographic content analysis focuses on the symbolic manifestations of the material in question, that is, the assumptions, beliefs, values, and cultural artifacts being communicated by the author and how they are represented and communicated through the structure and content of the text” (p. 94).

By triangulating among historiography, ethnographic document analysis, and grounded theory, this study generated themes from the data collected, allowing for categorization, interpretation, and analysis through inductive methods, aiding in the discovery of meaning. With

a multitude of realities (and the perspectives that emanate from those multiple realities), prediction and control are unlikely.

### **Grounded Theory**

Glaser and Strauss (1967) published their account of the methodological approach and practices they followed in their study of dying in health institutions as *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Locke (1996) notes, “Glaser trained at Columbia University, with its tradition of formal theorizing and verificational quantitative methods, and Strauss came out of the University of Chicago, with its strong tradition in field observation, intensive interviewing, and pragmatic theorizing” (p. 239). The grounded theory method outlined by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 has been inductively derived from directly gathered (Mintzberg, 1984), naturalistic data (Turner, 1983). A grounded theory possesses a number of characteristics: It must closely fit the substantive area studied, be understandable to and usable by those in the situation studied, and be sufficiently complex to account for a great deal of variation in the domain examined (Locke, 1996). As Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue and Appendix N illustrates, “Most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research” (p. 6). In practice, the conceptually distinct research activities of data collection, coding, and interpretation overlap to a significant degree (Locke, 1996). Glaser and Strauss (1967) note, “They should blur and intertwine continually, from the beginning of an investigation to its end” (p. 43).

In terms of procedural guidance, Glaser and Strauss (1967) asserted two key analytic operations that occur in tandem: making constant comparisons and theoretical sampling. As soon as a researcher starts forming provisional categories or abstractions from the data, comparison begins. As an incident or data observation is coded into a category, it is

simultaneously compared with other incidents in that category. Concurrently, as Appendix O elucidates, the initial coding activity directs a researcher towards more data collection. During this process of theoretical sampling, the researcher decides which additional data are relevant to explicate and develop all properties of conceptual categories. As Locke (1996) notes:

Thus the grounded theory approach requires not only that data and theory be constantly compared and contrasted during data collection and analysis but also that the materializing theory drives ongoing data collection. . . . These two comparative processes and further sampling continue until data gathering and comparative analysis yield no new examples and properties of a conceptual category. This is the point of theoretical saturation. . . . (p. 240)

Corbin and Strauss (1990) note that, “Qualitative methods, like their quantitative cousins, can be systematically evaluated only if their canons and procedures are made explicit . . . . Qualitative studies (and research proposals) are often judged by quantitatively-oriented readers; by many, though not all, the judgment is made in terms of quantitative canons” (p. 4). Some qualitative researchers maintain that those canons are inappropriate to their work (Agar, 1986; Kirk and Miller, 1986), and probably most believe that modifications are needed to fit qualitative research. Grounded theorists share a conviction with many other qualitative researchers that the usual canons of good science should be retained, but require redefinition in order to fit the realities of qualitative research and the complexities of social phenomena. These scientific canons include significance, theory-observation compatibility, generalizability, consistency, reproducibility, precision, and verification (Gortner and Schultz, 1988).

Charmaz (2006) characterizes grounded theory as a method of conducting qualitative research that focuses on creating conceptual frameworks or theories through building inductive

analysis from the data. “Hence, the analytic categories are directly ‘grounded’ in the data. The method favors analysis over description, fresh categories over preconceived ideas and extant theories, and systematically focused sequential data collection over large initial samples” (Charmaz, 2006, p 187). “One is able to build theory ‘grounded’ in the specific context of the research setting. This context is represented in the data (i.e., words, symbols, respondents’ interpretations) collected by the researcher” (Stage & Manning, 2003, p. 21). Put another way, the goal of research from a constructivist point of view is to build a time-and-context-dependent body of knowledge that is expressed as interpretations (Guba & Lincoln, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Manning, 1999, 2000). Rather than searching for a singular variable or set of variables that causes a result in each and every case or even in nearly every case, all actions are mutually and simultaneously shaped by other actions and circumstances.

Grounded theory derives its theoretical underpinnings from Pragmatism (Dewey, 1925; Mead, 1934) and Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer, 1931; Hughes, 1971; Park & Burgess, 1921). Though one need not subscribe to these philosophical and sociological orientations to use the method, two important principles derived from them are engineered into grounded theory. The first principle pertains to change. Since phenomena are conceived of as fluid and continually altering in response to evolving conditions, an important component of the method is to build change through process into the method. The second principle relates to a clear stand on the issue of determinism. Strict determinism is rejected, as is non-determinism. Actors are seen as possessing agency and the means to control their destinies by their responses to conditions; they are able to make choices according to their perceptions about the options they encounter (Merton, 1973). As Corbin and Strauss (1990) note, “Both Pragmatism and Symbolic Interactionism share this stance. Thus, grounded theory, seeks not only to uncover relevant

conditions, but also to determine how the actors respond to changing conditions and to the consequences of their actions. It is the researcher's responsibility to catch this interplay” (p. 5).



#### **Chapter 4: Results and Data Analysis**

How has presidential leadership since 1950 enhanced access through socially structured opportunities at Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago, opening what have been historically closed social networks and thereby strategically altering their respective campus communities? Periodically, in times of actual or perceived national crisis, Americans have been asked to consider the appropriate balance between the rights of individuals and the need for national security. “The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, President Lincoln’s suspension of *habeas corpus* during the Civil War, the Espionage Act of 1917, the internment of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor, and the Smith-McCarren Acts passed during the McCarthy period all stripped Americans (or some Americans) of basic civil liberties in the attempt to ensure national security” (Cole, 2009, p. 350). In the post-9/11 world, America finds itself once again on the threshold of another of these divisive periods, with the burgeoning Syrian refugee crisis, the current state-by-state closing of borders to Syrian immigration by U.S. governors, and student protests over racial injustice exploding at campuses across the nation. In an address to the U.S. Supreme Court, Geoffrey Stone, a constitutional Law scholar and the former provost of the University of Chicago, concluded that: “In time of war, or more precisely, in time of national emergency, we respond too harshly in our restriction of civil liberties, and then, later, regret our behavior” (Stone, 2003, p. 215). Dartmouth President Philip J. Hanlon sent an email to the Dartmouth Community pertaining to the terrorist attacks in Paris and Mali, the raids in Belgium,

the Syrian refugee crisis, and the protests over racism at the University of Missouri, Columbia campus (personal communication, November 23, 2015):

. . . the intensity of feelings around the events of the last two weeks, which include social unrest at colleges and universities across the country, including at Dartmouth. As we think about these events and reflect on what has happened on our campus, let me emphasize several bedrock principles that guide our work:

1. Each Dartmouth student is a full-fledged citizen of this community, with all the rights and responsibilities that citizenship entails.
2. We strive to balance freedom of speech with strong community values of civil discourse—though we recognize that at times these principles conflict.
3. At their core, institutions of higher education are places where open inquiry and the free debate about difficult and sometimes uncomfortable ideas must thrive.

Racial sentiment on America's campuses is running at such a fever pitch that the editorial board of the *New York Times* argues strenuously for renaming the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and the residential complex known as Wilson College at Princeton (2015, November 25):

Student protesters at Princeton performed a valuable public service last week when they demanded that the administration acknowledge the toxic legacy of Woodrow Wilson, who served as university president and New Jersey governor before being elected to the White House. He was an unapologetic racist whose administration rolled back the gains that African-Americans achieved just after the Civil War, purged black workers from influential jobs and transformed the government into an instrument of white

supremacy. . . . The overwhelming weight of the evidence argues for rescinding the honor that the university bestowed decades ago on an unrepentant racist.

Harvard Law School faculty and students entered Wasserstein Hall in late November 2015 to a startling scene: portraits of every black professor in the school's history were defaced with black tape, an incident University police are investigating as a hate crime. Hours later, President Drew Gilpin Faust emailed the Harvard community on the subject of race, announcing the results of a more than year-long study of diversity and inclusion at the College. These and other developments unfolded in a rapid sequence, as echoes of the student protests at campuses around the country reached Cambridge (Bolotnikova, 2015). Liptak (2015) notes that the tense atmosphere on campuses may alter the legal dynamic when the Supreme Court hears a major case on December 9, 2015 that could put an end to racial preferences in college admissions.

The justices are almost certainly paying close attention to the protests, including those at Princeton, where three of them went to college, and at Yale, where three of them went to law school. At both schools, there have been accusations that protesters, many of them black, have tried to suppress the speech of those who disagree with them.

Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz has denounced these protests for eroding the very basis of what he believes colleges should be: "That's what universities have to be about: dangerous ideas; ideas that are iconoclastic; ideas that aren't part of the conventional wisdom" (Jackson, 2015). McWhorter (2015) notes that the question for today's campuses has become: What is considered unspeakable?

The idea that only the naïve or the immoral would question issues connected to something as broad and protean as race and racism is hasty at best and anti-intellectual at worst. . . . Any insistence otherwise is religious. The term is unavoidable here. When

intelligent people openly declare that logic applies only to the extent that it corresponds to doctrine and shoot down serious questions with buzzwords and disdain, we are dealing with a faith. As modern as these protests seem, in their way, they return the American university to its original state as a divinity school—where exegesis of sacred texts was sincerely thought of as intellection, with skepticism treated as heresy.

While the protests occurring on college campuses and the administrative responses to them involve a wide range of material issues, from financial aid to recruitment and retention of professors of color, the national coverage has largely focused on symbolic questions such as have administrators responded quickly enough to allegations of racism or whether an e-mail was insensitive and ill-timed. The most recent form that these debates have taken is a vigorous call demanding the posthumous stripping of honors for historic figures, including John C. Calhoun's and Woodrow Wilson's names being removed from buildings and a school at Yale and Princeton, respectively, just as the statue of Cecil Rhodes was eradicated at the University of Cape Town. "Though these issues may seem symbolic, these particular objects of protest on college campuses are in part about how we determine which historical figures are worthy of honor, especially because our standards of goodness change more rapidly than we can build new facilities and construct new monuments" (Rosenberg, 2015). Similarly, the narrative of America's founding Puritan pilgrims and the settlement of Plymouth Plantation in modern day Massachusetts may well have obscured some of the ugliest incidents of their first winter in America, when the survival of the colony was anything but assured:

William Bradford, who was the long-running governor of Plymouth, and wrote a history of the colony, "really turns away with the corpses" that were the result of disease, malnutrition and even suicide during that period, historian Kathleen Donegan says in Ric

Burns' recent documentary "The Puritans." Cotton Mather, writing a later book about Plymouth, suggested that the settlers buried their dead at night so the surrounding Native American tribes wouldn't know the extent of their losses. But court testimony from a man named Phineas Pratt, who arrived in 1623, suggests something far grimmer: His friends told him the Puritans propped up the dead and dying against trees in the woods and left guns with them to suggest that Plymouth had defenses it didn't actually possess. . . . Whatever approach we take, we're better off for acknowledging that the institutions that students and alumni are fighting for – and fighting over – today are great and worth improving not because they're pure, but because they've made progress over their flawed pasts. Yale can't undo the fact that it educated John C. Calhoun, but it can do a better job of educating the people who will undo his legacy. (Rosenberg, 2015)

In spite of vigorous cries to the contrary, America's system of higher education remains the gold standard throughout the world and is built upon the principle of free inquiry. Northwestern University is the latest elite American university (joining Cornell, Carnegie Mellon, Georgetown, Texas A&M, and Virginia Commonwealth) to strike a bargain with the wealthy emirate of Qatar to establish a beachhead in Education City, a monumental complex on the desert's edge. A foundation created by the ruling family has spent billions of dollars over the past 15 years ". . . to import elite higher education in specialties ranging from medicine to foreign service, engineering to fine arts, enabling Qataris to obtain coveted U.S. degrees without leaving the Persian Gulf" (Anderson, 2015). While terms were generous, including guaranteed academic freedom, world-class facilities, and fully covered expenses, Harry R. Lewis, a computer scientist and former dean of Harvard College, said he worries about attempts to replicate the American collegiate experience in societies where Western values may not be as

strong: “‘It’s like trying to pick up French grapevines and plant them in Idaho or somewhere,’ Lewis said. ‘It might work. But the soil conditions and the light conditions are different. Those things really matter.’” (Anderson, 2015). H. L. Mencken had his own view of what Harvard’s standing was all about. In 1937, he advised the son of publisher Alfred Knopf on choosing a college (Keller & Keller, 2001):

My guess is you’d have more fun at Yale than at Princeton, but my real choice is Harvard. I don’t think Harvard is a better university than the other two, but it seems that Americans set a higher value on its A.B. If I had a son I’d take him to Cambridge and chain him to the campus pump to remain there until he had acquired a sound Harvard accent. It’s worth money in this great free Republic. (p. xii)

Davis’ concerns are real, given that the defense of academic freedom is difficult even on home turf. The United States paid a heavy price in the 1950s when the leaders of its research universities failed to defend some of their greatest scientists and scholars. Cole argues, “If an assault on free inquiry and academic freedom similar to the one that marked the post-9/11 Bush years were to continue for an even longer period of time, or become even more repressive, the negative consequences for the quality of American universities could be dramatic. Universities today are more dependent on federal support than they were during the Cold War” (Cole, 2009, p. 346). Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote in *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957):

The essentiality of freedom in the community of American universities is almost self-evident. No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our Nation. . . . Scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. (p. 250)

By 1949-1950, total student enrollments had ballooned to almost 2.7 million—an increase of about 80 percent in a single decade; the enrollment figure increased to about 3.6 million in 1960 and then doubled again over the next decade, reaching over 7.9 million in 1970 (American Council on Education, 1984). Thelin (2004) asserts, “The fundamental historic change that set into motion the dramatic expansion of enrollments as well as numerous curricular innovations was that higher education had come to be a major focus of attention in the formulation of public policies at both the state and federal levels” (p. 261). American colleges and universities became unwitting partners in post-war federal policies. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Congress shared a two-pronged concern: first, how best to retool wartime production into a peacetime economy, and second, how to avert the civil strife that might arise from military veterans returning home only to be and remain unemployed. The last thing Roosevelt and his Vice President, Truman, wanted to see was another “Bonus March” to Washington, D.C., by tens of thousands of unemployed World War I veterans who set up “Hooverville” camps near the White House during the Great Depression. By 1950, of the fourteen million eligible veterans, more than two million, or 16 percent, had opted to enroll in postsecondary education as part of the GI Bill (Thelin, 2004).

### **Harvard University: 1950-Present**

America’s maiden voyage into the realm of higher learning gave no hint of today’s sterling global standing that the United States enjoys. The handful of young men who arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1638 to enter the nation’s first college could not have imagined what the future held for American universities. Before the year came to a close, the head of that tiny institution, Nathaniel Eaton, had been charged with assault for beating a tutor almost to death, while his wife stood accused of serving too little beer to the students and adulterating their

food. Master Eaton was eventually dismissed and promptly fled, allegedly taking much of the endowment with him, whereupon the college shut down for an entire academic year (Morison, 1964, pp. 7-10). As former Harvard president Derek Bok (2015) notes:

From these modest beginnings, higher education in the United States has grown to become a vast enterprise comprising some 4,500 different colleges and universities, more than 20 million students, 1.4 million faculty members, and aggregate annual expenditures exceeding 400 billion dollars. Within this system are schools ranging from tiny colleges numbering a few hundred students to huge universities with enrollments exceeding 50,000. For descriptive purposes, however, the system can be broken down into several kinds of institutions, each with its own distinctive aims and characteristics. (p. 9)

Nearing the end of World War II, one key reason the GI Bill gained so much momentum is that certain colleges deliberately put into place materials and programs that encouraged veterans to consider college. Harvard, for example, anticipated the postwar changes by initiating a vigorous advertisement and recruitment program among overseas servicemen before the war ended. In preparing brochures that projected an image of Harvard to GIs, the university sought to stimulate interest among talented young men who might be unfamiliar with “going to college.” The concise, glossy brochure *What about Harvard?* (1945) provided potential applicants with attractive pictures of campus life and encouraging information. The no-nonsense prose encouraged inquiries from servicemen who were “of serious purpose” and who “mean business.” Admissions requirements were flexible and advanced standing was offered for those who could demonstrate achievement in a variety of forms. The brochure emphasized:

This does not mean that intellectual brilliance is required for admission—or for success after admission. Character, experience, promise, all-around performance are vital.



Harvard recognizes that the veteran of this war will expect something else from education than the ordinary peacetime student. Clearly the man who has been making life and death decisions at sea, in the air, and on the ground has other ideas than the man who comes direct from high school. The University is bending every energy to meet the needs of these men. (p. 4)

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Harvard's international reputation for scholarship grew as a burgeoning endowment and prominent professors expanded the university's scope. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the student body was predominately "old-stock, high-status Protestants, especially Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians"—a group later called "WASPs. By the 1970s it was much more diversified and this trend continues today (Karabel, 2006, p. 23). Explosive growth in the student population continued with the addition of new graduate schools and the expansion of the undergraduate program. Harvard built the largest and finest academic library in the world and constructed the labs and clinics needed to establish the reputation of its science departments and the Medical School. The Law School vied with Yale Law for preeminence, while the Business School combined a large-scale research program with a special appeal to entrepreneurs rather than accountants. The various schools continue to manage their endowments separately, endowments which are prodigious in the case of the College/Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Business, Law, and Medical Schools, but very modest for the Divinity and Education schools. Literary and social critic Menand (2001) wrote in his extraordinary work on ideas in America during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries:

The Civil War swept away the slave civilization of the South, but it swept away almost the whole intellectual culture of the North along with it. It took nearly a half a century

for the United States to develop a culture to replace it, to find a set of ideas and a way of thinking that would help people cope with the conditions of modern life. (p. x)

Cole (2009) notes that within the first fifty years of the birth of the research university in America, from approximately 1876 to 1925, the United States had to confront an unprecedented number of challenges, including Reconstruction, the disjunctions produced by the economic transformation from agrarian to an industrial society, the emergence of large corporations and the capitalists who ran them, and the increased adoption of science as a means toward social and economic progress. “During this period of developing pragmatism, the culture’s reliance on theological leaders declined, and the rise of the academic man or ‘expert’ began. The founders of the research universities were linked to the new ideas of a host of thinkers in different fields” (Cole, 2009, p. 46).

In addition to the customary academic departments, specialized research centers have proliferated, especially to enable interdisciplinary research projects that could not be handled at the department level. The departments, however, retain tight control over the awarding of tenure; typically tenured professorships are awarded to outsiders, not as promotions to assistant professors. Older research centers at Harvard include the East Asian Research Center, the Center for International Affairs, the Center for Eastern Studies, the Russian Research Center, the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, and the Joint Center for Urban Studies, in collaboration with Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). The Centers are responsible for their own development efforts, sometimes from endowments but most often from federal and foundation grants, making them increasingly independent entities.

In the decades immediately after 1945 Harvard reformed its admissions policies as it sought students from a more diverse applicant pool. Whereas Harvard undergraduates had

almost exclusively been upper-class alumni of select New England "feeder schools" such as Exeter, Hotchkiss, Choate Rosemary Hall, and Milton Academy, increasing numbers of international, minority, and working-class students had, by the late 1960s, altered the ethnic and socioeconomic makeup of the college (Older, 1996).

Radcliffe College, established in 1879 as sister school to Harvard College, became one of the most prominent schools for women in the United States. For its first fifty years, Radcliffe paid Harvard faculty to repeat their lectures for a female audience. In 1999 Radcliffe College formally merged with Harvard University, becoming a research unit henceforward known as the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

Though Harvard ended required chapel in the mid-1880s, the school remained culturally Protestant and fears of dilution grew as enrollment of immigrants, Catholics, and Jewish students surged at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By 1908, Catholics made up nine percent of the freshman class, and between 1906 and 1922, Jewish enrollment at Harvard increased from 6% to 25% (Keller & Keller, 2001). President A. Lawrence Lowell, who served from 1909-1933, tried to impose a 12% quota on admission of Jewish students; the faculty rejected it but Lowell managed to reduce the number of Jewish students by half. By the end of World War II, the quotas and most of the latent antisemitism had begun to fade (Synnott, 2004).

Policies of exclusion were not reserved exclusively for religious minorities. In 1920, for example, Harvard University maliciously persecuted and harassed those it believed to be gay via a "Secret Court" led by President Lowell. Summoned at the behest of a wealthy alumnus, the inquisitions and expulsions carried out by this tribunal, in conjunction with the "vindictive tenacity of the university in ensuring that the stigmatization of the expelled students would persist throughout their productive lives" led to two suicides. Harvard President Lawrence

Summers characterized the 1920 episode as “part of a past that we have rightly left behind”, and “abhorrent and an affront to the values of our university” (Wright, 2005, pp. 268-278). As late as the 1950s, however, Wilbur Bender, then the dean of admissions for Harvard College, was seeking better ways to “detect homosexual tendencies and serious psychiatric problems” in prospective students (Karabel, 2006, p. 253).

Early each Cambridge spring, visiting families and tour groups crop up like crocuses in Harvard Yard. . . . Their guides take them to old familiar places: To Daniel Chester French’s statue of John Harvard, gazing down from his pedestal in front of Charles Bulfinch’s University Hall. There they are fed factoids: that the statue bears no likeness to its subject (no picture of John Harvard exists), that the scant details provided on the pedestal are wrong (he was not the University’s founder; the College began not in 1638, but 1636).

Next, to a circuit of the surrounding serene Old Yard: a cyclorama of 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century American architecture . . .

Then on to the neighboring New Yard, dominated by the massive Roman front of Widener Library, there to be told the well-worn tale of young Harry Widener ’07, precocious collector of incunabula, lost with the Titanic and commemorated for eternity by this building, the gift of his grieving mother. Facing Widener is capacious Memorial Church, built to remember Harvard’s fallen in World War I . . . (Keller & Keller, 2001, p. xi)

As Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California, states: “Somebody needs to know everything about each college and university, but only about Harvard does everybody need to know something” (Lang, 1981, p. 669).

**James Bryant Conant (1933-1953).** Harvard presidents have demonstrated notable staying power. Since the Civil War, the United States of America has had 28 presidents; at Harvard, where the chief executive serves without term limits, there have been just nine. In total, Harvard has had far fewer presidents (28 since 1640) than has the nation (44 in a span of 225 years). As befitted a school so rich in tradition and sense of self, President A. Lawrence Lowell in 1924 appointed the Tercentenary Historian: Harvard's gifted professor of colonial history, Samuel Eliot Morison. According to Conant's secretary, Jerome Greene, "the Tercentenary celebration was really his inauguration" (McCord, 1963, p. 41).

The Harvard that James Bryant Conant inherited when he became president in 1933 was the creation of his Boston Brahmin predecessors Charles W. Eliot (1867-1908) and Abbott Lawrence Lowell (1908-1933). Harvard became a university under Eliot. Renowned scholars began to be more than an occasional aberration in the faculty lineup. Eliot's revolutionary elective system replaced the tightly regulated historic curriculum, a *laissez-faire* approach to education in full accord with the prevailing beliefs of the Gilded Age. Eliot's new elective system was a brilliant piece of educational politics, liberating students and teachers alike from the tyranny of each other's presence (Keller, 1982).

Concurrently, however, the social character of Harvard College became increasingly "Brahmin," dominated by Boston's social and economic elite, rather than by Unitarian or Congregational ministers. Much of Eliot's Harvard was intellectual; more of it, however, was socially supercilious. Lowell was a strong-willed Brahmin, with little use for the anything-goes tenor of Eliot's free elective system. If Eliot reflected the values of the Gilded Age, then Lowell may be considered a Progressive. He came into office as Theodore Roosevelt's presidency ended and, as a man of the Industrial Age, was committed to system, regulation, and order.

When he left in 1933, the Eliot-Lowell sequence seemed to the Alumni Bulletin “not unlike the transition from *laissez-faire* to ‘planning and control’ in the economic world” (Baltzell, 1979; Morison, 1964).

Lowell instituted concentration and distribution requirements, tutorials (based on the Oxbridge model) to guide students in their work, and comprehensive exams to demonstrate competence. He oversaw the construction of residential houses, an American version of the colleges in England’s ancient universities. He possessed a Progressive’s belief in free inquiry—championing academic freedom—and a Teddy Roosevelt-like academic machismo, opposing graduate student scholarships because they would attract docile and studious youth lacking the vigor and aggressiveness to attack the world without aid (Yeomans, 1948). Lowell possessed a fervent distaste for the radicalism held by many Progressives, serving as one of the three-man review committee that upheld the death sentences meted out to Sacco and Vanzetti, Italian-born American anarchists who were convicted of murdering a guard and a paymaster during the armed robbery of the Slater and Morrill Shoe Company on April 15, 1920 in South Braintree, Massachusetts. In the 1920s, Lowell attempted both to restrict the number of Jewish undergraduates and to prohibit black freshmen from living in Harvard’s dormitories (Yeomans, 1948).

By the early 1920s, 20 to 25 percent of the undergraduate student body was Jewish. This was cause for concern by alumni, faculty, and not least of all, President Lowell. In 1922, Lowell proposed a formal Jewish quota of 12 percent, the limiting device traditionally used in European universities, now much in the American public mind because of the movement for quota-based immigration restriction laws (Keller & Keller, 2001). Harvard historian Samuel Eliot Morison, looking back on the controversy fifty years later, ascribed the emotional strength of the Jewish

reaction to the fact that Lowell's 12 percent quota was the same as the *numerus clausus* of the Russian imperial universities (MacDonald, 1934).

The Corporation had cause to wonder just what kind of a Conant James B. Conant, in fact, was. While he certainly bore the name of one of the oldest Brahmin families, he came from its Plymouth, not its Boston, branch. Conant noted that he was of the branch on the family tree that for long stayed close to where Roger Conant got off the *Ann* in 1623 and, over the generations were farmers and artisans, rather than merchants and men of affairs. Conant's father was a photoengraver and part-time building contractor of a middling sort; his family lived in unfashionable Dorchester; and James B. Conant was the family's first member to go to college. The Board of Overseers, Harvard's other governing body, had another question to ask. What was his religion? "Deist," answered Conant, who was not noticeably burdened by religious belief. Conant's response appears to have been sufficient; he was not asked about his politics, so he did not have to confess to having voted for FDR in 1932 (Conant, 1970). Conant hoped that "even in the most collegiate and football-mad of our alumni there is a spark of intellectual interest and I shall try my best to fan and not water this spark! You notice, I begin to preach already" (Conant, J. B., Conant to Marjorie Bush-Brown, May 17, 1933).

The American research university became a resilient structure in which it was detached from government bureaucratic control and competition among the universities ensured healthy growth. Cole (2009) asserts that:

Perhaps the two younger leaders having the most profound impact on how the essential values were viewed were Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, and James B. Conant, president of Harvard. . . . Both were critics of some aspects of the university model that had evolved, and both were also reformers who tried

to alter certain features of what they had inherited. . . . they reaffirmed and extended the core values, setting the stage for further affirmations of the ideals of the university vocalized by successive leaders of the great American universities on their way to prominence. (p. 70)

When Conant was chosen for the presidency, he asked Lowell what his salary would be. Lowell is reported to have responded that he had no idea, since he had always turned his compensation back to the University. He supposed that Conant should tell the Corporation what he needed. But the new president was not well off, and the job was at times a financial burden. An alumnus reported in 1937: “They tell me that young Conant out there at Harvard is having a hell of a time trying to fill with furniture that big mansion that Prexy Lowell built. [The Lowells supposedly left only a lamp and two tables.] Conant is only a poor kid and I guess he has only about 3 rooms fitted out to date” (Norton, C. A., Norton to James Bryant Conant, November 3, 1937).

Conant’s major contribution to the history of Harvard was his vision of what the University might become. Conant set out to build a university given over as never before to meritocracy, attracting students and faculty whose distinction lay not in their social origins but in their intellect and character. Conant’s commitment to a more meritocratic Harvard obviously reflected his own career, the product not of privilege and status but of talent, hard work, and self-reliance. Conant believed that talent was evenly distributed across the socioeconomic spectrum and that to let the accident of birth shape the process by which Harvard (and America) chose its leaders was both irrational and socially harmful. His goal was to eliminate “artificial barriers—geographical or financial—in our educational system” (Conant, 1970, p. 136).

Conant believed that the faculty's primary task was not to preserve, but, rather, to advance learning. Harvard had only one Nobel prize winner, Conant’s chemist father-in-law,



Theodore W. Richards, before 1934; Chicago had three. Nor did its social scientists compare to those at Chicago or Columbia. Carnegie Corporation president Frederick Keppel reported the prevailing view in 1934: "Harvard is still *princeps* but no longer *facile princeps*; and the story is current that at one of America's great universities [no doubt Chicago] it is considered the height of academic distinction to receive an invitation from Harvard and to decline it" (Lipset & Riesman, 1975, p. 153).

Conant's vision for Harvard's undergraduates was strikingly similar to his hopes for the faculty. "We should attract to our student body," he declared, "the most promising young men throughout the whole nation." This meant that "a path to the top should be open to all of exceptional talent" and that Harvard had to "keep the way clear for the gifted youth of limited means." He planned to do this through a program of Harvard National Scholarships (Conant, J. B., Conant to R. M. Hughes, March 16, 1938). Though he had an active interest in the social sciences and the humanities, the chemist in Conant doubted the intellectual rigor of these softer fields, drawing a sharp demarcation between artistic or literary ability and scholarly aptitude. The world outside was the best place for writers, artists, and performers to learn their crafts. Conant's ideal was a university in which research, professional education, the liberal arts, and undergraduate college life were conjoined (Conant, J. B., Conant to Irvin C. Poley, January 29, 1935).

He got caught up in a continuing debate with alumni and others unhappy over his emphasis on meritocracy. Grenville Clark, the Corporation's most liberal-minded member, was Conant's strongest supporter: "As time goes on, I think you are developing and refining your philosophy about selecting the talent from all economic levels and giving it a show" (Clark, G., Clark to James Bryant Conant, June 3, 1938). But even Clark feared that another group might be

at risk: “This is the middle crowd of boys of good but not extraordinary intellectual ability but with exceptional ability to get on with others and possibly to be harmonizers and stabilizers in society.” Clark’s model freshman class: about half up to Harvard National Scholarship standards (with somewhat more emphasis on physique and all-around personality); fifty to sixty foreign students; the rest from “the traditional sources, picked out on the basis of intellectual qualities only to the extent that they would have no difficulty in passing reasonably well with a reasonable amount of work and with the emphasis primarily on their stability and human qualities” (Clark, G., Clark to James Bryant Conant, June 3, 1938).

Conant remained unshaken in his belief that the talent Harvard should be looking for was distributed across the population without regard to SES, finding confirmation in intelligence testing, which showed that the great majority of gifted children came from families of modest means (Conant, J. B., Conant to Ben D. Wood, December 5, 1945). In what would eventually become a culture war between “believers in selection:” and “believers in the unlimited power of education irrespective of inherent ability,” Conant was firmly in the ranks of the selection camp. He was, he said, “an educational Calvinist. I have but little faith in salvation by good works and a large measure of belief in predestination if not at birth at least at the college entrance age!” (Conant, J. B., Conant to Harvey Lehman, March 28, 1938).

Conant set up committees of leading faculty members in the social sciences, the humanities, the physical sciences, and the biological sciences to advise him on appointments, honorary degree recipients, and research support. The only professors asked to serve by the president who declined this very American exercise in self-improvement were Joseph Schumpeter, Alfred North Whitehead, and Serge Elisséeff, all foreign-born (Conant, J. B., Conant to Frederick A. Saunders, September 21, 1933). He proposed to award Harvard honorary

degrees to the presidents of western (that is, west of the Appalachians) state universities in order to improve Harvard's relations with Out There. His personal contact with the presidents of the other major eastern universities—what would ultimately become the Ivy League—was limited. Conant's most substantial dialogue on educational policy was with Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago. Hutchins's Aristotelian/Thomist beliefs were antipodally opposed to Conant's relativist skepticism. When Hutchins set forth his ideas about the undergraduate curriculum in the *Yale Review*, Conant responded: "I have just read with extreme annoyance your very able article. . . . I cannot refrain from expressing strongly my hearty disapproval of almost all that you say. . . . When you attempt to fortify the liberal arts tradition in a college I am all for you as I am, also, in your attacks on the vocationalists and the people who would drown the university with all sorts of knick-knacks; but I do wish you would throw your ideas of a 'pervasive' philosophy into Lake Michigan!" (Keller and Keller, 2001, p. 27).

Class lines had solidified during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and upward mobility languished during the Depression. Conant firmly asserted that educational opportunity was the most efficacious means to reverse the pattern, noting that "the most accidental and unfair circumstances determine to a large extent what boys go to those colleges which give a person somewhat of a leg up on the first ladder of success" (Conant, 1940, p. 594). Poor boys from metropolitan areas like New York and Chicago had access to higher education almost without regard to financial need, but in small towns and rural areas the situation was very different. When a donor wished to endow a scholarship not based on academic merit, Conant objected: "If one starts awarding financial aid to the members of the lower half of the class, it is very difficult indeed to establish criteria by which one worthy candidate can be distinguished from another" (Conant, 1940, p. 599). Through issues surrounding the selection of National Scholarship

recipients, Conant became deeply involved in the expanded use of the Scholastic Aptitude Test developed by Princeton's Carl Campbell Brigham. Conant eventually headed the commission whose recommendations led to the formation of the Educational Testing Service in 1947 (Harvard University Archives, n.d.).

Conant gave Harvard's alumni great pause with his 1943 *Atlantic Monthly* article defiantly entitled "Wanted: American Radicals." Conant spoke of the need for "an American radical of the 1940s. . . . a fanatic believer in equality" who will "be lusty in wielding the axe against the root of inherited privilege" through "his demand to confiscate (by constitutional methods) all property once a generation. He will demand really effective inheritance and gift taxes and the breaking up of trust funds and estates." Conant later said that he "was describing at this point the radical in his most extreme mood" and that what he really wanted was "very high inheritance taxes in all brackets but leaving enough property to take care of widows and orphans." He touted the virtue of stiff inheritance taxes designed to liquidate inherited wealth as completely as possible, certainly after the second generation, though "I recognize that there is a lot of dynamite in a president of Harvard talking about this social but also economic complication" (Conant, 1943, p. 43).

As the war drew to an end, Conant continued to balance meritocracy with equality: "For some years I have been a fanatic about the importance of keeping alive the American tradition of three generations from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves. To my mind the really unique contribution of this country to the world has been the implicit idea of a nation without classes." The frontier, he thought, may have protected equality of opportunity from the restoration of hereditary privilege. But now that that bulwark was gone, "it seems to me of the utmost importance that we seek other ways to revitalize the tradition" (Conant, J. B., Conant to Eric Johnston, September 28, 1943).

The G.I. Bill of 1944 gave every returning serviceman the right to a government-paid education. But Conant wanted the government to finance the education of a “carefully selected number” of veterans. He criticized the G.I. Bill because it was based on length of service rather than “demonstrated ability. . . . Unless high standards of performance can be maintained in spite of sentimental pressures and financial temptation we may find the least capable among the war generation instead of the capable flooding the facilities for advanced education in the United States” (Wyzanski, C., Wyzanski to James Bryant Conant, December 1943). Conant’s concerns were picked up by the army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*. Angry soldiers let Conant know what they thought of his views, one telling him: “The general consensus seems to be that you are perfectly willing to make the smart people smarter, and of course those that are so unfortunate as not to be equipped with an ample amount of that grey matter might just as well stay that way” (Florack, V. N., Florack to James Bryant Conant, February 20, 1945). Postwar Harvard fulfilled Conant’s ideal of a meritocratic university along a number of dimensions, in spite of his trepidations about the G. I. Bill.

In 1945, Conant charged a selected faculty committee with producing *General Education in a Free Society* (also known as the “Red Book”), the blueprint for a curriculum designed to extend the advantages of elite culture to an abruptly non-elite Harvard student body (Conant, 1950). Conant asserted that Harvard’s undergraduate curriculum needed to be revised so as to place more emphasis on general education and called on the faculty to make a definitive statement about what general education ought to be, at the secondary as well as the college level. The resulting Report was one of the most influential manifestos in the history of American education in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Kravitz, 1994).

In his January 1947 annual report, Conant called for a greatly expanded system of local, federal-supported but state-run two-year year colleges to meet the demand for postsecondary education, finding himself embroiled in sectarian controversy. In a spring 1952 speech to private school administrators, Conant criticized private and parochial schools for weakening the comprehensive public high schools and attacked public support for church-affiliated schools. The reaction of the Catholic church—specifically, Boston’s Cardinal Cushing—was not muted nor favorable (Conant, J. B., Conant to Evans Clark, April 8, 1947).

The bold, bright, energetic young man who took the helm of Harvard in 1933 had learned a painful lesson: “. . . that external events such as depression and war, combined with the institutional inertia and faculty autonomy of a great modern university, can—indeed, will—frustrate the most determined and resourceful of leaders” (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, 1952-53, p. 335). When Conant became president, Harvard College students were male, almost all white, primarily Unitarian, Congregationalist, or Episcopalian in religion, predominantly from New England. Brahmin Harvard sought to restrict the number of Jewish students and faculty; indeed, that issue often was the outlet for opposition to the effort to make Harvard a more meritocratic university. Even more pervasive was the desire to shield Harvard men and Radcliffe women from the perils of coeducation. Catholics were scant, but for different reasons: hostility to godless Harvard in Catholic churches and schools kept their numbers small during the 1920s and 1930s. As for African Americans, there were so few that it was safe to accept—if not openly welcome them—if they met academic standards for admission.

Immersion in such major public questions characterized Conant’s leadership. Conant testified before U.S. Senate committees (e.g., on federal aid to education, creation of the National Science Foundation, and the Lend-Lease Bill). He conferred with U.S. President Franklin D.

Roosevelt and served as a defense-research emissary to England. In July 1944, Conant offered the facilities of Harvard's Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection located in Washington, D.C. for a U.S. State Department conference on postwar security. The resulting Dumbarton Oaks Proposals laid the foundations of the United Nations Charter. Conant's most remarkable governmental role began in 1941 with an appointment to chair the National Defense Research Committee and, later, to serve as special deputy to Vannevar Bush, head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. As a result, Conant was among the initial few to receive word of Enrico Fermi's success in generating the world's first controlled nuclear chain reaction at The University of Chicago, a critical step towards development of the atomic bomb (Harvard University Archives).

**Nathan Marsh Pusey (1953-1971).** On New Year's Day 1953, James Bryant Conant made known his intention to resign, effective January 23—three short weeks later. In June, the Corporation announced his successor: forty-six-year-old Nathan Marsh Pusey, the president of Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin. He came from an old New England family transplanted to Iowa, graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1928, earned a Harvard Ph.D. in Classics in 1935, went off to stints of college teaching at Lawrence, Scripps, and Wesleyan, and in 1944 returned to Lawrence to become its president. This was a small, highly regarded college in Wisconsin, founded in 1847, with strong New England roots. Pusey did well there, recruiting able faculty and taking a public stand against Appleton native Joseph McCarthy when that menacing figure began to hack his way through American politics (Smith, 1986). The most conspicuous dynamic in the Harvard presidential selection process was to identify a candidate as unlike his predecessor as possible, just as had been the choice of Eliot in 1869, of Lowell in 1909, of Conant in 1934, and, now, of Pusey in 1953.

Pusey's predecessor may have come from a marginal strand of the family, but at least he was a Conant and had gone to Roxbury Latin School. Pusey went to Cedar Rapids High School. Pusey reported that when he told a Boston matron of his secondary education, she rolled her eyes heavenward and sighed: "Oh, well. God is everywhere" (Keller & Keller, 2001, p. 175). Unlike his predecessor, Pusey had little interest in a public life: no dashing off to Washington or immersion in ambitious national policy for him. He was a classicist, a humanist, far indeed from Conant's high-powered world of Big Science. He was strongly religious, a devout and active Episcopalian layman, whereas Conant had little taste for religion. Pusey was an able teacher and effective administrator, rather than a scholar: he published no book before his Harvard presidency.

In the fall of 1953, Pusey took the helm of one of the world's leading universities. In sharp contrast to Conant's hundred days rush to put his stamp on Harvard, Pusey had little in the way of immediate plans for the future, other than to strengthen the Education and Divinity Schools. Who he was, and what he said, deeply pleased many alumni. A "sturdy Bostonian of the old school" told Corporation secretary David Bailey: "Mr. Pusey believes in God and he goes to football games. This is progress enough for the present." The first material expression of this regard was John D. Rockefeller's gift of a million dollars to the lagging Divinity School fund campaign, telling Pusey: "Your profound belief in the underlying importance of the spiritual life promises to have far-reaching reaching influence on education in this country" (Rockefeller, Jr., J. D., Rockefeller to Nathan Marsh Pusey, Dec. 23, 1953).

In the midst of the highly secular Harvard of the fifties, with an expanding Jewish component of both students and faculty, stood Memorial Church: an oversized version of the classic New England Congregational place of worship. In April 1958 the *Crimson* editorialized



against restrictions on Jewish weddings at Memorial Chapel. Pusey replied that the University's policy had been consistent for years, broken only by an occasional unauthorized deviation.

Many of the faculty's heavyweights petitioned to open the church to all faiths. Pusey at first hoped that "a judicious committee can examine the role of the Memorial Church, making sure its Protestant character is preserved, but by some means providing a more appropriate place for the observance of the private services of non-Christians." Feeling the pressure of faculty outrage, the Corporation quickly agreed to allow "private services" of any denomination, and Pusey concurred. This did not in any way mean, however, that he approved (*Harvard Crimson*, 1958).

Pusey's religiosity and the Memorial Church incident is a major source of the persistent view of him as a president monumentally out of step with faculty and students. Indeed, his faith was at the core of his character: in his baccalaureate address at the 1958 Commencement he spoke of "the enlightenment and joy of belief," but it did not define his presidency. The Memorial Church episode made it clear that the faculty was too secular for Christianity to be University policy. Despite the expectations of the Corporation and traditionalist alumni, Pusey did not reverse but rather facilitated Harvard's evolution into the meritocratic University of Conant's dreams. He would later say that "liberal education had become a god for me," related to, but not identical with, the Christian God in which he believed (Pusey, N. M., Pusey note, 1956-57).

Pusey's presidency was dominated not by his devotion to the College, the humanities, or the church, but by the headlong growth and ever more meritocratic culture of Harvard's faculty and students. Pusey confirmed that he arrived back at Harvard, took a long, hard look at what had happened to the University during the sixteen years he had been away from it, and came to

the eminently rational conclusion that his task was not to return Harvard to an idyllic past, but to make it an academically stronger university by making it a more affluent one (Kahn, 1969).

It is no small irony that Conant, a man defined by his educational ambitions, never found the resources for more than their token implementation, while Pusey, whose academic goals were more modest, oversaw the fund-raising, hiring, student aid, higher faculty salaries, and new buildings, labs, and books that kept Harvard at the forefront of American higher education. While its age and prestige made Harvard America's richest university, it was by no means clear when Pusey came in that this would continue to be the case. Smaller Yale raised \$13.6 million in 1951-52, as against Harvard's \$11.7 million. In 1958, 50 percent of Yale's alumni gave \$22.7 million; 36 percent of Harvard's graduates gave \$14.9 million. "More significant than the differences between Yale and Harvard, however," warned fund-raising head James R. Reynolds, "is the evidence of recent competition from other universities:" MIT, Chicago, Cornell, and Columbia, in particular (Reynolds, J. R., Reynolds to Nathan Marsh Pusey, November 9, 1953).

By the time the Program for Harvard College (PHC) was formally announced at the June 1957 Commencement, ambitions had soared even higher: to \$82.5 million, to be raised by June 1959. Half was earmarked for construction and half for strengthening undergraduate education, also was part of what FAS Dean McGeorge Bundy called "a great general drive for funds to strengthen the basic financial structure of the College and its Faculty" (Bundy, M., Bundy to Douglas Dillon, June 25, 1957). The Loeb Drama Center, two new residence houses (Mather and Quincy), and a new behavioral sciences building (William James Hall) were the PHC's most significant physical additions to the campus. A substantial increase in undergraduate loan and scholarship money moved Harvard along the way to need-blind admissions. The Program enabled Harvard to take the lead in an across-the-board increase of faculty salaries and made

possible an expansion of the faculty that added significantly to the school's academic heft.

Between 1954 and 1969, Harvard established more endowed professorships than in all of its previous history (*Report on Program for Harvard College, 1964-1965*).

Honorary degrees to the great, the good, and the well-heeled are the customary way for universities to demonstrate their public-spiritedness, feed their *amour-propre*, and add to their fund-raising clout. Harvard keeps its honorary degree choices secret until Commencement. Between 1921 and 1945 about 330 (male) individuals were honored, 122 of them in public service, 92 in science, 57 in social studies, and 55 in the humanities. Novelist William Faulkner declined to be so honored in 1952, on the ground that to give it to someone who had not even finished grammar school "would violate and outrage the entire establishment of education, of which degrees are the symbol and the accolade. That is, I would defend the chastity of Harvard, the mother of American education, even if Harvard herself would not" (Faulkner, W., Faulkner to James Bryant Conant, March 20, 1952). Pusey expanded the annual number of degrees to as many as eighteen, and opened up the process in other ways; besides the usual list of white Protestant males he added conspicuous Catholics (John F. Kennedy in 1956, Cardinal Cushing in 1959), the first woman (Helen Keller in 1955), and more than occasional Jews. Robert Weaver, soon-to-be secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, was chosen as a 1964 recipient, Corporation fellow Charles Coolidge noting that Weaver had a white wife and "probably looks more like a Latin American than an American Negro" (Coolidge, C., Coolidge memo, November 6, 1963; Kane, K., Kane memo, November 6, 1963).

The Pusey years were bounded by McCarthyism and the Red Scare at their beginning, and Vietnam at their end. During the 1960s the cold war's impact on Harvard shifted from external assaults on the loyalty of faculty and students to on-campus protest against American

foreign policy and the University's involvement in it. Increased political activism on campus, and the administration's responses, further deteriorated the links between Pusey and his faculty. When H. Stuart Hughes of the History department ran for the U.S. Senate as a radical third-party candidate in 1962, the administration looked into how other universities dealt with faculty political activism, but did nothing more than that. There was some concern over the fact that sociologist David Riesman used his office to run the Council for Correspondence, an antinuclear group, which meant that Harvard was subsidizing the rent for the operation. In the wake of the Bay of Pigs fiasco of 1961, seventy-five academics, forty-four of them from Harvard, signed a petition critical of American policy toward Castro's Cuba. Predictable alumni protests rolled in over their use of the Harvard name and Pusey aide Bentinck-Smith had a discreet conversation with an FBI agent who warned of substantial Communist influence in the "Fair Play for Cuba" movement (Bailey, D. W., Bailey to Nathan Marsh Pusey, April 25, 1962).

There was more of a row over the administration's refusal to let folk singer Pete Seeger, under indictment for contempt of Congress and free on bail, appear at a Student Council-sponsored concert. Pusey asserted that while student organizations had broad latitude in selecting speakers, the final decision had to rest with the administration: "In my view it is not a question of academic freedom but rather a question of propriety, public order, decorum, good taste. These involve questions of observance upon which only the administration has the right to insist" (Pusey, N. M., Pusey to Thomas S. Lamont, June 9, 1962).

More contentious was Harvard's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). In the 1950s Harvard had Army, Navy, and Air Force ROTC units, and the program was an established part of campus life. Meritocracy began to put strains on the Harvard-ROTC relationship well before Vietnam. A controversy erupted in the mid-fifties over a "Harvard Plan" to enrich the ROTC

curriculum and put in a summer training course. The Army resisted this plan and Pusey's advisors warned that the Army's response would be received with misgivings by the faculty. A compromise was reached in which Harvard offered courses on civil-military and government-military relations. A source of future trouble was in the making with a widely held perception that Harvard had moved to the center of the American Establishment. Old Harvard was intimately identified with Brahmin Boston, but Yale and Princeton had competitive claims to national influence. Now, in the 1960s, Harvard pulled ahead: not only in money and academic standing, but in the corridors of power as well. The most visible sign of this development was what followed on the 1960 election of John F. Kennedy, Harvard class of '40 as president of the United States.

All of this strengthened the belief of the Radical Right that Harvard, Kennedy, the Democrats, and communism were joined in shadowy conspiracy. Of more significance to the University, the Kennedy connection reinforced an already substantial Harvard self-regard. Even Nathan Pusey, of virtually non-existent hubris, could not but respond warmly when National Security Advisor Bundy wrote soon after arriving in Washington: "We would like our first party to be a little gathering of the President, the President, and the professors they are sharing. Will you come?" (Keller & Keller, 2001, p. 210).

After World War II, anti-Catholicism like anti-Semitism retreated to the margins of respectability. The religiously inclined Pusey had an ecumenical sympathy for Catholics, substantially reciprocated, and Catholics themselves became more ready to send their sons to Harvard. JFK's election to the presidency endowed the University with a cachet among Catholics that had been unthinkable in the recent, suspicion-ridden past (Bentinck-Smith to Pusey, 1954). Catholic undergraduates, substantially greater in numbers than in the prewar years,

felt more at home by the 1950s. In 1960 a Catholic Student Center opened adjacent to the campus, with Cardinal Cushing's encouragement and assistance. *The Current*, a Catholic student magazine, concluded in the spring of 1963: "we are convinced that Catholics belong at Harvard" ("Catholics at Harvard," Spring 1963).

The inclination to regard women as marginal was deeply ingrained in Harvard's abiding culture. At the same time, however, Harvard's long coexistence with Radcliffe made it difficult to summarily dismiss women within the Harvard environs. Corporation secretary David Bailey noted in 1963 that more than a quarter of Radcliffe graduates were married to Harvard men and that 18.3 percent of Radcliffe's undergraduates were the daughters of alumni. "Obviously," he concluded, "when the Overseers talk about Radcliffe girls they are raising not an abstract problem but a problem which in many cases falls within our family circles" (Teele, J. W., Teele memo, January 16, 1955). At Pusey's direction, the Corporation took on the weighty task of selecting Harvard's first female honorary degree recipients in 1955. Exceptionally unobjectionable Helen Keller was its first choice. Whether Keller would actually attend the Commencement was uncertain at best, so Pusey nominated poet Marianne Moore as a backup. Resistance rose in the Corporation on the ground that Moore was less than a first-class candidate. Pusey sent the fellows copies of Moore's "Poetry": "Marianne Moore has this to say about poetry. If you read her to the end, I think you will find she is not so bad after all!" Ultimately, the Corporation voted for both Keller and Moore, with the stipulation that if Keller could not attend, no degree would be offered to Moore: both or none. As things transpired, Helen Keller came and was honored, Marianne Moore did not and was not, until 1969 (Keller & Keller, 2001). Liberal New York corporation lawyer Charles C. Burlingham over optimistically declared: "Harvard has now put an end to anti-feminism." He recalled the dark, misogynistic past: "I have

sometimes wondered whether Mr. Lowell's extraordinary prejudice came from his dislike of some of the performances of his sister [the flamboyant poet] Amy" (Kane, K., Kane memo to Corporation, January 19, 1955).

Pusey thought it not likely nor advisable that Radcliffe should ever become completely absorbed by Harvard, arguing that it was more appropriate that the women students of the University have their own social and cultural life and live apart as a group in much the same way that Harvard undergraduates graduates enjoy 'the collegiate way of living' in the Houses. Pressure, however, was mounting for full female membership in Harvard student organizations. The Harvard-Radcliffe Affiliation Committee polled thirty-three Harvard student groups and found that only nine opposed merger, though ten out of fifteen Radcliffe groups were against it. By 1960 a Radcliffe student was president of the Harvard Liberal Club, and coeds were on the *Crimson*, the college radio station WHRB, and the executive board of the Young Democrats. As late as February 1966, Harvard students petitioned against letting women use Lamont, the College's undergraduate library. Then Radcliffe's new Hilles Library opened. Male readers were welcome, and, in unsettling numbers they accepted the invitation, putting a whole new perspective on the situation. The Harvard College Library Committee unanimously decided to admit women to Lamont. In 1970, eight Radcliffe students were admitted into the Signet Society, the first Harvard club (admittedly not one of the most exclusive, and with literary pretensions) to admit women and *The Lampoon*, the College humor magazine, soon followed suit. Radcliffe's class of 1970 declared that it wanted to graduate as part of the Harvard commencement rather than separately and the deed was done (Pusey, N. M., Pusey to Frank H. Canaday, March 12, 1963).

The reality of coeducation and an ever more integrated undergraduate life kept merger very much alive on the two schools' agendas. In late 1968 Pusey and Bunting agreed on a draft memorandum of understanding, declaring that the purposes of Radcliffe could best be carried out by transferring its funds and property to Harvard; Harvard would assist in the fund-raising for a \$10 million campaign, the Program for Radcliffe College. Harvard's Corporation and Radcliffe's trustees agreed to merger talks, aiming at its implementation in the fall of 1970 (Bunting, P., Bunting to Nathan Marsh Pusey, November 29, 1971). Pusey put the proposed merger before the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Should Harvard College become a coeducational institution? He thought it more or less bound to happen: the curricular and extracurricular lives of the two undergraduate groups were so intertwined that separate entities no longer made sense. But the turmoil accompanying the student occupation of University Hall in April 1969 delayed merger talks. Not until the summer of 1969 did Pusey appoint faculty groups to look into the complexities of admissions and financial aid, budget and personnel, extracurricular activities and student services, and housing (Shenton, R., Shenton to Nathan Marsh Pusey, April 28, 1969). By the fall of 1969, however, merger was unraveling.

Radcliffe board chairwoman Helen Gilbert erupted during a conversation with Corporation fellow Hugh Calkins in August: "I am at the end of my patience and I think I speak for a collective Radcliffe patience. Radcliffe has had the decency to agree to discuss 'merger' and has waited, at Nate's request, until the Faculty agreed to equality for women at Harvard. We were assured that the summer of 1970 would see a top committee of Harvard Corporation members and Radcliffe trustees get to the details and work out a new Harvard-Radcliffe agreement" (Shattuck, H. L., Shattuck to Nathan Marsh Pusey, February 9, 1970).



African American students during the 1930s and 1940s were tolerated, if not welcomed, as long as they were small in numbers and of acceptable demeanor. By the mid-1950s, genteel liberal integrationism was the norm. The dormitories were integrated and Harvard teams did not play against segregated colleges. When an NAACP leader asked if Harvard had any courses on segregation in the wake of the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision, Bentinck-Smith thought that "it does not seem to me that this question particularly pertains here." School spokesmen concentrated on prejudice and discrimination outside, such as Cambridge landlords who excluded black and Jewish graduate students. In 1960 an antidiscrimination pledge was required for all rentals listed with Harvard (Bailey, D. W., Bailey to Betty G. Riddle, February 16, 1955).

Liberal outreach began to enter into its painful, frustrating interaction with black separatism. One instance: a 1963 proposal for a Harvard African and Afro-American Club, apparently to be restricted to blacks. What in a few years might be widely regarded as an acceptable instance of group self-expression offended the sensibilities of white and black integrationists alike. By a two-to-one margin the students' Council for Undergraduate Affairs refused to approve the new organization. William M. Brewer, Harvard alumnus and editor of the *Journal of Negro History*, was eloquently indignant:

At a time when America and much of the world are searching consciences and hearts about civil and human rights, the colored Harvard and Radcliffe students are asking you to sanction "selfjmcrowism and self-segregation" by desecrating Fair Harvard's glorious and sacred traditions as well as name! As a colored alumnus twice of Harvard, I beseech you not to veer from your long-established policy by approval of this. . . . The colored students should be ashamed of themselves. (Brewer, W. M., Brewer to Nathan Marsh Pusey, July 16, 1963)

The administration's efforts to recruit black students, faculty, and employees fed on a steady diet of white guilt and black pressure. The score by the spring of 1968, in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination and the ensuing urban riots: African American employees had more than doubled over the past four years to about 400. Some gains (a few painters, carpenters, plumbers, one house superintendent) had been made in that Irish preserve, buildings and grounds. Harvard had about forty black faculty members, almost all of them in the lower ranks. Only one was in Arts and Sciences: assistant professor of Government Martin Kilson. "I believe," Pusey said, "we are making 'unusual' efforts to improve this really inexcusable situation throughout the country" (Bennett, G. F., Bennett to William Bentinck-Smith, January 21, 1965). The protests of 1969 heightened the issue of what steps could be taken to admit more black students to Harvard. That fall 174 black applicants were admitted to the College. A bolder approach had its advocates: ". . . the university will be performing its proper function when it will take a chance on black students or poor whites. . . . Students with disadvantaged backgrounds will in the long run bring to the university an air of reality and more honestly reflect the varied backgrounds of people in our society at large" (Kahn, 1969, p. 111).

The creation of an Afro-American Studies department became the chief cause of blacks at Harvard. A faculty committee headed by Economics department chairman Henry Rosovsky proposed in the spring of 1969 that a degree-granting program rather than a full-fledged department of Afro-American Studies be launched. Rosovsky assured his colleagues that this was in the Harvard tradition of adapting its curriculum to new areas of study. The Faculty of Arts and Sciences met to decide on the proposal on April 22, 1969, in a charged atmosphere resulting from the University Hall occupation a couple of weeks before. The meeting was held in the Loeb Drama Center: necessary because of the turnout and appropriate because of the high

level of histrionics. Faculty hawks warned of the fall of Harvard, and even civilization, as they knew it. Radical whites and blacks threw themselves into this opportunity for agitprop: one black militant paraded outside the meeting sporting a meat cleaver. White liberals and moderates supported a parliamentary maneuver that scuttled the Rosovsky Committee's proposal for a program and replaced it with the militants' demand for a department. Unsettling, too, was the proposal that ten or more faculty appointments be made and that the candidates were to be proposed by a faculty-student committee. Thus, in the fall of 1969, the African and Afro-American Studies department was born. The distinguished historian John Hope Franklin was asked to head it, but the department's problematic origins and structure dissuaded him and other prominent black scholars from getting involved. Ewart Guinier, a lawyer and 1949 candidate of the left-wing American Labor Party for Manhattan Borough president, most recently the associate director of Columbia's Urban Center, eventually headed the new department (News release, Harvard Archives, October 17, 1969).

The two most significant events of the Pusey administration were the great fund-raising effort of the late 1950s, known as the Program for Harvard College, and the tectonic social upheaval of 1969, in which the largest source of attention was the degree to which Harvard undergraduates were involved. The dual triumph of meritocracy and affluence changed the face of Harvard's undergraduates as it did the faculty. Foreign students gradually became a more significant presence on the campus, numbering 800 in the fall of 1957, 128 in the College. Commuters—"black-shoes" in the derogatory argot of the time—were a diminishing breed. By 1956 only 285 were in the three post-freshman classes and most had very different social origins than their prewar working-class counterparts. Now commuters lived off-campus because no dormitory rooms were available or because they were married. Almost 40 percent had gone to

private secondary schools. Of note, three 1956-1957 commuters had car accidents while driving to school, in their Jaguars (Boroff, 1958, p. 29).

In 1953, the year Pusey assumed the presidency, the College accepted slightly more than half of its 3,400 applicants. A decade later, the applicant pool had risen to 4,155, and approximately 38 percent were accepted. Admissions officers were greatly concerned over the declining percentage of alumni children taken by the College: nine out of ten in 1951, two out of three in 1956. One glaring issue arose: Harvard sons had grades and test scores well below the average applicant. It was not that some sort of intergenerational decay made for less intellectually gifted alumni children, but that the general level of the pool was rising substantially. The able, competitive postwar veterans were not an aberration, but a foreshadowing. Adding pressure was the fact that the Harvard matriculation rate or yield kept rising, from 60 percent of those accepted coming in the early 1950s to over 80 percent accepting admission a decade later. More matriculants were from families who could afford Harvard or had access to outside aid such as National Merit Scholarships. The able sons or grandsons of immigrants who came to Harvard a generation ago now were successful doctors or lawyers, sending their sons to private or good suburban public schools and expecting them to go to their father's alma mater (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, 1957-1958).

To ease the mounting pressure, the Corporation in January 1964 formally ended the 1,000-member freshman class ceiling. About 1,500 students were admitted in 1965 out of an applicant pool of 6,700 from some three thousand secondary schools. For the first time, fewer than half of the alumni children who applied were accepted. "We don't really see how we can turn down a really first-rate candidate in order to take an average Harvard son," new admissions dean Fred Glimp declared. The scale and sensitivity of admissions made it an ever more

elaborate process. By the early sixties more than a hundred school and scholarship committees and 1,400 alumni worked on recruiting and interviewing. They not only identified and vetted candidates, but often helped mollify traditional feeder secondary schools whose graduates had been rejected (Glimp & Whitla, 1963-1964).

Nathan Marsh Pusey was the second Harvard president to bring previous presidential experience with him. For Pusey, that meant tangles with the infamous Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.). The Board of Overseers had hardly confirmed the new president in June 1953 when McCarthy took aim at him in a published letter. “When McCarthy’s remarks about me are translated, they mean only I didn’t vote for him,” Pusey wryly replied. The incident made national news, the vast majority of it against McCarthy. Pusey’s firmness of principle reflected his deeply religious nature and The Memorial Church and the Divinity School were the key benefactors of his continuing efforts to enhance Harvard’s spiritual fortunes. Nonetheless, Pusey was also one of Harvard’s great builders, resuming a scale of new construction to rival that of the Lowell administration. Pusey’s Program for Harvard College, an \$82.5 million effort, actually raised \$20 million more and resulted in three additions to the undergraduate House system: Quincy House (1959), Leverett Towers (1960), and Mather House (1970). During the 1960s, the Program for Harvard Medicine raised \$58 million. In April 1965, the Harvard endowment exceeded \$1 billion for the first time. By 1967, Pusey found himself making the case for yet another major fundraising effort seeking some \$160 million for various needs around the University (Harvard University Archives, n.d.).

Toward the end of his term, Pusey found himself once again beset by controversy—although this time the enemy came from within. Fueled by burning issues such as the Vietnam War, civil rights, economic justice, and the women’s movement, student activism escalated to

the boiling point by the late 1960s at Harvard and elsewhere. On April 9, 1969, radical students ejected administrators from University Hall and occupied the building to protest Harvard's ROTC program and University expansion into Cambridge and Boston neighborhoods. Early the next morning, many protesters sustained injuries requiring medical treatment after Pusey called in outside police to remove the demonstrators. In response, other students voted to strike and boycott classes. The University almost closed early. The gateway had just opened onto the greatest period of sustained upheaval in Harvard history. Pusey defended his actions until the end of his long life, but the events of April 1969 undoubtedly shortened his presidency. In February 1970, he made a surprise announcement: he was retiring two years early. Pusey left Harvard in June 1971 to become the second president of New York's Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (Harvard University Archives, n.d.).

**Derek Bok (1971-1991).** During the last three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the meritocratic Harvard of Conant and Pusey evolved into the more worldly university of Derek Bok (1971-1991) and Neil Rudenstine (1991-2001), with a shift in the prevailing culture. Worldliness—Harvard as a participant in, as much as an observer of, the larger society—became the dominant tone in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. To the social elitism of Brahmin Harvard, and the disciplinary emphasis of meritocratic Harvard, there was added the ever-expanding social engagement of worldly Harvard (Keller & Keller, 2001). Derek Bok is the son of Pennsylvania Supreme Court justice Curtis Bok and Margaret Plummer Bok, the grandson of *Ladies' Home Journal* editor Edward W. Bok and Mary Louise Curtis Bok Zimbalist, founder of the Curtis Institute of Music, and the great-grandson of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, founder of the Curtis Publishing Company, publisher of national magazines including *The Saturday Evening Post*. Bok holds an A.B. from Stanford University, a J.D. from Harvard Law School, and an A.M. in

economics from George Washington University. Following law school, he was named a Fulbright Scholar and studied at the University of Paris' Institute of Political Science (Harvard Archives).

When it came to the curriculum, Bok's chief concern was not what but how Harvard students learned. He backed programs to improve the pedagogical skills of graduate students and to discover more effective teaching techniques. Looking back in 1997, he characterized the faculty's response to these efforts as "a great blob of inertia" (David, 1997, p. 53). The question of who would be admitted to study at Harvard provided Bok with his first opportunity to recast the University. In the same month he took office, Bok announced a plan to boost ranks of Radcliffe women by 50 percent, while slightly decreasing the number of men admitted to the College, in hopes of achieving a male-female ration of 2.5 to 1. The long-range impact would be a different set of numbers, even more worrisome, given the fear of alumni officers that ". . . Old Girls were unlikely to contribute as generously to alma mater as their male counterparts" (Smith, 1986, p. 283).

It seemed to one observer that Bok and his non-Bostonian predecessor Pusey "were the one-two punch that took out the Brahmin tradition at Harvard" (Keller & Keller, 2001, p. 342). Prior to being named president, Bok served as dean of Harvard Law School from 1968 to 1971. The Corporation saw in Bok a mediator with the capacity to avoid a reprise of the unpleasantness of 1969. What they got was a president more interested in shaping the Harvard that was to be than in healing the hurts of the Harvard that was. Like the French general staff, the Corporation sought constantly to win the war just past; as is so often the case, well-laid plans had unanticipated consequences (Bentinck-Smith, 1982). Riesman, a Harvard sociologist, stated:

The larger the modern American university, the more it wants and the less it can afford an intellectual president. There has been a great erosion of authority on campus as elsewhere, and you need look no further than the president's office to understand the criteria used in choosing executive officers. . . . Bok had been a labor negotiator. He wasn't perceived as a figure of authority. He isn't A. Lawrence Lowell. Bok puts his feet up on the desk and calls up professors to talk about education (Smith, 1986, p. 269).

Bok's firmly held belief in Harvard's ethical responsibility to society would influence the development of its new Core Curriculum, first unveiled in 1977. While detractors asserted that Harvard's novel Core Curriculum represented little more than Conant's General Education program dressed in new fittings to be sold to alumni givers as an educational innovation worthy of their contributions, Bok's strong commitment to ethical instruction and intellectual cross-pollination was sincere, displacing conventional theology for him just as reliance on character displaced it for Eliot. Reverend Peter Gomes of Memorial Church said, "Mr. Bok is not antagonistic to religion, just bewildered by it. As an institution, he finds the church very peculiar. He won't harm it, he can't support it, and he certainly won't engage in it" (Smith, 1986, p. 294).

Bok enlisted Henry Rosovsky, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, to aid him in instituting his curricular vision. The real crisis, Rosovsky said, was a malaise among educators who did not know their own fundamental beliefs about general education. "At the moment," Rosovsky wrote, "to be an educated man or woman doesn't mean anything." Rosovsky was not exaggerating, given Harvard's Chinese menu of 2,600 course offerings, and slackened standards that permitted credit for students evaluating the nutritional content of their own diets. "In the late Seventies, a minor scandal ensued from the revelation that Harvard had given academic standing to twenty-two students studying the multiflex offense as taught by its football



quarterback” (Hechinger, 1978, p. 27). Rosovsky constituted an eleven-member group chaired by government professor James Q. Wilson to address the Core. Academic politicians appeared to be as wedded to the pork barrel as their counterparts in Washington. Wilson’s initial report condemned the proliferation of undergraduate courses, while concurrently warning that if the requirements of the Core are too precise and the courses that meet these requirements too few, it becomes a challenge to recruit faculty to teach the essential courses. Smith (1986) notes:

Here lay the core of the Core, with its emphasis on analysis to the exclusion of synthesis, and its embrace of specialization and methods common to graduate instruction. To Conant’s contemporaries, talk of a knowledge explosion was a smokescreen for the intellectual equivalent of junk mail. Among the basic Redbook courses was Samuel Beer’s “Western Thought and Institutions.” When Beer retired in 1978, no one stepped forward to continue his review of Anglo-Saxon society, the Puritan Revolution, Bismarckian Germany, and philosophy from Aquinas to Marx. Instead, the new Core offered “Nationalism, Religion and Politics in Central Eurasia,” “Black Literary Movements of the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century,” and “Moral Reasoning 19,” “a careful analysis of . . . the writings of Moses Maimonides, influential twelfth century Jewish philosopher. (p. 315)

The Core’s final outlines were shaped into five general areas of knowledge—which together would comprise eight of an undergraduate’s thirty-two courses—and in early May 1978, by a vote of 182 to 65, Arts and Sciences voted to replace General Education with the Core Curriculum. Instead of broad survey courses, Harvard would now rely on highly specific replacements and “old warhorses gave way to modern hobbyhorses.” What the Core truly represented was ratification of the expanding intellectual universe and the admission that

methodology had become the dominant force in a community unable to agree on the relative value of course content. As Rosovsky stated:

There has been a revolution in American society since the Second World War. We have opened up our best schools on a merit basis. . . . The American system does not slam the door on a young person, regardless of class lines. But we face the serious problem of transmitting shared values to students of such varied backgrounds. What's at stake is the restoration of common discourse in which all students can share. (Smith, 1986, p. 318)

Bok focused on expanding the Kennedy School of Government faculty and programs. He encouraged the establishment of academic programs and research centers addressing issues such as AIDS, energy and the environment, poverty, professional ethics, smoking, and international security. As president, he was a vocal advocate for student participation in public-service programs. By the end of his presidency, more than 60 percent of Harvard undergraduates were engaged in some form of public service. Envisioning the important role Harvard could play internationally, Bok also signed innovative debt-for-scholarship agreements with the governments of Ecuador and Mexico during his tenure. Historian Bernard Bailyn, one of Harvard's most distinguished scholars, admired Bok's "moral center" but not the degree of his emphasis on serving society. Bailyn argued that Harvard had never been a pure ivory tower: it had trained leaders for important social roles from its early seventeenth-century beginnings. The University of the future would have to strike a better balance, "serving society while also devoted to learning for its own sake" (Bailyn, 1991, p. 78). As Bok (2015) states:

To be sure, not all the successes of American higher education are attributable to the distinctive features of our system; fortuitous coincidences have helped as well. To cite the most important, much of the financial strength of American universities has been due

to the exceptional wealth of the United States and its strong tradition of private philanthropy. The accidents of history spared the United States from the massive destruction of World War II while making this country a natural haven for outstanding scientists and scholars fleeing from Hitler in the 1930s. Not least, the emergence of English as the lingua franca of the scientific and scholarly world has enabled our universities to recruit talented professors from around the globe far more easily than institutions in countries such as France, Germany, or Japan. With full recognition of the factors just mentioned, it remains true that the advantages of our system are impressive. They have served us well in the past and continue to contribute much to the achievements of our colleges and universities. The worldwide tendency to conform more closely to the American model gives eloquent testimony to the strengths of our approach. (p. 22)

In 1975, Bok established the Office for the Arts, whose programs continue to serve more than 3,000 undergraduates annually. He established the Danforth Center for Teaching and Learning to explore innovations in undergraduate teaching, which was renamed the Bok Center in 1991. During Bok's 20-year tenure as president, he advocated increasing the number of female undergraduates and supported the 1975 adoption of equal-access and gender-blind financial-aid policies in admissions. Derek Bok served as interim president of Harvard University from July 1, 2006, to June 30, 2007, the only individual in the modern era to twice serve as Harvard president. As interim president, Bok devoted himself to bringing to a successful conclusion an ongoing review of undergraduate education, planning for the development of University land in Allston, and identifying organizational changes necessary to promote interdisciplinary research, including reform of the academic calendar (Harvard Archives).

**Neil L. Rudenstine (1991-2001).** Rudenstine's father, Harry Rudenstine was a Russian Jew from Kiev and worked as a prison guard, while his mother was Catholic and the daughter of immigrants from Campobasso in Italy, near Naples. Rudenstine was the first member of his family to complete high school. Unlike most of his predecessors, Rudenstine did not graduate from Harvard College, but, rather, earned his undergraduate degree at Princeton. He is a scholar of Renaissance literature, receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1964. After serving as a faculty member at Harvard for four years, he joined the faculty at Princeton and held a number of posts in academic administration, including dean of students, dean of the college, and provost. Rudenstine then served as executive vice president of the Mellon Foundation for four years before being chosen for the Harvard presidency in 1991. McMillen (1991) notes: "At a time when college presidents are increasingly drawn from the legal and business professions, Mr. Rudenstine is a throwback to the days of humanists as college presidents. And his background is a departure from that of his 25 predecessors, who were of predominantly Anglo-Saxon heritage (p. A3).

At Harvard, as part of an overall effort to achieve greater coordination among the University's schools and faculties, Rudenstine set in motion an intensive process of University-wide academic planning intended to identify some of Harvard's main intellectual and programmatic priorities. In 1999, he announced the launch of a major new venture in interdisciplinary learning, turned Radcliffe College into the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study with a \$300 million endowment—created through the merger of Radcliffe College with Harvard—and celebrated the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Harvard's Afro-American studies department with the dream team of black scholars he helped assemble. During his tenure, Rudenstine worked to sustain and build federal support for university-based research. Under his leadership,

Harvard's federally sponsored research grew to \$320 million in 2000, up from \$200 million in 1991. Unlike many of his predecessors, Rudenstine did not establish himself as a kind of public intellectual, holding sway on the issues of the day. While he testified before Congress in support of government financing of scientific research, and, in academic circles, was a leading supporter of affirmative action, he never penetrated to the public at large (Wilgoren, 2000).

Rudenstine made Harvard's commitment to excellence in undergraduate education a key priority, recognizing the vital importance of keeping Harvard's doors open to students from across the economic spectrum, the task of adapting the research university to an era of rapid information growth, and the challenge of living together in a diverse community committed to freedom of expression. As Rudenstine (1996) writes:

In a debate so often framed in terms of the competing interests of different groups, it is all the more important that we continue to stress the most fundamental rationale for student diversity in higher education: its educational value. Students benefit in countless ways from the opportunity to live and learn among peers whose perspectives and experiences differ from their own.

A diverse educational environment challenges them to explore ideas and arguments at a deeper level—to see issues from various sides, to rethink their own premises, to achieve the kind of understanding that comes only from testing their own hypotheses against those of people with other views. Such an environment also creates opportunities for people from different backgrounds, with different life experiences, to come to know one another as more than passing acquaintances, and to develop forms of tolerance and mutual respect on which the health of our civic life depends. (p. B1)

Mill (1859/1991) wrote in *On Liberty*, “The only way in which a human being can make some approach to learning the whole of a subject is by hearing what can be said about it by persons of every variety of opinion, and studying all modes in which it can be looked at by every character of mind. No wise man ever acquired his wisdom in any mode but this; nor is it in the nature of human intellect to become wise in any other manner” (p. 25).

In the 1978 case *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell wrote the pivotal opinion, arguing that the “atmosphere of ‘speculation, experiment and creation’—so essential to the quality of higher education—is widely believed to be promoted by a diverse student body. . . . It is not too much to say that the Nation’s future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to the ideas and mores of students as diverse as this Nation of many peoples” (p. 2760). According to Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin (2002), “Since the *Bakke* decision, the educational benefits of diversity as a compelling governmental interest have provided the primary justification for affirmative action at selective institutions across the country” (p. 331). The diversity argument has not been supported in all lower court cases since the original *Bakke* decision. For example, *Hopwood v. University of Texas*, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals denied that diversity has any impact on educational experience, stating: “The use of race, in and of itself, to choose students simply achieves a student body that looks different. Such a criterion is no more rational on its own terms than would be choices based upon the physical size or blood type of applicants” (*Hopwood*, 1996, p. 950).

In 1996, as storm clouds began gathering over affirmative action in the wake of *Hopwood v. Texas*, Rudenstine (1996) looked to the Harvard plan as a piloting beacon, describing how:

. . . after the Civil War, Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard from 1896 to 1909, expanded the conception of diversity, which he saw as a defining feature of American democratic society. He wanted students from a variety of “nations, states, families, sects, and conditions of life” at Harvard, so that they could experience “the wholesome influence that comes from observation of and contact with” people different from themselves. He wanted students who were children of the “rich and poor” and of the “educated and uneducated,” students “from North and South, from East and West,” students belonging to “every religious communion, from Roman Catholic to the Jew and the Japanese Buddhist.” (p. 166)

Rudenshine was writing on the heels of *Hopwood*. Since the *Hopwood* decision, courts across the country have produced conflicting rulings on diversity as a compelling governmental interest. In two cases involving the University of Michigan, one challenging its undergraduate admissions and the other its law school admissions, two different rulings on diversity as a compelling governmental interest were given at the district court level. In *Gratz v. Bollinger, et al.* (2000), the court ruled on summary judgment in favor of the University of Michigan, upholding its current undergraduate admissions policy and finding that diversity was a compelling governmental interest that justified the policy. In *Grutter v. Bollinger, et al.* (2002), the court held that the educational benefits of diversity are not a compelling state interest, and even if they were, the law school’s policy was not “narrowly tailored” to the interest of diversity (Gurin et al., 2002). Fullinwider & Lichtenberg (2004) vehemently disagree with the University of Michigan’s expert witness, Patricia Gurin, who testified that racial and ethnic diversity is “a critically important factor in creating . . . [a] varied educational experience,” insisting that, “. . .

racially and ethnically diverse student bodies [are] essential to providing the best possible educational environment for students, white and minority alike” (Gurin et al., 2002), noting:

There are too many possible settings and combinations of diversity that can lead to effective intellectual growth. . . . Students at Wellesley, Dillard, Berea, Princeton, and Calvin College develop their ability to think critically and creatively and become more cosmopolitan in their outlooks. Yet these campuses do without some of the items on the Harvard plan’s long list of “diversities.” Calvin College does without atheists, Wellesley without males, Dillard without whites, Berea without upper-class urbanites, and Princeton without the children of the “uneducated”—one of Charles W. Eliot’s desiderata. No one or two items on the long list of “diversities” is indispensable, and this is as true for race or ethnicity as for any other item. (p. 176)

Rudenstine led Harvard’s first University-wide funding campaign in modern times and what was then the largest higher education campaign in history. The efforts surpassed the goal of \$2.1 billion to raise more than \$2.6 billion from about 175,000 alumni and friends of Harvard. Through Rudenstine’s remarkable development efforts, Harvard was able to take meaningful steps toward its goals, such as increasing both undergraduate and graduate student financial aid, embarking on new construction projects to provide cutting-edge facilities for study and research, and endowing new chairs and professorships to ensure that Harvard would continue to attract top faculty (Harvard University Archives).

It is the bane of the modern university president to often appear more like a chief executive than a scholar, a paradigm that Rudenstine rejects. While the responsibilities of the president have been restructured over time, Harvard demands that its president stay engaged by requiring her or him to oversee all tenure decisions personally; Rudenstine handled more than



250 during his tenure. As he says, “You come away with a constant probing of where things are going and why they’re going that way. If you’re not recapitalizing your intellectual capital, you’re not going to know enough to lead anyone” (Wilgoren, 2000, p. A8).

**Lawrence H. Summers (2001-2006).** Lawrence H. Summers is President *Emeritus* and Charles W. Eliot Professor of Harvard University. He has served in a series of senior public policy positions, including Director of the National Economic Council for the Obama Administration from 2009 to 2011 and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States from 1999 to 2001. Summers is the son of two economists, Robert Summers (who changed the family surname from Samuelson) and Anita Summers (of Romanian-Jewish ancestry), both of whom were professors at the University of Pennsylvania; he is also the nephew of two Nobel laureates in economics: Paul Samuelson (brother of Robert Summers) and Kenneth Arrow (brother of Anita Summers). Summers entered MIT at the age of 16, where he originally intended to study physics, but soon switched to economics after arriving on campus (S.B., 1975). He attended Harvard as a graduate student (Ph.D., 1982). In 1983, at the age of 28, Summers became one of the youngest individuals in recent history to be named a tenured member of Harvard’s faculty (Harvard Archives).

Bowen & Bok (2004) note in *The Shape of the River*:

Stretching from St. Paul to New Orleans, Mark Twain’s Mississippi winds for twelve hundred miles through fog, rapids, slow eddies, sandbars, bends, and hidden bluffs.

Drawing upon his own experiences on the Mississippi, Twain created an image of the river as both physically central to the United States and symbolically central to the story of our book, which is concerned with the flow of talent—particularly of talented black

men and women—through the country’s system of higher education and on into the market place and the larger society. . . .

While riverboat pilots on the Mississippi navigated “point to point”—only as far as they could see into the next bend—they had to know every depth, every deceptive shoal, and every hidden snag of the river. . . . Even though they could only steer through what they saw in front of them, they had to understand how the bend that they were navigating at any moment fit into the shape of a twelve-hundred mile river.

The college admissions process and the educational experience that follows it are similarly complex. Most recently, debate about the use of race as a criterion has centered on the question of who “merits” or “deserves” a place in the freshman class. (p. xlix)

On July 1, 2001, Summers took office as the 27<sup>th</sup> president of Harvard University. As president he oversaw significant growth in the faculties, the further internationalization of the Harvard experience, expanded efforts in and enhanced commitment to the sciences, laying the ground work for Harvard’s future development of an expanded campus in Allston, and improved efforts to attract the strongest students, regardless of financial circumstance, with the Harvard Financial Aid Initiative. These initiatives were sustained by five years of successful fundraising and strong endowment returns (Harvard University Archives, n.d.).

Summers’ critics were quick to note that he had developed a reputation for excessive bluntness, lacking the quiet diplomacy they praised in his predecessor, Neil L. Rudenstine. Summers, who was treasury secretary under President Bill Clinton, was said to have brought with him the sharp elbows for which he was known in Washington. “In many ways, he is what people used to expect university presidents to be: outspoken, a strong hand and a public figure, not simply a smooth fund-raiser. The education of Larry Summers suggests how much that

expectation has changed” (Zernicke & Belluck, 2002, p. 20). The negative publicity started within Summers’ first six months at the helm (Robinson, 2006):

One of his first thrusts was to dress down Cornel West, at the time perhaps the university’s most famous African American scholar, for spending time recording rap albums rather than doing serious scholarship. On a campus where scores of celebrity professors have extensive outside interests (and none is accustomed to being addressed in such a patronizing tone), starting with West raised immediate questions about Summers’s commitment to diversity. West, meanwhile, decamped to Princeton University in a huff. (p. A15)

Complaints promptly ensued that Summers had snubbed or disappointed other celebrated black scholars, raising the likelihood that Harvard would lose the stars of its Afro-American studies department. In an interview in his office off Harvard Yard, Summers defended his tenure and suggested that the criticism reflected the need to adjust to a new style, one of questioning, not conciliation. The questions are intended to force people to rise to the high expectations worthy of Harvard, not to shoot them down. “I think the questioning is a mark of respect for people, an interest in what they have to say,” Summers said. “I’ve always believed that you can’t do anything without having a sense of the pros and cons” (Zernicke & Belluck, 2002, p. 20).

Summers’ comments to an off-the-record conference on women and minorities in science, sponsored by the National Bureau of Economic Research in early January, 2005, quite literally propelled the lid off Pandora’s Box, ushering in the beginning of the end for Summers’ short presidency. “Some supporters of Summers labeled the negative reaction to his remarks just another incidence of political correctness and reverse discrimination. But even a few of Summers’ fellow presidents—those heading Stanford, MIT, and Princeton—weighed in publicly

about a month after Summers' comments were first reported" (Fields, 2005, May/June). Writing a joint piece in *The Boston Globe* (2005), Hennessey, Hockfield, & Tilghman wrote:

Lawrence Summers's recent comments about possible causes of the under-representation of women in science and engineering have generated extensive debate and discussion—much of which has had the untoward effect of shifting the focus of the debate to history rather than to the future.

The question we must ask as a society is not "can women excel in math, science, and engineering?"—Marie Curie exploded that myth a century ago—but "how can we encourage more women with exceptional abilities to pursue careers in these fields?"

Extensive research on the abilities and representation of males and females in science and mathematics has identified the need to address important cultural and societal factors.

Speculation that "innate differences" may be a significant cause for the under-representation of women in science and engineering may rejuvenate old myths and reinforce negative stereotypes and biases. (p. A13)

Concurrent with Larry Summers' imbroglio—essentially defining the limits of free speech on campus—Ward Churchill, a professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder, wrote an essay three years earlier in which he went so far as to say that "those who died in the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center were part of the military-industrialist machine that had produced the policies that had produced the hatred that eventually produced the terrible events of that day. In a phrase that has been cited endlessly, he called those who died 'little Eichmanns,' that is, persons who willingly served a regime while taking no responsibility for its actions and their consequences. The chickens, he said, have come home to roost" (Fish, 2005, p. B9).

Neumayr (2005) notes, "As the Larry Summers flap illustrates, 'academic freedom' means just

its opposite: not liberating the mind by conforming it to reality, but imprisoning the mind in politically correct fictions that guarantee ignorance of reality. While Ward Churchill can tell lies about differences between America and the terrorists, Larry Summers is forbidden to tell truths about differences between men and women.” J. Lorand Matory, a professor of anthropology in the African and African American studies department was upset by Summers’ treatment of Cornel West and became one of the president’s most vociferous critics, proposing that a no-confidence motion be put on the agenda of the next faculty meeting:

On March 15, 2005, eight weeks after the comments about women, FAS (Faculty of Arts and Sciences) academics packed into the Loeb Drama Centre . . . The motion was without precedent in modern-day Harvard and the first hour of the meeting was consumed by a debate about whether the vote should take place at all. As Summers sat on the stage, his supporters read aloud from the pages of John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* and warned about a new McCarthyism. The vote was symbolic since only the Harvard Corporation, the university’s governing council, has the power to sack a president, but the academics wanted to send a message to Summers. In a secret ballot the motion was passed by 218 to 185 votes, with 18 abstentions. (Bowley, 2006, p. 19)

As the 2005 academic year was coming to a close, President Summers announced that Harvard planned to spend \$50 million over the next decade “to enhance the diversity of the faculty ranks at Harvard across all fields and to improve the climate and prospects for faculty once on campus,” helping to carry out the recommendations of two task forces he appointed earlier in the year after sparking a furor over women’s aptitude for, and position in, the sciences (Fields, 2005, September/October, p. 7). Hailed in his first days as a “once-in-a-century leader, in the mold of perhaps Harvard’s greatest president, Charles W. Eliot, Dr. Summers . . . came

into office with plans to expand the campus, put new focus on undergraduate education and integrate the university's schools (Finder, Healy, & Zernike, 2006, p. A1). Dr. Summers had been widely seen as a president who would serve 10, maybe 20, years and:

. . . usher in landmark changes. Instead he lasted five years, and some of his grandest ambitions—like the new science, arts and professional school campus in Boston—are far from realized or have been scaled back. . . . Dr. Summers had also been expected to lead a \$5 billion fund-raising campaign. . . . The revision of the undergraduate curriculum, initiated three years ago by Dr. Summers, was delayed last year by the uproar over his remarks that intrinsic aptitude could help explain why fewer women than men reached the highest ranks of science and math in universities. . . . In place of the core curriculum now required, Harvard would require undergraduates to take three courses in each of three broad areas: arts and humanities, the study of societies, and science and technology. The plan would also push back by a semester—to the middle of sophomore year—the date by which students must declare a major. (Healy & Finder, 2006, p. A14)

The Harvard Corporation is the select group of seven individuals who decide the policies and administer the wealth of the most powerful educational institution in the world. Membership in the Harvard Corporation once required certain personal traits and qualifications. “Best to be a Boston lawyer, a financial executive, and an Episcopalian. In choosing members the quality of prudence was prized above all. Scrappy, irreverent, daring, or visionary individuals were always shunned in favor of the cautious and tenacious. Being white and male was an absolute requirement” (Ironies in a Perfect Storm, 2005/2006). In February 2000, Conrad K. Harper, a black man with impeccable credentials, was named to the seven-member Harvard Corporation. Harper resigned in July 2006, stating that he could no longer serve on the board if Lawrence

Summers remained as president of the university. “Voicing opposition to a pay raise the board had voted for Summers, Harper wrote in a letter to Summers, ‘In my judgment, your 2004-2005 conduct, implicating, as it does, profound issues of temperament and judgment, merits no increase whatsoever. I believe that Harvard’s best interests require your resignation’” (Ironies in a Perfect Storm, 2005/2006).

With the resignation of William C. Kirby, dean of FAS in January 2006, a number of professors expressed new concerns about Summers’ leadership, believing that Kirby had been forced out by Summers. “There was no smoking gun, but there were innumerable brush fires,” said one critic, Howard Gardner, a professor of cognition and education, referring to the controversies surrounding Dr. Summers (Finder, Healy, & Zernike, 2006, p. A1). At 4:00 p.m. on February 7, 2006, 200 FAS professors filed into the 190-year-old University Hall in the middle of Harvard Yard and settled down on the plastic folding chairs beneath the oil paintings and chandeliers. It was supposed to be a regular meeting of the teaching faculty, but some of the academics were about to launch what one of them would later describe as a “surprise attack” on Larry Summers, Harvard president:

[Farish] Jenkins [, a 65-year-old professor of evolutionary biology,] rarely attended the faculty meetings and had never spoken out publicly against Summers before. But now, clutching his notes in his right hand and looking around at the crowded room, he put into words what many of his distinguished colleagues were thinking—that Summers should go.

“Is it not time to reverse this tide of chaos and dysfunction,” he said, in a low measured tone, “to appoint an acting president and to allow a new presidential search to be initiated?” (Bowley, 2006, p. 19)

Summers critics argued that the fight was about ousting a bully who insisted on using their precious university as a pulpit for his loathsome views. Summers, on the other hand, had attempted to right what he viewed as a terrible wrong: a dangerous complacency on the part of Harvard's brilliant but insulated professors in a new era of globalization. Summers is one of the world's most eminent economists—winning the John Bates Clark Medal given every two years to the nation's best economist under 40, an award so competitive that some economists say it is as prestigious as a Nobel Prize (Hirsh, 2013). After Summers left the Clinton administration, his candidacy for president of Harvard was championed by his mentor Robert Rubin, a former CEO of Goldman Sachs, who was his boss and predecessor as Treasury Secretary. Rubin, after leaving the Treasury Department—where he championed the law that made Citigroup's creation legal—became both vice chairman of Citigroup and a powerful member of Harvard's governing board. Perhaps the conflicts of interest—not to mention the diametrically opposed cultural environments—of the senior academic economists who move among universities, government, and banking were insurmountable (Ferguson, 2010).

Summers resigned in 2006 as president of Harvard University after a relatively brief and turbulent tenure of five years, nudged by Harvard's governing corporation and facing a vote of no confidence from the influential Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The announcement disappointed many students on campus and raised questions about future leaders' ability to govern Harvard with its vocal and independent-minded faculty. For Summers, there was so much at stake: the quality of undergraduate teaching; students' knowledge of the world outside America; whether Harvard could compete with U.S. rivals such as Stanford or match the engineers and scientists that would soon be emerging from the vast campuses growing in China and India. "If he failed now, Harvard's position was at stake. If Harvard lost its way, then the



future governance of America, or even the world, was at risk, because Harvard's job was to train future leaders of the world's only superpower" (Bowley, 2006, p. 19).

Summers' experience stands as an exemplar of the precariously artful dance required of effective leadership. "How can anyone govern a university where a fraction of faculty members can force a president out?" said Joseph O'Donnell, a Boston business executive who is a former member of Harvard's Board of Overseers and a prominent donor. On the other side of the aisle: "For all his extraordinary talents, he just hasn't provided the kind of leadership to the university that people were prepared to follow," said Harry R. Lewis, a professor of computer science and the former dean of Harvard College, who stepped down in 2003 after disagreeing frequently with Dr. Summers (Flinder, Healy, & Zernike, 2006, p. B7).

**Drew Gilpin Faust (2007-Present).** Faust is the 28<sup>th</sup> president of Harvard University and the Lincoln Professor of History in Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Faust ended the succession of 27 white men who have held the president's title at America's oldest institution of higher education, assuming the reins from Derek Bok who served as interim president upon Summers' departure. Faust was the first president without a Harvard degree since Charles Chauncy, an alumnus of Cambridge University, who died in office in 1672. She attended Bryn Mawr College and the University of Pennsylvania and was elected by the seven-member Harvard Corporation, the school's governing body, and ratified by the 20-member Board of Overseers. Faust was brought up on a farm in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the second of four children and the only daughter. As Faust states (Duguid, 2010):

[My mother] used to say to me: "It's a man's world, sweetie, and the sooner you figure it out, the happier you will be". . . . It's often said that education is the civil rights issue of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. . . . I think a lot about what my mother would make of my life now. She

died when I was 19. I guess if I could speak to her I would say, “Mummy, you see, it isn’t a man’s world any more.” I think she’d be pleased with me, even if I didn’t take her advice. (p. 10)

Faust made her new role lucidly clear: “I’m not the woman president of Harvard,” she said. “I’m the president of Harvard.” Nonetheless, on campus there was much celebration over her selection, including pink balloons with the words “It’s a girl” floating in Radcliffe Yard. Nannerl O. Keohane, one of the seven members of the Harvard Corporation, says it did not choose Ms. Faust because she is a woman. “I think it would be unfair to her and to us and to Harvard to say that,” she says (Duguid, 2010, p. 10). The National Association of Scholars, however, saw the selection of Faust as the ultimate *mea culpa*, issuing a statement saying that the selection has “all the hallmarks of a penitential act,” essentially applying salve on Harvard’s anguish over its “imagined sins against women” on the heels of Larry Summers’ departure (Wilson, 2007, p. A23).

An historian of the Civil War and the American South, Faust was the founding dean of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard, guiding its transformation from a college into a wide-ranging institute for scholarly and creative enterprise, distinctive for its multidisciplinary focus and the exploration of new knowledge at the crossroads of traditional fields (Harvard University Archives, n.d.).

As Morton and Phyllis Keller, historians and authors of a book on Harvard, assert: Historically . . . Harvard has alternated between strong presidents and those they call stewards, whose chief task is to build up the university’s endowment. The presidents in between have been freer to focus on some aspect of the university that they think needs improvement. For Charles Eliot, it was making the curriculum more flexible. For James

Conant, it was improving the quality of the faculty and students. For Derek Bok, it was making Harvard more relevant to the outside world. Larry Summers [came] in at a time when money [was] not the problem, the quality of students [was] not the problem. There [was] a serious problem in the way in which Harvard's worldliness and prestige drives professors away from their core responsibilities: teaching and scholarship. He [responded] not only to his own sense of the university having strayed from its core mission, but to the criticism outside the university. (Zernicke & Belluck, 2002, p. 20)

With Faust's selection, half of the eight Ivy League schools are being run by women. The other three are Ruth J. Simmons of Brown University, Elizabeth Garrett of Cornell University, and Amy Gutmann of the University of Pennsylvania. Many educators believed that Harvard's decision would send a message to other major research universities in the country, 14 percent of which were headed by women in 2007: "And it has only taken them 371 years," said Kim Gandy, president of the National Organization for Women. "Larry Summers, we couldn't have done it without you" (Strauss & Kinzie, 2007). "Harvard is making a statement at a critical time when we are seeing student bodies [at many schools] that are well over 50 percent women," said Claire van Ummersen, director of the Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education. "We see women faculty increasing in number, and the place where we have lagged most is in research institutions having women at the executive level. . . . Hopefully, this will have some influence on boards of trustees or overseers of other institutions" (Strauss & Kinzie, 2007).

As president of Harvard, Faust has expanded financial aid to improve access to Harvard College for students of all economic backgrounds and advocated for increased federal funding for scientific research. She has broadened the University's international reach, raised the profile

of the arts on campus, embraced sustainability, launched edX, the online learning partnership with MIT, and promoted collaboration across academic disciplines and administrative units as she guides the University through a period of significant financial challenges. In a letter to Harvard students, faculty, staff, and alumni (Masterson, 2008), Faust noted that Harvard's endowment, which was reportedly \$34-billion in 2007, paid for more than one-third of the university's operating budget. Faust stated in her letter that Moody's Investors Service, a bond-rating agency, had recently projected a 30-percent decline in the value of college and university endowments in the current fiscal year: "While we can hope that markets will improve, we need to be prepared to absorb unprecedented endowment losses and plan for a period of greater financial constraint." Faust also noted that donors and foundations may be financially hard-pressed and that federal grants and contracts for research may well be vulnerable to government budget cuts (p. A15).

In an address outlining Harvard's capital campaign, Faust said she hoped for a Harvard "as good as it is great." In a follow up interview, Faust was asked how she reconciles tensions between striving to balance the "good" and the "great," specifically as pertains to research that does not have a quantifiable effect on people's lives. Faust (Diersing, 2013) stated:

There's a lot of knowledge that we want to develop and train people to know about that doesn't have an immediate impact. For example, studying the classics. But it's part of the heritage of who we are as human beings. . . . So even though we can't say that someone who studies the liberal arts is going to immediately save lives or achieve something as measurable as longevity, these subjects are nevertheless extremely important to our heritage as human beings and to how we define what matters to us as a society.

Faust's ascension to the corner office in Massachusetts Hall propelled her from her previous role as dean of one of Harvard's smallest units, the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study—an interdisciplinary think-tank for learning and scholarship with 87 employees and a \$17 million budget—to presiding over Harvard's 11 schools and colleges, 24,000 employees, and a budget of \$3 billion (Alderman, 2007). William Bowen, a former president of Princeton University who is frequently consulted in high-level university searches said, "She knows what universities are about. She knows that you don't just order people around—you have to lead by persuasion" (Wilson, 2007, p. A1). Faust became a close confidante of Sheldon Hackney, who led the University of Pennsylvania from 1981 until 1993. Hackney said, "University presidents have a hard time making new friends because you have to be careful about what you say, and you can never be sure when people are talking to you because they might want something" (Wilson, 2007, p. A1). Howard Gardner, a professor of education at Harvard, asserts that Faust was chosen in part to help smooth over relations between the Harvard Corporation and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which he says was "estranged not only from President Summers but from the general mission of the corporation. . . . [Faust is someone] who is trusted by the arts and sciences, who certainly isn't opposed to the corporation's agenda, but can pursue it in a way that can bring people along rather than stiffen opposition. . . . She doesn't think she knows everything better than everybody else" (Wilson, 2007, p. A1). At the beginning of its search to replace President Summers, the names of 30 distinguished academics were leaked to the press. By the end of the process, most of them had removed themselves from consideration. One of the people on the shortlist of candidates was Nannerl O. Keohane, a former president of Wellesley College and Duke University and a current member of Harvard's governing board. Keohane cited the famous reply by William Tecumseh Sherman, the Civil War general who some political leaders wanted

to draft as a presidential candidate: “I will not accept if nominated and will not serve if elected” (Bombardieri, 2006).

As Keller & Keller (2001) note, the paramount issue that Harvard faces is to adapt its extraordinary assets to the demands of a fast-changing academic environment: “The worldly university’s desire for a public leadership role has to come to terms with the constraints imposed by political correctness in the faculty culture. And an autonomous faculty can drift into a self-sufficiency which negates the ideal of Harvard as a community of scholars” (p. 491). In an interview before her inauguration ceremony, Faust faulted a federal Commission on the future of Higher Education—empaneled by the Bush administration and spearheaded by Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings—for its myopic focus on training a competitive work force for the global economy. In its final report in 2006, the Commission called for public universities to measure learning with standardized tests, for federal monitoring of college quality, and for sweeping changes to financial aid. Paraphrasing W. E. B. DuBois, Faust said: “Education is not to make men carpenters so much as to make carpenters men. . . . Those who long for a lost golden age of higher education should think about the very limited population that alleged utopia actually served. . . . College used to be a [sic] restricted to a tiny elite; now it serves the many, not just the few (Rimer, 2007, p. A12). Faust used her two-day inauguration festivities to signal that universities like Harvard had to diversify their ranks by including African dancers; a reading by Toni Morrison; and speeches by the historian John Hope Franklin and Deval Patrick, a Harvard graduate who is the first black governor of Massachusetts. Faust said in her installation address (Faust, 2007, November/December):

In the past half-century, American colleges and universities have shared in a revolution, serving as both the emblem and the engine of the expansion of equality, citizenship, and

opportunity—to blacks, women, Jews, immigrants, and others who would have been subjected to quotas or excluded altogether in an earlier era. . . .

The essence of a university is that it is uniquely accountable to the past and to the future—not simply, or even primarily, to the present. . . . The “Veritas” in Harvard’s shield was originally intended to invoke the absolutes of divine revelation, the unassailable verities of Puritan religion. We understand it quite differently now. Truth is an aspiration, not a possession. Yet in this we—and all universities defined by the spirit of debate and free inquiry—challenge, and even threaten, those who would embrace unquestioned certainties. We must commit ourselves to the uncomfortable position of doubt, to the humility of always believing there is more to know, more to teach, more to understand. . . .

Last week I was given a brown manila envelope that had been entrusted to the University Archives in 1951 by James B. Conant, Harvard’s 23rd president. He left instructions that it should be opened by the Harvard president at the outset of the next century “and not before.” I broke the seal on the mysterious package to find a remarkable letter from my predecessor. It was addressed to “My dear Sir.” Conant wrote with a sense of imminent danger. He feared an impending World War III that would make “the destruction of our cities including Cambridge quite possible.”

“We all wonder,” he continued, “how the free world is going to get through the next fifty years.” But as he imagined Harvard’s future, Conant shifted from foreboding to faith. If the “prophets of doom” proved wrong, if there was a Harvard president alive to read his letter, Conant was confident about what the university would be. “You will receive this note and be in charge of a more prosperous and significant institution than

the one over which I have the honor to preside . . . That . . . [Harvard] will maintain the traditions of academic freedom, of tolerance for heresy, I feel sure.” We must dedicate ourselves to making certain he continues to be right; we must share and sustain his faith.

Conant’s letter, like our gathering here, marks a dramatic intersection of the past with the future. This is a ceremony in which I pledge—with keys and seal and charter—my accountability to the traditions that his voice from the past invokes. And at the same time, I affirm, in compact with all of you, my accountability to and for Harvard’s future. As in Conant’s day, we face uncertainties in a world that gives us sound reason for disquiet. But we too maintain an unwavering belief in the purposes and potential of this university and in all it can do to shape how the world will look another half century from now. Let us embrace those responsibilities and possibilities; let us share them “knitt together . . . as one;” let us take up the work joyfully, for such an assignment is a privilege beyond measure.

The explicit, motivating goal of the Program in General Education at Harvard is to prepare students for a life of civic and ethical engagement with a changing world. The College sees in this goal a new interpretation of the classic ideal: *Ars vivendi in mundo* (an art of living wisely in the world). This philosophy has a distinguished history both at Harvard and more generally. The original General Education program proposed in 1946 was organized around the idea that an education should help a student to understand the obligations and privileges of living in a free, democratic society. This proposal was meant to supplant the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideal for American colleges, which was to educate the good, Christian gentleman. The current program is a version of the original General Education ideal. It was reformulated to reflect the wide-ranging backgrounds of Harvard’s students. The current program explicitly separates itself from the



particular political context that made sense in the middle of the last century, replacing it with a much more global paradigm. “The general impulse behind the program, however, is ancient. It is found, for instance, in the Roman ideal for an education, under the Empire, which was explicitly to prepare one for the *ars vivendi*:

The distributional philosophy of the liberal arts also has an ancient pedigree. A version of this philosophy, for example, is naturally seen in the traditional, medieval curriculum of the seven liberal arts. We don’t agree with the medieval conception of which disciplines are essential, of course, even if some of our own disciplines are direct descendants of the original *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* (The liberal arts education in the middle ages was typically divided into two parts. The *Trivium* comprised the three foundational courses: Logic, Grammar, and Rhetoric. Our word “trivial” derives from this part of the curriculum. The *Quadrivium*, which was the more advanced part of the course, comprised Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Music). But the idea that a well-educated student should have mastered, or at least had some exposure to, a range of disciplinary methods and content is a natural one. At Harvard, something like this distributional impulse seems to have motivated the Core Curriculum that lasted from 1978-2009. It was also, as mentioned earlier, a central part of President Lowell’s “Concentration and Distribution” system for the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The third philosophy of the liberal arts can be thought of as an ideal based on the Emersonian notion of education as self-actualization. This ideal prioritizes the importance of a student’s taking responsibility for his or her own education, especially through the elective selection of courses from across the catalog. Harvard was, of course, the first College to organize its curriculum around this ideal. Under President Eliot in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Harvard

curriculum was organized primarily around the elective system, which allowed students almost complete freedom to explore the courses offered at the College. But the philosophy can be traced back at least to Rousseau and the Romanticism he inspired, a movement that Emerson appropriated for the American context. (Kelly, et al., 2015)

The current Program in General Education is the third in a series of Harvard programs that reach back almost seventy years. The Report of the Task Force on General Education, following a comprehensive curricular review in the early 2000s, proposed the current Program in 2007. The Faculty of Arts and Sciences voted to approve the report and to adopt the new program in May 2007. The Final Legislation Establishing the Program in General Education provides programmatic details and its motivating conception of liberal education. The Program was first available to students entering in the fall of 2009. The legislation called for the Dean of the Faculty to appoint a committee to review the Program within five years of its inception. Dean Smith constituted the General Education Review Committee (GERC) in the spring of 2014. The Committee comprises senior faculty members from each of the three divisions of the FAS: Arts and Humanities, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences, as well as from the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. The Committee produced an Interim Report in February 2015 that described the current state of the Program, highlighting successes but also emphasizing areas in need of improvement. The major problems are the lack of a clear identity and the uncertain and expanding boundaries of the program:

The General Education Program should be divided into three parts. The first part consists of four courses in General Education. These courses are designed explicitly to satisfy the principles of General Education, and will be approved by the General Education Standing Committee (GESC) as doing so. The second part consists of a College level course

requirement in Empirical and Mathematical Reasoning, similar to the current requirements in Expository Writing and Foreign Languages. The third part consists of a Distribution requirement of three departmental courses, spread across the three divisions of the FAS and SEAS. (Kelly et al., 2015)

Following the review committee's sharp criticisms of the undergraduate General Education curriculum (Gen Ed) published in the spring of 2015, its chair, Martignetti professor of philosophy Sean Kelly, briefed the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) on proposed changes on December 1, 2015. The committee found that the current requirement (that students take eight Gen Ed courses in thematic areas, amounting to one-fourth of their academic work) is shaped by a specific definition of the purpose of an education in the liberal arts: to prepare students for a life of civic and ethical engagement with a changing world, apart from any specialized knowledge they acquire through their concentration. Harvard, however, has also historically urged students to acquire deeper knowledge of a field through their concentration, a broader familiarity with other areas through distribution requirements, and has encouraged elective courses. Triangulating among these approaches, the committee's recommended reworking of Gen Ed, in effect, embraces all of them: "We propose a structure that does justice to the importance of each of the three motivating philosophies for a liberal arts education, while addressing the problems of identity and size" discovered in the review of the program's current workings (Rosenberg, 2016, January/February).

**Dartmouth College: 1950-Present**

Founded in 1769, Dartmouth is a member of the Ivy League and consistently ranks among the world's greatest academic institutions. Home to a celebrated liberal arts curriculum and pioneering professional schools, Dartmouth has shaped the educational landscape and prepared leaders through its inspirational learning experience. Throughout its rich history, Dartmouth has never stopped changing and innovating. The College has forged a singular identity, combining its deep commitment to outstanding undergraduate liberal arts and graduate education with distinguished research and scholarship in the arts and sciences and its three leading professional schools: the Geisel School of Medicine (named for "Dr. Seuss," the pen name of Theodor Seuss Geisel, Class of 1925), the Thayer School of Engineering, and the Amos Tuck School of Business.

The charter establishing Dartmouth—the ninth-oldest institution of higher education in the United States—was signed in 1769, by John Wentworth, the Royal Governor of New Hampshire, establishing an institution to offer "the best means of education." The first President of Dartmouth, the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, left a clear and stern legacy for all who would follow him. He wrote:

And it is my purpose, by the grace of God, to leave nothing undone within my power, which is suitable to be done; that this school of prophets may be and long continue to be a pure fountain. And I do with my whole heart will this my purpose to all my successors in the presidency of this seminary to the latest posterity, and it is my last will, never to be revoked. (Dartmouth Archives)

The continuity of the Wheelock Succession is embodied in the Wentworth Bowl, a gift from New Hampshire's Royal Governor who, acting on behalf of the British Crown, granted Dartmouth's charter in December 1769. The bowl's inscription reads:

His Excellency John Wentworth Esq.  
Governor of the Province of New Hampshire,  
And those Friends who accompanied him  
To Dartmouth College the first Commencement 1771.  
In testimony of their Gratitude and good wishes  
Present this to the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock D.D. President  
And his Successors in that Office

Wheelock, a Congregational minister from Lebanon, Connecticut, established his Indian Charity School in 1754 to "educate a number of the children of the Indian natives, with a view to their carrying the gospel in their own language, and spreading the knowledge of the great Redeemer among their savage tribes . . ." (Charter of Dartmouth College, 1769). Reverend Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian and one of Wheelock's first students, was instrumental in raising the funds necessary to ultimately found the College. By an intermarriage of their relatives, Wheelock was allied to the family of Jonathan Edwards, whose high regard for him is indicated in a letter dated Northampton, June 9, 1741: "There has been a reviving of religion of late amongst us, but your labors have been much more remarkably blessed than mine" (Dartmouth Archives). As Wheelock writes in his "Narrative," for the period ending in 1762, after referring to the too general lack of interest in the Indian, he says (Smith, 1878):

It has seemed to me, he must be stupidly indifferent to the Redeemer's cause and interest in the world, and criminally deaf and blind to the intimations of the favor and displeasure

of God in the dispensations of His Providence, who could not perceive plain intimations of God's displeasure against us for this neglect, inscribed in capitals, on the very front of divine dispensations, from year to year, in permitting the savages to be such a sore scourge to our land, and make such depredations on our frontiers, inhumanly butchering and captivating our people, not only in a time of war, but when we had good reason to think (if ever we had) that we dwelt safely by them. And there is good reason to think that if one half which has been expended for so many years past in building forts, manning, and supporting them, had been prudently laid out in supporting faithful missionaries and schoolmasters among them, the instructed and civilized party would have been a far better defence [sic] than all our expensive fortresses, and prevented the laying waste so many towns and villages . . .

Calloway (2010) writes, "In this day and age, Eleazar Wheelock is a difficult man to understand, let alone like. He stares out from his portrait wearing a snow-white wig and clerical gown, with one hand on the Dartmouth College charter and a look that could be calculating or self-satisfied. . . . Pious and moralizing . . . he owned slaves, and his prescription for the education and salvation of Native Americans was predicated on the unquestioned superiority of his own culture and the eradication of theirs." McClure and Parish (1811), who knew Wheelock, described him as a "great and good man" who was selfless in his efforts to bring civilization and Christianity to the Indians he held in his paternal care.

In 1972—the same year the College became coeducational—Dartmouth reaffirmed its founding mission and established one of the first Native American Programs in the country. Sometimes works of art become catalysts for protest and debate; such was the case with the Hovey murals at Dartmouth, located in the basement of Thayer Dining Hall and painted by

Walter Beach Humphrey (Class of 1914). Created in 1938-1939, the mural cycle is based on a Dartmouth drinking song written by Richard Hovey (Class of 1885), capturing and visually portraying the founding myths of the College:

. . . a mythical story about the founder of Dartmouth College entering the North Woods with a five-hundred-gallon barrel of rum and meeting up with the local Indian chief, who then becomes one of the first undergraduates at the newly formed college. . . . Eleazar Wheelock is a comic Falstaffian character, while the chief and his male compatriots represent scantily costumed contemporary undergraduates “playing Indian.” The half-naked Native American females comprise a supporting cast to the main characters and evoke a certain type of 1930s pinup, put on display for the largely male clientele of the grill. (Kennedy, 2011)

The history of Native Americans at Dartmouth is, in reality, an extraordinarily brief one, as the College was soon devoted primarily to the education of young white men. Very few indigenous students would matriculate at the College until the early 1970s. Nonetheless, with nearly 1,000 alumni, there are now more Native American graduates of Dartmouth than of all other Ivy League institutions combined (Dartmouth Archives).

Governor Wentworth provided the land that would become Dartmouth’s picturesque 269-acre campus on the banks of the Connecticut River, which divides New Hampshire and Vermont. The College’s natural beauty was not lost on President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who—standing in front of Dartmouth Row with its pristine white buildings and verdigris copper roofs—came to Hanover to give the commencement address and remarked, “This is what a college should look like” (Eisenhower, 1953). Dartmouth has hosted numerous presidential debates attended by William Loeb III, former publisher of the *Manchester Union Leader* newspaper (later *The New*

*Hampshire Union Leader*) in Manchester, New Hampshire. The College is a frequent stop on the presidential campaign trail, giving students the chance to personally experience New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation presidential primary that every four years attracts candidates hoping to woo voters locally and capture attention nationally.

Dartmouth is also home to many cherished traditions, including Dartmouth Night and Homecoming, when alumni return to the College and, along with current students, take part in a parade and bonfire, the latter dating back to 1888. The annual Winter Carnival began more than 100 years ago as a way to showcase the College's winter athletes. Numerous publications have written in-depth articles on Winter Carnival over its history. Einhorn (2014) notes, "Sports Illustrated ran an extensive story in 1955 by Budd Schulberg '36, who visited for the weekend with F. Scott Fitzgerald when they attempted to make a movie adaptation of their book *Winter Carnival*." "Dartmouth Winter Carnival, with its merry-go-round of sports and social events not merely overlapping but overtaking each other," said Budd Schulberg (Class of 1936) in his 1955 article in *Sports Illustrated*, "is a 30-ring circus that makes Ringling Brothers look like a two-wagon job on a vacant lot in Sapulpa" (Dartmouth Archives). The current incarnation includes a hugely popular "Polar Bear Swim" in Occom Pond.

Another beloved tradition is Freshman Trips, the Dartmouth Outing Club's outdoor orientation program for incoming first-year students. Led and organized by returning students, the first-years get to know Dartmouth and each other while exploring the region's exceptional natural environment, including a breakfast of green eggs and ham in tribute to Dr. Seuss (Class of 1925). Students can opt for local excursions—the Appalachian Trail passes through downtown Hanover—or venture as far as Dartmouth's Second College Grant, a 27,000-acre



wilderness 140 miles northeast of Hanover that provides recreational opportunities as well as a unique research laboratory.

For more than four decades, every spring brings the Dartmouth Pow-Wow, honoring Dartmouth's historic mission of educating Native students. Each year it draws hundreds of competitors and participants from across the Northeast who gather on the Green to celebrate and experience Native culture and history.

Wheelock founded Moor's Indian Charity School in 1754. The Charity School proved somewhat successful, but additional funding was necessary to continue school's operations, so Wheelock enlisted the help of friends to raise money. Wheelock's ostensible inspiration for such an establishment resulted from his relationship with Mohegan Indian Samson Occom. Reverend Occom, accompanied by the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker, traveled to England in 1766 to raise money from churches. With these funds, they established a trust to help Wheelock. The head of the trust was a Methodist named William Legge, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Dartmouth. Dartmouth's Latin motto, *Vox clamantis in deserto*, translates into English as "the voice of one crying out in the wilderness." The motto is taken from the Bible, where it first appears in Isaiah 40:3, and subsequently in the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and has its Dartmouth origins in the founding of the College in 1769, when Rev. Eleazar Wheelock established Dartmouth in the woods of New Hampshire "for the education and instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land ... and also of English Youth and any others." The motto is today emblazoned on the official College seal, used by Dartmouth's trustees, and in some older forms of the Dartmouth shield (Dartmouth Archives).

Although the fund provided Wheelock ample financial support for the Charity School, Wheelock had trouble recruiting Indians to the institution, primarily because its location was far

from tribal territories. In seeking to expand the school into a college, Wheelock relocated it to Hanover, in the Province of New Hampshire. The move from Connecticut followed a lengthy and sometimes frustrating effort to find resources and secure a charter. The Royal Governor of New Hampshire, John Wentworth, provided the land upon which Dartmouth would be built and on December 13, 1769, issued the charter in the name of King George III establishing the College. That charter created a college “for the education and instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading, writing & all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing & christianizing Children of Pagans as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences and also of English Youth and any others.” The reference to educating Native American youth was included to connect Dartmouth to the Charity School and enable use of the Charity School’s unspent trust funds. Named for William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth—an important supporter of Eleazar Wheelock’s earlier efforts but who, in fact, opposed creation of the College and never donated to it—Dartmouth is the nation’s ninth oldest college and the last institution of higher learning established under Colonial rule. The College granted its first degrees in 1771.

Given the limited success of the Charity School, however, Wheelock intended his new college as one primarily for whites. Reverend Oocom became an ordained minister after studying under Wheelock from 1743 to 1747 and later moved to Long Island to preach to the Montauks. Oocom, disappointed with Wheelock’s departure from the school’s original goal of Indian Christianization, went on to form his own community of New England Indians called Brothertown Indians in New York. The earliest known image of Dartmouth appeared in the February 1793 issue of *Massachusetts Magazine*. The engraving may also be the first visual proof of cricket being played in the United States (Dartmouth Archives).

In 1819, Dartmouth College was the subject of the historic *Dartmouth College* case, which challenged New Hampshire's 1816 attempt to amend the college's royal charter to make the school a public university. An institution called Dartmouth University occupied the college buildings and began operating in Hanover in 1817, though the college continued teaching classes in rented rooms nearby. The College prevailed against the State of New Hampshire in the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819). The case is considered to be one of the most important and formative documents in United States constitutional history, strengthening the Constitution's contract clause and thereby paving the way for American private institutions to conduct their affairs in accordance with their charters and without interference from the state. Daniel Webster (Class of 1801) passionately argued for the original contract to be preserved:

This, Sir, is my case! It is the case not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our Land! It is more! It is the case of every eleemosynary institution throughout our country—of all those great charities founded by the piety of our ancestors to alleviate human misery, and scatter blessings along the pathway of life! It is more! It is, in some sense, the case of every man among us who has property of which he may be stripped, for the question is simply this, “Shall our State Legislatures be allowed to take that which is not their own, to turn it from its original use, and apply it to such ends and purposes as they in their discretion shall see fit?”. . . It is, Sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet there are those who love it. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (17 U. S. 518, 1819)

Dartmouth emerged onto the national academic stage at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Prior to this period, the college had clung to traditional methods of instruction and was poorly funded.

Under President William Jewett Tucker (1893–1909), Dartmouth underwent a major revitalization of facilities, faculty, and the student body, following large endowments such as the \$10,000 given by Dartmouth alumnus and law professor John Ordronaux. Twenty new structures replaced antiquated buildings, while the student body and faculty both expanded threefold. Tucker is often credited for having “refounded Dartmouth” and shepherding the College onto the national stage.

Presidents Ernest Fox Nichols (1909–1916) and Ernest Martin Hopkins (1916–1945) continued Tucker’s trend of modernization, further improving campus facilities and introducing selective admissions in the 1920s. During World War II, Dartmouth was one of 131 colleges and universities nationally that took part in the V-12 Navy College Training Program, offering students a path to a navy commission (Dartmouth Archives).

**John Sloan Dickey (1945-1970).** Regularly welcoming freshmen at Convocation with the phrase “your business here is learning,” Dickey, a member of Dartmouth’s Class of 1929 and a graduate of Harvard Law School, was committed to making Dartmouth the best liberal arts college in the country. Before assuming the presidency, Dickey had a varied career: partner at a major Boston law firm, special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State and later to the Secretary of State, a member of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the division of World Trade Intelligence, and Director of the State Department’s Office of Public Affairs. In 1945, he became President of Dartmouth College, the twelfth president in the Wheelock Succession. Even after he assumed office in 1945, he remained a principal actor in public policy, serving on President Truman’s 1947 Committee on Civil Rights, the United Nations Collective Measures Committee in 1951, and as consultant to Secretary of State Acheson on disarmament (Dartmouth Archives).

John Sloan Dickey's commitment to the liberal arts, or, as he termed them "the liberating arts," was perhaps best expressed in an innovative course on "Great Issues," designed to introduce seniors to the problems of national and international relations they would face as citizens. The faculty in the last year of the Hopkins administration had begun a review of the curriculum, but its report remained unfinished at the time Dickey assumed the helm. President Dickey participated in the final deliberations and championed the Great Issues Course

Unique and innovative, geared to the problems and opportunities of the postwar world, the course was the embodiment of John Dickey's thinking about higher education's responsibilities in a new era; and its early emphasis on international issues was also pure Dickey. . . .

Great Issues was unusual in that it was a general education requirement in senior year . . . President Dickey and the Committee on Educational Policy believed that the greater maturity of seniors would be an important factor in achieving the purpose of the course, and that having this educational experience occur just before the student left the college and took on the responsibilities of a citizen in the contemporary world would be ideal. . . . (Widmayer, 1991, p. 42)

The inauguration of the Great Issues Course was the most noteworthy event as the academic year 1947-1948 began. Enrollment of 3,001, the largest in the history of the College, was approximately sixty percent veterans. Dickey enlisted prominent men and women from beyond Hanover to give the lectures that were at the heart of the three-part weekly program.

Representative of Dickey's burning passions, individuals from public policy and international affairs were highly sought, including Archibald MacLeish, Alexander Meiklejohn, Congressman Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts, Joseph Barnes of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Lewis

Mumford, President James Bryant Conant of Harvard, Chester I. Barnard of the Secretary of State's Committee on Atomic Energy, and Herbert Marks, general counsel of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

President Dickey also reintroduced doctoral programs to Dartmouth, as well as a Northern Studies program and a Russian Civilization department. Dickey sought to expand the horizons of Dartmouth beyond Hanover and introduced foreign studies programs, a public affairs internship, and various social action programs. The William Jewett Tucker Foundation was opened by President Dickey, offering students opportunity and academic credit for social activism.

During his 25-year tenure, President Dickey headed two capital campaigns, doubled African American student enrollment, reinvigorated the Dartmouth Medical School, built the Hopkins Center for the Arts and instituted continuing education for alumni. Consistent with his concern for awareness of and involvement in the great movements of the time, he saw the emerging importance of computers—a field then in its infancy—and built the Kiewit Computation Center in 1966.

The high seriousness of Dickey's message was clearly conveyed, but the chiseled form of his sentences sometimes left the listener beguiled by his style. Caution and precision in the use of words was a natural by-product of President Dickey's legal training and State Department experience, but he had his own liking for carefully fashioned expression. A reading of the Dickey citations gives one a sense of delight, as well as the care, that he took in preparing them. There is no better example of this than the citation with which the President conferred an honorary Doctorate of Laws upon Robert Frost at Commencement 1955. Frost entered Dartmouth in 1892 as a member of the Class of 1896, but left the College after a few months,

never to return. Frost was, however, a beloved and respected poet, lecturing often to classes as the Ticknor Fellow and participating in the Great Issues program. Although the poet had received a Doctorate of Letters from Dartmouth in 1933, John Dickey so greatly valued the friendship of Frost that a second honor was voted, making Frost the first person in the history of the College to receive two honorary doctorates:

Coming to us as you do from having a Vermont mountain come to you (at least in name), what dare we say or do? We could speak a word of history and say that all your academic comings and goings began right here in 1892. . . . And so, because ours is a love long learned, Dartmouth dares doubt that one honorary Doctorate of Letters is enough and herewith, otherwise than ever before, adds in witness of all left unsaid her honorary Doctorate of Laws. (Widmayer, 1991, p. 49)

After stepping down as president, Dickey continued his affiliation with the College by teaching Canadian-American relations as the Bicentennial Professor of Public Affairs.

**John George Kemeny (1970-1981).** If William Jewett Tucker can be said to have “refounded Dartmouth,” then certainly it was John Kemeny, the thirteenth president in the Wheelock Succession, who began the institution’s “transformation.” A Hungarian by birth, a Princetonian by education, and an esteemed mathematician, Kemeny’s appointment was met with enthusiasm by the faculty, but with skepticism by alumni, some of whom felt that he could not understand the Dartmouth experience. Yet he succeeded in realizing the ambitious goals of his presidency while teaching two courses a year, never missing a class. Freedman (2003) states:

John Kemeny came to the United States from Budapest in 1940 as a boy of fourteen, part of an intellectual migration that brought to this nation inestimable human resources of talent and creative energy. Once he reached these shores, John Kemeny’s achievements

were the stuff of which legends are made. He entered George Washington High School in New York knowing virtually no English, and graduated first in a class of 2,300 students. At twenty-two, he became research assistant to two preeminent members of that intellectual migration, Albert Einstein and John von Neumann. . . .

His greatest achievements as president of Dartmouth stemmed from his courage in acting decisively on his most deeply held beliefs. Without wide consultation, he audaciously announced in his inaugural address that Dartmouth would rededicate itself to its original mission of educating Native Americans. He championed the admission of minority students and what later became known as affirmative action. In the wake of the invasion of Cambodia and the shooting of four student protesters at Kent State, he canceled classes for a day of reflection and discussion—the action of a wise and pragmatic educator. (p. 16)

Kemeny understood the political nature of his responsibilities, writing “The Presidency of Dartmouth is the only job I know where you are elected first and then spend your remaining years as if you are running for office” (Dartmouth Annual Report, 1970). Kemeny oversaw several major changes at the college. Reversing a 203-year tradition of single sex education, John Kemeny presided over the coeducation of Dartmouth in 1972. In 1988, Dartmouth’s alma mater song lyrics changed from “Men of Dartmouth” to “Dear old Dartmouth.” He also instituted the “Dartmouth Plan” of year-round operations, thereby facilitating a significant increase in the size of the student body without a corresponding increase in the College’s physical facilities. During his administration, Dartmouth became more proactive in recruiting and retaining minority students and revived its founding commitment to provide education for Native Americans. The co-inventor, with Thomas Kurtz, of the BASIC computer language,



President Kemeny made Dartmouth a pioneer in student use of computers, equating computer literacy with reading literacy. In his inaugural address (Kemeny, 1999), Kemeny observes:

In an age of student protest, one listens and one hears at least two major themes. One is a cry for a diversity in the educational process, and one is the demand for each person to be treated as an individual and to participate in a first-rate undergraduate education. One of these great cries is answered by large universities which are able to provide the maximum of diversity in the educational process, while the other is answered by the small liberal arts college. And one cannot help feeling there ought to be institutions that combine the best of both worlds.

Dartmouth College provides a broad liberal education for undergraduates. It provides professional training in medicine, engineering, and business administration. . . . We are, in the truest sense of the word, a university with all the diversity that the name “university” implies. And yet we are small. . . .

We are still predominantly an undergraduate institution; indeed, to me the historic decision to keep the name “Dartmouth College” rather than a university name is symbolic of an eternal pledge that at least at one major university undergraduates will forever remain first-class citizens. . . . And this uniqueness presents us with an opportunity—and I would say, therefore, an obligation—to set an example for higher education. (p. 4)

During what was, for most American colleges and universities, a tumultuous period of student protest, Dartmouth enjoyed a period of relative calm due in large part to John Kemeny’s appeal to students and his practice of seeking consensus on vital college issues. As his successor, David T. McLaughlin (2007) writes:

The day that Dartmouth College forever changed the very nature of its being is a day I shall never forget. What happened occurred on a Sunday in November—one of those crisp, clear autumn days that any who have attended college on the Hanover Plain remember well. The north winds had stripped the New Hampshire trees of their fire-bright leaves, and the storied campus had a look that signaled all was ready for winter. On November 21, 1971, the sixteen men who comprised the college's board of trustees gathered in a special session at Hanover to vote on the question of whether Dartmouth should become coeducational. . . .

Something like a second American Revolution was upon the nation, and college campuses were swept up in it all. The environmental movement was coming into full swing, and a peace movement was growing daily. Moreover, a feminist movement, the likes of which the nation had never seen, was organizing. And Dartmouth's president, John G. Kemeny, less than two years in office as the twelfth man since Wheelock to serve as the college's chief executive, regarded the adoption of coeducation to be the highest priority of his progressive administration. (p. 1)

**David Thomas McLaughlin (1981-1987).** McLaughlin was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan and graduated from East Grand Rapids High School. He was Class of 1954 at Dartmouth and earned his MBA in 1955 from the Amos Tuck School of Business. As an undergraduate, McLaughlin epitomized the "Dartmouth Man," as portrayed in the 1939 film *Winter Carnival*, directed by Charles Reisner and starring Ann Sheridan and Richard Carlson. Walter Wanger produced the film to present Dartmouth in all of its bacchanalian glory. Although Wanger flunked out of Dartmouth in 1915, he achieved such great success in the film industry that the College awarded him an honorary degree. To show his support for Dartmouth,

Wagner decided to make *Winter Carnival*, hiring F. Scott Fitzgerald and Budd Schulberg (Class of 1936) to write the script.

At Dartmouth, McLaughlin was President of his class as a junior, President of the Undergraduate Council, a member of both the Green Key service society and Casque and Gauntlet, a senior honor society, and an Air Force ROTC cadet. As his class neared graduation, it awarded him the Barrett Cup, recognizing the senior “giving the greatest promise of becoming a factor in the outside world through his strength of character and qualities of leadership, record of scholarship, broad achievement and influence among his fellows.” McLaughlin was also widely recognized for his athletic achievements, which included starring in varsity football, basketball, and track. As a wide receiver on the Dartmouth football teams of 1951, 1952, and 1953, he set several records that stood for more than 20 years. Upon graduation from Dartmouth, he was drafted by the Philadelphia Eagles, but passed up the challenge of professional football to earn his MBA degree at the Tuck School. After graduating from Tuck, he served in the U.S. Air Force as a jet pilot for two years.

Throughout his business career, McLaughlin maintained a deep interest in education and served Dartmouth steadily in a variety of alumni volunteer capacities. He was elected to the Dartmouth Board of Trustees in 1971 and became its Chairman in 1977, continuing in that role until 1981. While McLaughlin chaired the Board, Dartmouth was seeking a successor to John G. Kemeny, who had announced his intention to step down after 11 years as President of Dartmouth. After conducting a national search, the Board concluded that its own chairman was the person best qualified to lead the institution. The Board announced on February 23, 1981, that it had elected McLaughlin the 14<sup>th</sup> President of Dartmouth, noting his “extraordinary qualities of leadership, his knowledgeable dedication to the liberal arts in education, and his devotion to

Dartmouth.” The decision was unusual but not unprecedented, having last occurred in 1893 when the board elected William Jewett Tucker, then a member of the Board, the ninth President of the College.

McLaughlin was known to have considered John Sloan Dickey, Dartmouth’s president during his student days, to be a mentor and role model, and to have derived great pleasure from following in his footsteps to become president of the College. During his six years as president, in a time of economic stress for the nation and the College, McLaughlin succeeded in carrying out an ambitious agenda for Dartmouth, helping keep it in the forefront of liberal education. During his tenure academic and athletic facilities were improved, the Nelson A. Rockefeller (Class of 1930) Center for Public Policy and the Social Sciences was dedicated, the Hood Museum of Art and boathouse were built, classrooms were renovated, the Dartmouth Skiway was enhanced, and the Berry Sports Center was constructed. Academic initiatives included the establishment of the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding and the Institute for the Study of Applied and Professional Ethics. Faculty salaries increased 43 percent over a five-year period, the college’s “need-blind” admissions policy was continued, and the endowment grew to a new high of \$521 million. Dartmouth continued to progress under McLaughlin’s leadership and his continued commitment to liberal education and undergraduate teaching.

Dartmouth’s professional schools also grew under President McLaughlin’s tenure: the Thayer School of Engineering received a \$15 million grant to expand and improve facilities, the Amos Tuck School of Business was strengthened, and the Dartmouth Medical School was brought into financial equilibrium, greatly increasing its sponsored research and fund raising efforts. He also won approval of a plan to relocate the Mary Hitchcock Memorial Hospital from

the north end of Dartmouth's campus to a new home two miles away in Lebanon, New Hampshire. The move took place in 1991, facilitating two key developments: making room for expansion of Dartmouth to meet the 21<sup>st</sup> century needs of students, faculty, and staff and the creation of a whole new campus for Dartmouth-Hitchcock Medical Center, now regarded as one of the leading medical centers in the nation.

In October 1986—after 10 years as a member of the Board of Trustees followed by five years as president—McLaughlin announced his intent to step down from the presidency within a year. The Board issued a statement saying, “During his tenure David McLaughlin has established educational initiatives that will benefit current and future generations of Dartmouth's faculty and students. Notable among these are his commitment to enlarging the intellectual life of the student beyond the classroom . . . his persistent concern for faculty compensation and his visionary approach to the relocation of the Medical Center. . . . Dartmouth today is a remarkably healthy and proud institution, whether evaluated from an academic or financial standpoint. This is due, to a large extent, to the steadfast and patient leadership that David McLaughlin has provided.”

Dartmouth President James Wright said, “Former Dartmouth President John Dickey told students ‘the world's troubles are your troubles,’ and David McLaughlin took this challenge as a life guide. Mr. McLaughlin did so much for Dartmouth, but the richness of his contributions to a broad range of areas—education, business, government, philanthropy, and international relations among them—is virtually unparalleled. He left this College and this world a better place” (Dartmouth Archives).

At the time of his death in 2004, McLaughlin had recently completed (in June) a three-year term as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the American Red Cross. He was also

serving as Chairman of Orion Safety Products of Easton, Maryland, and as a Trustee or Director of the Center for Excellence in Education at Colby-Sawyer College, After School All Stars (a non-profit organization providing after-school services for children), and Viacom, Inc. (previously CBS Corporation).

**James Oliver Freedman (1987-1998).** The fifteenth president in the Wheelock Succession, Freedman (Harvard A.B. 1957, Yale, LLB 1962), grew up in the mill town of Manchester, New Hampshire, which his father called (Freedman, 2000):

. . . a little United Nations . . . populated by old-line Yankees and persons with French-Canadian, Greek, Italian, Lebanese, Armenian, and Polish roots. . . I gradually came to understand that a serious devotion to learning was at the center of Jewish identity. . . . [My parents] understood that academic achievement was the vehicle to a prominent station in American life. To their generation of New England Jews, Harvard represented the most exalted educational opportunity available and the most reliable vehicle of upward social mobility. Being a Harvard graduate was, to them, the next best attainable status to being a *Mayflower* descendent.” (pp. 12-13)

After graduating from Harvard College in 1953, Freedman dropped out of Harvard Law School to work as a reporter for New Hampshire’s *The Union Leader* newspaper. He returned to law school, graduating from Yale, and then clerked for Thurgood Marshall, who at the time was a Second Circuit appeals court judge (Lattman, 2006). Freedman served briefly as Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School before becoming the sixteenth president of the University of Iowa from 1982 to 1987. Freedman firmly established Dartmouth as a national leader in both undergraduate teaching and scholarship and created in Hanover, as *The New York Times* described it, “a haven for intellectuals.” His administration was marked by numerous

academic initiatives, a bold enhancement of the physical campus, and a strengthening of Dartmouth's graduate programs and professional schools. Freedman (1987) said in his inaugural address:

These inaugural ceremonies, like education itself, are an exercise in reflection and renewal. As part of that exercise, we reaffirm our historic conviction that Dartmouth College must be a commonwealth of liberal learning. This conviction binds us to our past, fortifies our present, and illuminates our future. It recommits us to the values of intellectual excellence, personal integrity, and respect for human dignity that are central to this College's character. It inspires us to be worthy of our past and equal to the challenges of our future.

An institution devoted to liberal learning, Dartmouth College has a special responsibility for preparing knowledgeable citizens and imaginative, vigorous leaders—men and women who are capable of maintaining and enlarging the democratic values that are this nation's most basic strength. A compact to maintain and strengthen our commonwealth of liberal learning is essential to achieving this purpose. It is essential if we are to continue to appreciate the important stake that the strong have in protecting the civil liberties of the vulnerable. And it is essential if we are to continue to envision this nation as a harbor of fairness and opportunity for human beings of both sexes and of all races, religions, and nationalities. And it is essential, too, if we are to understand the importance of promoting the public good by insisting upon open discussion and reasoned judgment, by supporting humane values and civic virtues, and by defending with moral imagination the principles of democratic government. (pp. 6-7).

During the 1990s, the College saw a major academic overhaul under Freedman and a controversial (and ultimately unsuccessful) 1999 initiative to encourage the school's single-sex Greek houses to go coed. During his administration, however, Dartmouth achieved gender parity in the student body. In the professorial ranks the College led the Ivy League with the highest proportion of women among tenured and tenure-track faculty. President Freedman led the most comprehensive overhaul of the Dartmouth curriculum in more than 70 years and established or revitalized programs in Latin American, Latino, and Caribbean Studies, Electro-Acoustic Music, Environmental Studies, Jewish Studies, Linguistics, and Cognitive Science. He introduced or restored the teaching of the Arabic, Hebrew, and Japanese languages, founded the Institute of Arctic Studies, and incorporated into the curriculum majors in both Women's Studies and African and African-American Studies.

Freedman was a resolute advocate for a liberal education in an increasingly career-obsessed world, but he gained his widest attention for speaking out against strains of prejudice and bigotry in the academy. Arenson (2006) notes;

In one widely publicized episode, in 1988, he condemned *The Dartmouth Review*, a conservative student newspaper, for ridiculing blacks, gay men and lesbians, women and Jews. In a column and a front-page cartoon, the paper had portrayed Mr. Freedman, who was Jewish, with a Hitler mustache and wearing a Nazi uniform and had likened the effects of his campus policies to the Holocaust. Mr. Freedman defended *The Review's* right to publish, but he declared, "Racism, sexism and other forms of ignorance and disrespect have no place at Dartmouth."

Freedman presided over the most successful capital campaign in Dartmouth's history—\$568 million raised, exceeding the original \$425 million goal. Those resources supported



Dartmouth's faculty, fortified its financial aid resources, and provided for several important facilities projects. His administration saw the addition of state of the art buildings for Computer Sciences, Chemistry, and Psychology, as well as The Roth Center for Jewish Life and the Rauner Special Collections Library.

Shortly before he stepped down in 1998, ground was broken for the Baker-Berry Library project, a pioneering model for access to books and electronic information in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The author of an award-winning book, *Idealism and Liberal Education*, James O. Freedman became one of the nation's most eloquent spokespersons on the importance of the liberal arts and, under his leadership, Dartmouth enhanced its reputation as one of the country's most respected institutions of higher learning.

**James Edward Wright (1998-2009).** James Wright is President Emeritus and Eleazar Wheelock Professor of History at Dartmouth College. Wright received his bachelor's degree from Wisconsin State University-Platteville and his masters and doctoral degree in history from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, joining the Dartmouth History Department in 1969. Wright served as Dean of Faculty from 1989–1997, as Provost from 1997-1998, and became the sixteenth president in the Wheelock Succession when elected in 1998.

The first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw the commencement of the \$1.3 billion Campaign for the Dartmouth Experience, the largest capital fundraising campaign in the College's history, which surpassed \$1 billion in 2008. The mid- and late- first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century have also seen extensive campus construction, with the erection of two new housing complexes, full renovation of two dormitories, and a forthcoming dining hall, life sciences center, and visual arts center. Since the election of a number of petition-nominated trustees to the Board of Trustees starting in 2004, the role of alumni in Dartmouth governance has been the subject of ongoing

conflict. Nonetheless, in 2004, Booz Allen Hamilton selected Dartmouth College as a model of institutional fortitude “whose record of endurance has had implications and benefits for all American organizations, both academic and commercial,” citing *Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward* and Dartmouth’s successful self-reinvention in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dartmouth Office of the President).

As president, Wright’s priorities included advancing the academic strength of the institution and expanding the faculty, enhancing the out-of-the-classroom experience, strengthening Dartmouth’s historic commitment to a strong and inclusive sense of community, building and renovating Dartmouth’s facilities, and strengthening the College’s financial resources. He worked to more fully integrate the professional schools into the intellectual life of the College. During his presidency, undergraduate applications grew by 79 percent and the student body became increasingly diverse, with students of color and international students representing more than 40 percent of the student body. The College also made significant improvements to the financial aid program, including: tripling the budget for undergraduate aid, expanding its need-blind admissions policies to include international students, eliminating loans for all students, and offering free tuition to students who come from families with incomes at or below \$75,000.

President Wright focused on advancing the academic strength of the College by expanding and diversifying the faculty, resulting in more than 10 percent growth in the faculty of the Arts & Sciences, an 8:1 student-faculty ratio, and the highest percentage of tenured women faculty in the Ivy League, as well as among the highest percentage of faculty of color. The three professional schools all participated in similar patterns of growth and improvement. Spearheading the College’s \$1.3 billion campaign—the largest fund-raising effort in its history—

Wright provided additional resources for faculty support, including: the creation of more than 20 new endowed professorships, increased compensation and research funding, and the construction of Berry and Rauner Special Collections Libraries, Carson Hall, Moore Hall, Kemeny Hall, and the Haldeman Center. Wright enhanced the out-of-classroom experience by investing in new residence halls and off-campus housing for students, renovating or building new athletic and recreation facilities, and subsidizing student tickets to the Hopkins Center for the Arts and athletic events. Under his stewardship, the College's endowment and annual fundraising more than doubled. During Wright's tenure, 67 percent of all alumni/ae made gifts to the Campaign for the Dartmouth Experience.

In 2005, Wright began a series of visits to U.S. military medical facilities in Washington, D.C., where he met Marines and other U.S. military personnel who had been wounded in the course of service in Iraq and Afghanistan. Wright enlisted in the Marine Corps for three years when he was seventeen years old and was discharged at the rank of Lance-Corporal. He led the creation and funding of a new educational counseling program for wounded U.S. veterans, working with Senators Jim Webb, John Warner, and Chuck Hagel to draft language for the Yellow Ribbon Program in the Post-9/11 G.I. Bill passed by Congress and signed by President Bush in June 2008. Twenty-three Iraq-Afghanistan veterans are currently enrolled as undergraduates at Dartmouth. In over two dozen visits, he encouraged the injured servicemen and women to continue their education, and he subsequently joined in establishing and assumed responsibility for raising funds to support an educational counseling program for wounded U.S. veterans, "Severely Injured Military Veterans: Fulfilling their Dreams," offered through the American Council on Education (ACE). Alvarez (2008) writes:

“The all-volunteer military draws in a segment of the population that has not customarily gone to college in the same proportion as other parts of our society,” says Mr. Wright, a former Marine. He hopes the new G.I. Bill “will cause them to raise their aspirations.”

Dartmouth’s admissions office takes military experience into account, Mr. Wright says. He advises veterans to bring their service record to the institution’s attention, perhaps through the essay requirement. Discipline, as well as job and leadership qualities, brings something to the table that cannot be matched by young students. Yet there has to be a sense that the veteran can cope with the demands of the courses. “We don’t look for the same thing in terms of test scores, but we are not doing them any favors,” Mr. Wright emphasizes. “We want to make sure they are prepared and would succeed.”

On Veterans Day 2009, Wright spoke at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. at the invitation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund. As the Jefferson Memorial Lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley in February 2010, he delivered "War Veterans and American Democracy" and was a participant in a follow-up panel about veterans. In November 2010 he was invited to Yonsei University’s Underwood International College in South Korea as the Shinhan Bank Distinguished Professor. He spent a week in residence teaching a seminar on “American Culture and Those Who Fight America’s Wars,” and presented a public lecture, “Veterans Day In America: The Place of the Korean War in a National Day of Memory” (Dartmouth College Archives).

President James Wright announced his retirement in February 2008 and was replaced by Harvard University professor and physician Jim Yong Kim on July 1, 2009. He was honored by several national organizations for his efforts to increase educational access for veterans. Since he stepped down from the Dartmouth presidency in 2009, Wright has focused on support of

veterans and research, writing, and public speaking on matters relating to education and veterans. In his 44th year at Dartmouth, he taught a senior seminar on America's wars in the winter term of 2013 and again in 2014. Over the last two years, he has written articles that have appeared in online publications, *Foreign Affairs*, *The Atlantic*, and the *Huffington Post*. The theme that runs through all of these is the way in which American society largely ignores those who fight and sacrifice in the country's wars. As Bacevich (2012) notes, "In the aftermath of 9/11, Wright began periodically visiting military hospitals, not standard fare for an Ivy League president. 'We pay lip service to our "sons and daughters" at war,' he says, 'even if the children of some 99 percent of us are safely at home.'" As Wright (1998) stated in his inaugural address:

. . . ultimately it will be against your own accomplishments that you will be judged and that you will judge yourself—whether you have pushed yourself, stretched and grown; whether you have availed yourself as fully as you might have of the rare and precious opportunities that this place will afford you. The burden of regret is a heavy one. Take on the burden of responsibility instead; it is no lighter, but surely it is more rewarding in the end. Emily Dickinson wrote:

We never know how high we are  
Till we are asked to rise  
And then if we are true to plan  
Our statures touch the skies.

By the act of matriculation you have been asked to rise. You have become part of Dartmouth, and Dartmouth forever more will be a part of you.

**Jim Yong Kim (2009-2012).** Dr. Kim immigrated with his family to the United States at the age of five and grew up in Muscatine, Iowa, graduating valedictorian of his class at

Muscatine High School. He graduated magna cum laude with a B. A. from Brown University and trained as both a physician and anthropologist, receiving his M.D. and Ph.D. from Harvard University. A co-founder of Partners In Health, a nonprofit health care provider in some of the poorest places on Earth, and former director of the HIV/AIDS department of the World Health Organization, Kim brought a global perspective to Dartmouth's rural New Hampshire campus. The first physician to serve as Dartmouth's president and the first Asian-American to serve as president of an Ivy League school, Jim Yong Kim was elected 17<sup>th</sup> president of Dartmouth by the College's Board of Trustees. Ed Haldeman, Chair of the Board, stated (Adams, 2009), "Jim Yong Kim embodies the ideals of learning, innovation, and service that lie at the heart of Dartmouth's mission. . . . Jim follows in the long tradition of Dartmouth presidents who have made a significant mark both in higher education and on the world stage, and we are confident he is the ideal person to lead the College in today's rapidly changing environment." In his inaugural address, Kim (2009) stated:

If we did nothing else in this College but contribute to humankind's understanding of itself and of the world—if we sought only to learn for the pure love of learning—our work would be amply justified. But unlike many of my predecessors, I believe that Dartmouth's liberal arts education can also uniquely prepare its graduates to impact the world. . . .

My own experience has instilled in me a belief in the transformative power of education, as it now falls to me to "take care of this house." My path initially wound far from the place we stand today, but from the start it was influenced by the American Pragmatist philosopher John Dewey—born and raised here in Northern New England. Dewey's thought reflects the practical and deeply generous character of this region.

He argued that the best learning comes through active experience, and not through passive absorption of established doctrine . . . he believed that education works best when theory is united with action.

Plato in the academy, Maimonides in the synagogue, Thomas Aquinas in the cloister—all committed themselves to the same vital human endeavor to which this institution is devoted: teaching.

Let's revive the "Great Issues" course to give today's students a shared intellectual foundation for taking on the most challenging problems of our time.

President Kim identified powerful potential in the College's integration of undergraduate liberal arts programs with graduate engineering, business, and medical schools. He capitalized on Dartmouth's unique confluence of resources to create the Dartmouth Center for Health Care Delivery Science, which was the first international network of researchers and practitioners to design and implement new models of high-quality low-cost care. He also established the National College Health Improvement Project, a 32-college collaborative that signified the first time public health methodologies were ever employed in efforts to reduce high-risk drinking on campuses across the country. As Solomon (2012) notes, however, Kim's exceedingly short tenure left behind a "disappointing legacy that is a cautionary tale of me-first leadership."

President Kim's tenure began at the peak of the global economic crisis. Under his leadership, Dartmouth was able to surmount its budget deficit and reinforce its financial foundation. His administration saw the completion of the Class of 1978 Life Sciences Center, Black Family Visual Arts Center, and the Class of 1953 Commons. President Kim also launched an institution-wide strategic planning process to chart a bold and aspirational vision for

Dartmouth's future, challenging all members of the community to make a lasting positive impact on the wider world.

Kim, Millen, Irwin, & Gershman argue in their 2002 coedited work, *Dying for Growth*, that capitalism—particularly in its neoliberal and developmentalist guises—is the underlying source of poor health outcomes; the authors assert that nothing less than dramatic transformation can save the world, but the immediate needs of human life require a direct and pragmatic engagement with existing structures of power. Kim told the journalist Bill Moyers (2009) that “Anthropologists are a little bit different [than physicians]; we don't often act on what we do.” As Hodge (2011) notes:

Kim's astonishing successes indicate one way to creatively mediate the tension between ideological rigor and pragmatic accommodation. It is yet unclear whether he will be unable to continue this engagement in his new institutional context. Dartmouth—and most other universities—is deeply embedded in the political economies that produce the suffering that anthropologists denounce.

Established in 2009 by President Kim, the Presidential Fellowship provides a unique opportunity for talented graduating seniors and recent alumni to play key roles within the College's administration. Based on their interests and experiences, fellows are assigned to a sponsoring office, where they help senior leaders carry out new initiatives and advance Dartmouth's mission. While assignments vary based on the needs of different offices, each fellow engages in challenging work that develops research and communication skills, deepens knowledge of administrative practices, and provides valuable strategic planning and project management experience. In May 2010 Dartmouth joined the Matariki Network of Universities (MNU) together with Durham University (UK), Queen's University (Canada), University of



Otago (New Zealand), University of Tübingen (Germany), University of Western Australia (Australia), and Uppsala University (Sweden). The MNU seeks to build upon the collective strengths of its member institutions to develop international excellence in research and education and to promote social responsibility locally and globally. Kim was in the process of revitalizing the College's long-held commitment to prepare students for tackling the world's most pressing problems when he became President Obama's surprise choice to head the World Bank, citing Kim's health development background as one of the major factors in his nomination. As Flock & Tsukayama (2012) note, "While his efforts in public health are widely lauded, his tenure as Dartmouth president has been controversial. In his three years at Dartmouth, Kim has faced budget challenges and has had his share of critics in the university's student body."

**Philip J. Hanlon (2013-Present).** President Hanlon earned his Bachelor of Arts degree from Dartmouth (Class of 1977), from which he graduated Phi Beta Kappa, and received his Ph.D. at the California Institute of Technology. Hanlon is a mathematician, computer scientist, and educator. After completing his postdoctoral work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Hanlon joined the faculty of the University of Michigan in 1986. He advanced from associate professor to full professor in 1990, becoming the Donald J. Lewis Professor of Mathematics. He was the associate dean for planning and finance for the University of Michigan College of Literature, Science, and the Arts from 2001 to 2004 and the vice provost from 2004 to 2010. In 2010, he was appointed as the provost of the University of Michigan. Philip J. Hanlon became the 18<sup>th</sup> President of Dartmouth College on June 10, 2013 and is the tenth Dartmouth alumnus to serve as its president and the first since the tenure of David T. McLaughlin. Hanlon (2013) notes that many members of the Wheelock Succession, going all the way back to

Reverend Wheelock himself, have furthered Dartmouth's mission to produce citizen-leaders in the most fundamental of ways—by teaching during their tenure as president:

I benefitted personally from this tradition when I took Math 20 from President John Kemeny. The man was a teacher at heart, and a brilliant one. And I'm committed to being part of this important tradition, and so I have signed-on to teach a section of Math 11 this term.

In fact, I met the class for the first time earlier this week, and I am delighted to report that President Kemeny's grandson, Jean-Luc, is one of my students.

And Jean-Luc, wherever you are—you have my promise that I won't be any harder on you than your grandfather was on me!

Hanlon (2013) set an assertive course in his inaugural address, noting that “. . . the pomp-and-circumstance and robe-and ritual . . . may give the appearance of being about an individual, it is not; it's about an institution. . . . It is about this community of learners.” In his first two years of office, Hanlon continues to place Dartmouth's historic liberal arts curriculum at the heart of teaching and learning on campus, with strong advocacy for experiential learning—learning by doing. Hanlon has also placed a high priority on nurturing and growing Dartmouth's scholarly work and its direct impact on the world, creating a Society of Fellows program that brings dozens of highly qualified postdoctoral fellows to Hanover, not only to pursue the full range of academic disciplines, but to learn the art of teaching from the true masters at Dartmouth. As Hanlon (2013) stated:

One message stands out amongst all—what makes Dartmouth special is its community. Such a diverse, talented group assembled in this beautiful and intimate place, and the opportunity to work with and learn from each other. This is nothing short of a treasure.

Our community is strongest when we are open, safe, inclusive, and welcoming to all. . . . I hear echoes of Archimedes: “Give me a lever and a fulcrum on which to rest it, and I shall move the world.” . . . That challenge is to find something at Dartmouth—something more than a diploma or even a lifetime of great memories. I want you to find your lever.

As a mathematician, Hanlon focuses on probability and combinatorics, the study of finite structures and their significance as they relate to bioinformatics, computer science, and other fields. Hanlon has earned numerous honors and awards for his mathematical research, including a Sloan Fellowship, a Guggenheim Fellowship, a Henry Russel Award, and the National Science Foundation Presidential Young Investigator Award. He also held an Arthur F. Thurnau Professorship, the University of Michigan’s highest recognition of faculty whose commitment to undergraduate teaching has had a demonstrable impact on the intellectual development and lives of their students. Hanlon recently sent an email to the Dartmouth Community with the subject line *The Liberal Arts Imperative* (personal communication, January 4, 2016):

. . . In today’s landscape of technological and social transformation, graduates must be prepared to deal with complexity, diversity, and change. What curriculum is better suited to develop such abilities than one that offers a broad understanding of the world with mastery of at least one field, the capacity to think critically and creatively, powerful communication skills, an ease at working in teams, scientific literacy, the ability to engage the arts and humanities, and the development of principled leadership skills? In fact, the liberal arts have never been more relevant. As Dartmouth has shown time and again, the liberal arts education is an incubator for leadership and impact on the world. . . . According to a 2013 survey, a vast majority of employers said they put a priority on

hiring people with the intellectual and interpersonal skills to overcome uncertainty. . . .

Dartmouth graduates will use the timeless skills afforded them by their liberal arts education to have an impact on the world around them. These aren't simply the capacities employers will seek; they are needed to be true citizen-leaders. They are the capacities humankind will need to advance progress. This is the promise of a Dartmouth education.

Dartmouth announced the launch of Moving Dartmouth Forward in January of 2015, a plan brought about to greatly reduce extreme, harmful behaviors on campus, including high-risk drinking, sexual assault and violence, and incidents of bias and exclusivity. A far-reaching element of Hanlon's plan (personal communication, September 14, 2015) is to transform residential life at Dartmouth by developing a house community system, with an anticipated launch of September 2016. The objective of these house communities "is to enrich the opportunities for social interaction and intellectual engagement within our residence hall system. We selected six talented house professors who will guide the creation of house communities. . . ."

Hanlon has already shepherded the revision of the College alcohol policy to extend the ban on hard alcohol from students under age 21 to all undergraduates, has significantly strengthened the College's judicial policies as pertains to sexual assault, and has spearheaded the development of a new Dartmouth-specific smartphone safety app in conjunction with piloting aspects of a four-year sexual assault education curriculum. Dartmouth has long required incoming freshmen to sign its Academic Honor Code, but has added a Principle of Community, a new pledge affirming the rights and obligations that all members of the Dartmouth intellectual community hold dear: the duty to act with integrity at all times, in and out of the classroom; the right to express ideas

freely, even if they are not popular, while remaining respectful of the rights of others; and the recognition that diversity enriches the community.

### **University of Chicago: 1950-Present**

For most who arrived after 1892, the new University of Chicago was *the* University of Chicago. “This image of a new, hyperinnovative creation, brilliantly launched by William Rainey Harper in 1892, dominates most historical accounts of the origins of the modern American university. . . . Images of instantaneous creation also dominate much of the fundraising literature that the University produced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century” (Boyer, 2015, p. 7). In fact, the first institution to bear the name of the University of Chicago began as a modest denominational college founded by Senator Stephan A. Douglas in 1856-1857. As Brand (1930) writes, “The Baptist denomination in Chicago was small and the Baptist communities in the western states had long wanted an institution of higher education to educate ministers for their region” (p. 165). The real motivation to found a college may have come from a trip that Douglas took in 1853 to Europe, where he visited several leading universities. According to John C. Burroughs (1872), the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Chicago who knew Douglas’ motives well:

. . . while [Douglas’s] main errand abroad was political, his quick insight had not failed to discover the bearing of its universities on the social and political development of Europe, and he had returned, full of the idea of a university at Chicago, which should be for the Northwest what he had seen of those of England, and Germany, and France, and Russia to be to their States. This was the real main-spring of his project. (p. 28)

The institution known as the Old University of Chicago was originally established as the University of Chicago in 1856 on a ten-acre tract of land donated by Senator Stephen A. Douglas.

A Baptist school, the University was constantly plagued by financial difficulties and was forced to close in 1886. At its final meeting in 1890, the Board of Trustees changed the name of the institution to the Old University of Chicago so that the new Baptist school being organized as a completely separate legal entity might be called the University of Chicago. Douglas had first offered the property at Cottage Grove Avenue and Thirty-Fifth Street to the Presbyterian Church for a university, but when they failed to raise the \$100,000 he had stipulated, he conveyed the site to a group of Baptists. While the charter required that a majority of the members of the Board of Trustees be Baptists, the school was nondenominational in character, applying no religious test to either faculty or students. Its name notwithstanding, the university was primarily collegiate and vocational in nature with two hundred to five hundred students enrolled annually in preparatory, collegiate, law, and medical schools (Old University of Chicago. Records.).

The institution began almost immediately to encounter financial difficulties. As Meyer (1994) notes, Douglas was the principal architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, regarded as a betrayal of the anti-slavery cause, and his association with the act proved a liability in fundraising. Additionally, the financial panic of 1857 rendered most of the initial subscriptions worthless. Nonetheless, the trustees proceeded with construction projects beyond the school's means and debt mounted rapidly. The president, J. C. Burroughs, and the trustees succeeded in securing new subscriptions, but just as it seemed that the institution might reach solid financial ground, the Chicago fire of 1871, followed by the panic of 1873, and the fire of 1874 plunged it into financial peril once more.

Administratively, the university's situation was equally chaotic and disagreements over fundraising, financial management, and faculty appointments escalated into open strife among the trustees. President Burroughs and his most vocal opponent, trustee W. W. Everts, were

persuaded to resign, but the trustees created for Burroughs the post of chancellor and made him responsible for the school's financial affairs. Conflicts among the trustees, the president, and the chancellor continued, with administrators arriving and departing in rapid succession. Union Mutual Life Insurance Company, the university's chief creditor, brought suit in 1881 to foreclose the mortgage on the university's property that it held. In January 1885, the court found in favor of the company. The trustee's hope of redeeming the property proved illusory: the university closed in the autumn of 1886 and the main building was razed in 1890.

The University of Chicago was founded in 1890 by the American Baptist Education Society and oil magnate John D. Rockefeller, who later described the University of Chicago as "the best investment I ever made" (University of Chicago News Office, "A brief history"). The land for the new university, in the recently annexed suburb of Hyde Park, was donated by Marshall Field, owner of the Chicago department store that bore his name. William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University, was born in New Concord, Ohio in 1856. His parents were owners of a general store, ran a strict United Presbyterian household, and forbade the reading of newspapers and secular books on Sundays (Storr, 1966). Harper became a Biblical scholar, attending Yale. He incorporated into the University of Chicago's early charter a commitment to gender equality in both undergraduate and graduate education. In spite of the initial intention to found a Baptist institution, the University of Chicago has supported, since its founding, an atmosphere of nonsectarianism. This commitment to equal opportunity distinguished the University in its early years and holds true today. From the time of the University's opening, the registrar annually reported the enrollment of students from Japan, China, the Philippines, Korea, India, and South Africa, as well as Canada, the nations of Western Europe, and dozens of other countries. The University's open admission policy also attracted

American minorities, particularly Jewish and African American students, who found their educational paths blocked by policies or quotas at many other institutions. In 1968, Edward H. Levi was inaugurated as the University's president, becoming the first Jewish president of a leading university in the United States. A decade later, historian Hanna Holborn Gray was inaugurated as the University's president in 1978, becoming the first woman to serve as president of a major research university.

William Rainey Harper was an inveterate planner who could not resist the chance to mobilize men and ideas. Harper found the decision to abandon Yale to launch the new University an anguished one, feeling very much at home at Yale. He was respected by influential senior faculty members and President Timothy Dwight so admired him that he raised \$50,000 to permanently endow a named professorship—the Woolsey Professorship in Biblical Literature—to help finance Harper's various publication projects. Nonetheless, Harper resisted the appeals of his Yale colleagues, driven both by his fascination with program building and planning and by his ambition to reshape the national system of education (Boyer, 2015, p. 73). Goodspeed (1953) recounted the story of Harper composing key parts of his plan for the founding of the University of Chicago as the two journeyed by train from Chicago to New York. "I have a plan," Harper wrote to Rockefeller, "which is at the same time unique and comprehensive, which I am persuaded will revolutionize university study in this country; nor is this only *my* opinion. It is very simple, but thorough-going" (Harper, W. R., Harper to John D. Rockefeller, September 22, 1890).

In the lavish campaign book of 1925, the authors noted, "In 1892, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, inspired by a deep impulse to advance civilization and to meet more specifically the needs for intellectual leadership of a population exceeding 50,000,000 people, founded a great



university in the center of the Middle West . . . [He] called it The University of Chicago” (University of Chicago, 1925, p. 5). The first faculty assembled on Opening Day, 1892, were indeed an impressive assemblage: lured from colleges all over the country, they had been drawn to Chicago by the idea of a community of great scholars. Harper, the University’s first president, envisioned a university that was “‘bran splinter new,’ yet as solid as the ancient hills”—a modern research university, combining an English-style undergraduate college and a German-style graduate research institute (Harper, W. R., Harper to John D. Rockefeller, September 22, 1890). The University of Chicago fulfilled Harper’s dream, quickly becoming a national leader in higher education and research: an institution of scholars unafraid to cross boundaries, share ideas, and ask difficult questions.

The University of Chicago’s leadership was noted by Frederick Rudolph, professor of history at Williams College, who wrote in his 1962 study, *The American College and University: A History*, “No episode was more important in shaping the outlook and expectations of American higher education during those years than the founding of the University of Chicago, one of those events in American history that brought into focus the spirit of an age” (“A brief history,” University of Chicago News Office). One of Harper’s curricular innovations was to offer classes year-round, allowing students to graduate at whatever time of year they completed their studies. Appropriately enough, the first class was held on a Saturday at 8:30 a.m. Just as appropriately, Harper and the other faculty members had pulled a feverish all-nighter beforehand, unpacking and arranging desks, chairs, and tables in the newly constructed Cobb Hall.

The first buildings copied the English Gothic style of architecture, complete with towers, spires, cloisters, and gargoyles. By 1910, the University of Chicago had adopted more traditions, including a coat of arms that bore a phoenix emerging from the flames and a Latin motto,

*Crescat Scientia, Vita Excolatur* (“Let knowledge grow from more to more; and so be human life enriched”). The shield was originally designed by Pierre de Chaignon la Rose, a heraldic specialist in Boston working under contract to the board of trustees. No surviving documents make clear precisely why the phoenix was adopted as the central element, although several possibilities have been suggested. The phoenix can be seen as a symbol of the city of Chicago, which was seriously damaged by the great Chicago Fire of 1871 and then was successfully rebuilt, or reborn, within just a few years. A more probable suggestion is that the phoenix represents the “rebirth” of the University of Chicago; an earlier University of Chicago was founded in 1857 and closed due to bankruptcy in 1886, and the current University of Chicago was incorporated in 1890, so in an important sense the University was reborn as the current institution (University of Chicago Archives).

Today, the works of many great architects and sculptors are perpetually on view around campus, including Eero Saarinen’s Law School and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe’s School of Social Service Administration, both just south of the Midway Plaisance. The Midway served as a center of amusements during the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893, lending the name “Midway” today to areas at county and state fairs where sideshows are located. The Midway was laid out with long vistas and avenues of trees at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in part following the vision of Frederick Law Olmsted, one of the creators of New York City’s Central Park, but without his impracticable dream of creating a Venetian canal linking the lagoon systems of Jackson and Washington parks on Chicago’s south side. Instead, the Midway is landscaped with a fosse or dry ditch where Olmsted’s canal would have been. On the north side of the Midway are Frank Lloyd Wright’s famous Robie House and Henry Moore’s *Nuclear Energy*, a work done to commemorate the spot where Enrico Fermi and other University of

Chicago scientists achieved man's first self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction in 1942 (Boyer, 1993). In the early 1950s, Hyde Park, once a solidly middle-class neighborhood, began to decline. In response, the University of Chicago became a major sponsor of an urban renewal effort for Hyde Park, which profoundly affected both the neighborhood's architecture and street plan. As an example, in 1952, 55th Street had 22 taverns; today, the street features extra-wide lanes for automobile traffic, the twin towers of University Park Condominiums (I. M. Pei, 1961) and one bar, the Woodlawn Tap.

Amid the physical changes, the University of Chicago's interdisciplinary approach to world-changing research and an insatiable commitment to inquiry continue, demonstrated in its partnerships with the Argonne and Fermi national laboratories, its world-class Medical Center, its tradition of accomplishment in economic research, its dedication to social services and community growth, and the many accomplishments of its faculty, researchers, and students. Bronner (1998) states, "More Nobel Prizes—70—have been awarded its professors and students than any other university; its faculty famously declined to grant Queen Elizabeth an honorary degree for lack of scholarly credentials; its undergraduates take a full two years of prescribed core courses, including calculus and physics and a tough set of humanities and social science classes" (p. A24). Harper articulated his hope and vision for the University of Chicago at the very first faculty meeting in 1892, saying: "The question before us is how to become one in spirit, not necessarily in opinion" (Randel, 2000).

**Robert Maynard Hutchins (1929-1951).** William Rainey Harper brought the University of Chicago into being, giving it form and life and mission. But it is the legacy of Robert Maynard Hutchins which is still avidly discussed and debated. Although Hutchins brought his own ideas and innovations with him, he came to embody the spirit of the University

in a way that parallels Harper. Hutchins was born in Brooklyn, New York, where his father attended Yale and the Union Theological Seminary. After serving as a Presbyterian minister in Brooklyn and a professor of homiletics at Oberlin, Hutchins' father became president of Berea College in Kentucky in 1920. Boyer (2015) notes, "Hutchins was the first in the family to establish a personal connection to the University of Chicago: while at Yale, he took classes from William Rainey Harper" (p. 215). Hutchins, the Boy President, was only thirty when he was elected to serve as the fifth president of the University of Chicago, becoming the youngest president ever to lead a world-renowned university. Unlike Harper, Hutchins was an iconoclast who ridiculed empty rhetoric, shabby reasoning, and institutions which did not fulfill their promise. He could say, with a straight face: "I do not need to tell you what the public thinks about universities. You know as well as I, and you know as well as I that the public is wrong. The fact that popular misconceptions of the nature and purpose of universities originate in the fantastic misconduct of the universities themselves is not consoling" (University of Chicago Office of the President, 2015). Hutchins was inaugurated in November 1929, at the onset of the Great Depression.

As Hutchins asserted in his inaugural address: "If the first faculty had met in a tent, this still would have been a great university" (Hutchins, 1929). Hutchins continued, "The purpose of the university is nothing less than to procure a moral, intellectual, and spiritual revolution throughout the world" (Hutchins inaugural address, 1929). Hutchins' educational reforms did not always succeed; he nonetheless became the most articulate defender of the core values of the university in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Cole, 2009), innovating in building structures that facilitated new knowledge to grow out of exchanges between faculty and students across disciplines.

While Yale and Harvard were either in the process of purging their undergraduate student bodies of Jewish students or had already purged them by the 1930s, Hutchins embraced the presence of Jewish students. Some 25 to 30 percent of the student body at Chicago was Jewish, many from humble backgrounds, many of the gifted individuals, primarily from New York. They were at Chicago because of their ability, and for Hutchins their religion was irrelevant to the admissions process. (Cole, 2009, p.71)

During Hutchins' tenure as president he established many of the undergraduate curricular innovations for which the University of Chicago is known today. These included a curriculum dedicated specifically to interdisciplinary education, comprehensive examinations instead of course grades, courses focused on the study of original documents and classic works, and an emphasis on discussion, rather than lectures. While the Core curriculum has changed substantially since Hutchins' time, original texts and small discussion sections remain a hallmark of a University of Chicago undergraduate education. Hutchins' defense of critical reasoning and the importance he placed on exchanges between conflicting points of view had a profound and lasting effect on America's system of higher learning. Hutchins (1951) firmly believed that "the unifying principle of a university is the pursuit of truth for its own sake" and wrote: "There is only one justification for universities, as distinguished from trade schools: They must be centers of criticism" (p. 104).

In addition, Hutchins is famously remembered for another bold decision. "The University of Chicago, well known for Saul Bellow, Milton Friedman and its links to 85 Nobel Prizes, was once famous sea to shining sea for football" (Bearak, 2011, September 16). With its emphasis on academics and research, it is easy to forget that the University of Chicago was, from its founding in 1892 until the 1920s, as famous for its commanding football team as it was for

academics. The original “Monsters of the Midway” were perennial contenders for the Big Nine (later Big Ten) championship. Two years before the University opened, William Rainey Harper recruited Amos Alonzo Stagg, a former student of his at Yale Divinity School, to be the physical director and football coach. Stagg, to be forever known at the University of Chicago as the “Old Man,” was sacred, as Mayer (1993) notes:

The Old Man was sacred, sacred to a relatively small but ardent segment of the alumni, sacred to some of the old professors who had come with him in 1892, sacred to some of the trustees who, in their time, had had their picture taken on the Yale Fence, sacred to the students, who had nothing else to hold sacred, sacred to the local barbers and their customers, sacred, above all, to the local sports writers who, with the Cubs and the White Sox were, had nothing much else to write about. The first Marshall Field had given Harper a great tract adjoining the original campus for the student games that Harper spoke of. It was called, of course, Marshall Field, but it had long since become Stagg Field. The Old Man was untouchable—and so, therefore, was football.

The Old Man was Chicago’s oldest—and only indigenous—collegiate tradition except for the campus carillon rendition of the Alma Mater at 10:00 every night because the Old Man wanted his players to start for bed at 10:00 and to get there when the Alma Mater was finished at 10:06:45. (pp. 138-139)

When Stagg arrived in Hyde Parke in September 1892, the school lacked the bare essentials of even an 1890s football program. To put the University of Chicago’s football program on a solid footing, Stagg had to build more than a team. He advertised for University of Chicago cheers and, liking none of them, composed one of his own. Marshall Field agreed to donate land for an athletic field and, in 1893, students were pressed into service to build a fence so that the athletic

department could collect admissions. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the University of Chicago Maroons were one of the most vigorous and profitable football programs in the Midwest. As Watterson (2013) states, “The Old Man, as Stagg was called before he was 40, had a genius for coaching and a flair for publicity. . . . Every October, the Chicago papers would faithfully chronicle the return of the ‘ghost ball,’ a white ball that enabled Stagg’s players to practice past sundown” (p. 2). The local sports writers, football alumni, football professors, football trustees, football students, and football barbers, yes, and the Old Man himself, still coaching in his seventies, all suspected Hutchins from the first—and they were right. Mayer (1993) states, “They took note when he said that a university is not a body-building institute. They took note when he said that the country needed brains almost as much as it did brawn. They took note when he told the YMCA that ‘the American public is overexercised and overbathed. The great resources of the YMCA should not be directed primarily at aggravating this great evil’” (p. 140). The trustee who most wanted to know what Hutchins planned for Stagg and his Maroons was Albert Lasker, the advertising mogul who had once owned the Chicago Cubs and in sports matters was generally deferred to by most of the board members. Gunther (1960) writes, “Lasker said to Hutchins, after many a board meeting on the subject, ‘Football is what unifies a university—what will take its place?’ And Hutchins said, ‘Education’” (p. 225). As Watterson (2013) states:

On a clear, crisp Thanksgiving Day in 1905, football fans by the thousands poured into Hyde Park to watch the University of Chicago play their big game of the season. Their team, the Chicago Maroons, was facing the mighty University of Michigan Wolverines in a contest for the conference championship. By a score of 2-0, the undefeated Maroons nosed out the Wolverines—a team that had been undefeated for four years and had not

been scored upon that year—on a safety set up by the punting of their 145-pound All-America halfback, Walter Eckersall. Delirious, Chicagoans lit victory bonfires and enlivened downtown Loop restaurants and theatres with their cheers. (p. 1)

The University's first athletic director, Amos Alonzo Stagg, was also the first tenured coach in the nation, holding the position of Associate Professor and Director of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics. In 1935, senior Jay Berwanger was awarded the first Heisman Trophy (which is proudly displayed today in the Ratner Athletic Center on campus). Just four years later, however, Hutchins abolished the football team, citing the need to focus on academics rather than athletics. "In many colleges, it is possible for a boy to win 12 letters without learning how to write one," Robert Maynard Hutchins wrote acidly of sports in a December 1938 *Saturday Evening Post* article. Hutchins continued:

The football season is about to release the nation's colleges to the pursuit of education, more or less. . . .

This has been going on for almost fifty years. It is called "overemphasis on athletics," and everybody deplors it. It has been the subject of scores of reports, all of them shocking. It has been held to be crass professionalism, all the more shameful because it masquerades as higher education. But nobody has done anything about it. Why? I think it is because nobody wants to. Nobody wants, or dares, to defy the public, dishearten the students, or deprive alma mater of the loyalty of the alumni. Most emphatically of all, nobody wants to give up the gate receipts. . . .

The apologists for athleticism have created a collection of myths to convince the public that biceps are a substitute for brains. . . .



These myths have a certain air of plausibility. They are widely accepted. But they are myths, designed, consciously or unconsciously, to conceal the color of money and to surround a financial enterprise with the rosy glow of Health, Manhood, Public Spirit, and Education. . . .

The task of taking the money out of athletics must be undertaken by those institutions which are leaders, institutions which can afford the loss of prestige and popularity involved. I suggest that a group of colleges and of universities, composed, say, of Amherst, Williams, Dartmouth, Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Michigan, Stanford, and California agree to take the following steps, to take them in unison and to take them at once:

1. Reduce admission to ten cents. This will cover the handling costs. For years prominent educators, all the way from Harper, of Chicago, to Butler, at Columbia, have insisted that college athletics should be supported from endowment like any other educational activity. Colleges should support athletics out of their budgets, or get out of athletics, or get out of education.
2. Give the director of athletics and the major coaches some kind of academic tenure, so that their jobs depend on their ability as instructors and their character as men and not on the gates they draw. (pp. 142-144)

At the end of December 1939, the University of Chicago's board decided to get out of intercollegiate football. Instead, the University developed an elaborate program of intramural football. The University made the announcement of the board's decision during the Christmas student break and the University of Chicago's departure from intercollegiate football was published on the front pages—not of the sports sections but of the news sections—across the

country. Hutchins (1940, January 12) called a special convocation as soon as the students returned from Christmas break, in which he said he hoped it was not necessary to tell them that a university was an educational institution, that:

. . . education is primarily concerned with the training of the mind, and athletics and social life, though they may contribute to education, are not the heart of it and can not be permitted to interfere with it. All questions of management are questions of emphasis. Even so variegated an institution as a department store, which may teach skiing or distribute Christmas baskets, must be tested at the last by its success as a department store. An educational institution can do one thing uniquely: it can educate. It is by its success in performing this one function that it must be judged. The object of the University of Chicago, therefore, is to help you get the finest education that its resources and intelligence can supply. It is your responsibility to make the most of your opportunities, to cooperate with the University in the achievement of its aims—and to go forth and preach the gospel.”

Amos Alonzo Stagg took off into the sunset and, in his nineties, was still coaching football at a small college in California. “He [Stagg] lived to be a hundred, and if Hutchins had lived to be a hundred he would never have overcome the bitterness of the lovers of things-as-they-had-been, a bitterness aggravated by the sports writers and their full-page recapitulations of ‘the great days of Chicago . . . could there be any doubt any longer that the Boy President meant to dismantle the university?’” (Mayer, 1993, p. 142).

The empty stands at Stagg Field looked blindly down on students playing the intramural games. Underneath the abandoned stands, on December 2, 1942, at 3:25 p.m., Enrico Fermi told

a young physicist to go ahead and pull a cadmium rod out of a Chicago Pile-1 built by the University of Chicago Metallurgical Laboratory—and the Atomic Age began.

Regenstein Library (known as the Reg) was built on the former site of the 50,000-seat Stagg Field. Created by the famous Chicago architectural firm of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, the Reg opened in 1970. The Reg was designed in the Brutalist style by Walter Netsch, and is comprised of reinforced concrete with an Indiana limestone façade. The library houses more than 4.5 million volumes and 7,000,000 other documents on seven levels, two of which are underground (University of Chicago Archives, The Joseph Regenstein Library Building, 2015).

Varsity football was not reinstated until 1969. The University of Chicago has 15,500 students, but a new version of Stagg Field, where the team plays, has only one short row of bleachers running the length of a single sideline. Bearak (2011) writes:

“I’d say 25 percent of the students don’t even know we have a football team,” said Jake Longtin, a defensive lineman who is also a team captain. . . . John W. Boyer, the dean of the college, was not at the game, but in a subsequent interview he praised the football program, not necessarily for the team’s play but for its appropriate niche within the university. He called it an important student activity, likening football to debating.

He said proudly, “We have a nice and proper team.”

Late in life Hutchins mused about his years in Chicago, “Our idea there was to start a big argument about higher education and keep it alive.” The son of a preacher, he portrayed himself as a prophet without honor in his own country, the lone voice of reason in a world of mediocrity. He often quoted a line from Walt Whitman, and once suggested it as a motto for the University of Chicago: “Solitary, singing in the west, I strike up for a new world.” Claiming that “thinking is an arduous and painful process, and thinking about education is particularly disagreeable,”

Hutchins focused on the highest abstractions—morals, values, the intellect, the “University of Utopia,” the “great conversation,” and above all the study of metaphysics—while others, he claimed, preferred to deal with “academic housekeeping.” In fact he inspired a loyal cadre of admirers and fans who spread his gospel across the land (University of Chicago Office of the President, 2015).

Hutchins gave 64 public addresses in his first year at the University, establishing a civic presence and identity seldom equaled by a university president before or since. Appearing regularly on the radio, in the pages of popular magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, as well as at convocations and alumni meetings, Hutchins personally represented in the popular mind the ideals of higher education as well as the particular programs of the University of Chicago.

The Chicago College eliminated grades and course requirements, replacing these with broad-based general education classes and a series of comprehensive exams. Hutchins advocated the relocation of the BA degree to the sophomore year of college, focusing the bachelor’s degree on general or liberal education, and leaving specialization for the master’s. This plan had been put forth by President Judson fifteen years earlier, and indeed harked back to Harper’s plan for junior and senior colleges. Hutchins also became known for his emphasis on the “great books,” through the evening courses he co-taught with Mortimer Adler and his support of the adult groups which mushroomed throughout the country in the 1940s, although the University never actually adopted the great books program into its curriculum.

While Hutchins was best known for his statements on undergraduate education, one of his most enduring reforms at the University was the organization of the graduate departments into the four academic divisions of the biological sciences, humanities, physical sciences, and

social sciences, with a separate College which unified all undergraduate work under one dean. Jencks (1961) offered a pessimistic evaluation of the future of American undergraduate education that rings true today: Harvard had essentially become a “cram school for graduate study” and that the Hutchins College experiment at the University of Chicago had been savaged by graduate departments that wanted to cannibalize its faculty. At major public colleges, by contrast, most students cared little for ideas or learning, which made their faculty despair of doing a responsible job in trying to educate them. The University of Chicago, however, worked to sustain a system that placed general education at its core. Of equal import, the University of Chicago, since its inception, created a campus culture of learning, egalitarian merit, and academic rigor that challenged all highly motivated and talented students, irrespective of their professional career goals (Boyer, 2015).

The Hutchins administration spanned both the Great Depression and World War II, trying times for higher education and the nation as a whole. Funds that were raised in the 1920s, as well as continuing support from the Rockefeller Foundation, gave the University a cushion many other institutions did not have, especially in the early years of the Depression. When war threatened, Hutchins opposed it, but after the attack on Pearl Harbor he offered the government the resources of the University. Jencks and Riesman (1968) assert that from the University’s inception, its conception of higher education as a public and private good was unusual in the marketplace of American higher education. If anything, Chicago’s golden age came before 1945, when the University marshaled enormous and sudden wealth and managed to combine it with extraordinary levels of intellectual seriousness and academic achievement. In this sense Chicago anticipated many features of the “academic revolution” that underwrote a profound shift in the self-understanding of the top American research universities after 1945. Millions of dollars in

government contracts poured in to support specialized training programs for military personnel in languages, radio technology, meteorology, and for research vital to the war effort. The Manhattan Project, which developed the atomic bomb, was only one of many projects operating on the University campus during the war years.

By 1944 Hutchins again began preaching for peace, and the atomic bomb made his message all the more urgent. After the war he joined in the efforts of the Committee to Frame a World Constitution to push for a world government, yet another appearance of Hutchins' resilient idealism. Hutchins was a strong advocate of academic freedom, and as always refused to compromise his principles. Faced not only from within by the Old Man (Stagg), concerning the football program, but also from without by another "Old Man," William Randolph Hearst, the owner of the *Chicago Herald-Examiner* and forty-one other metropolitan newspapers. With the Great Crash, America had lost its bearings. Hearst unleashed his editorial hordes against college professors in December 1934. Mayer (1993) writes:

In the *Examiner* of February 24, 1935, under the headline, HOPE LIES IN SOVIET, U. OF C. TEACHER SAYS, [Assistant Professor] Schuman was grossly misquoted. . . .

What Hearst had ordered his editors to call the Raw Deal was crawling with professors—Red professors, corrupting the young and selling out the country to the Bolsheviks. The way to destroy the Raw Deal was to convince the Hearst readers (still one out of every four families in the country) that Roosevelt was a tool of the academic devils. . . .

Early in 1935 the Red Terror approached a crescendo in every Hearst town that had a university. Hearst reporters disguised as students enrolled in classes and then exposed the seditious utterances of the instructors. . . .California, Pittsburgh, Washington,

along with Columbia, Harvard, NYT, and Howard, all came under sustained barrage. But the *crème de la Kremlin* was the University of Chicago.

The universities all had Red professors, but only one had a Red president. By 1935 Hutchins was one of Hearst's *bêtes rouges*. . . . At the Tribune Tower in Chicago he occupied an even more distinguished niche: on the orders of the "Morning Colonel," R. R. McCormick, the *Tribune* never used his name, referring, when it had to, only to "the president of the University of Chicago." (pp. 147-148)

The *Tribune* monopolized the morning field; Hearst's lurid *Examiner* was in trouble. Hearst sent Victor Watson, nothing more than a fomenter, to Chicago to take measures to save the *Examiner*. Watson set out to create a Red scare to end all Red scares. The whole country was inflammable in the early 1930s, but Chicago was something special. It was a Roosevelt town—in some small measure because of the graveyard vote produced by the Democratic machine, whose boss, Mayor Edward J. Kelly, was the creature of the Republican Colonel McCormick. Watson made contact with druggist Charles R. Walgreen, the owner of five hundred drugstores in thirty-nine cities and, more importantly, Chicago's biggest newspaper advertiser, "whose double-page spreads meant life or death to a staggering sheet like the *Examiner*" (Mayer, 1993, p. 149).

On April 10, 1935, Walgreen notified President Hutchins by letter, duplicates being sent to the University's trustees, that he was withdrawing his niece from the University of Chicago as the result of untoward Communist influences. On April 11, 1935, the *Examiner* ran a front-page exclusive, reporting that "from the state capitol at Springfield that Senator Charles W. Baker would that same day introduce a motion to withhold funds to state-subsidized educational institutions found guilty, on investigation, of teaching subversive doctrines *and to deny tax exemption to private institutions found similarly guilty*" (Mayer, 1993, p. 150). Upon hearing of

Hearst's charges in early 1935 that drugstore magnate Charles R. Walgreen's niece, Miss Lucille Norton of Seattle, had been indoctrinated with communist ideas at the University, Hutchins stood behind his faculty and their right to teach and believe as they wished, insisting that communism could not withstand the scrutiny of public analysis and debate. According to Hutchins, the only question that may be properly raised about a professor with the institution to which he belongs is his competence (Hutchins, 1931). Hutchins received a letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt which began, "Dear Bob," and ended, "You must have had a vile time with that inquisition. I sometimes think that Hearst has done more harm to the cause of democracy and civilization in America than any three other contemporaries put together. Always sincerely, Franklin D. Roosevelt" (Roosevelt, F. D., Roosevelt to Robert Maynard Hutchins, July 1, 1935).

Hutchins later became friends with Walgreen and convinced him to fund a series of lectures on democracy. When the University faced charges of aiding and abetting communism again in 1949, Hutchins steadfastly refused to capitulate to red-baiters who attacked faculty members. At the height of the McCarthy terror in 1952, Hutchins, having just retired from the University of Chicago, outlined his idea of the essential ingredients of a great university before the House Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations:

Now, a university is a place that is established and will function for the benefit of society, provided it is a center of independent thought. . . . Education is a kind of continuing dialogue, and a dialogue assumes, in the nature of the case, different points of view. In this dialogue . . . you cannot assume that you are going to have everybody thinking the same way or feeling the same way. It would be unprogressive if that happened. . . . A university, then, is a kind of continuing Socratic conversation on the highest level for the



very best people you can think of, you can bring together, about the most important questions, and the thing that you must do to the uttermost possible limits is to guarantee those men the freedom to think and to express themselves. (Testimony of Robert M. Hutchins, 1952)

At the conclusion of the Walgreen hearings, the Rockefeller Foundation made an unrestricted gift to the university of three million dollars. A couple of months after the affair, Walgreen learned that he had hurt Hutchins' feelings quite badly and, given that the university wanted to establish the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions, offered up \$550,000 to fund the project. A letter with a token check of ten thousand dollars was also received, together with an offer of "whatever service for which you may wish to call on me," from a resident of far-off Long Island, one Marshall Field III (whose grandfather had given the new university the acreage that was later known as Stagg Field). Another ten thousand dollars—followed almost immediately by \$250,000 more—came in with a letter to Hutchins from the five children of the founder of Sears Roebuck and Company:

We are impressed by your liberal and courageous stand in behalf of academic freedom. . . . The Rosenwald Family Association has not, as yet, received its bequest under the will of Mr. Julius Rosenwald. We are unable, therefore, to express our confidence in your administration as we should like to do. It is our present intention to make the University of Chicago one of three principal beneficiaries as soon as we are in a position to do so. (Mayer, 1993, p. 165)

The final years of Hutchins' presidency were a study in contrasts: on the one hand, these were years of great pedagogical excitement and curricular drama at the University of Chicago. Hutchins' College, based on a uniform general-education curriculum, reached its zenith during

these years. *The New York Times* (1952, June 2), in reporting John Dewey's death at the age of 92, selected Dewey's own words to commemorate the philosopher's passing. In replying to Dr. Hutchins' attacks (president of the University of Chicago), Dewey said:

President Hutchins calls for liberal education of a small, elite group and vocational education for the masses. I cannot think of any idea more completely reactionary and more fatal to the whole democratic outlook.

The University made the transition to peacetime research in nuclear energy, metallurgy, and solid state physics, retaining or recruiting scientists of the caliber of Enrico Fermi, Harold Urey, and James Franck. On the other hand, these were also the years of deteriorating financial solvency, with heavy pressure on Hutchins to put the University's fiscal house in order. In order to finance the postwar expansion of the University, including the construction of the new research institutes and the administration building, Hutchins persuaded the board to draw on the endowment principal of sixteen Rockefeller funds for four years at a rate of 5 percent and a fifth year at 2.5 percent, for a total of \$3.3 million, all of which was technically legal but which, as a later observer put it, "caused disappointment among the Rockefellers that the University used for current purposes funds which were intended as permanent endowments" (Kirkpatrick, 1955).

Boyer (2015) asserts:

Hutchins was forced to spend much of his political capital in aggressive defenses of the ideal of academic freedom, a hotly controversial policy arena in the 1930s and 1940s, and one in which Harper had trod ever so gently. Harper protected the faculty (or, at least, most faculty) against the political (and denominational) realities of his 19<sup>th</sup>-century world. But he operated within an elite-driven civic world with more normative consistency between the senior faculty of the University and business elites of the 1890s than their

counterparts in the 1930s and 1940s enjoyed . . . Hutchins, in contrast, had to defend the University when the ideological and social fracture lines of the 1930s were beginning to affect the student and faculty culture of many American universities. (pp. 317-318)

Hutchins resigned in 1951 to become an associate director of the recently-created Ford Foundation. In 1954 he took over chairmanship of the Foundation's Fund for the Republic, which sponsored research on civil rights issues, including blacklisting of Hollywood actors and freedom of the press. After many years of planning, Hutchins initiated the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in 1959. Located on an estate near Santa Barbara, California, the Center offered daily programs where senior residents could meet with invited guests in small groups to study position papers and engage in informal discussions. In its broad scope and open agenda, the Center embodied the hopes and ideals to which Hutchins had dedicated his career (University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues).

**Lawrence A. Kimpton (1951-1960).** Standing six feet two-and-a-half inches tall, barely 40 years old, Lawrence A. Kimpton seemed the natural successor to Robert Hutchins, the Boy President. Kimpton was born in Kansas City, Missouri, attended Stanford (Class of 1932) for his undergraduate training, and then was accepted to Cornell University to study philosophy, receiving his Ph.D. in 1935, where he wrote his dissertation on the critical philosophy of Immanuel Kant. While at Cornell, he lived in Telluride House, founded by Lucien L. Nunn, a wealthy investor in early electric power plants in Utah and Colorado who created the Telluride Association at Cornell in 1911 and who founded Deep Springs College in 1917 (Boyer, 2015). After completing his doctorate at Cornell, Kimpton took a job teaching English, German, and philosophy at Deep Springs College in California, an experimental school with about 20 students and the same number of teachers situated on an isolated 250-square-mile ranch with 1,000 head

of cattle. Students studied in tutorials and small discussion groups and worked half of each day on the ranch. Kimpton became dean and director of the college, which involved rounding up steers and catching rustlers, as well as more routine educational duties.

In 1941 Kimpton moved to Nevada as a part owner of a seven-thousand-acre cattle ranch, which he operated for a year. In 1942, he accepted a position at the University of Kansas and served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts. When the Manhattan Project office in Chicago needed an administrator, Kimpton's name was offered by chemists who had taught at Deep Springs while they were graduate students at Caltech. He moved to Chicago in 1943. During his time at Deep Springs, Kimpton got to know Harvard president James Conant, who encouraged Kimpton to invite graduate students from Cal Tech to teach at the small school on a part-time basis:

When some of these young chemists were recruited for the Metallurgical Laboratory, the cryptic name given to Arthur Holly Compton's wartime plutonium program within the broader Manhattan Project, they recommended Kimpton for a job in Chicago, where the laboratory was located. Thus did Kimpton come to be hired at the University of Chicago in 1943 as the chief administrative officer of the Met Lab. (Kimpton, L. A., Kimpton to Arthur Holly Compton, February 6, 1946)

In 1947, Kimpton returned to his alma mater to serve as dean of students at Stanford University for three years. Hutchins invited him back to the University of Chicago, this time as vice-president in charge of development. By the end of the year, though, Hutchins announced his intentions to resign, having accepted an offer from Paul G. Hoffman in December 1950 to assume a senior administrative position at the Ford Foundation (MacDonald, 1988). Mortimer Adler had urged Hutchins as early as 1946 that he no longer need the University of Chicago as a

“platform from which to address the country” on education reform (Adler, M., Mortimer Adler to Robert Maynard Hutchins, September 14, 1946).

Hutchins departure, utilizing administrative leave, created an immense power vacuum at the University of Chicago; the University had not conducted a presidential search since 1929. Upon assuming the presidency, Kimpton immediately became aware of the chaotic financial situation Hutchins left in the wake of his departure. In tandem with the looming budgetary issues, Kimpton also faced a crisis in confidence as concerned the College’s curriculum and governance. The entering class in the fall of 1953—275 first-year and 39 transfer students—was less than half its size two decades earlier, exacerbating the already precarious financial situation. Where before World War II the University had a large undergraduate college compared to most of its peer institutions—larger than Princeton, very similar in size to Yale and Stanford, but smaller than Harvard—after the war a growing divergence occurred, with Chicago falling far behind all of its peers for almost five decades. Facing declining enrollments due to the Korean War draft and a smaller population of depression-born youth, Kimpton felt the College could not remain outside the mainstream of American education. Three primary causes were cited for the collapse of enrollments, including the stereotype of hyperintellectualism as the only trait sought by the University in prospective applicants, increasing concerns about safety in Hyde Park, but most importantly, was Robert Hutchins’ early admissions programs (Office of the Registrar, University of Chicago Archives). George Watkins, the vice president for development in the 1950s, later stated, “No program instituted by Robert Maynard Hutchins was more controversial than the Early Admission Program as it developed—and it finally became a disaster” (Watkins, G. H., August 25, 1987). Hutchins attempt to recruit the best high school sophomores and juniors under early admissions allowed students to be admitted after two years of high school

and be awarded an undergraduate degree at the end of their sophomore year of college, provoking violent criticism from high school teachers, other academic institutions, and faculty.

Facing these incontrovertible facts, Kimpton agreed with the divisional faculty who objected to the basic premises of the 1942 revolution brought about by Hutchins and maintained a profound skepticism about a curriculum that claimed that a first-rate liberal arts education could consist only of general-education sequences. In a letter to his father, Kimpton wrote: "I am trying to change the whole quality and nature of the student body, and this is not an easy job. I am trying to . . . get it into a more conventional pattern, so that it will be more attractive to students, and have a better standing in the country as a whole" (Kimpton, L. A., Lawrence A. Kimpton to Carl E. Kimpton, December 1, 1952). Kimpton was very concerned about the perception that the Chicago bachelor's degree was suspect, even for those who entered after finishing high school, forcing College graduates to obtain additional specialized training before they were credited with having achieved a four-year college education (Report of the Council Subcommittee on Enrollment, University of Chicago Archives).

Kimpton initially appeared likely to carry on the Hutchins traditions with little change, even if his philosophy drew more from Kant than from Aristotle. In 1953, however, Kimpton launched a presidential counterrevolution that essentially put to death the remaining vestiges of the Hutchins College plan, recommending that control of the curriculum leading to the BA degree be removed from the exclusive authority of the College faculty and converting the BA into a joint degree that would be shared with the faculties of the various graduate divisions (Report of the Committee on the Bachelor's Degree, University of Chicago Archives).

Kimpton's administration achieved many of its budgetary objectives. The University had run deficits nearly every year since the Depression. Three years of budget cuts and austerity

measures instituted by Kimpton, however, brought the budget into the black by 1954. A development campaign was launched in 1955 which raised badly-needed funds for building and endowment, while increasing awareness and support in the Chicago business community and strengthening bonds with alumni. As Kimpton (1958 September 29) told incoming freshmen, “If you are not seriously interested in education, better go home now,” continuing “Still, don’t be too grim: Do your very best, learn to relax, and the best of luck. . . . The University has always been a pioneer, striking out into new country, and, like the pioneer, often with little or no company until it had cut new paths. If the University has faults, they are the errors of commission rather than of omission.” Kimpton was an eloquent spokesperson about the central academic mission of the University, even while imposing austerities. However, he was unable to persuade the faculty to construct a coherent and workable educational alternative to Hutchins’ legacy, other than ceding chunks of the curriculum to the graduate departments.

In 1960, with the University on firm financial and academic footing once again, Kimpton announced his resignation, stating that he had accomplished what he had set out to do, and it was time to move on: “My conviction is that the head of such a university as this one can do his best work for it within a reasonably short time. The University every so often requires a change in leaders who can apply fresh and sharply objective appraisals, and start anew, free of the associations, friendships, and scars of a common struggle” (University of Chicago Office of the President, 2015). Kimpton had no interest in running any other university, and instead took an executive position with Standard Oil of Indiana, where he stayed until he retired for reasons of health in 1971.

**George W. Beadle (1961-1968).** The search for Kimpton’s successor began in the spring of 1960, but proved to be far more difficult than anticipated. The top two candidates—

McGeorge Bundy of Harvard and Clark Kerr of the University of California, Berkeley—both considered the prospect but eventually rejected it. Glen Lloyd, the chairman of the board, personally contacted Bundy, then dean of the faculty of FAS at Harvard, to gauge his interest. Lloyd asked David Rockefeller to try and persuade Bundy to change his mind. Bundy could not be moved, but did provide insight in a detailed critique of Chicago's predicament (Boyer, 2015, p. 354). Bundy wrote:

Great things happened under Hutchins, but they were done at the price of a radical disregard for the claims of the future. . . . The severe academic losses which Chicago has suffered in the last ten years are surely to be charged to Hutchins, not Kimpton. . . .

Unless there is a really radical reinforcement of the unrestricted financial resources of the University, above and beyond the efforts that the ordinary devoted President and conscientious Board of Trustees are always making for their institutions, I see no prospect that this University can, as a whole, play for the next generation the extraordinarily important innovating role it has played in the past (Bundy, M., McGeorge Bundy to David Rockefeller, September 2, 1960).

With Bundy and Kerr off the short list of candidates, the search committee identified George Beadle, a professor of biology at the California Institute of Technology and chair of the Division of Biology at Caltech since 1946 (Horowitz, 1990).

Born near Wahoo, Nebraska, Beadle remained first to last a farmer at heart. In college he took up the new field of genetics, which was soon to revolutionize not only plant breeding, but the entire understanding of biological reproduction. Along with Edward L. Tatum, he established the relationship between genes and enzymes in the bread mold *Neurospora*, which earned him a Nobel Prize in 1958. While president of the University of Chicago, he grew corn



behind his house and in other plots near campus and was occasionally mistaken for a University gardener. Trained at the University of Nebraska and Cornell, Beadle taught at Harvard, Stanford, and the California Institute of Technology before being chosen as president of the University of Chicago in 1961. The trustees were excited to bring in a scientist with broad-minded views who could establish links with the humanistic disciplines. They felt that the University needed someone who could capitalize on the government's interest in funding "big science," while maintaining its commitment to liberal education. Beadle argued that, "The separation between the sciences and the humanities is a fallacy that is annoying to me. Science is not opposed to culture any more than culture is opposed to science. Intelligent people seek balance" (University of Chicago Office of the President).

During the presidential search, the structure of central governance had emerged as a key issue, namely the concept of dual governance. Kimpton had exhausted himself in trying to manage the external affairs of the University. In April 1960, the University Senate committee suggested that the chancellor become a full-time salaried officer and deal with external relations and fund-raising for the University, while the president run the academic affairs of the University (Committee of the Council of the Senate, 1960). The trustees were becoming more and more convinced that, while Beadle was an engaging colleague, he was an indecisive administrator. In late 1961, Edward Levi's name was being floated as a possible solution to the lack of administrative leadership in the Beadle administration. Levi had been dean of the Law School since 1950, had been a key member of the presidential search committee in 1960, and had voted for Beadle. In late March 1961, Levi was contacted by Lloyd, who informed him that the board:

. . . was concerned about the drift in academic planning and lack of strong directional leadership in Beadle's team, and that they, together with Beadle, had decided

that a new number-two position should be created and that he, Levi, should take it. As he later recalled, Levi told Lloyd that he did not want the job, but Lloyd was undeterred: “Ed . . . you urged George to accept, and you helped to get us into this mess, and now you are going to help us get out of it.” (Boyer, 2015, pp. 357-358)

Growth and turbulence marked the Beadle years, which were a period of intense change for universities across the country. While strident calls were being made for universities to become centers for social and political action, the University of Chicago held steadfast to its traditional values of research and intellectual excellence, insisting that its role was to advance knowledge. The appointment of Edward Levi to the newly-created provost position—an independent statutory authority, distinct from the president, and responsible for the academic administration of the University, for academic planning and faculty appointments, as well as for all budgetary matters involving academic affairs—proved to be of immense import to the future of the University (Minutes of the Board, April 12, 1962).

Beadle presided over an impressive period of growth for the University. The faculty increased in numbers from 860 to 1,080, full professors from 345 to 433, average salaries increased fifty percent, and total campus expenditures doubled. A three year development campaign reached its goal of \$160 million. New buildings were constructed for high energy physics, astrophysics, the children's hospital, and the School of Social Service Administration. Construction plans were drawn up for facilities to house geophysics and life sciences. The Joseph Regenstein Library, built in the middle of the old Stagg Field, stood as a symbol of the University's highest goals, serving to assist basic research in many disciplines and to bring their resources under one roof.

Beadle welcomed government support for higher education and discounted fears of expanding government control: “No longer can a modern nation remain economically strong and free without supporting academic research and education in a big way . . . it is clear that in more and more ways and to a greater and greater extent faculty salaries will come from government funds” (University of Chicago Office of the President). The University would continue to seek private support to sustain its independence, but increasing government participation was both necessary and inevitable. With urban renewal well underway in the Hyde Park neighborhood, Beadle faced the backlash from those who were unhappy with the changes it brought, both those who disliked the University’s plans and those who felt it had not done enough. Tensions mounted as student members of the Congress of Racial Equality charged that University policies abetted racial segregation in University-owned housing. Saul Alinsky, who had studied at the University, helped to organize black residents of Woodlawn who objected to the University’s plans for development in their neighborhood. Beadle took charge of efforts to rehabilitate and beautify the campus and ordered the reseeded of all the lawns on the quadrangles, quipping that the University was “horticulturally deprived.”

Further storms of protest overtook the campus as the Vietnam War escalated. In 1966 and again in 1967, students staged sit-ins at the administration building to oppose University compliance with government regulations requiring reports on the academic rankings of male students for draft purposes. Chairman of the Board Fairfax M. Cone announced in June 1967 that Beadle would retire the next year on his 65th birthday. Chosen as his successor was Beadle’s close associate Edward H. Levi, who as provost had directed efforts to improve the faculty and reorganize the College program. Beadle accepted the directorship of the Institute for Biomedical Research of the American Medical Association and moved it to the University of

Chicago campus, where he remained to teach and continue experiments with corn for some years. In the yard of his home near 55th and Dorchester, he planted flowers in the front, and in the back “teosinte,” which he claimed was a wild parent of domesticated corn. He and his wife, Muriel, moved to a retirement village in Pomona, California, in 1982.

**Edward H. Levi (1968-1975).** Edward Hirsch Levi was a singular product of the University of Chicago and a lifelong Hyde Parker. Educated at the University beginning with kindergarten, Levi attended the Laboratory School, the College, and the Law School. His family ties to the University extended back to its opening in 1892, when his grandfather, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, a supporter of William Rainey Harper, was appointed to the faculty of the Divinity School in the field of rabbinical literature and philosophy. Rabbi Hirsch was the man who helped to broker Julius Rosenwald’s immense financial support of the University (Levi, E. H., Edward H. Levi speech to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, May 26, 1968).

After graduating from law school, Levi spent a year as a Sterling Fellow at Yale, returning to the University of Chicago as assistant professor of law. In 1940 he moved to Washington to work in the Justice Department, specializing in antitrust law. After the war he became involved with the atomic scientists who sought civilian control of nuclear energy and was one of the principal draftsmen of the McMahon Atomic Energy Control Law of 1946. He also published one of his best-known works, *An Introduction to Legal Reasoning*, which remains a classic even today. In 1950, Chancellor Hutchins named Levi to be dean of the Law School, and Levi led the school through a period of unprecedented growth and development. Under the umbrella of the University’s general development campaign of 1955-1957, Levi created a separate campaign for the Law School that generated funds for a new campus south of the Midway as well as a strengthened and expanded faculty. Although it trained many practicing

attorneys, the Law School—like other professional schools at the University—focused on research and higher education in its field, and Levi's appointments to the faculty made this clear. Legal scholars such as Karl Llewellyn and Soia Mentschikoff brought new prominence to the school, and the addition of specialists in economics and sociology reinforced the connection between law and other disciplines.

The progression of Presidents at the University of Chicago has been varied only once during the University's history, from 1945 to 1961, when the Board of Trustees designated the head of the University of Chicago as the Chancellor. From 1945 to 1951, Ernest C. Colwell served as President, acting as chief operating officer under Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins. From 1951 to 1961, during the administration of Chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton, the title of President was not used. In 1961, at the decision of the Board of Trustees, George M. Beadle, who had been elected as Chancellor, resumed the title of President, and the chief executive of the University of Chicago has since been designated as the President. Levi's role at the University expanded as he took over the newly-created provost's office under President Beadle in 1962. The University was in a fragile state. Edward Levi recognized that even with Kimpton's heroic efforts in the 1950s, the University had suffered severe losses in faculty and student enrollment. Levi initiated a crucial intellectual and academic recapitalization effort on three fronts: investments in faculty and facilities; the reconstruction of the College's enrollment, and; a discursive strategy of presidential public rhetoric about the University.

Lacking a colossal gift of the magnitude imagined by McGeorge Bundy, the University launched a major fund-raising campaign, at the heart of which would be an enormous grant from the Ford Foundation. During the 1960s, the Ford Foundation made available a series of massive challenge grants to leading universities and colleges around the country. The program Levi had

targeted, the Special Program in Education initiative created in 1960, was an attempt, “through special assistance on a substantial scale . . . to make a significant contribution to the process by which a few universities and colleges can reach and sustain a wholly new level of academic excellence, administrative effectiveness, and financial support” (Ford Foundation Archives, 1963). As Boyer (2015) argues, “The Special Program in Education was a splendid and even visionary poster child for the post-Sputnik élan, expansionism, optimism, and self-confidence of the early and mid-1960s. It was also an expression of the peculiar symbiotic relationship between a small group of elite private universities and the newly cash-flush Ford Foundation. . . .” (p. 361). Nielsen (1972) goes even further, characterizing the Ford Foundation presidency of Henry T. Heald from 1956 to 1965 as, “a kind of banking partner to higher education” (p. 92). Under the program, the University of Chicago—along with Stanford, Columbia, and New York University—was the recipient of the largest of the program’s matching grants, namely \$25 million in 1965 or \$189 million in 2014 dollars. The grant from the Ford Foundation was to be matched on a 3:1 basis, so Levi immediately set about doubling the level of tuition income available to the University through expanding the size of the College from 2,150 students in 1965 to 4,000 students by 1975, increasing graduate enrollments (1,100 arts and sciences graduates students, along with 585 additional professional school students), and launching an aggressive \$300 million development effort that would have at its heart unrestricted giving (Boyer, 2015, p. 363). If one building symbolized the heady optimism that reigned at the University of Chicago in the mid-1960s, it was the new Joseph Regenstein Library, a magnificent edifice—notable for its massive size and the aggressive force of its neo-Gothic-meets-modernism aesthetic—the funding for which was secured in 1965, the cornerstone laid in 1968, and the official opening held in 1970. The momentum of the Ford Plan created a

plausible context in which the library could rise to become the University's highest priority. The briefing documents for Beadle and Levi to prepare for their meeting with representatives of the Regenstein family in October 1965 stressed that they should emphasize the imposing ambition of Edward Levi's planning study for Ford and that the new library would be "the cornerstone of our long-range plan" (Beadle memorandum, October 7, 1965). Regenstein Library became a tribute to the efficacy of the Ford Plan, with President Beadle writing to McGeorge Bundy in September 1966 that "the Ford challenge grant was a powerful factor in helping us get the ten million dollar pledge [from the Joseph Regenstein Foundation]" (Beadle, G., Beadle to McGeorge Bundy, September 12, 1966).

Despite Kimpton's *Sturm und Drang* strategy, the College struggled mightily to move beyond a total four-year enrollment of just over 2,000 students. Among the many features of the 50-page summary of the Ford Foundation plan that Levi had prepared and for which he had gained Board of Trustee approval as the University's basic strategy for the future, Ford officials found Levi's vision for the College most compelling:

The University of Chicago, through quiet but heroic efforts over the past decade, has extricated itself from a state of disarray which could have spelled ruin for a lesser institution with less capable leadership. The Ford Foundation's ability to make a very large grant to the University at the present time represents a rare opportunity to contribute decisively to the renaissance of what once was and may well again be one of the world's great universities. (Faust, C. H., Faust to Henry T. Heald, August 17, 1965)

Levi's most concrete intervention involving the College came when the dean of the College, Alan Simpson, resigned to assume the presidency of Vassar College. In the early 1960s, Simpson and others had advocated for subdividing the College for curricular and governance purposes

into what they called “multiple colleges.” Simpson’s proposals came on the heels of more than a decade of fractious curriculum reforms. Simpson’s departure for Vassar provided a window of opportunity for Levi, which he swiftly exploited: in the spring of 1964, Levi appointed himself acting dean of the College, using that singular status to resurrect the reform idea and push it through the College faculty later the same year. In a long programmatic memo sent to the faculty in August 1964, Levi proposed a series of structural changes as follows: 1) the faculty of the College would no longer meet as a plenary body but would be represented by a forty-member Council, half elected and half appointed by the president of the University, with full jurisdiction over all levels of the undergraduate curriculum; 2) The College would be subdivided into five “area colleges,” four of which would parallel and be closely integrated with the four graduate divisions; the fifth college—the New Collegiate Division—would house experimental and interdisciplinary programs that could not be accommodated in one of the other area colleges; 3) The area colleges—eventually to be known as collegiate divisions—would be led by senior faculty members—the collegiate masters—and would be authorized to determine the specific components of the College’s general-education curriculum that were relevant to their area and to have oversight of curricular structures in their disciplinary domain beyond the first year of the College, and; 4) the first year of a student’s experience in the College was declared to be a general or common year in which the student belonged to no specific departmental major or specialization (Levi, Memorandum to the President, August 25, 1964). Levi implemented this model, believing that it would be desirable to have “a kind of federalized educational program of five separate, but interdependent areas concerned with the four-year undergraduate program” (Levi, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, October 8, 1964). Curricular flexibility was not the sole



impetus for Levi's implementation of this program. Levi reported to the board of trustees in 1963 that:

. . . if five or six programs can be developed with a faculty for each program serving approximately 400 students then the opportunity would be created a) for further growth and b) of placing upon different faculties the responsibility for innovating and developing programs and recruiting from the Divisions and elsewhere the teaching personnel that was required. (Levi, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, February 14, 1963)

Levi's structural reorganization of the College was very much organically linked to the larger demographic logic of the Ford Plan.

Levi's desire to preserve the integrity of the College as a functioning faculty responsible for all four-years of undergraduate education demonstrates Levi's personal loyalties as an alumnus of the College, as well as his intense admiration for Robert Maynard Hutchins. As Boyer (2015) states, ". . . Levi was determined to create agencies—the College Council and the collegiate divisions—whose robust political and administrative legitimacy would undergird the constitutional resilience of the larger College as a university-wide institution" (p. 367). A federated College closely allied to the graduate divisions would enable the College to become a "generalizing influence" for the University as a whole. Levi also hoped that the new collegiate divisions would generate innovative, experimental curricular initiatives and programs that would bring together faculty from a wide variety of scholarly interest, not only enriching the pedagogical environment but reinventing the intellectual excitement and passions generated by the original Core staffs in the 1930s and 1940s (Levi, Remarks, February 4, 1966). What Levi was attempting to accomplish was to blend elements of the ambitions of Burton, Kimpton, and

Hutchins into a new institutional synthesis that would, at long last, ensure university-wide political legitimacy for the College (Boyer, 2015).

Having addressed the recapitalization of the University and reinforcement of the College, the third domain to which Levi devoted considerable energy was public rhetoric about the University from 1964 through the early 1970. Levi sought to reinfuse the central governing offices of the University with a more robust intellectualist aura through a series of high-level rhetorical exercise that were at once aesthetic and substantive. The early speeches portrayed the university as a special kind of multiversity in its several functions, but also an institution that had a distinctive intellectual culture and great unity and ideological coherence. Over time, Levi's speeches became more outwardly focused and defensive as he attempted to engage the student protest movement of the late 1960s, as well as to confront what he believed were unjustified demands made by the government and key sectors of civil society to change the mission and disrupt the very identity of universities (Casper, 2014). In an address to an alumni gather, Levi argued that while universities had to be cognizant of and responsive to the social problems of the communities in which they resided, the central purposes of universities were to cultivate knowledge and to preserve an intellectual tradition, not to function as *de facto* government agencies:

Undue reliance upon universities as handy agencies to solve immediate problems, remote from education, can only end in corruption of the universities . . . and the danger is greater because corruption is easy and attractive, particularly when it is dressed up as a relevant response to the problems of our day. (Levi, Remarks to Alumni, June 1968)

Ironically, if Hutchins was Levi's *spiritus rector*, the historical figure whom he most often invoked was William Rainey Harper. As dean of the Law School, Levi often cited Harper to

bolster the idea of professional education as integral to the wider intellectual mission of the university (Levi, E. H., Levi's notes to Lawrence A. Kimpton, December 19, 1952). By invoking this particular reading of Harper, Levi deliberately historicized the University's notability and sense of purpose, what Provost John T. Wilson referred to as "Mr. Levi's catechism" about the vital importance of University's oneness or wholeness. Wilson (1975) said, "Harvard has more money, [but] Chicago has more university" (Wilson, J. T., John T. Wilson to Robert Rosenthal, August 12, 1975).

Levi was the heir apparent and obvious choice to succeed George W. Beadle when Beadle retired in 1968 and he represented the institution in a uniquely personal way. A press release characterized Levi as dressing "conservatively, usually in dark suits. He smokes a pipe and cigars, but not cigarettes. His drink is bourbon or a martini. He drives a battered old car to work from his grey, wooden-framed house in Hyde Park-Kenwood . . . ." Journalist and alumnus John Gunther wrote that "his touch, his attitudes, his slight figure and flashing eyes, the mobility of his good looks, all indicate sophisticated refinement, but his record—he is an old Hutchins man—is that of a Young Turk." Levi stated, in true Hutchins' form, "The University of Chicago exists for the life of the mind. Its primary purpose is intellectual. It exists to increase the intellectual understanding and powers of mankind. The commitment is to the powers of reason" (University of Chicago Office of the President).

As president, Levi became an eloquent spokesman for the University of Chicago and for the ideals of higher education. He fought against contemporary trends to make the university a "knowledge machine—a part of the educational-industrial power complex:"

Its goals were not social or political, but intellectual: "The University of Chicago . . . does not exist to increase the earning power of its students. It does not exist to train the

many technicians needed for our society, nor to develop inventions important for industry. While it is and should be a good neighbor, it does not exist to be a redevelopment agency for the South Side of Chicago. Its primary purpose is not to be a college where students can find themselves free of the pressure of the discipline of learning. It does not exist to be a series of experimental political and social communities, nor is its institutional purpose to be found in the leadership by it of new liberal or conservative causes. . . .

While its faculty and students will individually respond to a variety of political and social commitments, the purpose of the University continues to be intellectual, not moral. . . . Its greatest service is in its commitment to reason, in its search for basic knowledge, in its mission to preserve and to give continuity to the values of mankind's many cultures. In a time when the intellectual values are denigrated, this service was never more required.

(University of Chicago Office of the President)

Levi took office a few months after the riots which accompanied the Democratic Convention in August 1968. Students picketed outside the Conrad Hilton during his inauguration dinner. In January 1969, after demands were rebuffed to reappoint sociology professor Marlene Dixon and allow students to participate in faculty hiring decisions, a group of students took over the Administration Building. Levi's actions were watched closely, since many campuses faced similar protests. While refusing to call in police or use force to get the students to leave, Levi also refused to capitulate to their demands. He consistently referred to the higher goals of academic freedom and discussion which should govern action on campus. After two weeks of occupation without result, the students voted to leave the building. University disciplinary committees summoned 165 students for hearings, expelling 42 and suspending 81

more. Reflecting later, Levi commented, “There are values to be maintained. We are not bought and sold and transformed by that kind of pressure.”

After Watergate had emptied many offices in Washington and President Gerald Ford began making replacements, Levi was asked to become U.S. attorney general. Upon winning Senate confirmation, Levi resigned as president of the University of Chicago and moved to Washington in February 1975.

In 1977 Levi returned again to the campus where he had spent most of his life. Honors and distinctions followed, including the presidency of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the first time that the position had been conferred upon anyone outside of New England. Levi passed away in Chicago at the age of 88.

**John T. Wilson (1975-1978).** John Todd Wilson was born March 7, 1914, in Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania. He was educated at George Washington University and the State University of Iowa, where he studied psychology, philosophy, and education. During World War II, while in the U.S. Naval Reserve, he helped administer a selection and training program for radar operators and Combat Information Center officers. Following the war he obtained a Ph.D. degree in psychology at Stanford, continuing his earlier studies of human learning patterns. Wilson spent a year working jointly for the American Psychological Association and for George Washington University, then returned to government service, first with the Office of Naval Research, then with the newly-created National Science Foundation, serving from 1955 to 1961 as assistant director of its Biological and Medical Sciences Division.

In 1961 Wilson came to the University of Chicago as special assistant to President George W. Beadle, who had just arrived himself from Caltech. In 1963 Wilson returned to the National Science Foundation as deputy director. Then in 1968, President Edward Levi

persuaded him to come back to the University, as vice-president and dean of faculties. In 1969 Wilson was appointed provost. Levi announced in the fall of 1974 that he would retire in September 1976, but his appointment as U.S. attorney general in January 1975 led to a quickly assembled presidential search committee. While large numbers of nominees were put forward, a short list had emerged by April 1975, with Donald Kennedy, the chair of the Department of Biological Sciences at Stanford as the leading choice. Vice President Jean Allard noted that Kennedy himself was “appropriately wary” of what Allard characterized as the “Levi legend,” and one local faculty leader in his evaluation of Kennedy bluntly observed:

Donald Kennedy is knowledgeable about the affairs of his own University, well briefed about ours, and thoroughly affable. What further virtues could we expect him to display over a fancy hamburger? The trouble is that we have learned more from Edward Levi over cold scrambled eggs. And there is no escaping that trouble. (Allard, J., Jean Allard to Knox C. Hill, July 15, 1975; Hildebrand, R. H., Roger H. Hildebrand to Knox C. Hill, June 16, 1975).

Following Levi’s resignation, Provost John T. Wilson had agreed to serve as acting president, but from the outset he stubbornly refused to be considered as a candidate. The Board’s urgent please convinced Wilson to continue in his interim role, but only through the summer of 1978 (Presidential Search Committee minutes, November 3, 1975). Having served as provost under Levi, Wilson possessed a broad knowledge of the University’s administrative structures, financial liabilities, and had excellent working relationships with the deans of the individual units. Wilson became acting president and expected to fill the role until a replacement could be found for Levi. Instead, Wilson himself was elected president in December of 1975, with the understanding that he would retire in less than three years.

Wilson had watched the University grow during the early Levi years, especially after money flowed in from the first phase of the Campaign for Chicago, which closed successfully in 1968. By the early 1970s, though, the University was again pinched as inflation eroded income and cutbacks in government aid to education began in earnest. As provost, Wilson responded by presenting the University with a five-year austerity plan to bring the budget back into balance, stating, “Private higher education has passed rapidly from a stage where a lack of funding posed the greatest threat to its continued existence to a stage wherein the greatest pressures toward its demise arise from the biggest source of money—the federal government.” The Wilson years were colored by the atmosphere of belt-tightening and by the difficult adjustments which followed the period of campus unrest in the late 1960s. Yet, once in office as president, Wilson was able to deliver on plans developed while he was serving as provost, so that the University could continue to maintain a “functional steady-state.” During his brief tenure, Wilson initiated plans to strengthen student life and athletic and instructional facilities on campus. He gave special priority to the quality of teaching resources. A decade of austerity measures was made manifest in a scathing minority report submitted by the chair of the Department of Mathematics, Felix Browder, accusing Wilson of failing to support the academic excellence of the institution and turning the University of Chicago into a “multiversity” run by a “special administrative caste without real responsibility to the faculty,” as well as pursuing “projects fashionable in the educational and foundation bureaucracy” (Browder, Minutes of the Council of the Senate, January 11, 1977). Wilson himself was very concerned that Browder’s report was a sign that some faculty did not yet understand the fragile nature of the University’s economic circumstances and the fact that the University was deeply dependent upon new fund-raising to

permit additional faculty appointments (Wilson, Minutes of the Council of the Senate, March 15, 1977).

Because of his background, Wilson became a noted expert on the relations between universities and government. In 1963 he spoke of the need for educators to actively seek federal assistance and to participate in formulating programs in the humanities and arts as well as in science. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 had been the first major funding program of the federal government for education, and this was followed by additional programs more directly related to educational needs. By the time he retired in 1978, Wilson had seen this trend come full circle, with problems developing from growing reliance on federal funding, at the same time that the government was pushing for increasing control over research and educational programs. Reviewing the changing relationship between government and higher education over 33 years, Wilson concluded in 1983 that despite their close connections, “ignorance and misunderstanding about the nature and behavior of the other partner is pervasive on both sides.” Although their purposes are different, “there is a mutual need for each other” which “requires a long-term, systematic commitment if the welfare of the nation is to be enhanced” (University of Chicago, Office of the President).

**Hanna Holborn Gray (1978-1993).** Hanna Holborn Gray was destined to an academic career. She is the daughter of a prominent professor of European history, Hajo Holborn, who after seeking exile from Nazi Germany taught at Yale for 35 years. Her mother, Annemarie Bettmann, who held a Ph.D. in classical philology, was no less important in supporting her academic aspirations. She arrived with her family in New Haven at the age of four, attending the Foote School with other Yale faculty children, as well as English children who had been sent from Oxford because of the war. She entered Bryn Mawr College at 15, and upon graduation



travelled to Oxford as a Fulbright scholar. After receiving her Ph.D. degree from Harvard in 1957, she taught there for several more years, being promoted to assistant professor in 1959. She met Charles Montgomery Gray in a Renaissance history seminar while both were graduate students at Harvard and they married in 1954. When he received an appointment at the University of Chicago in 1960, she moved with him, without any specific job plans of her own. She thought about attending law school, but spent the first year in Chicago as a Newberry Library fellow. In 1961 she was appointed to the faculty of the University of Chicago as an assistant professor of history. Gray earned tenure at the University of Chicago in 1964, teaching Western Civilization, as well as other graduate and undergraduate classes on the Renaissance and Reformation Europe (University of Chicago Archives, Office of the President).

Gray first came to prominence at the University during the sit-in of 1969, when she was appointed to head a senior faculty committee reviewing the controversial Marlene Dixon appointment. Dixon came to the University on a joint appointment between the Department of Sociology and the Committee on Human Development in 1966 and was scheduled for a renewal decision in the fall of 1968. She was also extremely popular with graduate and undergraduate students alike, becoming an informal mentor to politically oriented students, some of whom were Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) activists or at least informally connected to SDS.

Boyer (2015) notes:

Beyond the two sit-ins of 1966 and 1967, the campus saw a general radicalization of student opinion that assumed many forms and seems to have escalated over time. This transformation took place within the crescendo of larger events on the scene of American higher education and American politics more generally. . . . This was, after all, the year of the Tet Offensive in January, the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F.

Kennedy in April and June, and the riots surrounding the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August. (p. 373)

Brinkley (1998) has characterized 1968 as “the most traumatic year in the life of the nation since the end of World War II” (p. 220). Rothman and Lichter (1996) estimate that following a major uprising led by SDS at Columbia University in April 1968, more than two hundred student demonstrations occurred on at least one hundred American college campuses in the spring of 1968. One may recall that the fall of 1968 saw renewed incidents of political protest, including attempts by SDS members to disrupt Edward Levi’s inaugural civic dinner in mid-November. In December 1968, an issue emerged at the University of Chicago that permitted a relatively small group of SDS activists to galvanized support among a much broader group of graduate and undergraduate students. Dixon’s case had been taken up by students who claimed she was discriminated against because of her gender and leftist political views. While the committee was still considering the case, students took over the Administration Building, demanding that Dixon be rehired and that students take part in faculty hiring decisions. The committee, chaired by Gray, upheld the decision not to reappoint Dixon, but recommended that the University offer Dixon a one-year position. Activists were discouraged by the result, but others hailed the work of the committee, which dispassionately scrutinized the charges of unfair practices and reaffirmed that appointment decisions must be based on teaching and research productivity and that these standards must be applied equally to all faculty members. Gray’s report on the Dixon affair revealed her to be a strategic and effective faculty leader, able to navigate the quagmire of complex and emotionally wrought issues, framing a compromise solution through rational discussion (Gray, Report of the Faculty Committee to Review the Decision with Regard to the Reappointment of Assistant Professor Marlene Dixon).

Recognition of Gray's administrative acumen led to her being named dean of the College of arts and sciences at Northwestern University in 1972, one of many appointments she was to hold as the first woman in a position. Gray departed Northwestern in 1974 to become provost of Yale University. While at Yale, she concurrently served as acting president during the period 1977-1978, following Kingman Brewster's departure. By the fall of 1977, Gray had emerged as the top choice of both the faculty and trustees at the University of Chicago. "Typical of Chicago, with its emphasis on merit, no fuss was made over the first full-term appointment of a female president at a major research university in the United States" (Boyer, 2015, p. 393).

Returning to the University of Chicago in the summer of 1978 to a similar atmosphere of deficits and retrenchment—with balancing the budget one of her first tasks—Gray worked to strengthen the University's historical commitment to scholarship. The problems to be faced were real: erosion of material resources, inflation, changing demographic trends, shifting policies and attitudes of external sources of support, and narrowing opportunities for young scholars. But the greatest danger, said Gray in her inaugural address: "The greatest danger, large because also least tangible and most wasting, would be to engage in an apparently principled descent to decent mediocrity" (Gray, 1978).

Gray created an effective professional system of budget planning, financial oversight, development, and institutional research, with an eye well beyond the short term and out into the future. Gray commissioned a major survey of the University's financial systems and fiscal resources by an outside consulting firm, Cambridge Associates, in early 1979. Based on the firm's recommendations, Gray announced the appointment of a professional budget director, Alexander E. Sharp, in October 1979 (On Achieving Financial Equilibrium at the University of Chicago, July 6, 1979). Gray asserted that the highest value of an independent private research

university like Chicago lay in its unique community of scholars. A tough-minded focus on enhancing the University's scholarly creativity and pedagogical ambitions, while mindful of budgetary constraints, was a principal tenet of Gray's leadership.

Over the next few years, Gray sought to strengthen the real value of faculty salaries to improve their competitive position (on net, faculty compensation at Chicago had lost about 20 percent of its real value during the 1970s). Gray also embarked on an ambitious building program, with equally ambitious plans to raise funds to support it. West of Ellis Avenue a new science quadrangle was constructed which included the John Crerar Library, incorporating the merged collections of the Crerar with the University's science holdings, and the Kersten Physics Teaching Center. The Bernard Mitchell Hospital and Arthur Rubloff Intensive Care Tower essentially replaced the 50-year-old Billings Hospital facilities for acute care. Several older buildings were renovated, while new facilities were constructed for the Law School library and Court Theatre. Gray devoted special attention to the university library system, adding major financial resources to compensate for the inflation in book acquisition costs and the loss of the dollar's purchasing power for foreign book and serial acquisitions. Against these new investments she cut costs by consolidating administrative offices, reducing nonessential staff, closing some centers and programs, and shortening the standard workweek for employees from 40 to 37.5 hours in 1983-1984.

Within its peer institutional group, Chicago had one of the largest arts and sciences faculties and the smallest undergraduate college, resulting in significantly lower net tuition revenue to cover faculty salaries compared with other major institutions. The situation was only exacerbated as government and foundation support for faculty dwindled, forcing the University to cover an ever-increasing share of the regular academic budget from unrestricted revenues.

Compounding the problem further, federal legislation increasing the retirement age from sixty-five to seventy added millions in additional salary costs after 1982 and reduced the number of vacancies that might be available to hire younger faculty. Boyer (2015) queries, “Given these variables, could Chicago continue to afford a faculty of the arts and sciences that was larger than that of most of the Ivy League universities, MIT, or Stanford? If not, could it sustain its national and international distinction with a slight smaller faculty base?” (p. 396). The decision was made to reduce the arts and sciences faculty size by five percent through attrition over a five-year period.

Rising concerns about social issues involving race and gender began to dominate conversations within both the faculty and student body. Diversity became a key topic of debate. During Gray’s tenure, two major and related national developments in admissions and tuition had lasting impact on the University’s finances and on the demography of the student body. First, the 1980s ushered in the full implementation of need-blind admissions and need-based aid—the notion that universities should guarantee all qualified students, regardless of their SES, sufficient resources to be able to attend college (Geiger, 2004). The model of need-blind admissions as a model was itself a policy outcome and social construction of the late 1960s and the 1970s, closely tied to the new federal regime of guaranteed student loans and grants. Second, the University’s undergraduate tuition rate, which had been set significantly below that of peer institutions in the 1960s and 1970s, was increased to achieve parity with other top private institutions, on the assumption that need-based aid would rise in tandem. The University made the strategic decision to participate in the “high tuition-high aid” paradigm to enhance unrestricted university revenues (Clotfelter, 1996). By 1990-1991, tuition revenue constituted almost 62 percent of Chicago’s unrestricted academic budget, compared to 42 percent in 1970-

1971. Simultaneously, federal and private grant support per student grew far more slowly in the 1980s, so the University—like so many private universities—had to raise tuition to cover rapidly increasing costs (Clotfelter, 1996). In her annual report to the faculty in 1986, Gray noted some of the unique challenges faced by the University of Chicago vis-à-vis its peer institutions:

Compared to our peer institutions in the private sector, the University is quite small, especially in its numbers of undergraduates. It has, as we all know, a higher proportion of graduate to undergraduate students than do most, but an equivalent diversity and scope of academic programs and centers, a higher faculty-student ration, a generally smaller class size, a lesser dependence on graduate students for its College teaching, and a smaller endowment than Harvard or Princeton or Yale or Stanford or Columbia, which means a smaller endowment per faculty member. The proportion of tenured faculty is relatively higher, and total faculty compensation expenses are higher relative to the total budget, to the number of students, to the level of federal support, and to the size of the endowment. Tuition in the College and in the Divisions has been relatively lower than in comparable institutions. The proportion of undergraduate students receiving financial aid has been higher. (Gray, 1986)

The recession of 1990-1992 hit all universities hard, but the University of Chicago particularly so. Reduced investment income, rising student aid requirements, the uncapping of mandatory retirement for senior faculty, and a continuing decline in federal support made the situation bleak. Most top private universities in the United States found themselves in similar financial straits, but at Chicago, these negative trends converged to create renewed uncertainty about the structural elements undergirding the political economy of the University. Most top-tier private

universities in the United States found themselves in similar straits between 1991 and 1993.

Breneman (2002) notes:

For the first time in recent history, between 1991 and 1992, state appropriations for higher education declined.

Most institutions responded by again increasing tuition sharply, a response well-honed in the last recession and actively encouraged by many governors. Economists and educational analysts settled on “high tuition, high financial aid” as the optimum policy for state governments. Yet that policy posed a dilemma: During recessions, states typically allow tuition increases but rarely support the increase in need-based student aid required to ensure access to low-income students. In California, for example, enrollments dropped by more than 200,000 students in the early 1990s, as student aid declined while tuition rose.

The recession of the ‘90s also highlighted the growth in competing demands—from Medicaid, prisons, roads, and elementary and secondary education—on the state-revenue dollar. The states’ share of public higher-education revenues peaked nationally in 1979 at 62 percent and has declined steadily ever since, in response to new needs pressed on the states by changing demographics, particularly the aging population. Leaders of public higher education sought more private support, raised tuition whenever possible, and generally diversified their revenue sources. An oft-quoted sardonic comment among many presidents of public institutions became, “We used to be state-supported, then we became state-assisted, and now we are state-located.” Other chief executive officers talked about leading “privately financed public universities.” (p. B7)

Seeing graduate enrollments decline nationwide, Gray's administration made sweeping changes in Ph.D. programs, reducing the time permitted to graduate, while initiating workshops and internships to broaden the activities and skills of students writing dissertations. After hitting a low point in 1981-1982, enrollments in the graduate divisions began to climb. Initiatives were also taken with the establishment of new ventures such as the Department of Computer Science, the Chicago Humanities Institute, and the Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies.

Applications to the undergraduate College increased, with enrollment growing by 28 percent between 1978 and 1991. By the end of Gray's presidency, the College had reached and slightly surpassed the enrollment goal of 3,400, having increased by almost 800 students since the time Gray took office. In order to improve resources for student life, the University renovated recreational facilities at Ida Noyes Hall, created new student housing, joined a new athletic league formed with other rigorously academic institutions, and promoted activities such as the popular "Kuviasungnerk" winter festival. Kimpton's attach on the Hutchins College had produced curricular disarray, with Core staffs no longer having the right to control a BA program filled only with yearlong general-education sequences. Boyer (2015) states, "Chicago maintained its commitment to general education as a defining principle of liberal education after 1960—a state of affairs that was increasingly rare in American higher education—and the 'heritage' effect of the continuing Core structures that rolled inexorably forward from the 1950s onward ensured the survival of general education at the University" (p. 402). Under Donald N. Levine, whom Gray appointed as dean of the College in 1982, Levine set about stripping the collegiate divisions of their separate prerogatives and reassembled a genuinely common Core for all students. The revamped curriculum of 1985 created a common curricular platform for all



students, thus reestablishing the unity of the Core that was part of its original mandate in 1931 and 1942 (Project 1984, November 1984).

Over the course of the 1980s, student satisfaction with the College increased, as measured by first-year retention: whereas the freshman dropout rate had been as high as 20 percent in the early 1970s, but 1983-1984 it had declined to about 13 percent (Annual Report of the Standing Committee on Admission and Enrollment, 1983-84, October 30, 1984). On the other hand, as Boyer (2015) notes:

. . . even though applicants to the College had slowly increased in the early and mid-1980s (from 2,253 in 1978 to 2,469 in 1985), the College's applicant pool was still quite small: for the eight years between 1978 and 1985 it averaged 2,299, and admissions rates were exceedingly high—for the same eight years an average of 81 percent of all applicants were admitted. Among leading universities in the Ivy Plus group, Chicago was dead last in applications and in yield. Signs of significant change came in 1986-1987, when the applicant pool increased from 2,606 to 3,212 and the acceptance rates declined from 78 percent to 69 percent, an indication that the initiatives to improve student life that Gray, Levine, and their colleagues had instituted were beginning to bear fruit. (pp. 405-406)

At the opening of the University's Centennial in 1991, a new \$500 million campaign was announced. As many universities bemoaned declining enrollments and decreasing funds, Gray was able to continue reporting that the University of Chicago was in a "position of great strength." After planning and presiding over a year-long celebration of the University's hundredth anniversary, Gray retired at the end of June 1993, making her 15-year tenure as president the third longest—and one of the most productive—in the history of the University.

President Gray literally willed the University of Chicago to ascend, much like the phoenix on the University's crest rising from the ashes. *Crescat scientia; vita excolatur*: Let knowledge grow from more to more; and so be human life enriched. Gray had offered an eloquent national voice defending the mission of the University as a place to generate new knowledge and to cultivate liberal arts learning. She was also a vigorous defender of the University's traditions of academic freedom and strongly resisted political or ideological influences that might impinge on the workings of the University. She currently serves as a trustee of the Newberry Library, the Marlboro School of Music, the Dan David Prize, and several other non-profit organizations. She has served on the boards of many not-for profit institutions, including the Harvard Corporation, Yale University, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, the Smithsonian Institution, and Bryn Mawr College.

Gray is a member of the Renaissance Society of America, a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the American Philosophical Society, the National Academy of Education, and the Council on Foreign Relations of New York. She holds honorary degrees from over sixty colleges and universities, including Oxford, Yale, Brown, Columbia, Princeton, Duke, Harvard, the Rockefeller University, the University of Michigan, and the University of Chicago.

Gray was one of twelve distinguished foreign-born Americans to receive a Medal of Liberty award from President Reagan at ceremonies marking the rekindling of the Statue of Liberty's lamp in 1986. In 1991, she received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award, from President Bush. Among a number of other awards she has received the Jefferson Medal of the American Philosophical Society and the National Humanities Award in 1993. In 1996, she received the University of Chicago's Quantrell Award for Excellence in

Undergraduate Teaching and in 2006, the Newberry Library Award. In 2008 she received the Chicago History Maker Award from the Chicago History Museum. Gray's most recent publication is *Searching for Utopia: Universities and Their Histories*, published by the University of California Press in 2011.

**Hugo Sonnenschein (1993-2000).** Sonnenschein was elected by the trustees in 1992 to succeed Hanna Holborn Gray. A distinguished economist trained at Rochester and Purdue who had served as the dean of the arts and sciences at the University of Pennsylvania and as provost at Princeton University, Sonnenschein became President of the University of Chicago on July 1, 1993. Sonnenschein appointed Geoffrey R. Stone, former dean of the Law School, as the University's new provost. Soon after assuming the presidency in mid-1993, Sonnenschein and Stone faced worsening financial trends. Lawrence Furnstahl, the new vice president and chief financial officer decided to assemble a series of data from the 1950s to the 1990s to gauge the University of Chicago's competitive position vis-à-vis its private peer institutions. As Boyer (2015) notes:

Furnstahl produced an extensive set of data showing that Chicago was falling behind many of its peers in a number of ways: demand for the College, patterns of lifetime alumni giving, size of the inflation-adjusted endowment, the real growth of the endowment, real growth in fund-raising, philanthropic support per faculty member, capital accumulation in physical assets, relative investment in physical plant and research facilities, and investment in libraries and library budgets. Perhaps the most troubling finding was that Chicago's real endowment growth since 1958 was far below any of its peers—its endowment had increased by 32 percent whereas most other top private schools enjoyed thirty-five-year growth rates far exceeding 100 percent and even 200

percent. . . . Furnstahl argued that “in the 1930s Chicago had one of the largest undergraduate colleges [compared to the Ivy group]. The relative decrease in undergraduate enrollment (compared to peer institutions) over the past six decades has been paralleled by a relative decline in capital capacity.” (p. 407)

A particularly arresting comparison looked at the ratio of undergraduate tuition to the regular faculty’s salary and benefits costs. At Chicago’s peer institutions, net undergraduate tuition significantly exceeded the cost of faculty salaries, leaving these institutions with surpluses of \$20 million to more than \$46 million that could be used to cover other essential academic costs such as student aid and library operations. At Chicago, the exact opposite was true: undergraduate tuition of \$37.7 million did not even cover basic faculty salary costs of \$41.6 million (Undergraduate Net Tuition, College Archives). Furnstahl’s study only served to confirm the trends that Edward Levi and Hanna Holborn Gray had clearly discerned years before: when the University of Chicago was compared with other top private research universities across several key metrics, the extent to which the institution had failed to keep pace was undeniable.

President Sonnenschein made a crucial decision in the spring of 1996: he proposed adding one thousand students to the College within a decade, assuming that the applicant pool could be widened to include more talented students. In a formal letter Sonnenschein sent to faculty on April 30, 1996, he wrote:

Chicago’s brilliant past, which was a product of the University’s fierce commitment to ideas and intellectual community would be difficult to sustain without investments in research facilities, libraries, classrooms, salaries, and financial aid. It was clear that a financial structure in which tuition does not cover salaries and [the] endowment does not

grow at a robust rate was not sustainable over the long term. (Minutes of the Council of the Senate, April 16, 1996)

The pressing task before Sonnenschein was not simply to increase revenue; he concurrently had to expand and improve the quality of liberal education, a social mission richly deserving of the University's resources and very much consistent with its storied history. The nature of the education offered at Chicago, Sonnenschein observed, had never been more necessary than in the present time of "dynamic change in knowledge and technology," continuing that liberally educated men and women were crucial to "a world in which hope, respected leadership, and thoughtful citizenship are in short supply, and in which prejudice, fear, and the manipulation of public opinion are all too prevalent" (Boyer, 2015, p. 410). The University of Chicago's well-earned reputation for education in critical thinking and the concomitant thoughtful formation of values, curricular innovation, interdisciplinarity, and carefully crafted Core, had the responsibility to communicate to the broader public "the profound worth" it had to offer, beginning with reaching the most talented students, convincing them to apply to the College, and ultimately matriculate. Sonnenschein understood that this bold move would require a curriculum that attended to students' goals and intellectual interests, closing his letter to the faculty with a challenge: "While this course of action is not without risk, the greater risk is to remain on a course that will not sustain excellence. Belief in the values that make the University of Chicago distinctive must be translated into actions that provide the necessary support for these values" (Minutes of the Council of the Senate, April 16, 1996). The decision to move beyond the Gray administration's 3,400 undergraduate maximum meant that a significant level of new investment would be required to bring existing plant and teaching resources up to par. Faculty reaction was divided and divisive, with a group of senior faculty calling for the creation of a Committee for a

Year of Reflection to study Sonnenschein's proposals. Three historians with deep institutional knowledge were consulted by the committee to examine all aspects of the president's plan. Neil Harris, one of the historians, cautioned the committee on the complexity of University of Chicago history. As Harris (1996, September 11) noted:

The University has had, throughout its past, a series of contested presents; it is an institution whose populace lives by myths which, quite frequently, collapse under close examination. Many of the faculty have a sense of the University's history that, while incomplete or inaccurate, nonetheless can prejudice a moment of change-making by contrasting an envisioned future with an unsubstantiated notion of a continuous past tradition. (Discussion with Historians, University of Chicago Archives)

In January 1998, the committee presented its report to the Council of the Senate with cautionary concerns, none of which fundamentally opposed the expansion. The committee's report was reminiscent of debates from the 1920s when President Ernest Burton first proposed the creation of a fully residential college. Just as Burton had put down a mutiny, Sonnenschein was victorious in winning the battle (Boyer, 2015).

Concurrent with the Committee for a Year of Reflection's review of the size of the undergraduate population, the College had also embarked on a systematic review of the Core curriculum under Dean John W. Boyer, appointed by President Gray in 1992. Faculty opinion on the size of the Core "was all over the map, with older faculty, particularly those with personal connections to the Hutchins College era, attached to the idea of a large Core, but many younger faculty impatient with what they saw as its virtual domination of the undergraduate experience" (Boyer, 2015, p. 412). By the fall of 1997, a plan emerged that would reduce the size of the Core by several courses, thus permitting most students to complete their Core requirements in the first

two years of study, opening up a range of free electives for third- and fourth-year students, so that they might pursue advanced courses taught by regular faculty in both the departments and in several of the professional schools. Instead of a curriculum dominated by the Core, general education now comprised a third of a student's curricular plans, similar in scope to the share the Core comprised by the New Plan curriculum of 1931. The College Council passed Sonnenschein's plan on March 10, 1998 by a 24-8 vote and the new curriculum went into effect in the fall of 1999. Students had to choose "by March 1999 whether to conclude their studies under the old (1985) or the new (1999) Core curriculum. About 95 percent opted to join the new curriculum immediately" (Boyer, 2015, p. 413).

In December 1998, an article in the *New York Times* reintroduced tremendous levels of tension over the new curriculum. A recently-appointed vice president for public relations at the University, Al Chambers, contacted the *Times* in November about the possibility of an article on the recent changes on Chicago's campus. Ethan Bronner, the *Times*' national education correspondent, was interested. Based on selective interviews with several administrators and faculty members, Bronner (1998) chose to frame his piece so that the University appeared to be in dire straits and in a "kind of survival mode." The new vice president for College enrollment was quoted by Bronner as saying, "I don't know how many students we can attract if we go after those who only seek the life of the mind. . . . Kids aren't sure that they can lead a balanced life here. My job is to convince them that they are not joining a monastery" (p. A24). The old divisions were reincarnated on Campus. Two prominent department chairs—Elizabeth Helsing of the Department of English and Kathleen Conzen of the Department of History—drafted a letter, citing the need and benefit of curricular renewal and asserting that the recent revisions to Chicago's curriculum were signs of "intense intellectualism and the energetic re-envisioning of

its programs” (Helsing & Conzen, June 8, 1999). On the other side of the debate, ten prominent conservative intellectuals warned the trustees that “changing the curriculum to attract less intellectual students jeopardizes the moral core of a great university. Making academic decisions on the basis of marketing is itself a crime against the mind” (Letter of Scholars, April 14, 1999); the letter went on to invoke Robert Maynard Hutchins’ warning that great universities should not lose their souls in the pursuit of money. Sonnenschein was certainly accused of “cutting the Core.” The counter argument, however, is as Sonnenschein (1998) stated:

Curriculum design at Chicago is a contact sport and that is just as it should be . . . Chicago has a special role and responsibility because it has a reputation as embodying what a great university should be. But the commodification and marketing of higher education are unmistakable today, and we can’t jolly dance along and not pay attention to them. One hears constantly from parents and students: “We are the consumer. We pay the tuition” (Bronner, 1998, p. A24)

During his presidency, Sonnenschein raised expectations for fund raising from the University’s alumni and friends, substantially reinforced the recruitment of the nation’s best students, developed a strategic plan to continue the expansion of the undergraduate College begun under previous presidents, and devoted substantially greater resources to the construction of new facilities and to improving the quality of campus life. He initiated substantial enhancements to the University’s financial health, its facilities, and its public profile, especially among prospective students. He established and launched a plan to gradually increase the size of the undergraduate College at the same time the faculty revised its curriculum and he instituted the first campus master-planning process in 30 years.



In the third year of Sonnenschein's presidency, the University completed its five-year "Campaign for the Next Century," raising \$676 million dollars—the most in the University's history—to support student aid, research, and facilities. Over his last five years as President, the University's fund raising increased at nearly twice the rate of other elite universities. During Sonnenschein's tenure, the University's endowment more than doubled, from \$1.2 billion to \$2.9 billion: "Our alumni and friends have brought us to a new era in which they insist that Chicago have the resources to do the very best, most important and most necessary work. The remarkable growth in their support is what is needed to maintain a university of such exceptional quality. It also is a foundation on which we will build still greater achievements in teaching and discovery" (Office of the President). Among his achievements were the strengthening of the faculty, as evidenced by recruiting of new faculty in the Law School and Mathematics Department that has been deemed among the best of the decade at any university, evidenced by a continuing string of awards over the last five years of his tenure, including two Nobel Prizes, a Pulitzer Prize and the National Medal of Science.

Chicago's students also continued to be recognized as among the very best in the nation during this period; College students won multiple Rhodes scholarships under Sonnenschein. In a study conducted prior to Sonnenschein's departure of Ph.D. recipients in the social sciences and humanities appointed to full-time, junior-level faculty appointments at universities around the United States placed University of Chicago students first in the nation in 14 of 21 fields studied and second in six of the seven remaining fields. While maintaining the strength of the University's renowned graduate programs, Sonnenschein initiated a program to improve the attractiveness of the undergraduate College to the most intellectually serious students. At the

same time, curricular developments, including the faculty revision of the curriculum, now provide substantially greater opportunities for learning foreign languages and studying abroad.

Many of the facilities improvements initiated by Sonnenschein fell under the aegis of the Campus Master Plan, only the fourth in the University's 108-year history. That plan guided the construction of the Gerald Ratner Athletics Center—the first new athletic facility in more than fifty years at the University. It also led to a new campus for the Graduate School of Business and increased capacity for the University's library. It brought improved facilities for the physical sciences research institutes and an entirely new Institute for Biophysical Dynamics to study scientific problems at the boundary between the biological and physical sciences. The Max Palevsky undergraduate dormitory was also built as a result of this Plan, as well as new facilities for the University Press. Other facilities improvements under Sonnenschein included the 1997 designation of the University campus as an official botanic garden, a renovation of the Reynolds Club to create a student center, greatly improved career-counseling services, and greater resources for the campus' many student organizations.

**Don Michael Randel (2000-2006).** Don Michael Randel is a triple alumnus of Princeton University, where he earned his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in musicology. After completing his Ph.D., Randel joined Cornell University as an assistant professor in 1968. In 1991 he accepted the position of Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, then in 1995 served as provost. Randel came to Chicago after thirty-two years at Cornell. Upon assuming the presidency in 2000, Randel provided thoughtful, reflective leadership during a time of great institutional change. One of the most worrisome statistics to Sonnenschein was the low number of alumni children who choose Chicago. Bronner (1998) notes, "At 5 percent, it is well below the 10 percent to 20 percent at the top Ivy League colleges. Surveys show that alumni

view their college career here as having been so intensely academic that they are uncertain if their children would be happy here” (p. A24).

The Sonnenschein administration estimated in 1996 that undergraduate enrollments would increase from roughly 3,500 to 4,500 by 2006. When Sonnenschein left office, the College had 4,000 students. Both President Randel and his successor, Robert Zimmer, the current president of the University of Chicago, continued with Sonnenschein’s enrollment targets. To address these continuing concerns, the College launched a number of initiatives. First, Michael Behnke, the dean of admissions at MIT, was appointed vice president for College enrollment at Chicago in 1997. Behnke successfully broke the cycle of high-acceptance and low yield rates that had befuddled the College since the 1950s. Behnke (1999) bluntly declared that the University had become a backup school for many students:

In admitting between sixty and seventy percent of the applicants in recent years, the College has brought in a number of students for whom it was their third or fourth choice. These students are not likely to have looked as carefully at Chicago as those to whom the faculty point as “self-selecting” Chicago. They, in turn, contribute to the College’s relatively high attrition rate. (Minutes of the Council of the Senate, February 23, 1999)

Boyer (2015) notes that Behnke increased applications from 5,522 to 12,397 and reduced the admissions rate from 61 percent to 28 percent. Yield rates increased from 30 percent to 38 percent (p. 423). These trends—transforming the University of Chicago into a destination of first choice among prospective students—led to tremendous improvements in student retention, which rose from 90 percent in 1994 to almost 99 percent in 2012. The College also undertook a series of interventions aimed at improving student life and campus climate. During Randel’s presidency, substantial improvements to the University’s facilities were completed, including the

modernized student center in the Reynolds Club, Palevsky Residential Commons on land surrounding Regenstein Library, the Ratner Athletic Center and swimming pool, the new Booth Graduate School of Business, and the \$200 million Center for Integrative Sciences, the largest building in the University's history. "These are valuable additions to the University's physical capital, begun by many good people under my predecessor, Hugo Sonnenschein, and I am proud to have helped maintain the momentum for their conclusion," Randel said (University of Chicago Archives, Office of the President).

Unlike many of its private peer institutions, the University of Chicago was slow to acknowledge the educational legitimacy of study-abroad opportunities, largely due to financial constraints and a pervasive attitude among many faculty "that the University of Chicago was the greatest institution of higher learning in the Western world, and that students would be crazy not to spend all four years in Hyde Park" (Boyer, 2015, p.425). Sonnenschein's revision to the Core curriculum now permitted third-year students to study abroad, greatly enhancing student satisfaction with the University of Chicago. For many decades, the College taught its famous History of Western Civilization course in an intensive, total immersion format during the summer quarter. Beginning in the mid-1990s, a number of younger faculty in the humanities and social sciences began to advocate for *in situ* cross-cultural learning. Within a decade, the College went from having no international programs to offering a rich palette of faculty-taught programs in major cities around the world: Barcelona, Athens, Paris, Rome, and Vienna. Soon, the concept spread to places outside of Europe, including Jerusalem, Cairo, Istanbul, Cape Town, Pune, Beijing, Hong Kong, and Oaxaca. Funded largely by gifts from College alumni and located in the midst of the massive Paris Rive Gauche urban renewal project in the thirteenth arrondissement, two city blocks from the new National Library, the Paris Center celebrated its

opening in 2004. The success of the Paris Center served as a model and precedent for other recent University initiatives abroad, including the creation of new international centers in Beijing and Delhi.

Randel led efforts to strengthen the humanities and the arts on campus, as well as a broad range of interactions with the city of Chicago, a further strengthening of the University's programs in the physical and biomedical sciences, and its relationship with the Argonne National Laboratory. He also led the Chicago Initiative, an ongoing campaign for \$2 billion, the largest in the University's history, which has raised more than \$1.3 billion toward its goal with the help of \$217 million in pledges in 2004. Randel said he was particularly proud of his appointment of a considerable number of "very talented deans and administrative officers who have greatly strengthened the University as a whole and who can be counted on to work together to ensure a great future for the University as well as for the units for which they have personal responsibility."

The University also completed several joint programs with the city along the Midway, opening in its neighborhood a highly successful charter school, which has now been joined by another, under the auspices of the University's Center for Urban School Improvement. The University also has launched the Collegiate Scholars Program, a College bridge program aimed at preparing Chicago public school students for elite academic institutions. Randel encouraged a greater awareness of the value of diversity and in conjunction with Provost Richard Saller (2004), he issued a statement on diversity that concluded, "The University (has) made some progress; we now need to raise our aspirations, to monitor our improvements, and to confront our shortcomings. Our higher aspirations will be met only with the focused effort of the whole campus community" (Office of the President).

In the spring of 2005, Randel was one of three university presidents to receive an award for “Academic Leadership” from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The foundation cited, among other things, Randel’s leadership in enhancing undergraduate research opportunities and his work to create a strong network on Chicago’s South Side between schools, the community, and the University. One aspect of Randel’s leadership noted by Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian was his support of undergraduate research, of which the University is one of the country’s most enthusiastic supporters; during the past several years, it has further expanded the breadth of research opportunities available to students in the undergraduate College. Randel stated, “The University is, I believe, the supreme example of what a university dedicated to the fundamental ideals of intellectual inquiry and expression should be. Its unique profile on the landscape of higher education derives in great degree from its commitment without compromise to an intellectual tradition of the highest order” (Office of the President). Gregorian also noted Randel’s strong support of school reform initiatives. Not only has Randel enthusiastically supported the University’s innovative charter school in Chicago’s North Kenwood community, he also has vigorously advocated for world-class academic opportunities for students enrolled in Chicago’s public schools.

At his appointment as President in 2000, Randel said he had been approached over the years to consider other presidential positions but always resisted leaving Cornell University. “I could only make this decision because of the extraordinary character and quality of the University of Chicago,” he said. In a 2002 meeting of the Council of the University Senate, President Randel spoke on the University’s policies regarding free speech and intellectual discourse. Citing the Kalven Report of 1967, Randel began by noting that the University “must embrace, be hospitable to and encourage the widest diversity of views within its own

community.” He added, however, that as a community, the University must also maintain “a decent respect for one another and even a degree of trust. No set of rules or codes of behavior can ever fully capture everything that respect and trust require. Maintaining this community is hard work, and each of us must assume some personal responsibility for it. In a world of increasing tensions and heated differences,” he continued, “we will sometimes be accused of bias or even rank prejudice for tolerating a wide spectrum of views,” he said. “But the response to views that one finds distasteful is not in the first instance to attempt to suppress them but instead to answer them with the force of argument” (Office of the President).

After speaking of the importance of combating prejudice, he noted the related virtue of diversity, both of ideas and of experience. “No part of the University community can think of itself as immune from this concern for diversity,” he told the Council. “An unprecedented number of programs is [sic] in place to increase diversity in the functioning of our academic programs and in the ways in which we carry on our business affairs and our relations with the neighborhood and city of which we are a part. Each of us must believe that embracing—not merely tolerating—diversity is a personal obligation.” After leaving his post on July 1, 2006, Randel assumed the presidency of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

**Robert J. Zimmer (2006-Present).** Zimmer graduated from New York’s Stuyvesant High School, earned his A.B., *summa cum laude*, from Brandeis University in 1968, and received his Ph.D. in mathematics from Harvard University in 1975. He holds honorary degrees from Tsinghua University and Colby College. Zimmer joined the University of Chicago faculty as an L.E. Dickson Instructor of Mathematics in 1977. He was also on the faculty of the U.S. Naval Academy from 1975 to 1977 and has held visiting positions at Harvard University and at institutions in Israel, France, Australia, Switzerland, and Italy.

On July 1, 2006, Robert J. Zimmer became the 13<sup>th</sup> President of the University of Chicago. Prior to his appointment as President, Zimmer was a University of Chicago faculty member and administrator for more than two decades specializing in the mathematical fields of geometry, particularly ergodic theory, Lie groups, and differential geometry. As a University of Chicago administrator, Zimmer served as Chairman of the Mathematics Department, Deputy Provost, and Vice President for Research and for Argonne National Laboratory. He also served as Provost at Brown University from 2002-2006, returning to Chicago in 2006 to become President of the University.

President Zimmer, in tandem with his predecessor Don Michael Randel, fully supported Hugo Sonnenschein's vision of the College's future enrollment, believing that Lawrence Kimpton had been correct in aiming for an undergraduate population of 5,000 to 6,000 students, aligning much more closely with the Ivy Plus schools with which Chicago aggressively competed for scholars and students in the arts and sciences. As President Zimmer (2006) said in his address at the University of Chicago's 487<sup>th</sup> convocation:

If we take ourselves back to the University in its early years, we would find many major differences from what we observe today . . . And yet, many of us connected to this university feel that we might just as easily have been there—that going back to the University in its early days, or in fact at any time since its inception, we would know unmistakably that we were at the University of Chicago.

Why is this? The University of Chicago, from its very inception, has been driven by a singular focus on inquiry . . . with a firm belief in the value of open, rigorous, and intense inquiry and a common understanding that this must be the defining feature of this



university. Everything about the University of Chicago that we recognize as distinctive flows from this commitment.

Presidents Don Randel and Robert Zimmer had, by the autumn of 2013, increased the College's full-time population of undergraduates from 4,000 in the fall of 2000 to 5,700, an increase of nearly 63 percent over its size in 1992 when President Gray was winding down her tenure. Zimmer firmly believed that maintaining an on-campus College population of 5,000 or more would greatly enhance the probability of creating a more vibrant, self-starting milieu of student life, giving the University of Chicago a far greater appeal among prospective and current students. The target number for undergraduate enrollments was important strategically, for this critical mass of students and concomitant tuition revenue, would provide the means to move forward along a number of different trajectories: long-overdue reforms to the financing of doctoral education, new instructional programs, and new housing. Finally, from a political perspective, it would be misguided to struggle toward the 4,500 threshold, as if this was all that the University could accomplish, even as its top competitors easily sustained undergraduate colleges that were significantly larger (e.g., Columbia, 6,100 undergraduates; Harvard, 6,500; Stanford, 7,000; and Yale, 5,400, with plans to increase to 6,200 by 2017). As Boyer (2015) states, "To inch up to the target of 4,500 and stop would have been the equivalent of Patton's forces exploiting the Avranches breakthrough in Normandy and then stopping halfway to Paris. The goal was to reach Paris" (p. 422).

Numerous town-gown relationships emerged in Hyde Park over the course of the 1990s and early 2000s. The most critical point of contact became public education. In 1998 the University created a system of charter schools in the North Kenwood-Oakland area of the city. The genesis of the new interventions for the development of more externally-focused civic

strategies lay in the work of Anthony S. Bryk and his colleagues in the Center for School Improvement (CSI) and a parallel organization, the Consortium on Chicago School Research (CCSR). The CSI was formed in 1989, following major reforms in public school governance in Chicago that created local school councils and gave them the power to hire and dismiss principals. Additionally, in 1995, responsibility for Chicago's public school system was transferred to Mayor Richard M. Daley (A Proposal to Establish a Center for School Improvement, June 14, 1989). Like Dewey before him, Bryk believed that Chicago would make a fascinating and comprehensive laboratory for investigating what was wrong and right in current school policies and for designing new interventions based on detailed survey research and statistical analysis that might significantly improve the educational outcomes and achievements of pupils in public primary and secondary schools (Bryk & Sebring, 2000, University of Chicago Archives; Bryk, A. S., Sebring, P. B., Kerbow, D., Rollow, S., & Easton, J. Q., 1998). The CCSR focused on opportunities to break through the boundaries that separated researchers and educators in the hope that more "place-based" research integrated into local schools would lead to more effective policy outcomes (Bryk & Sebring, 2000), p. 52). The first charter school opened in 1998—the school started with pupils in pre- kindergarten, kindergarten, and the first and fifth grades, eventually expanding into a K– 8 primary school—as an initiative by the CSI to create a professional development school for its work in Chicago. As Boyer (2015) notes:

Supported with an initial \$300,000 subsidy from the University, the school aimed to develop a curriculum that had literacy as its cornerstone: "The core of our curriculum across the grades is literacy. Our literacy framework emphasizes a balanced approach to literacy—the use of real books combined with skills instruction growing out of the

assessed needs of the students. This requires a school brimming with books, stimuli for writing, and projects in which these skills and interests are put to use through authentic applications.” (p. 454)

The early success of the school is documented in its second five-year renewal application. Hoffman & Johnson (2002) note that by 2002, the school enrolled 333 students, 75 percent of whom were low income, 38 percent lived in North Kenwood–Oakland, and 100 percent were African American (pp. 17-26). The first K-8 charter school, soon to be housed in the vacant Shakespeare Elementary School at 1119 East Forty-Sixth Street, opened in August 1998 and gained immediate traction in the community.

The success of the University’s charter schools gave rise to a second ambitious outwardly-looking initiative in 2004, the Urban Teacher Education Program (UTEP), a program designed for training teachers working in urban primary and secondary schools. Unlike traditional teacher training programs, UTEP provided students with hands-on training in the University’s charter schools, while they were still pursuing course work toward their degrees. The two- year program encompassed the senior year of college, additional postgraduate study, and requisite field training as interns in two Chicago public schools, at the end of which time students received an MAT from the Graham School and K-9 or 9-12 certification from the state of Illinois (Boyer, 2015).

The University of Chicago Alumni Association recently sent an email to the alumni body to raise awareness of No Barriers, a comprehensive plan to increase access to college, support students as they receive an empowering education, and prepare them for lifelong professional success (personal communication, November 24, 2015):

The University of Chicago is committed to ensuring that students of high potential can join our community without financial worry and to making higher education more affordable for alumni and their families.

While new, innovative programs like No Barriers are helping College students graduate debt-free and prepare for lifelong success, the University is also helping alumni families save for a great education.

As part of that effort, the University of Chicago is a member of the Private College 529 Plan. The plan enables families to pay for future tuition at current prices, guarding against tuition increases. The tuition certificates purchased can be used at the University of Chicago or any of the other 280 participating private colleges and universities across the nation, offering flexibility while allowing one to pass on the University of Chicago experience to the next generation.

As President of the University, Zimmer serves as Chair of the Board of Governors of Argonne National Laboratory, Chair of the Board of Directors of Fermi Research Alliance LLC, the operator of Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory, and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Marine Biological Laboratory. He is a member of the National Science Board, the governing body of the National Science Foundation, and also served on the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science from 2008 to 2010. He is on the executive committee of the Council on Competitiveness and is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. President Zimmer is the author of two books, *Ergodic Theory and Semisimple Groups* (1984) and *Essential Results of Functional Analysis* (1990), and more than 80 mathematical research articles. He served on the Board of Mathematical Sciences of the National Research Council from 1992 to 1995, and was on the

executive committee from 1993 to 1995. Zimmer held the title of Max Mason Distinguished Service Professor of Mathematics at Chicago before leaving for Brown, where he was the Ford Foundation Professor of Mathematics, in addition to being Provost.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion, Limitations, and Recommendations

### Connecting the Data to Theoretical Frameworks

*Sunday in the Park with George* is a Broadway musical by Stephen Sondheim, inspired by French pointillist painter Georges Seurat's masterpiece, *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte*, starring Mandy Patinkin and Bernadette Peters. Sondheim's musical opened in 1984, the year I graduated from Dartmouth. A quote that has always resonated for me from Orwell's *1984*—underscoring the critical function of education—is as follows: “Who controls the past . . . controls the future: who controls the present controls the past” (p. 35). I was introduced to Sondheim's production on the first day of my graduate program in the Arts in Education program at Harvard: September 11, 2001. The aching poignancy of “bringing order to the whole” was deeply profound for me, given the contextual chaos of the day. A complex work revolving around a fictionalized Seurat immersed in single-minded concentration while painting his masterpiece and the people in that picture. The opening scene is set in 1884, where Georges Seurat, known as George in the musical, is sketching studies for his famous painting. George announces to the audience: “White, a blank page or canvas. The challenge: bring order to the whole, through design, composition, tension, balance, light, and harmony.”

My experience throughout this study has been one of serendipitously connecting the dots, much as George must do to bring “order to the whole.” Csikszentmihalyi (1975) first defined flow as a holistic sensation that people experience when they act with total involvement. Flow is a very positive psychological state that typically occurs when a person perceives a balance

between the challenges associated with a situation and their ability to meet the demands of the challenge and accomplish. Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) state that, “families, schools, religious communities, and corporations, need to develop communities that foster these strengths” (p. 8). In an interview with Csikszentmihalyi (Beard, 2015), regarding the use of flow theory to address contemporary challenges in education, Csikszentmihalyi stated:

We want a future, where people are free to develop whatever unique blueprints they carry in their genes and we want the freedom to blossom as much as possible, but at the same time, we want each person to see that they are part of something much greater.

Integration starts with feeling you belong to a family, an ethnic group, a church and a nation. . . .

In addition to all of these individual themes that the children have [at the particular school being discussed], they have a common theme for the whole school, from Kindergarten to the 12<sup>th</sup> grade. The theme could be: Working in harmony. In which case, in mathematics you learn the harmony of numbers, and the beauty of being able to manipulate numbers so they always end up in the right way in the equations, and in music you learn the harmony of sounds. In social studies you learn about the history of wars and peace, especially peace and how we learn to work together in Sociology. That is an example that would avoid the kind of fragmentation of knowledge that we now have.

It gives students the realization that knowledge is essentially about the same world in which we live, the same universe. It’s just different perspectives. At the same time it maintains the rigor of individual disciplines going into depth in a particular area, but it is combined. It’s like an orchestra. An orchestra is good, when each instrument

plays their own role, that's differentiation. The important thing is that they all start and play together in harmony. That's integration. (pp. 356-357).

By engaging a constructivist approach, this theoretical study triangulates historiography, ethnographic content analysis, and grounded theory to gain a deeper understanding of how philosophical, sociological, and political fundamentals in their varied forms and across time have moved the acquisition of strategic capital in a select number of educational institutions along an advancing trajectory, addressing the following research question posed at the outset: How has presidential leadership since 1950 enhanced access through socially structured opportunities at Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago, opening what have been historically closed social networks and thereby strategically altering their respective campus communities?

This study generated themes from the data collected, facilitating categorization, interpretation, and analysis through inductive methods, aiding in the discovery of meaning. Glaser and Strauss (1967) proposed two key analytic operations that occur in tandem in a qualitative study of this nature: making constant comparisons and theoretical sampling, suggesting that as soon as a researcher begins to form provisional categories or abstractions from the data, comparison begins. As an incident or data observation is coded into a category, it is simultaneously compared with other incidents in that category. Through this exercise, one is able to build theory grounded in the specific context of the research setting. The research setting context is represented in the data (e.g., words, symbols, respondents' interpretations) collected by the researcher (Stage & Manning, 2003, p. 21). Stated differently, the goal of research from a constructivist point of view is to build a time-and-context-dependent body of knowledge that is expressed as interpretations (Guba & Lincoln, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Manning, 1999, 2000). Knowledge was, is, and will continue to be socially constructed, culturally mediated, and



historically situated, whether traditionally articulated in the form of the tree of knowledge metaphor of the Aristotelian ontology of the *Categories*—representing disciplines as discrete and mutually exclusive—or today’s exemplification of innumerable digital, social, and visual networks and webs demonstrating the interconnectedness and iterative nature of knowledge.

Dewey’s central philosophical concept of experience was far removed from the idea of philosophy as an academic discipline, separate from the involvement in human activities and affairs. Rather, Dewey (1916) asserted that philosophy is a theory of education as a deliberately conducted practice. Specifically, philosophy is a general theory of education based on the practice of free individuals and democratic social efficiency and cooperation. Dewey (1938-1939) argued that each cooperative research should be understood as a social action and that social consequences are worthy of serious consideration of adaptation and habituation, because they are important lessons for life. Baum (1955) asserts that individual freedom in education and stimulation of its original proposals and suggestions without loss of general social stability is necessary to ensure progress in the reconstruction of common social disharmony or any other environment. Consequently, for both pragmatists and Dewey, organized political power and social control is necessary to remove existing archaic solutions and conditions, in order to usher in new opportunities for individual and collective development under continuously emerging and changing circumstances. Democracy, to Dewey, is much more than a form of political organization. Democracy is the way people live together and share their experiences, as measured by two criteria: first, by the quantity of value of common interests; and second, by the amount and intensity of its discussions (Berding, 1999).

The themes that emerged from the presidential data at Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago are resonant with Dewey’s philosophical and conceptual framework of

united democracy. Dewey believed that democracy is intended for all of society's members and should be predicated on communication, cooperation, and interaction between and among all individuals—both in terms of strong and weak ties, as social network theorists would assert—whose survival depends on mutual consensus. Additionally, tolerance should be a central hallmark of democracy; democratic outcomes require democratic methods (e.g., consultation, convincing, negotiation, cooperative intelligence, all of which should be practiced in the politics, education, and cultural environment of the community). Zorić (2015) notes, “The problem is to create conditions that can stimulate the interest of (students and/as) citizens on the common social aspects of life, to stimulate curiosity, foster and guide it and help the individuals make connections between the known and the unknown, the new and prior knowledge and understanding” (p. 432). Through the use of the tools available to them—including curricular innovations, residential houses to create smaller communities, or year-round course offerings—the presidents in this study, working under the constraints of their time and place in history, came to understand to a greater or lesser degree as Dewey suggested that democracy as a form of social research through a public discussion is the most efficacious means of relating to different interests in the society. Dewey (1938-1939) asserted that the method of democracy, if intelligently organized, consists of presenting opposing views and aspirations, trying to see where specific requirements can be discussed and arbitrated in the light of more comprehensive interests that go beyond the individual. Democracy, then, is not only an appropriate model to be used to achieve a community's interests and goals, but also a specific type of activity through which the individuals in a community define and redefine their own, as well as the common, interests and goals.

The full realization of expression, potential, and freedom of the individual can only be achieved in a democratically-ordered society, in which social conflicts and competing interests are treated as an object of social research. Academic institutions are, in fact, ideally suited to this task. Whether these same institutions possess the will to take up the challenge—that is a matter of presidential leadership vision and grit. Peet, M., Lonn, S., Gurin, P., Matney, M., Marra, T., Himbeault Taylor, S., Daley, A., & Boyer, K. P. (2011) assert that:

In order to better prepare flexible, adaptive and creative people who can address the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, higher education institutions must become more integrative. Programs and curriculum must be redesigned so that students have more opportunities to reflect on, synthesize, and demonstrate the knowledge and skills they are gaining both within and outside of the classroom. (p. 21)

Five years after Yale law professor Amy Chua became a polarizing figure as the perfection-demanding “Tiger Mom,” her two daughters arrived at college to find a psychology course being offered that included lectures on their childhood and the lessons that could be learned from it. That is what happens when your mother is Chua, a Yale law professor whose book on her philosophy of child-rearing, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, became a worldwide best seller in 2011. Chua’s philosophy can be summarized as: no grade below an A, no play dates, and no life outside school except violin and piano practice. Chua’s approach was met with a global firestorm, but four years on Chua’s daughter Lulu is in her second year studying art history at Harvard, while Sophia has finished an undergraduate degree at Harvard and is currently a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army working toward her graduate law degree at Yale. Chua’s philosophy has won a fan in no less than David Cameron (Carey, 2016), Britain’s Prime Minister:

Character—persistence—is core to success, said the Prime Minister in his rallying cry for improving Britain last week. “No matter how clever you are, if you do not believe in continued hard work and concentration, and if you do not believe that you can return from failure, you will not fulfill your potential. It is what the Tiger Mothers’ battle hymn is all about: work, try hard, believe you can succeed, get up and try again.”

Gladwell (2008) notes, by comparison, that early educational reformers were tremendously concerned that children not get too much schooling:

In 1871, for example, the US commissioner of education published a report by Edward Jarvis on the “Relation of Education to Insanity.” Jarvis had studied 1,741 cases of insanity and concluded that “over-study” was responsible for 205 of them. “Education lays the foundation of a large portion of the causes of mental disorder,” Jarvis wrote. Similarly, the pioneer of public education in Massachusetts, Horace Mann, believed that working students too hard would create a “most pernicious influence upon character and habits. . . . Not infrequently is health itself destroyed by over-stimulating the mind.” (p. 253)

The education journals of the day were replete with persistent worries about overtaxing students or blunting their natural abilities through excessive schooling. The reformers, Gold (2002) writes:

. . . strove for ways to reduce time spent studying, because long periods of respite could save the mind from injury. Hence the elimination of Saturday classes, the shortening of the school day, and the lengthening of vacation—all of which occurred over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Teachers were cautioned that, “when [students] are required to study, their bodies should not be exhausted by long confinement, nor their minds bewildered by

prolonged application. Rest also presented particular opportunities for strengthening cognitive and analytical skills. As one contributor to the *Massachusetts Teacher* suggested, “it is when thus relieved from the state of tension belonging to actual study that boys and girls, as well as men and women, acquire the habit of thought and reflection, and of forming their own conclusions, independently of what they are taught and the authority of others” (pp. 253-254)

Gladwell (2008) goes on to observe that the notion that effort must be balanced by rest could not be more antipodally opposed to Asian notions about study and work, but, then again, the Asian worldview was shaped by the rice paddy:

In the Pearl River Delta, the rice farmer planted two and sometimes three crops a year. The land was fallow only briefly. In fact, one of the singular features of rice cultivation is that because of the nutrients carried by the water used in irrigation, the more a plot of land is cultivated, the more fertile it gets.

But in Western agriculture, the opposite is true. Unless a wheat- or cornfield is left fallow every few years, the soil becomes exhausted. Every winter, fields are empty. The hard labor of spring planting and fall harvesting is followed, like clockwork, by the slower pace of summer and winter. This is the logic the reformers applied to the cultivation of young minds. (p. 254)

Summer vacation is a topic seldom mentioned in American educational debates, a sacrosanct and inviolable feature of school life, like high school football or the senior prom. Educators bemoan the achievement gap, a phenomenon that customarily provokes one of two responses. The first is that the disadvantaged, lower SES groups simply do not have the same inherent ability to learn, as do the children from more privileged backgrounds. The second, slightly more optimistic

conclusion is that, in some fundamental way, our schools are failing poor children. In a study by Alexander, Entwisle, and Olson (2001), the authors found that virtually all of the advantage that wealthy students have over poor students is the result of differences in the way privileged children learn while they are not in school. Gladwell (2008) points to concerted cultivation as the lever for use on the fulcrum:

[Alex Williams] gets taken to museums and gets enrolled in special programs and goes to summer camp, where he takes classes. When he's bored at home, there are plenty of books to read, and his parents see it as their responsibility to keep him actively engaged in the world around him. It's not hard to see how Alex would get better at reading and math over the summer.

But not Katie Brindle, the little girl from the other side of the tracks. There's no money to send her to summer camp. She's not getting driven by her mom to special classes, and there aren't books lying around her house that she can read if she gets bored. There's probably just a television. She may still have a wonderful vacation, making new friends, playing outside, going to the movies, having the kind of carefree summer days that we all dream about. None of those things, though, will improve her math and reading skills, and every carefree summer day she spends puts her further and further behind Alex. . . .

An enormous amount of time is spent talking about reducing class size, rewriting curricula, buying every student a shiny new laptop, and increasing school funding—all of which assumes that there is something fundamentally wrong with the job schools are doing. . . . Schools *work*. The only problem with school, for the kids who aren't achieving, is that there isn't enough of it. . . .

Suddenly the causes of Asian math superiority become even more obvious.

Students in Asian schools don't have long summer vacations. Why would they?

Cultures that believe that the route to success lies in rising before dawn 360 days a year are scarcely going to give their children three straight months off in summer. The school year in the United States is, on average, 180 days long. The South Korean school year is 220 days long. The Japanese school year is 243 days long. (p. 258-259)

One wonders whether the essential aspect of Western culture, namely the conception of the self as an autonomous, independent person, may, in fact, be an inherent flaw vis-à-vis interdependent, minority cultures in the United States that are on their way to becoming the majority culture in the next two decades. On average, relatively more individuals in Western cultures will hold this independent view than will individuals in non-Western cultures. By contrast, the interdependent view is exemplified in Japanese culture, as well as other Asian, African, Latin American, and many southern European cultures. Within a given culture, individuals will vary in the extent to which they are good cultural representatives and construe the self in the mandated way. The divergent views of the self—the independent and the interdependent—can have a systematic influence on various aspects of cognition, emotion, and motivation. As Markus & Kitayama (1991) note, “In America, ‘the squeaky wheel gets the grease.’ In Japan, ‘the nail that stands out gets pounded down’” (p. 224).

Chua and Rubenfeld (2014) identify three traits that they argue explain the rise and fall of cultural groups in America. The authors highlight eight cultural groups—including Mormons, who have achieved remarkable business success, Cubans in Miami, who have climbed out of poverty in a single generation, and the Jewish community in New York, with perhaps the highest net worth per capita of any cultural group in the United States. The authors argue that these

cultural groups have achieved far greater success (e.g., as measured by a number of variables, including income, occupational status, and test scores) than other groups in America because of three traits: a superiority complex, insecurity, and impulse control (Chua & Rubinfeld, 2014). Like the WASP Establishment before them driven by the Puritan work ethic, today's thriving cultural groups, according to Chua & Rubinfeld, exhibit drive, grit, and systematic disproportionate group success as a result of the above three traits. As Portes (1998) correctly notes in his discussion of enclaves, dense concentrations of immigrant or ethnic firms employing cultural group members (e.g., New York's Chinatown, Miami's Little Havana, Los Angeles' Koreatown), capital in all its forms, generally, but social capital, specifically, is not a panacea to cure all ills. Chua and Rubinfeld also acknowledge that a dark underside to group success exists, since each of their three identified success traits taken to the extreme carries a distinctive pathology (Chua & Rubinfeld, 2014). Today's focus on collective, rather than individual, action, whether in work groups, study groups, or the ever-increasing use of social media has intensified the political nature and, perhaps, necessity of robust social networks and community engagement. One of the major elements of the spirit of modern capitalism—rational conduct based on the idea of a calling—is nascent in the spirit of ascetic Protestantism. Weber (1904/1930, 1947) observed that Ascetic Protestantism built the “tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order” and that modern Protestants continue to have their lives determined by the market mechanism that has its roots in the Puritans' view of the world. Weber argued that for individuals in the West, driven by the market, their care for external goods has become “an iron cage,” exerting an unparalleled control over the individual in 21<sup>st</sup> century America. While Portes and others prudently warn of the potential dark underside of overemphasis on community, I share the curiosity of Hilliard (2002) to better understand how certain cultural groups leverage



their accumulated and inherited strategic capital to achieve personal goals, choosing to decode success, rather than to continue the autopsy of failure. Bok (Bok & Shushok, 2013) states that:

. . . there are some criticisms of higher education that to my mind are quite wrong. One is that universities are extremely conservative and unwilling to change rapidly enough.

There is some truth in that as far as teaching methods and curriculum are concerned, but in most respects universities have adapted quite well to a succession of large challenges.

Of the nine universities that were founded before the American Revolution, all are still among the top 100 universities in the country. That would be very hard to explain if they were as sluggish and unresponsive to new opportunities as critics often claim. (p. 17)

It has been sixty-five years since Buckley (1951) wrote *God and Many at Yale*, the book based on his undergraduate experiences, in which he criticized Yale and its faculty for forcing collectivist, Keynesian, and secularist ideology on its students. Buckley scorned individual professors by name, arguing that they tried to break down students' religious beliefs through their hostility to religion, stating in no uncertain terms that Yale was denying its students any sense of individualism by making them embrace the ideas of liberalism. Buckley argued that the Yale charter leaves oversight of the university to the alumni and maintained that because most alumni of Yale believed in God, that Yale was failing to serve its "masters" by teaching course content in a matter inconsistent with alumni beliefs. As Bramwell (1951/2002) notes in his introduction:

All of the major players in the effort to discredit Buckley hailed from old-line Yale families. Many of them, including Coffin, Bundy, and Ashburn, belonged (like Buckley himself) to Skull and Bones (an undergraduate senior secret society at Yale, it is the oldest senior class landed society at Yale. The society's alumni organization, the Russell

Trust Association, owns the society's real estate and oversees the organization. The society is known informally as "Bones," and members are known as "Bonesmen." Skull and Bones membership was almost exclusively limited to white Protestant males for much of its history. While Yale itself had exclusionary policies directed at particular ethnic and religious groups, the senior societies were even more exclusionary. Stevens, 1907). Charles Seymour, the president of Yale while Buckley was an undergraduate, was himself a Bonesman, while A. Whitney Griswold, the Yale president when the book was published, came from a Bones family. Buckley's attackers thus saw themselves as custodians of a great tradition; their religion was liberal Protestant, their outlook modern, and their sensibility elitist. To them, Roman Catholicism, like Evangelical Protestantism, was the religion of the lower classes—publicly tolerated but privately derided. Buckley in consequence was not so much a Torquemada as a latter-day Alaric who, upon being invited into the very citadel of northeastern WASP prestige, had the *gaucherie* to question its continued legitimacy. . . .

Students today associate religious conservatism with Establishment stuffiness, whereas in truth the leaders of the American Establishment at mid-century contemned both religious enthusiasm and religious orthodoxy. To be sure, the social prestige of men such as Bundy and Coffin could only exist within a Christian society whose mainline churches dominated the universities, and in turn, the government and culture. . . .

In 1951, however, he [Buckley] was but a barbarian who had somehow found his way into the inner temple. (pp. xii-xiii)

Higher education for the preponderance of its history in the West has been an enterprise pursued in a religious context and under religious influences. Most scholarship during the Middle Ages was carried on by monastics in cloisters and monasteries. Smith (2003) states:

With the founding of universities in Paris, Oxford, and elsewhere at the end of the twelfth century, Western higher education continued to be conducted for more than half a millennium under the purview of the Christian church. American colonizers carried on and intensified this religiously grounded educational tradition. The first American colleges—Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, New Jersey (Princeton)—were founded as religious institutions to produce a learned clergy and a lettered Christian people. Through most of their histories, until the end of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of America’s hundreds of colleges were founded by religious denominations, governed by religious leaders, and guided by religious visions of knowledge and virtue.

This religious influence in American colleges was, however, decisively thrown off at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries by proponents of an education revolution in trend-setting universities that radically transformed the character and purposes of higher education. This education revolution redefined religious concerns and perspectives as irrelevant if not detrimental to the mission of higher education. (p. 97)

The majority of colleges and universities founded in the United States before the 20<sup>th</sup> century had a strongly religious, usually Protestant Christian, character and virtually all of these institutions have no significant religious identity today. The best known example is Harvard, founded “for the provision of a learned ministry,” whose motto for three centuries was *Veritas pro Christo et Ecclesia*, not just Truth, but Truth for Christ and Church. Scores of other institutions besides

Harvard—including Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Stanford, Duke, Boston University, and even publicly-funded state universities such as Michigan and California—had a pronounced Christian character in the early years of their existence and abandoned it in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Appleyard, 1996). Marsden's (1994) primary thesis is that the leading figures in America's institutions of higher education subscribed to the agenda of creating a national, nonsectarian Protestant public culture, at first because this was thought essential for building a nation, especially in the wake of the Civil War, later because it was a way of resisting the influence of large numbers of non-Protestant and non-Christian immigrants. They succeeded in terms of the national public culture, which was distinctively Protestant until World War II, but in the process the religious identity of their colleges and universities disappeared because nonsectarian Protestantism had little or no content that could withstand the challenges that came from empirical science, claims to academic freedom, and the demand to accommodate an increasing pluralism of beliefs including non-belief. Appleyard (1996) argues that:

One of the most poignant claims Marsden makes is that the leaders of the American Protestant universities did not intend the secularization their institutions underwent. Indeed, they insisted that the changes they were instituting for particular short-term benefits would actually strengthen the Christian character of their institutions. They seem not to have understood the forces they were yielding to. Their conception of religion led them to identify with the mainstream culture rather than to offer a prophetic criticism of it. In the end, these institutions did not have an intellectual theology or a view of education healthy enough to engage the powerful influences of modernity on equal terms. The result is the contemporary situation, characterized not only by the disestablishment of Protestantism in the university but also by the virtual establishment of

non-belief. And Catholic colleges and universities, which entered the American academic mainstream only after World War II, are wondering whether they will repeat the same secularizing process. The phenomena of secularization noted by Marsden are clearly visible in Catholic universities today. One is the tendency to identify the religious element of institutional life with the theology department, campus ministry, and student service programs. Another, and perhaps the more important as it feeds the first, is that faculty hiring in the major universities is almost completely done at the departmental level and follows the criterion of the best possible person as defined by the standards of the profession. The result is a dramatic gulf between older, usually Catholic, teaching.

(p. 32)

The secularization of America's K-12 school system—the pipeline to higher education—and college campuses remains a vigorously debated topic in the opening decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as witnessed by the reinvigoration of parochial, Catholic and other denominational private, and charter school movements. In the wider culture, the rise of the Tea Party coalesces intriguingly with the upcoming 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary on October 31, 2017 of Martin Luther nailing his 95 theses to a German church door in Wittenberg, a lone act that sparked the Protestant Reformation. The Tea Party movement began following Barack Obama's first presidential inauguration in January 2009, when his administration announced plans to give financial aid to bankrupt homeowners. Following calls by Rick Santelli for a "tea party" by Chicago bond-dealers (Etheridge, 2009), conservative groups united around the idea of remonstrating against Obama's agenda and a series of protests took place, including the 2009 Taxpayer March on Washington. Supporters of the Tea Party movement subsequently had—and continue to exert—a major potency on the internal politics of the Republican Party. The movement's name refers to the Boston Tea Party

on the night of December 16, 1773, when Samuel Adams and the Sons of Liberty boarded three ships in Boston harbor and threw 342 chests of tea overboard, resulting in the passage of the punitive Coercive Acts in 1774 and moving the colonies and Britain closer to war, a watershed moment in the American struggle for independence (Carp, 2011). The original Tea Party protesters railed against taxation by the British without political representation for the American colonists. Today's National Tea Party organizations, such as the Tea Party Patriots and FreedomWorks, have expressed concern that engaging in social issues would be divisive (Rauch, 2010). Instead, they have strategically sought to have activists focus their efforts on economic matters and limited government concerns. Nonetheless, a segment of the Tea Party, including Glenn Beck's 9/12 Tea Parties, TeaParty.org, the Iowa Tea Party, and Delaware Patriot Organizations do clash on social issues including abortion, gun control, illegal immigration, and prayer in schools. Various polls have found that slightly over 10% of Americans identify as members of the Tea Party (Bowman & Marsico, 2014). Senter (2010) asserts:

During the 1800s a process of secularization began to decrease the influence which church and home had previously exerted over young people. The 1859 publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* symbolized the change. A Christian understanding of the world was no longer the principal view in the environment in which young people were being raised.

Many people think of secular ideas as being those that have no religious content, and this is partially true. More accurately, however, secular thinking divides all of life into categories which can be verified through scientific reasoning. Math, biology, chemistry, physics, sociology, economics, and anthropology are but a few of these categories. To the extent that religion could be "proven" it could then be considered a

category. The problem was not with the categories but with the lack of Christian theology both within the categories and tying all of the categories together.

As the Christian worldview lost its authoritative place, parents felt like they were losing control. The formal educational process that shaped the lives of their children had begun to reflect the growing diversity of America. Gradually religious and moral influences, including the teaching of the Bible, were excluded from the public schools. The mores of the farm or small community were not the convictions of city dwellers, and young people were migrating to urban areas in search of jobs.

Reactions to secularization intensified from time to time, frequently related to changes in public schooling with Supreme Court decisions and other court cases.

Decisions seen as logical extensions of the disestablishment of religion in America and the equal rights premise of the Constitution increased the distrust of Protestant parents and church leaders in America . . . (p. 77)

As Dewey (1954) articulated the concept of civic education, the subject of philosophy grows from the pressure and tension within the community in which a certain form of philosophy appears. Thus, its specific problems vary with changes in human life, which always progress in human history, occasionally constituting the crises and turning points. As Zorić (2015) continues:

. . . it seems that Dewey himself was fully aware that both his philosophy and pedagogy were largely a reflection of the circumstances, the spiritual climate, and the life in the United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Here, philosophy in general is always created primarily as a result of social and emotional, and not (primarily) of the intellectual. . . . Philosophy is a synthesis of tradition and a sign of (pre)changes and the

product of the social crisis or problems. Philosophy is a synthesis, but always adapted to time, new scientific aspirations and political developments. It is this characteristic of it that can be significant and serve the development of society. According to Dewey, philosophy does not only concentrate on the investigation of the facts, but it would be good for it to include a critical purification of values of objectively given experience and design, i.e. postulation of new humanistic solutions of particular social and cultural situations. So, philosophy requires a new bond with the old, not disparaging everything that is foregone, but insisting on the renewal, continuity and progress (p. 429)

Goleman's (2006) work on emotional intelligence investigates abilities such as being able to motivate oneself and persist in the face of frustrations; to control impulse and delay gratification; to regulate one's moods and keep distress from swamping the ability to think; to empathize and to hope. "Unlike IQ, with its nearly one-hundred-year history of research with hundreds of thousands of people, emotional intelligence is a new concept. No one can yet say exactly how much of the variability from person to person in life's course it accounts for. But what data exist suggest it can be as powerful, and at times more powerful, than IQ" (Goleman, 1996, p. 34).

Kennedy's (2011) example of Dartmouth's 11<sup>th</sup> president, Ernest Martin Hopkins (served 1916-1945), instantiates the elements of emotional intelligence in action, long before Goleman formulated and wrote about the concept:

The popularly named "Hovey murals" have a unique place in the College's history. Their genesis is closely linked to another Dartmouth mural, by José Clemente Orozco, the great Mexican painter who was invited to come to campus as an artist-in-residence in 1932 by members of the College's fledgling Art Department. When he got to campus, Orozco proposed the creation of an ambitious mural cycle, which he titled *The Epic of*



*American Civilization*, for the basement of the College's recently completed Baker Library. A storm of controversy followed the completion of the cycle in 1934; far from celebrating America in the fashion of many Great Depression-era post office murals, it included biting scenes that satirize both academia and New England culture. As the ultimate fate of Orozco's great mural cycle at Dartmouth hung in the balance, it was no doubt overshadowed by the knowledge that fellow Mexican muralist Diego Rivera's controversial mural at Rockefeller Center in New York City had been destroyed in February 1934. The resulting outcry against Orozco's mural generated, in turn, a new mural by Walter Beach Humphrey (Class of 1914). Dartmouth president Ernest Martin Hopkins deftly sidestepped calls for a similar disposition of the Orozco fresco by agreeing to commission Humphrey, an experienced illustrator and creator of historical figurative painting, to make a mural that would be thought more appropriate to its Dartmouth setting. Humphrey, an artist who worked in a style akin to *Saturday Evening Post* covers of the era, became one of the greatest advocates for a mural presenting a homegrown story linked specifically to Dartmouth and, thus, were born the Hovey murals.

On the other hand, Robert Maynard Hutchins offers a counterpoint on emotional intelligence. As Boyer (2015) states:

Hutchins's was a revolutionary presidency, but his revolution came in fits and starts, a bricolage of stunning interventions made all the more fascinating because they were fashioned out of strange tensions with the faculty, the alumni, and even the board of trustees. Some of these interventions failed, like Hutchins's bold attempt in 1934 to merge Chicago and Northwestern into one large metropolitan research university and his attempts to restructure graduate education by reducing the authority of the departments

over their doctoral programs, while others had a stunning, if short-lived, success, the most significant of which was Hutchins's radical restructuring of the College in 1942. In *The Higher Learning in America* and other writings, Hutchins inspired others with his intellectual ideals, his witty condemnations of contemporary corruptions, and his insistence that the university and the nation not settle for the educational status quo. But he failed to connect this vision to arguments that could persuade the best minds on his own faculty and to formulate a strategy of institutional change that could sustain itself beyond a decade or two. As a result, the University of Chicago was left with the contradictory legacy of a powerful vision of intellectualism and a weakened institutional framework in which students and faculty could live out that vision. (p. 320)

Bolman and Deal (2011) assert that our collective spiritual malaise and longing for something more need to be filled with spirit and faith. *Soul*, the bedrock sense of identity and meaning, coupled with *spirit*, which encompasses belief, hope, and inspired action, a transcendent universal sense of oneness, are the gifts that leaders with soul convey to organizations. Symbolic gestures and the power of signaling through presidential leadership bring myths, values, and vision to life, providing a community's cohesiveness, clarity, and direction in the presence of confusion and mystery. As Drew Gilpin Faust (2007) stated in her installation address:

If this is a day to transcend the ordinary, if it is a rare moment when we gather not just as Harvard, but with a wider world of scholarship, teaching, and learning, it is a time to reflect on what Harvard and institutions like it mean in this first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Yet as I considered how to talk about higher education and the future, I found myself—historian that I am—returning to the past and, in particular, to a document that I encountered in my first year in graduate school. My cousin Jack Gilpin, class of '73,

read a section of it at Memorial Church this morning. As John Winthrop sat aboard the ship *Arabella* in 1630, sailing across the Atlantic to found the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he wrote a charge to his band of settlers, a charter for their new beginnings. He offered what he considered “a compass to steer by”—a “model,” but not a set of explicit orders. Winthrop instead sought to focus his followers on the broader significance of their project, on the spirit in which they should undertake their shared work. I aim to offer such a “compass” today, one for us at Harvard, and one that I hope will have meaning for all of us who care about higher education, for we are inevitably, as Winthrop urged his settlers to be, “knitt [sic] together in this work as one.” (Faust, 2007, November/December)

### **Limitations**

Andrews (2008) notes, “The distinguishing factor, however, in historiographers’ uses of these sources is a critical comparison and critical perspective on their origins, uses, and biases” (p. 400). Unlike a quantitative experiment, the nature of my qualitative study provides no statistical level of significance that can be used to dismiss or confirm an historical interpretation. With a multitude of realities (and the perspectives that emanate from those multiple realities), prediction and control are not possible. I have made extensive use of document analysis to critique generalizations and unfounded assumptions. I am aware of my biases, having earned my B.A. at Dartmouth, my M.B.A. at the Booth School of Business at The University of Chicago, and my Ed.M. at Harvard’s Graduate School of Education. While self-reported data is always suspect, the candor of internal documents from all three institutions in my study was palpable and instructive, whether one considers the rambunctious blindside ouster of Harvard President Lawrence A. Summers, the grandson of two Nobel Laureates; Dartmouth President Kim’s

perceived self-serving lack of commitment to the Dartmouth community, using the presidency as little more than a stepping stone to the World Health Organization; or the Board of Trustees' immense frustration with President Robert Maynard Hutchins' financial excesses at the University of Chicago.

Clark Kerr's famous description of Hutchins in his *The Uses of the University* (1963): Hutchins "was the last of the giants in the sense that he was the last of the university presidents who tried to change his institution and higher education in any fundamental way"— suggests a kind of heroic, utopian ideal of leadership to which all college presidents should aspire, but which the self-interested, self-indulgent worlds of the multiple faculty, trustee, and alumni status quos would never again allow (Boyer, 2015; Gardner, 1995). Even today, invocations and memories of an idealized Hutchins, fighting for the noblest soul of an antivocationalist higher education, populate various "prof-scams" and "decline of the liberal arts" books criticizing what the critics assume to be the myopia, narrowness, and self-indulgence of American academics and academic life (Boyer, 2015; Sykes, 1988). Set against this adulation was the frustration conveyed by Milton H. Thomas, a librarian and historian at Columbia University, who confessed to Richard Storr in 1953 that "the name of Hutchins always stirs me to a violent frenzy; it is astonishing that a whipper-snapper could be allowed to do as much damage to a great University as he was allowed to do" (Thomas, M. H., Milton H. Thomas to Richard Storr, February 20, 1953). The internal records were generally candid, while external critique was, on occasion, categorically vociferous.

## **Conclusions**

Words and actions matter. As Thoreau wrote in *Walden* (1854/2012), “The millions are awake enough for physical labor; but only one in a million is awake enough for effective intellectual exertion, only one in a hundred millions to a poetic or divine life. To be awake is to be alive” (p. 64). Reflection, connection, integration within a given contextual environment: for me, these are the three pillars of education. The ancient Egyptians fully understood, as articulated in their hieroglyphics (Appendix D), that unless an individual exemplifies traits and characteristics to which other individuals are willing to acquiesce, there could be no followers. If there are no followers, then there exists no leadership. Leaders make a willful choice to use leadership for good or ill. The university presidents in this study provide noble, worthy, visionary leadership, constrained, of course, by their respective place and time in history. Tone, symbolism, and signaling are powerful tools and, as Bolman and Deal (2013) posit, experienced leaders understand the difference between possessing a tool and knowing when and how to use it. As Finder, Healy, and Zernike (2006) clarify:

Dr. Summers’s decision came after three fractious weeks following the resignation of William C. Kirby, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and left the university divided. About 50 students waving signs that said “Stay, Summers, Stay” and chanting “Larry, Larry” rallied in Harvard Yard yesterday after the news broke. Dr. Summers appeared to cheers and dispensed high-fives. . . .

Dr. Summers apologized repeatedly for his communication skills, if not for his management. But his remarks about women in the sciences led to last year’s 218-to-185 no-confidence vote, and, several professors said, that anger never dissipated. . . . Josh Downer, 19, a freshman, who rallied for Dr. Summers yesterday, said he believed that disgruntled faculty had forced him out. “The faculty is throwing a temper tantrum

because the president set a bold agenda that doesn't necessarily align with the egos of the faculty," Mr. Downer said. . . .

Dr. Summers also offended some with what many saw as a style more suited to Washington than to Cambridge. He was driven in a black limousine with a license plate reading "1636," the year of Harvard's founding; Dr. Bok, by contrast, had driven his own Volkswagen bus. And Dr. Summers hired his own public relations adviser, who had worked for Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain; she has since departed. (p. B7)

I learned firsthand the power of signaling, myth, and ritual while an undergraduate at Dartmouth in the early 1980s. Dartmouth traditions are something we hold dear at the College on the hill. On Wednesday night of Homecoming Weekend in mid-October, the College is transformed. Baker Library's tower is bathed in green light—which we students called the "money light"—serving as a beacon to call all alumni back to the Green for a development-sponsored extravaganza. The unidentifiable tuna wiggle at Thayer Dining Hall is replaced with delectable prime rib and backlit ice sculptures of stately swans, eagles, and a "D" for Dear old Dartmouth. Festivities begin on Wednesday night and continue through Sunday. There is a football game and other athletic events. Dartmouth alumni come from far and wide; old alums uniting with first year students. Everyone gathers on the Green around the freshman-built bonfire and, as it is lit, the first-years begin their tradition of running in a circular, yet somewhat harried, manner around the mighty flames that illuminate Dartmouth Row and the Hanover Inn. If Dr. Seuss' Whos in Who-ville gathering around the Christmas tree at the conclusion of *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* is coming to mind, this is not a coincidence.

Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, clearly had the courage of his convictions to take the road less travelled, disbanding the University's varsity

football team in 1939, focusing purely on academic excellence. Hutchins heaped scorn upon educational institutions that received more press coverage for their sports teams than for their educational programs, a conversation that remains vigorous and animated today. While Hutchins' decision was hailed by many, few other schools followed Chicago's lead.

Allan Bloom, an American philosopher, classicist, and academician at the University of Chicago, championed the idea of Great Books education and became famous for his criticism of contemporary American higher education, with his views being expressed in his bestselling book *Closing of the American Mind*, in which Bloom (1987) expressed concern about the lack of a proscribed curriculum:

The university now offers no distinctive visage to the young person. He finds a democracy of the disciplines—which are there either because they are autochthonous or because they wandered in recently to perform some job that was demanded of the university. This democracy is really an anarchy, because there are no recognized rules for citizenship and no legitimate titles to rule. In short there is no vision, nor is there a set of competing visions, of what an educated human being is. The question has disappeared, for to pose it would be a threat to the peace. (p. 337)

While Bloom's contentious book was written nearly 30 years ago, a good many of the issues he raised continue to torment academe. The vision of the university as a safe harbor, where competing ideas may be vigorously and respectfully tested and debated without retribution—as exemplified in Doris Kearns Goodwin's (2005) *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*—remains elusive. Goodwin's book is a biographical portrait of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln and some of the men who served with him in his Cabinet from 1861 to 1865. Three of his Cabinet members had previously run against Lincoln in the 1860 election: Attorney

General Edward Bates, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, and Secretary of State William H. Seward. Goodwin's underlying thesis concerns Lincoln's predominantly successful attempts to reconcile conflicting personalities and political factions on the path to abolition and victory in the American Civil War. Rather than surround himself with yes-men, Lincoln exhibited courageous and confident leadership by seeking counsel from individuals who fervently held opposing points of view. Lincoln's leadership made use of strong and weak ties, long before Granovetter and his colleagues formulated the theoretical underpinnings of their social network theory. Gladwell (2008) would likely view rapid cognition in Lincoln's ability to populate his Cabinet; Csikszentmihalyi (1990) might well see flow in Lincoln's approach; Goleman (2006) could with full confidence assert that Lincoln possessed a vast reserve of emotional intelligence.

### **Future Research**

Testing of the conceptual frameworks in this study could be undertaken at a broader sample of institutions, both public and private, as well as at corporations, permitting researchers to explore various social, political, and philosophical proclivities of leadership on the outcomes of acquiring and deploying strategic capital. Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1610-1611/1994) is full of theatrical metaphors, including "what's past is prologue" (p. 71). The allegory has been largely lost to time, with the phrase devolving into distorted forms (like "past and prologue"). When Antonio tells Sebastian that they have the opportunity to "perform an act," he means Act I of their own heroic drama. What has happened so far (that is, "what's past") is the prologue to that play and the script is henceforth in their hands.

Irrespective of one's political persuasion, President Summers' experience at Harvard is sobering in the extreme and should give any rational person great pause. Where a mere



utterance—largely rhetorical, perhaps—should and did constitute grounds for a Salem-styled witch hunt to be immediately afoot, reveals that the aspiration towards open discussion of conflicting ideas within the academy—an intended outcome given boundless air time in the media—is yet only theoretical. Praxis is something altogether different. The chilling effect of irrational, unreasoned, intimidating, and bullying political correctness has done a monumental disservice to the American academy; it engenders the very worst in all of us and brings to mind a similar fundamental debate about the mission of education that took center stage during the Scope’s Monkey Trial in 1925. The trial served as the sensational culmination of a long-standing struggle between two strongly held, deeply divisive perspectives on the purpose of education: Darrow argued for natural selection (Darwin, 1859/1979) and Bryan argued on behalf of creationism. John Scopes, the high school teacher from Tennessee at the center of the imbroglio, was found guilty and fined for teaching human evolution in any state-funded school. The pendulum has swung to the other extreme.

While one might assert that “no one rises to low expectations” is little more than a platitude, I would argue that intellectual reflection requires heavy lifting and American higher education needs to aspire to living up to its promise of being “as a City upon a hill,” as Governor Winthrop envisioned. If one’s objective is simply to fly below the radar to avoid ruffling any feathers, then the entire venture has been for naught. Content without context is tantamount to theory without practice. The end result is a superfluous enterprise. The nexus of education is content within context and applying theory to practice, thus ably answering the question: “So what?” The finest teachers, both inside the classroom and out, that I have known in my personal life had the courage of their convictions, along with the discipline, integrity, and respect for self and others to develop their listening skills, so that they might consider, ponder, and struggle

mightily to understand opposing views. Proponents of multiculturalism argue that the beneficial outcomes of differing points of view—an intellectual melting pot, as it were—undergirds the entire push for diversity on America’s college campuses. Higher education in the United States is generally adept at teaching three of the four elements of communication: reading, writing, and speaking. We have some collective homework to do as concerns the fourth component: listening. When I speak of listening, I mean something far beyond hearing. I speak of active listening: listening to understand. While a Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan in 1893, Dewey wrote:

If I were asked to name the most needed of all reforms in the spirit of education I should say: “Cease conceiving of education as mere preparation for later life, and make of it the full meaning of the present life.” And to add that only in this case does it become truly a preparation for later life is not the paradox it seems. An activity which does not have worth enough to be carried on for its own sake cannot be very effective as a preparation for something else if the new spirit in education forms the habit of requiring that every act be an outlet of the whole self, and it provides the instruments of such complete functioning.

Make no mistake: higher education in America is a business, whether cloaked in the mantle of “non-profit” or not. Like Oscar Wilde’s protagonist in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890, July)—a philosophical novel that grievously offended the moral sensibilities of British book reviewers when first published complete in the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*—educational leaders have made decisions—sometimes as subtly as a sledgehammer, as when Robert Maynard Hutchins eliminated the Heisman-winning University of Chicago football

program in 1939—but, more often than not, as imperceptibly as the padding of kitten’s paws across the floor—as when some new fad, disguised as a curricular innovation, is introduced.

Dorian—who prizes extreme beauty above all the other desiderata—is the subject of a full-length portrait in oil by Basil Hallward, an artist who is enthralled and infatuated by Dorian’s beauty. Through Basil, Dorian is introduced to Lord Henry Wotton. Dorian is soon under the spell of the aristocrat’s hedonistic worldview that beauty and sensual fulfillment are the only things worthy of pursuit in life. Having recently come to the awareness that his beauty must surely fade, Dorian expresses the desire to sell his soul—a *quid pro quo* to ensure that the oil painting, rather than he, will age and fade. The wish is granted, and Dorian pursues a libertine life of varied and amoral experiences, while remaining young and beautiful in his physical appearance. All the while, however, Dorian’s portrait ages and records every soul-corrupting sin he has committed.

Moral duplicity and self-indulgence have been part of the human condition since time immemorial. In Plato’s *The Republic* (2000), Glaucon and Adeimantus present the myth of the Ring of Gyges, by means of which Gyges made himself invisible. They then ask Socrates, “If one came into possession of such a ring, why should he act justly?” Socrates replies that although no one can see one’s body, the soul is disfigured by the evils one commits. The disfigured and corrupted soul (antithesis of the beautiful soul) is imbalanced and disordered, and, in itself, is undesirable, regardless of any advantage derived from acting unjustly (pp. 41-42).

As in the legend of Faust, the protagonist is presented with a temptation in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, which he indulges. Unlike the academic Faust, the gentleman Dorian makes no deal with the Devil, represented by the cynical hedonist Lord Henry, who presents the temptation that will corrupt the virtue and innocence that Dorian possesses at the start of the story.

Throughout, Lord Henry appears unaware of the effect of his actions upon the young man; and so frivolously advises Dorian, that “the only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it. Resist it, and your soul grows sick with longing.” Not surprisingly, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886/1991), the original title of a novella written by the Scottish author Robert Louis Stevenson, was greatly admired by Wilde, who called Stevenson “that delightful master of delicate and fanciful prose” (1889/2007, p. 77). Stevenson’s work is about a London lawyer named Gabriel John Utterson who investigates strange occurrences (the dual personality) between his old friend, Dr. Henry Jekyll and the evil Edward Hyde.

Faust or Faustus (Latin for “auspicious” or “lucky”), a scholar who is highly successful yet dissatisfied with his life, is the protagonist of a classic German legend. Faust’s discontent leads him to make a pact with the Devil, Mephistopheles, exchanging his soul for unlimited knowledge and worldly pleasures. The Faust legend has been reinterpreted through the ages, so much so that the noun “Faust” and the adjective “Faustian” have entered the common vernacular to describe an ambitious person who surrenders moral integrity to achieve power or success. The Faust of early books is irrevocably damned because he prefers human to divine knowledge. The story was popularized in England by Christopher Marlowe (1604), who gave it a classic treatment in his play, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*. In Goethe’s reworking of the story (1808/1961) into a two-part tragedy, *Faust Part One* takes place in multiple settings, the first of which is heaven. Mephistopheles makes a bet with God that he, Mephistopheles, can lure God’s favorite human being (Faust), who is striving to learn everything that can be known, away from righteous pursuits.

While the three institutions in this study have historically enjoyed the luxury of healthy endowments, they are not immune to the Sirens’ song of federal grants and football revenue

streams as a means by which to fund research, cherry-pick faculty stars away from peer institutions, or invest in infrastructure expansion. All have made institutional concessions, at one time or another, relinquishing vital moral high ground. The situation is only exacerbated and amplified at America's public institutions, where the magnitude of their endowments is far more modest. Compromises have been made that have diminished the primacy of teaching and learning—the central tenet of what a university should be—rendering in high contrast the slippery slope upon which we now tread. American higher education—in spite of the best efforts of presidential leadership—has in many respects lost its moral center, its True North.

1950 was the pivotal starting point selected for this study, because up until the end of World War II, the United States was, relatively speaking, homogeneous in its ethnicity (northern and western European), faith traditions (Christian), and values (democratic). Following World War I, Congress virtually ended unrestricted immigration to the United States from Europe and banned Asians. The Johnson/Reed Act of 1924 marked the high tide of restriction and it established the national origins system. Not until after World War II did the legislators liberalize immigration policy (Reimers, 1981). The changes in post-1945 laws, especially those of 1965, led to an increase in the number of immigrants and shifting patterns of immigration, altering the complexion of America (Appendix P). The process of liberalization began in 1943 when Congress repealed the Chinese exclusion acts. By 1946, Congress permitted several other Asian nations similar quotas and rights of citizenship extended to the Chinese in 1943 when it passed the War Brides Act that allowed spouses and children of U.S. service personnel to come outside the quotas (Act of 28 December 1945; 59 Stat. 659). Of greater import, however, in terms of national immigration policy and raw numbers was enactment of the Displaced Persons (DP) Act of 1948 and its amendment in 1950 (Displaced Persons Act of 25 June 1948; 62 Stat. 1009),

under which more than 400,000 persons entered the United States, circumventing the national origins quotas for individuals not closely related to American citizens. According to a U.S. Displaced Persons Commission *Memo to America: The DP Story* (1952), “The DP Act marked a turning point in American immigration policy and in American foreign policy. For the first time in this century, restrictive and exclusionary legislation was relaxed in order to facilitate the admission of refugees into this country” (p. 345). Congress also enacted the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 (Immigration and Nationality Act of 27 June 1952; 66 Stat. 163), providing a slight liberalization in regard to race, the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act reiterated the restrictionist philosophy of the twenties, with even tighter security provisions: 1) the law kept the national origins quota system, which favored northern and western Europe; 2) the law established tight controls barring Communists, a matter of keen congressional concern in the 1950s, and; 3) the act created an Asia-Pacific Triangle, a region of Asian nations that were granted small quotas and their immigrants granted the right of naturalization. Reimers (1981) notes:

Establishment of the Triangle effectively repealed the Oriental exclusion legislation. . . .

No sooner than the McCarran-Walter Act had become law, President Eisenhower requested special legislation to admit dislocated Europeans. In 1953, Congress responded and passed the Refugee Relief Act, which allowed approximately 200,000 immigrants to come outside the quotas. . . . In the next decade, Congress admitted additional aliens outside the quotas, including more refugees. These included Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Dutch from Indonesia, Chinese fleeing communism, and largest in numbers, the Cubans who fled after Castro seized power in 1956. In 1957, Congress

defined refugees to be those persons fleeing persecution in communist countries or nations in the Middle East (p. 3-4)

With the nation's first Catholic president, the political climate of the 1960s—so dramatically different than that of the 1950s—was conducive to changing the 1952 law and passing the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, concurrent with passing civil rights measures to aid American Blacks (Reimers, 1981). The landslide election of President Lyndon Johnson in November 1964 and his Great Society—the phrase given to Johnson's proposed domestic agenda for 1965 and introduced as part of a speech in May 1964 at the University of Michigan—gave impetus to the reform movement. After 1965, among European nations, southern and eastern countries overtook northern and western Europe, sending the largest numbers. Until 1965, small Asian quotas made emigration from there difficult. Reimers (1981) states:

Special laws for refugees and the War Brides Act helped, but the dramatic shift occurred after 1965. Asian emigration to the United States jumped from 20,633—6 percent of the total—in 1965 to 157,759—33 percent of the total—in 1977. In 1965, European immigrants outnumbered Asians nearly six to one, but a dozen years later Asians outnumbered Europeans by a two-to-one margin. . . . Generalizations about legal immigrants do not necessarily apply to the illegal or undocumented ones. . . . They overstay visitor visas, come as students and stay illegally, jump ship, or use fraudulent means to come in and get identification, including the coveted green card. . . . The inability of Congress and the public to deal effectively with the illegal issue is one of the major immigration problems facing the nation. . . . Americans must decide what limits they want on immigration, not just on refugees, and what criteria will be used to select

them. . . . Obviously, many moral as well as social and economic questions have to be examined in formulating an immigration policy. (p. 9, 11-12)

Reimers wrote the above words in 1981, thirty-five years ago and, yet, we are confronted with the same set of daunting challenges and choices, from illegal immigrants to Syrian refugees.

American institutions of higher education are, in theory, an idealized microcosm of the wider world. All American citizens should be gravely concerned as the road to the 2016 presidential election unfolds. The vitriolic, uncivilized discourse of fringe candidates—with the underwhelming performance of the more centrist primary party candidates, who have been pushed to the margins by extremists on both sides—is sheer anarchy. As in our institutions of higher learning, we have unwittingly enabled a cacophony worthy of the Tower of Babel, rather than an orderly, civilized, mutually-respectful dialogue governed by our social contract.

*Robert's Rules of Order* has been abandoned. The loudest, and one could reasonably argue, least informed voices are those being given maximum air time, both in our schools and in our society. The majority-rule of democracy has been set aside to accommodate the most strident and irrational, and therein lies the moral dilemma. We have willfully chosen to let the bullies run the schoolyard. America's social contract, governed by primary documents (e.g., the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights) are not simply "suggested guidelines," from which to pick and choose or mix and match as our mutual fancy dictates. There exist primary documents, secondary documents, tertiary documents. All documents are not of equal value. Simply asserting otherwise does not make it so.

Given the ever-increasing diversity of American society and its classrooms, the Protestant Establishment of the Colonial Colleges has been effectively disestablished on two fronts, as highlighted in the 2014 Religious Landscape Study undertaken by Pew Research Center: 1) the



sheer magnitude of Americans following divergent faith traditions, whether one considers the wide variety of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Mormons, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and adherents of other religions, and; 2) between the two Pew Research Center's two Religious Landscape Studies—conducted in 2007 and 2014—there is consistent evidence that the “nones”—a growing share of Americans who are religiously unaffiliated, including some who self-identify as atheists or agnostics, as well as many who describe their religion as “nothing in particular”—are becoming *less* religious. According to the Pew Research Center (2014):

Altogether, the religiously unaffiliated (also called the “nones”) now account for 23% of the adult population, up from 16% in 2007. The question of *why* the “nones” are growing less religious does not have a simple answer, but generational replacement appears to be playing a role. Religiously unaffiliated Americans are younger, on average, than the general public to begin with, and the youngest adults in the group—that is, those who have entered adulthood in the last several years—are even less religious than “nones” overall.

Fully seven-in-ten of the youngest Millennials (born between 1990 and 1996) with no religious affiliation say religion is not important in their lives. A similar share (70%) also say they seldom or never pray and 42% say they do not believe in God, all bigger percentages than among religious “nones” as a whole.

So what does “One nation under God” in the Pledge of Allegiance or placing one’s hand on a Bible and “Swearing to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help me God” in a United States court room mean to many Americans? Why does our currency say “In God we trust?” What should it mean?

America's college presidents are voices of civic virtue and the common good of democracy, undergirding this heritage by affirming the relationship of education to fundamental civic virtues and values of democracy. . . . It is in this realm of the values and spirit of democracy that presidents make the case for the crucial connection between the ivory tower and the world outside the gates (Nelson, 2002). The history of the relationship between higher education and democracy in America is a long one, traceable to the founding of Colonial Colleges and of the Republic. As the leaders of the academy, college presidents have, with remarkable consistency, affirmed the important relationship of a college education to fundamental civic virtues and values, and the civil demands and responsibilities of democracy. One need only recall the example of President John Kemeny at Dartmouth in 1970, responding to protests of the Vietnam War and the killings of four students at Kent State, when he argued before his campus community that the nation was facing nothing less than a constitutional crisis. In May 1970, students protesting the bombing of Cambodia by United States military forces, clashed with Ohio National Guardsmen on the Kent State University campus. When the Guardsmen shot and killed four students on May 4, the Kent State shootings became the focal point of a nation deeply divided by the Vietnam War. "He [Kemeny] proceeded to liken the circumstances facing the College—his decision to suspend the remainder of the term in order for students and faculty to examine the issues of provoking that crisis—to those of the Revolutionary War" (Kemeny, 1979). Presidents tend to stress two major themes—the importance of education to democracy and to the development of the civic virtues—both of which are linked to the fundamental principles of the American nation (Nelson, 2000). The rhetoric and actions of college and university presidents about civic virtue and democratic principles are substantially shaped by three concomitant elements. Presidential philosophy about the relationship of the academy to

democracy nearly universally reflects these political and educational assumptions: 1) the democratic heritage of the nation is imbued with fundamental moral, religious, and spiritual beliefs; 2) America's colleges have an incumbent duty to nurture the principles underlying civic virtue and democratic values, and that the students' education should inspire the upholding of those values, and; 3) the Jeffersonian tradition that educated citizens are crucial to maintaining democracy. Public education is federally established and funded because a literate citizenry is essential to the health of democracy (Nelson, 2002). The enormous challenges created as a result of the increases in diversity since 1950 throughout the ethos of America's colleges and universities have taxed contemporary presidents in ways their predecessors could not have imagined. Earlier presidents enjoyed the luxury of leading in times when the values and ideals of the academy and society were much more commonly agreed and shared. As Nelson (2002) asserts:

Presidents were expected to lead on matters of civic responsibility and the common good with relative assurance that their constituents on and off campus would understand the basic premises, and be in general agreement and accord. For the presidents of today's colleges and universities these simple assumptions can no longer be assumed and are no longer the case. Constituencies on and off campus are much more diverse, have strongly vested interests, and in many cases wield significant influence, if not power. The shape of American democracy is changing and our university campuses and their presidents will be the first frontier of that change. (p. 13)

The increasing cultural diversity and pluralism of the American landscape and the national endeavor to accommodate multiculturalism on campus is challenging collegiate presidential leadership as never before. The experience of Harold Shapiro, the former President of the

University of Michigan and retired President of Princeton University, provides a powerful example of walking the razor's edge of racial politics on campus. Following a series of racial incidents at Michigan, Shapiro (1986) wrote to the University community, connecting the educational values to justice and respect:

[E]very incident of racism or bigotry—whether blatant or otherwise—undermines our aspirations and diminishes the ideals of our community. . . . The values upon which this academy rests are tarnished by capricious actions that demean the worth and integrity of any one of us. (p. 1)

College presidents will, as Nelson (2002) suggests, be called on:

. . . to serve as high priests of an evolving civil religion. . . . The founders and early presidents of many, if not most, of the nation's colleges and universities were articulate and exemplary leaders of democratic values in their campus communities and society. James Angell at Michigan, Nicholas Murray Butler at Columbia, Robert Hutchins at Chicago, Charles Eliot at Harvard, Mary Wooley at Mount Holyoke, Frances Wayland at Brown. . . . America's colleges and universities, like the nation to which they owe their heritage and of which they are a part, are no longer as simply united by a set of readily and commonly agreed to cultural, political, social, and religious principles

Can the center of our national identity any longer hold? What happens to democracy without a center of mutually agreed upon beliefs and values? Is *e pluribus unum* merely a romanticized version of the past, no longer with a claim as a vision for the future or does it need to be reshaped and rearticulated in some fashion for the future?

(p. 13-14)

Shapiro (1987) courageously suggested that “the opposite of pluralism, fundamentalism (in its various guises), proclaims the superiority of one particular culture, often citing a special source for its revelation. Rather than celebrate the free play of ideas, fundamentalism—like other extreme ideologies—deplores dissent as a barrier to the achievement of some cultural utopia” (p. 67). Shapiro urged rational and educational discourse—the basis of liberal learning—as a way to counter the dangers of ideological conflicts so often rooted in the inability to confront and address matters of diversity.

The times demand a reaffirmation of America’s civic calling in the academy. History is instructive in this endeavor, summoning up the danger both Church and State present to the academy. The Protestant Reformation, often referred to simply as the Reformation (from Latin *reformatio*, literally, “restoration, renewal”), was a schism from the Roman Catholic Church initiated by Martin Luther, John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli and other early Protestant Reformers in 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe. Commencing in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, European philosophers began to debate the question of who should govern a nation. As the absolute rule of kings weakened, Enlightenment philosophers argued for different forms of democracy (Appendix P). In 1649, a civil war broke out over who would rule England—Parliament or King Charles I. The war ended with the beheading of the king.

### **Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)**

Shortly after Charles I was executed, English philosopher Thomas Hobbes wrote *Leviathan* (1651/2009), a defense of the absolute power of kings. The title of the book referred to a mythological, whale-like sea monster that devoured whole ships. Hobbes likened the leviathan to government, a powerful state created to impose order, beginning *Leviathan* by describing the “state of nature” where all individuals were naturally equal. Every person was

free to do what he or she needed to do to survive. The result of this freedom was that everyone suffered from “continued fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man [was] solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” (p. 75).

In Hobbes’ state of nature, there were no laws or anyone to enforce them. The only way out of this situation, Hobbes said, was for individuals to create some supreme power to impose peace on everyone. Hobbes borrowed a concept from English contract law: an implied agreement, asserting that the people agreed among themselves to “lay down” their natural rights of equality and freedom and give absolute power to a sovereign. The sovereign, created by the people, might be a person or a group. The sovereign would promulgate and enforce the laws to secure a peaceful society, making life, liberty, and property possible. Hobbes called this agreement the “social contract.”

Hobbes believed that a government headed by a king was the best form that the sovereign could take. Placing all power in the hands of a king would mean more resolute and consistent exercise of political authority, Hobbes argued. Hobbes also maintained that the social contract was an agreement only among the people and not between them and their king. Once the people had given absolute power to the king, they had no right to revolt against him. Hobbes warned against the church meddling with the king’s government, fearing religion could become a source of civil war. Thus, he advised that the church become a department of the king’s government, which would closely control all religious affairs. In any conflict between divine and royal law, Hobbes wrote, the individual should obey the king or choose death. But the days of absolute kings were numbered. A new age with fresh ideas was emerging—the European Enlightenment.

Enlightenment thinkers wanted to improve human conditions on earth rather than concern themselves with religion and the afterlife. These thinkers valued reason, science, religious

tolerance, and what they called “natural rights”—life, liberty, and property. Enlightenment philosophers John Locke, Charles Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau all developed theories of government in which some or even all the people would govern. These thinkers had a profound effect on the American and French revolutions and the democratic governments that they produced (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2004).

### **John Locke (1632-1704)**

John Locke was born shortly before the English Civil War. Locke studied science and medicine at Oxford University and became a professor there, siding with the Protestant Parliament against the Roman Catholic King James II in the Glorious Revolution of 1685. The outcome of this Revolution was to greatly reduce the power of the king and made Parliament the primary authority in English government. In 1690, Locke published his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690/2012), generally agreeing with Hobbes about the brutality of the state of nature, which required a social contract to assure peace. But Locke disagreed with Hobbes on two major points. First, Locke argued that natural rights such as life, liberty, and property existed in the state of nature and could never be taken away or even voluntarily given up by individuals. These rights were “inalienable” (impossible to surrender). Locke also disagreed with Hobbes about the social contract. For him, it was not just an agreement among the people, but between them and the sovereign (preferably a king). According to Locke, the natural rights of individuals limited the power of the king. The king did not hold absolute power, as Hobbes asserted, but acted only to enforce and protect the natural rights of the people. If a sovereign violated these rights, the social contract was broken, and the people had the right to revolt and establish a new government. Less than 100 years after Locke wrote his *Two Treatises of Government*, Thomas Jefferson used Locke’s theory in writing the Declaration of Independence.

Although Locke vigorously defended freedom of thought, speech, and religion, he believed property to be the primary natural right. He declared that owners may do whatever they want with their property as long as they do not invade the rights of others. Government, he said, was mainly necessary to promote the “public good,” that is to protect property and encourage commerce and little else:

And that all men may be restrained from invading others’ rights, and from doing hurt to one another, and the law of nature be observed, which willeth the peace and preservation of all mankind, the execution of the law of nature is in that state put into every man’s hand, whereby every one has a right to punish the transgressors of that law to such a degree as may hinder its violation. For the law of nature would, as all other laws that concern men in this world, be in vain if there were nobody that, in the state of nature, had a power to execute that law, and thereby preserve the innocent and restrain offenders. And if any one in the state of nature may punish another for any evil he has done, every one may do so. For in that state of perfect equality, where naturally there is no superiority or jurisdiction of one over another, what any may do in prosecution of that law, every one must needs have a right to do (Ch. 2, Of the State of Nature, 1690/2012).

Locke favored a representative government, much like the English Parliament, which had a hereditary House of Lords and an elected House of Commons, stipulating that representatives should be men of property and business. Consequently, only adult male property owners should have the right to vote. Locke was reluctant to allow the propertyless masses of people to participate in government, because he believed them to be unfit. The supreme authority of government, Locke said, should reside in the law-making legislature, like England’s Parliament.



The executive (prime minister) and courts would be creations of the legislature and under its authority (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2004).

### **Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755)**

When Charles Montesquieu was born, France was ruled by an absolute king, Louis XIV. Montesquieu was born into a noble family and educated in the law. He traveled extensively throughout Europe, including England, where he studied the Parliament. In 1722, he wrote a book, ridiculing the reign of Louis XIV and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Montesquieu published his greatest work, *The Spirit of the Laws*, in 1748 (1748/2013). Unlike Hobbes and Locke, Montesquieu believed that in the state of nature individuals were so fearful that they avoided violence and war. The need for food, Montesquieu said, caused the timid humans to associate with others and seek to live in a society. “As soon as men are in society,” Montesquieu wrote (1748/2013), “they lose their feeling of weakness; the equality that was among them ceases, and the state of war begins” (Chapter 3, On positive laws, 1748/2013). Montesquieu did not specifically describe a social contract, but asserted that the state of war among individuals and nations led to human laws and government.

Montesquieu wrote that the chief purpose of government is to maintain law and order, political liberty, and the property of the individual, opposing the absolute monarchy of his home country and favoring the English system as the best model of government. Montesquieu thought he saw a separation and balancing of the powers of government in England, viewing the English king as exercising executive power, balanced by the law-making Parliament, which was itself divided into the House of Lords and the House of Commons, each checking the power of the other. Additionally, the executive and legislative branches in England were still further balanced by an independent court system. Montesquieu concluded that the best form of government was

one in which the legislative, executive, and judicial powers were separate and kept each other in check to prevent any branch from becoming too powerful. He believed that uniting these powers, as in the monarchy of Louis XIV, would lead to despotism. While Montesquieu's separation of powers theory did not accurately describe the government of England, Americans later adopted it as the foundation of the U.S. Constitution (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2004).

### **Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778)**

Rousseau was born in Geneva, Switzerland, where all adult male citizens could vote for a representative government. Rousseau traveled in France and Italy, educating himself. In 1751, he won an essay contest. His fresh view that man was naturally good and was corrupted by society made him a celebrity in the French salons where artists, scientists, and writers gathered to discuss the latest ideas. A few years later he published another essay in which he described savages in a state of nature as free, equal, peaceful, and happy. When people began to claim ownership of property, Rousseau argued, inequality, murder, and war resulted. According to Rousseau, the powerful rich stole the land belonging to everyone and fooled the common people into accepting them as rulers. Rousseau concluded that the social contract was not a willing agreement, as Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu had believed, but a fraud against the people committed by the rich.

In 1762, Rousseau published his most important work on political theory, *The Social Contract* (1762/2015). His bold opening line remains striking today: “Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains” (Book I, 1. Subject of the First Book). Rousseau agreed with Locke that the individual should never be forced to give up his or her natural rights to a king. The problem in the state of nature, Rousseau said, was to find a way to protect everyone's life,

liberty, and property while each person remained free. Rousseau's solution was for people to enter into a social contract. They would give up all their rights, not to a king, but to "the whole community," all the people. He called all the people the "sovereign," a term used by Hobbes to mainly refer to a king. The people then exercised their "general will" to make laws for the "public good." Rousseau argued that the general will of the people could not be decided by elected representatives. He believed in a direct democracy in which everyone voted to express the general will and to make the laws of the land. Rousseau had in mind a democracy on a small scale, a city-state like his native Geneva.

In Rousseau's democracy, anyone who disobeyed the general will of the people "will be forced to be free." He believed that citizens must obey the laws or be forced to do so as long as they remained a resident of the state. This is a "civil state," Rousseau says, where security, justice, liberty, and property are protected and enjoyed by all. All political power, according to Rousseau, must reside with the people, exercising their general will. There can be no separation of powers, as Montesquieu proposed. The people meeting together, Rousseau (1762/2015) asserted, will deliberate individually on laws and then by majority vote find the general will:

The first and most important deduction from the principles we have so far laid down is that the general will alone can direct the State according to the object for which it was instituted, i.e., the common good: for if clashing of particular interests made the establishment of societies necessary, the agreement of these very interests made it possible. The common element in these different interests is what forms the social tie; and, were there no point of agreement between them all, no society could exist. It is solely on the basis of this common interest that every society should be governed.

I hold then that Sovereignty, being nothing less than the exercise of the general will, can never be alienated, and that the Sovereign, who is no less than a collective being, cannot be represented except by himself: the power indeed may be transmitted, but not the will (Book II, 1. That Sovereignty is Inalienable).

Rousseau's general will was later enshrined in the words of the Preamble to the U. S.

Constitution: "We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence [sic], promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." The Preamble has substantial potency by virtue of its specification of the purposes for which the Constitution exists, distilling the underlying values that moved the Framers during their arduous debates in Philadelphia. As Justice Joseph Story stated in his celebrated *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States* (1833/2013), "The importance of examining the preamble, for the purpose of expounding the language of a statute, has been long felt, and universally conceded in all juridical discussions. It is an admitted maxim in the ordinary course of the administration of justice, that the preamble of a statute is a key to open the mind of the makers, as to the mischiefs, which are to be remedied, and the objects, which are to be accomplished by the provisions of the statute" (Book 3, Chapter 6, § 459). Alexander Hamilton, in *The Federalist No. 84* (Library of Congress, 1778/2015), went so far as to assert:

It has been several times truly remarked that bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgements of prerogative in favor of privilege, reservations of rights not surrendered to the prince. Such was MAGNA CHARTA, obtained by the barons, sword in hand, from King John. Such were the subsequent

confirmations of that charter by succeeding princes. Such was the PETITION OF RIGHT assented to by Charles I., in the beginning of his reign. Such, also, was the Declaration of Right presented by the Lords and Commons to the Prince of Orange in 1688, and afterwards thrown into the form of an act of parliament called the Bill of Rights. It is evident, therefore, that, according to their primitive signification, they have no application to constitutions professedly founded upon the power of the people, and executed by their immediate representatives and servants. Here, in strictness, the people surrender nothing; and as they retain every thing they have no need of particular reservations. “WE, THE PEOPLE of the United States, to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ORDAIN and ESTABLISH this Constitution for the United States of America.” Here is a better recognition of popular rights, than volumes of those aphorisms which make the principal figure in several of our State bills of rights, and which would sound much better in a treatise of ethics than in a constitution of government.

Rousseau (1762/2015) believed that religion divided and weakened the state, favoring a “civil religion” that accepted God, but concentrated on the sacredness of the social contract:

Those who distinguish civil from theological intolerance are, to my mind, mistaken. The two forms are inseparable. It is impossible to live at peace with those we regard as damned; to love them would be to hate God who punishes them: we positively must either reclaim or torment them. Wherever theological intolerance is admitted, it must inevitably have some civil effect; and as soon as it has such an effect, the Sovereign is no longer Sovereign even in the temporal sphere: thenceforth priests are the real masters, and kings only their ministers.

Now that there is and can be no longer an exclusive national religion, tolerance should be given to all religions that tolerate others, so long as their dogmas contain nothing contrary to the duties of citizenship. But whoever dares to say: Outside the Church is no salvation, ought to be driven from the State, unless the State is the Church, and the prince the pontiff. Such a dogma is good only in a theocratic government; in any other, it is fatal. (Book IV, Chapter VIII. Civil Religion)

Rousseau realized that democracy as he envisioned it would be difficult to maintain and cultivate, warning “As soon as any man says of the affairs of the State, ‘What does it matter to me?’ the State may be given up for lost” (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2004).

### **Being Schooled by Europe**

Terence Kealey, a vice-chancellor of the University of Buckingham in England, wrote in his aptly entitled “Declaration of Independence” article in *The Times Higher Education Supplement* (October 11, 2012) about the inherent danger that both Church and State have posed in the European academy for centuries and, by comparison, the vigor and force of American institutions of higher learning:

The Ivy League’s autonomy has allowed its members to conquer the world. The UK must loosen the reins on its universities and establish an equivalent . . . .

The Ivy League started with an argument. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the professor of theology at Dartmouth College also acted as pastor of the local First Congregational Church, but in 1805 the college and the church fell out over who should be appointed to the joint role. A decade later the dispute had still not been resolved, so in 1815 the government of New Hampshire—claiming that as it was largely funding the college it

should therefore direct it—threw out the trustees and the college president, installed its own people and nationalised the institution.

But the quarrel did not end there. The original trustees sued, and in 1819 the US Supreme Court found for them, judging that the state could not take over an independent corporation. The college thus retained its autonomy, with a charter (originally a royal charter) that enjoyed the status of a contract, the sanctity of which had to be respected.

The ruling was a landmark because it protected the independence from the State of all private American universities. Not that most people cared at the time: they supposed that without state support Dartmouth would soon go bust.

Nine Colonial Colleges had been created in North America before the US Declaration of Independence in 1776: Harvard in 1636 (as New College); the College of William & Mary in 1693; Yale in 1701 (renamed as such in 1718); Princeton in 1746 (then known as the College of New Jersey); Pennsylvania in 1751 (the College of Philadelphia); Columbia in 1754 (King's College); Brown in 1764 (Rhode Island College); Rutgers in 1766 (Queen's College); and Dartmouth in 1769.

The institutions were founded by clergymen as theological academies, with governance structures modelled on the colleges of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. So the governing body, or “corporation”, at Harvard, for example, comprised the president and fellows, they being either academics at the college or local clergymen who helped the institution. To this day, in recapitulation of its Oxbridge roots, the president of Harvard University chairs the corporation, and although the other trustees are now non-executive, they retain the title of fellows.

By 1776, the institutions today known as the Ivy League had already embraced their own governance revolution, when many of the academics on their governing bodies were replaced by politicians. In colonial days, Church and State were not separated, so governments readily funded what were largely theological colleges. This meant that American institutions then were like the mass of UK universities today: private charities that had surrendered some autonomy for state money. And the loss of autonomy was real: at Yale, for example, Connecticut's governor, deputy governor and six state senators sat on the governing body and largely ran the institution.

But with the separation of Church and State enshrined in the US Constitution, the Ivy League embarked on its second governance revolution during the 19<sup>th</sup> century: it ejected the politicians from its councils and replaced them with private donors. Why? Because the politicians withheld their money. Whenever a dispute arose with the local colleges—and such disputes were perennial because the institutions had learned to defend their rights—the politicians stopped giving public money to the private bodies. Consequently, the colleges soon found themselves in financial difficulties.

However, to everybody's surprise (including their own), seven of the Colonial Colleges survived on alumni donations and tuition fee income alone, and they went on to become the Ivy League (together with Cornell University, which, although founded in 1865, was admitted to what is formally a regional sports league, officially established only in 1954). Only William & Mary and Rutgers University resorted to state ownership.

Most universities in the world today are state institutions, and since higher education and scholarship are conventionally described as public goods that require government money, economic theory predicts that independent universities should



languish at the bottom of the major international league tables. But Shanghai Jiao Tong University's Academic Ranking of World Universities places Harvard first, Stanford University second, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology third, the University of California, Berkeley fourth and the University of Cambridge fifth. Times Higher Education's World University Rankings 2012-13 rate the California Institute of Technology first, the University of Oxford and Stanford joint second, Harvard fourth and MIT fifth.

Different tables employ different methodologies, yet despite their inevitable shortcomings, they produce similar, credible results.

Of the first 20 universities in the tables, the ARWU lists just seven state-funded universities and only one non-anglophone example (the University of Tokyo). THE's equivalent figures list eight state universities, including one non-anglophone institution (ETH Zurich - Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich). Broadly speaking, most of the top 100 universities globally are anglophone and/or independent.

Sherlock Holmes noted the curious incident of the dog that did nothing at nighttime. That dog here is France. And Germany. And the rest of Europe. A great determinant of university excellence must be gross domestic product per capita—rich countries should have good universities—yet although Europe's wealth is comparable to that of the US, its universities trail in the global league tables. Why? It may be partly because institutions such as the French grandes ecoles do not fit well into the rankings, but largely it is because there is a second determinant of university excellence—autonomy.

The great division globally is between universities that speak English (basically, good) and those that do not (basically, not so good). That is not just because bibliometric measures favour the anglosphere, it is also because England's universities experienced their own seminal, Dartmouth-like episode in 1687-88.

In those years, James II expelled the president and 25 fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, replacing them with Catholics. Protestants were outraged, and the episode helped precipitate the Glorious Revolution. That in turn spawned the Bill of Rights of 1689, the third article of which stated: "That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious." Translated, this meant that England in 1689 recognised the ancient right of its universities to independence.

Europe's universities were born independent. The first, the University of Bologna, was founded around 1100 by students seeking an education in law. Later on, the universities of Padua and Montpellier were founded, also as a student initiative, offering tutelage in medicine and the sciences. Those Mediterranean universities were democratically run by the students. Soon afterwards, Oxford and Cambridge were created by scholars, and they too were democratic, being run by the masters. But not long thereafter, universities were created by the Church (often from pre-existing cathedral schools) or by monarchs, and they were not so democratic, the key appointment—that of the leader (aka vice-chancellor, rector or president)—often being in the gift of the Church or the Crown.

Worse, the Church then took control of the erstwhile independent, democratic universities. As Pope Boniface VIII stated in 1294: "You Paris masters at your desk

seem to think that the world should be ruled by your reasonings. I tell you that this is not so—it is to us that the world is entrusted, not to you.” The authorities thus forced Church oversight on to the universities, which is why many academic titles such as dean and doctor are ecclesiastical. Subsequently, under inquisitions, absolutism and Napoleon, continental Europe fettered its universities, generally nationalising them. But after 1689, England’s took an independent course.

England’s—later the UK’s—universities did not spin out of 1689 fully independent. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, monarchs, politicians and bishops interfered relentlessly, but the institutions were on an autonomous trajectory. By 1914 they were as independent as today’s Ivy League universities when—catastrophically—the Great War bankrupted them: their fee income disappeared as young men joined up and their endowment income collapsed under wartime inflation.

So in 1919, the government’s University Grants Committee was instituted, initially with an annual budget of Pounds 1 million. Various government agencies were soon providing the bulk of the universities’ income, and with that funding came increasing central control.

The universities of the Dominions inherited the legal independence of 1689, but in various ways they came to similar settlements as the mother country’s: they, too, accepted state cash in exchange for less autonomy. The US has taken a more diverse course and today has a variety of higher education institutions: the Ivy League and similarly independent research universities including MIT, Stanford and the University of Chicago; the independent liberal arts colleges; state universities; state community colleges; and for-profit institutions.

We thus have an experiment involving different types of university, with the global league tables showing that (overlooking outliers) the US independent research universities are the best in the world; the anglophone legally independent but financially dependent universities such as Oxford, Cambridge and University College London come close; the state universities come after them; and the rest come nowhere. (However, worth noting is the fact that most of the rankings are research-orientated, to the disadvantage of the liberal arts colleges, which teach superbly, and the community colleges, which widen access. The for-profits rarely do well in any category.)

Why is autonomy an independent variable for university excellence? One answer is monopoly: when a government nationalises the universities and—as generally happens—abolishes tuition fees, it enjoys monopolistic control of higher education. Why, therefore, would it put into the universities a penny more than the absolute minimum? As the 2003 European Commission report *The Role of the Universities in the Europe of Knowledge* acknowledged, the consequence is that “American universities have far more substantial means than those of European universities—on average, two to five times higher per student . . . The gap stems primarily from the low level of private funding of higher education in Europe.” Since one source of university excellence is money, the free-market US beats monopolistic Europe because students and their parents will contribute more in fees than will governments.

Competition is another source of excellence: when students pay, independent universities compete to satisfy them where state universities need not. Equally, in their search for reputation, independent institutions fight for research cash in ways that their

public equivalents need not. And the former are more likely than apparatchiks in some distant capital to know how they should be run.

Moreover, the endowments of the US independents [Harvard, \$30.7 billion (about Pounds 19 billion); Yale, \$19.3 billion; Princeton, \$17 billion; Stanford, \$17 billion] show how public goods can attract private philanthropy, which in turn supplies social justice: the Ivy League operates “needs-blind admissions”, so no one is refused entry if they cannot pay.

Competition, moreover, spills over: higher education in the US is benchmarked by the Ivy League, so one reason the country’s state universities are unusually good is that they are forced to compete not only against each other (there are in effect 50 such systems in the US) but also against the Ivies, which is why some state universities have accumulated startling endowments themselves (the University of Texas, more than \$17 billion; the University of Michigan, \$7.8 billion; Texas A&M University, \$7 billion; the University of California system, \$6.3 billion; and the University of Virginia, \$5 billion).

And then there’s academic freedom. In *Academic Freedom in the Wired World: Political Extremism, Corporate Power, and the University* (2008), Robert O’Neil, the former president of Virginia, reported how a politician, on disagreeing with Rodney Smolla, director of the Institute of Bill of Rights Law at state-owned William & Mary, threatened him. “Your institution will pay for this,” he said, to which Smolla replied: “I’ve just moved to the (independent) University of Richmond.” It is no coincidence that many of the challenging thinkers of our time, from Milton Friedman (Chicago) on the Right to Noam Chomsky (MIT) on the Left, have been based in independent universities.

An Ivy League university is independent in its undergraduate teaching, too, with none of the caps on tuition fees or numbers (nor any of the subjections to agencies such as the Office for Fair Access) that shackle our own. However, it does have competitive access to government research funding.

Ever since Margaret Thatcher's introduction in 1980 of fees for foreign students, the UK's universities have grown ever more independent (witness their ever-improving performance in the global league tables), so let us finalise that liberalisation and create our own Ivy League. How? The leading institutions should be free to cherry-pick quality-related (QR) research money from the Higher Education Funding Council for England—and that alone—because it is their access to Hefce's teaching money that shackles them with caps and subjects them to Offa. The universities should thus be freed to charge the fees the market will bear and to expand or contract at will, while still accessing Hefce research money Ivy League- style.

In its Education at a Glance 2012 report, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development found that England's tuition fees had produced the world's most "advanced" support for students—without damaging social justice. If we completed our liberalisation and made the creation of a UK Ivy League a national goal, we could dominate the global league tables as readily as we now garner Olympic medals.

The original position theorized by Rawls (1971) was formulated as a thought experiment to replace the imagery of a savage state of nature of prior political philosophers, including Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 1651/2010), Locke (*The Second Treatise of Government*, 1690/2002), Montesquieu (*The Spirit of the Laws*, 1748/2011) and Rousseau (*The Social Contract*, 1762), with the goal of instantiating social justice. In Rawls' original position, the parties select

principles that will determine the basic structure of the society in which they will live. This choice is made from behind a “veil of ignorance,” depriving participants of information about their particular personal characteristics, including ethnicity, SES, gender and, of paramount importance, Conception of the Good (an individual’s idea of how to lead a good life). Rawl’s paradigm of the “veil of ignorance” forces participants to select principles impartially and rationally; the parties in the original position are concerned only with citizens’ share of what he terms primary social goods, which include basic rights, as well as economic and social advantages. Rawls asserts that the representatives in the original position would adopt the maximin rule as their principle for evaluating the choices before them. Borrowed from game theory, maximin stands for maximizing the minimum (e.g., making the choice that produces the highest payoff for the least advantaged position). The maximin rule in the original position represents a formulation of social equality. In social contract theory, persons in the state of nature agree to the provisions of a contract that defines the basic rights and duties of citizens in a civil society. In Rawls’ construction, Justice as Fairness, the original position, plays the role that the state of nature does in the classical social contract tradition of Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

As a thought experiment, the original position is a hypothetical position designed to accurately reflect what principles of justice would be manifest in a society predicated on free and fair cooperation between citizens, including respect for liberty and an interest in reciprocity. In the state of nature, one might argue that certain individuals (the strong and privileged) would coerce others (the weak and lowly) by virtue of the fact that the stronger and privileged would fare better in the state of nature, all other things being equal. In Rawls’ original position, however, representatives of citizens are placed behind a “veil of ignorance,” depriving the

representatives of information about the individuating characteristics of the citizens they represent. Consequently, the representative parties would possess imperfect information about the talents, abilities, ethnicity, gender, faith tradition, or belief system of the citizens they represent. In the social contract, citizens in a state of nature contract with each other to establish a state of civil society. For example, in the Lockean state of nature, the parties agree to establish a civil society in which the government has limited powers and the duty to protect the persons and property of citizens. In the original position, the representative parties select principles of justice that are to govern the basic structure of society. Rawls argues that the representative parties in the original position would select two principles of justice:

1. Each citizen is guaranteed a fully adequate scheme of basic liberties, which is compatible with the same scheme of liberties for all others;
2. Social and economic inequalities must satisfy two conditions:
  - a. to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged (the difference principle);
  - b. attached to positions and offices open to all.

The original position and the veil of ignorance engender risk aversion on the part of all participants, insomuch as every individual wishes to minimize their chance of being one of the weak and unprivileged members of society. As a result, Rawls social contract is constructed to help the least well off members.

Our cultural malaise may well find its roots in the vapid, narcissistic, insipid focus on matters of so little import. Selfies and instant gratification. Recent scenes of Apple iPhone fans camped outside of Apple stores around the globe for the new iPhone 6s and 6s Plus remind me of watching a caged parakeet—mesmerized and blinded by inconsequential sparkly objects. Sandel asserts (1996):



Despite their disagreements, liberals and conservatives share an impoverished vision of citizenship, leaving them unable to address the anxiety and frustration abroad in the land. If American politics is to recover its civic voice, it must find a way to debate questions we have forgotten how to ask. . . . Since the days of Aristotle's *polis*, the republican tradition has viewed self-government as an activity rooted in a particular place, carried out by citizens loyal to that place and the way of life it embodies. Self-government today, however, requires a politics that plays itself out in a multiplicity of settings, from neighborhoods to nations to the world as a whole. Such a politics requires citizens who can abide the ambiguity associated with divided sovereignty, who can think and act as multiply situated selves. (p. 57)

As Nelson (2002) argues, "Historically, college presidents have been able to use the authority of their office to stress the need for agreement on common values in social and civic life. Values are instrumental in shaping societies and communities, and colleges and universities are no exception" (p. 24). The problem, as former University of Michigan president Shapiro (1987) reminds us, is the "possibility that the age of tolerance ushered in by the ideals of the Enlightenment could yield a bitter harvest if we succumb to the idea that all values are equally acceptable and, thus, deny the existence of any absolute values" (p. 35). In this age of quantum expansion of human knowledge made possible by accelerating technology—coupled with our frenetic desire to deconstruct and recreate, often just because we can—one must remain mindful of a basic law of physics: nature abhors a vacuum, *horror vacui*, a postulate attributed to Aristotle. Rome was not built in a day, as the cliché goes, but, as we have witnessed, ISIS did—within a matter of days—destroy the towering Arch of Triumph that stood for 1,800 years in the ancient city of Palmyra, threatening to completely obliterate the World Heritage Site. It takes

very little skill to disassemble the architecture of the past. Creating something of value—bringing order to the whole, *Gestalt*—therein lies the challenge.

“Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.”

~ George Santayana

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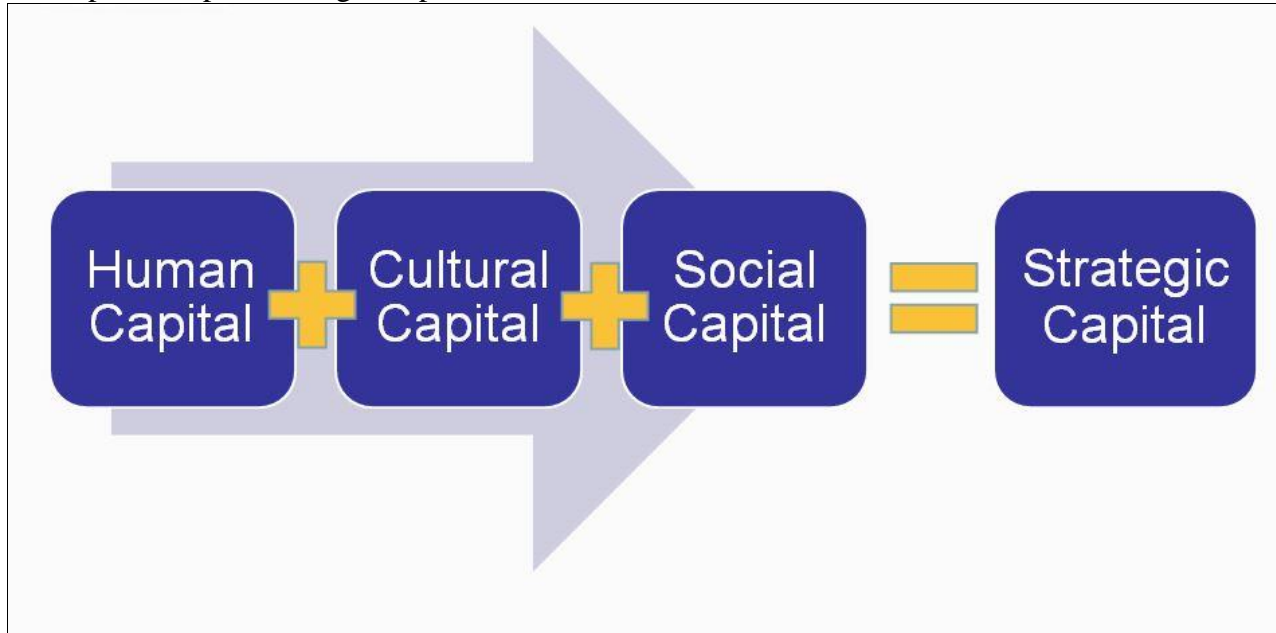
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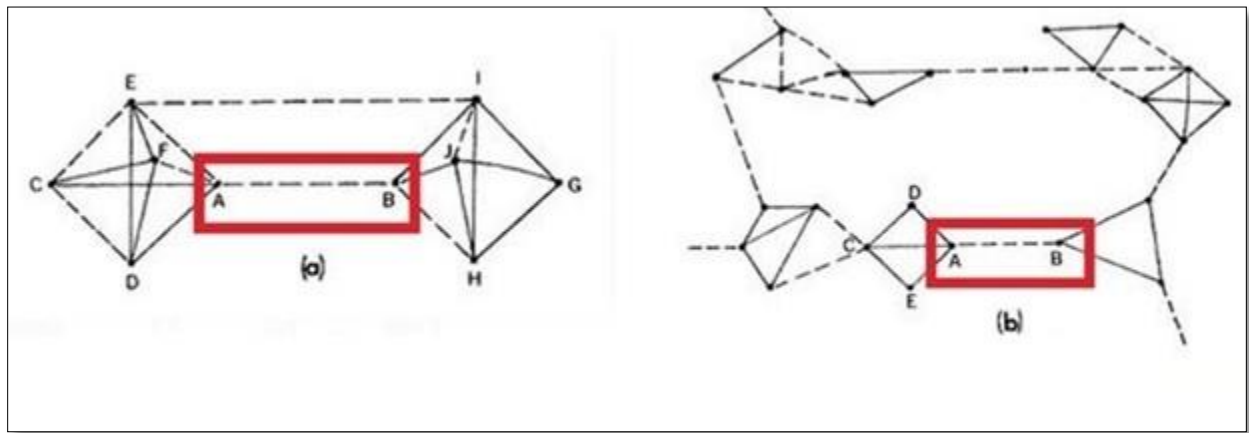
**Appendix A**

Conceptual Map of Strategic Capital



**Appendix B**

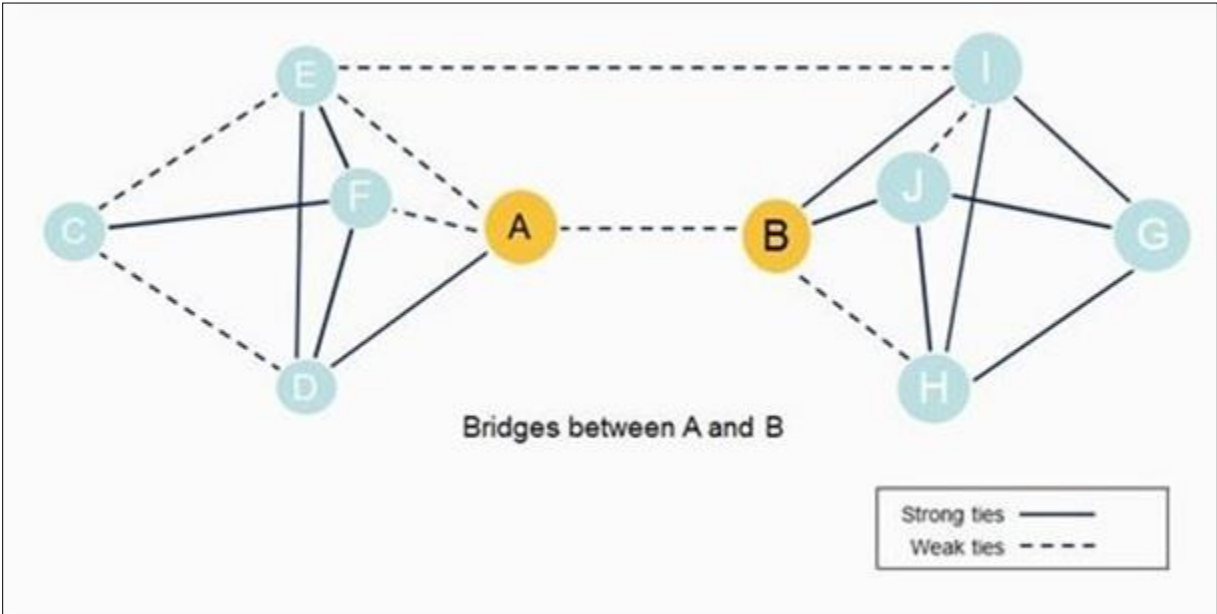
Strong and Weak Ties



Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.

Appendix C

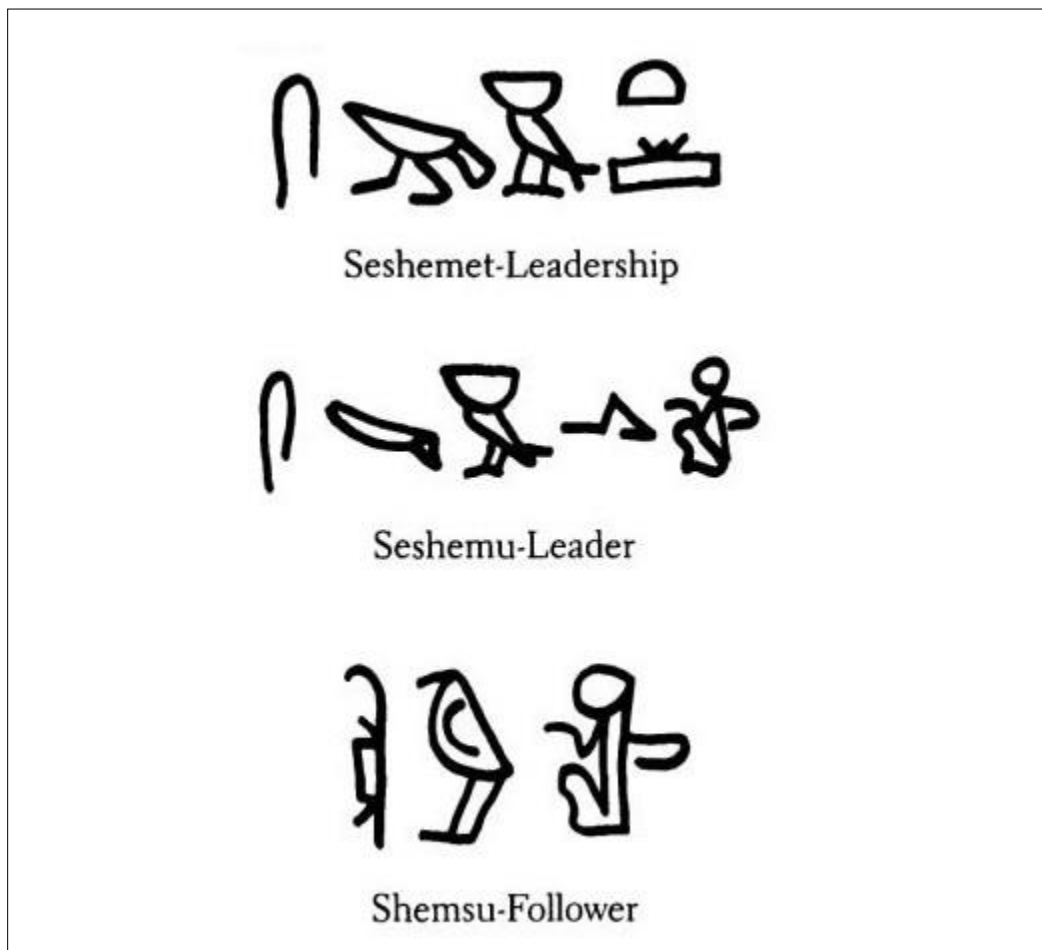
Negative Externalities of Strong Ties



Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.

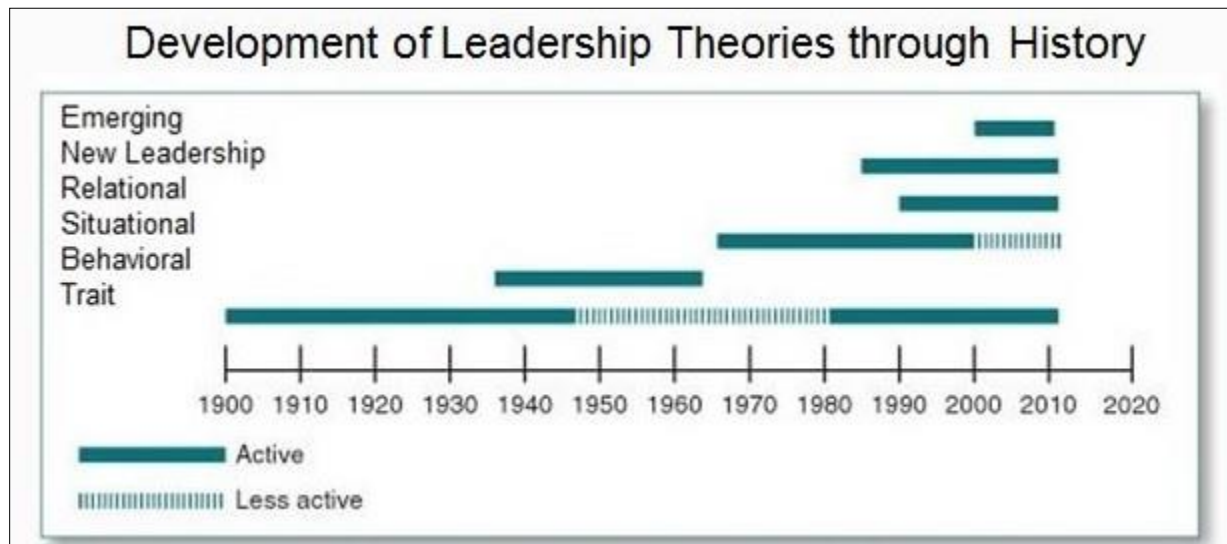
**Appendix D**

## Egyptian Hieroglyphs for Leadership, Leader, and Follower



Bass, B. M., & Bass, R. (2008). *The Bass handbook of leadership: Theory, research, and managerial applications* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). New York, NY: Free Press.

Appendix E

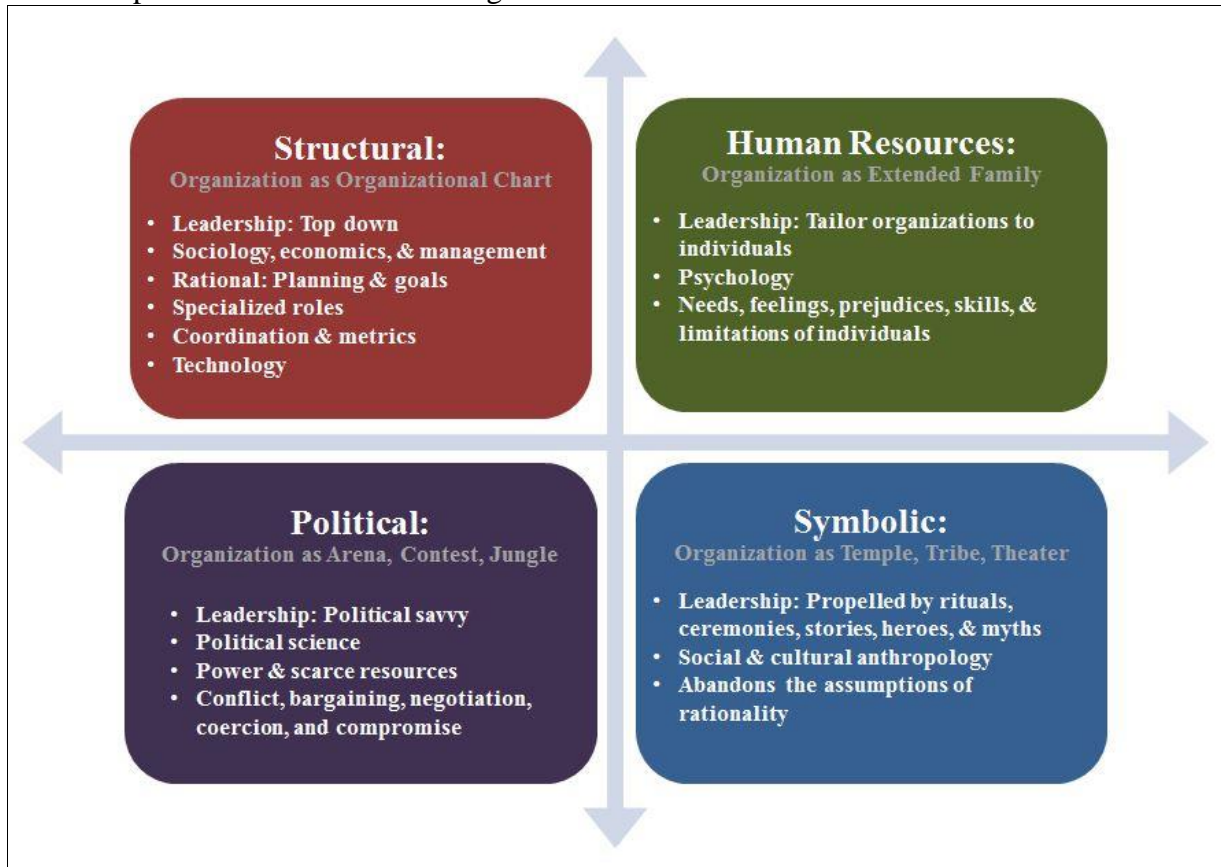


Bass, B. M., & Bass. R. (2008). *The Bass handbook of leadership: Theory, research, and managerial applications* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Free Press.



## Appendix F

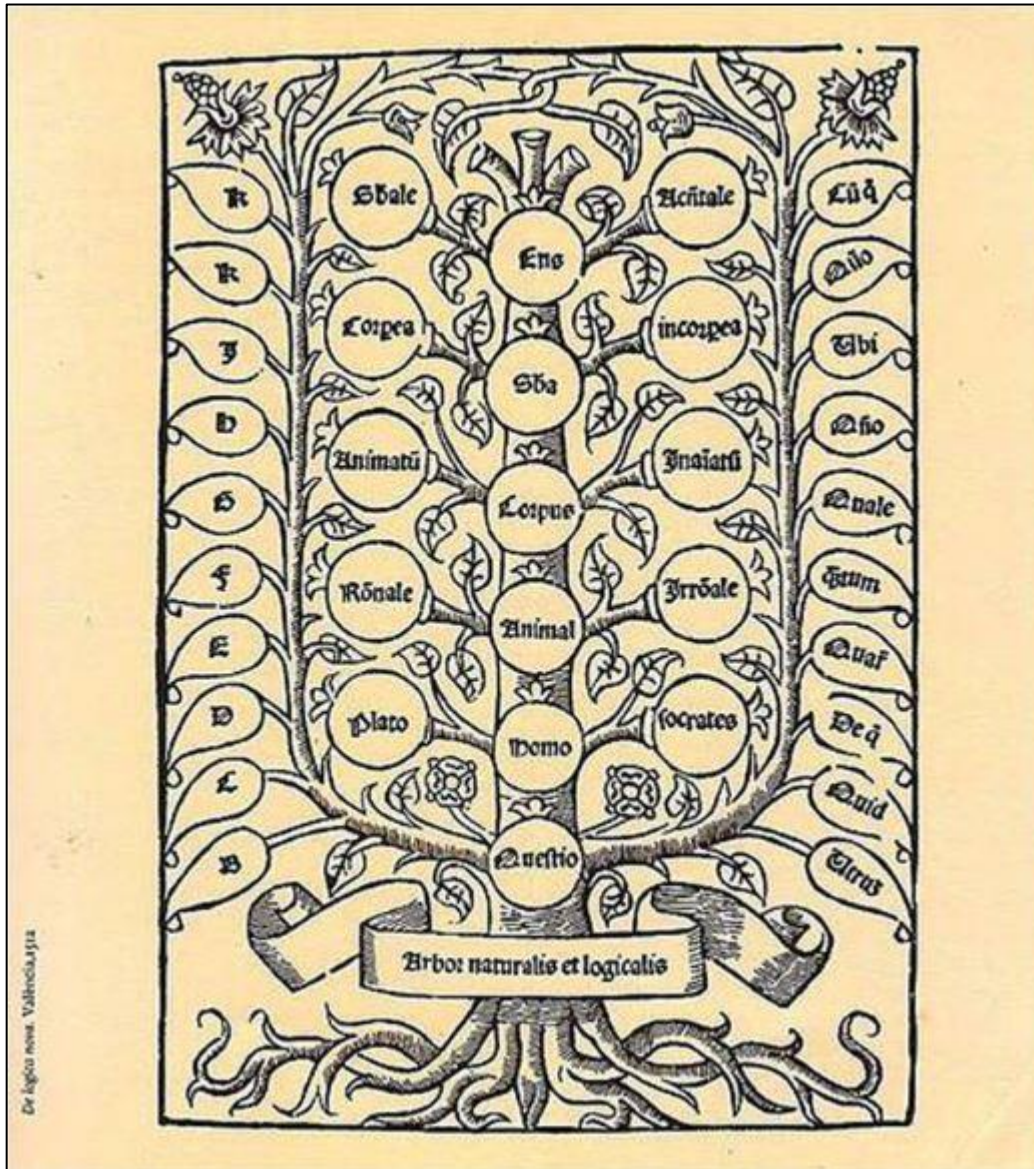
### Leadership: Four-Frame Model of Organizations



Bolman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (2013). *Artistry, choice, & leadership: Reframing organizations* (5th ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Appendix G

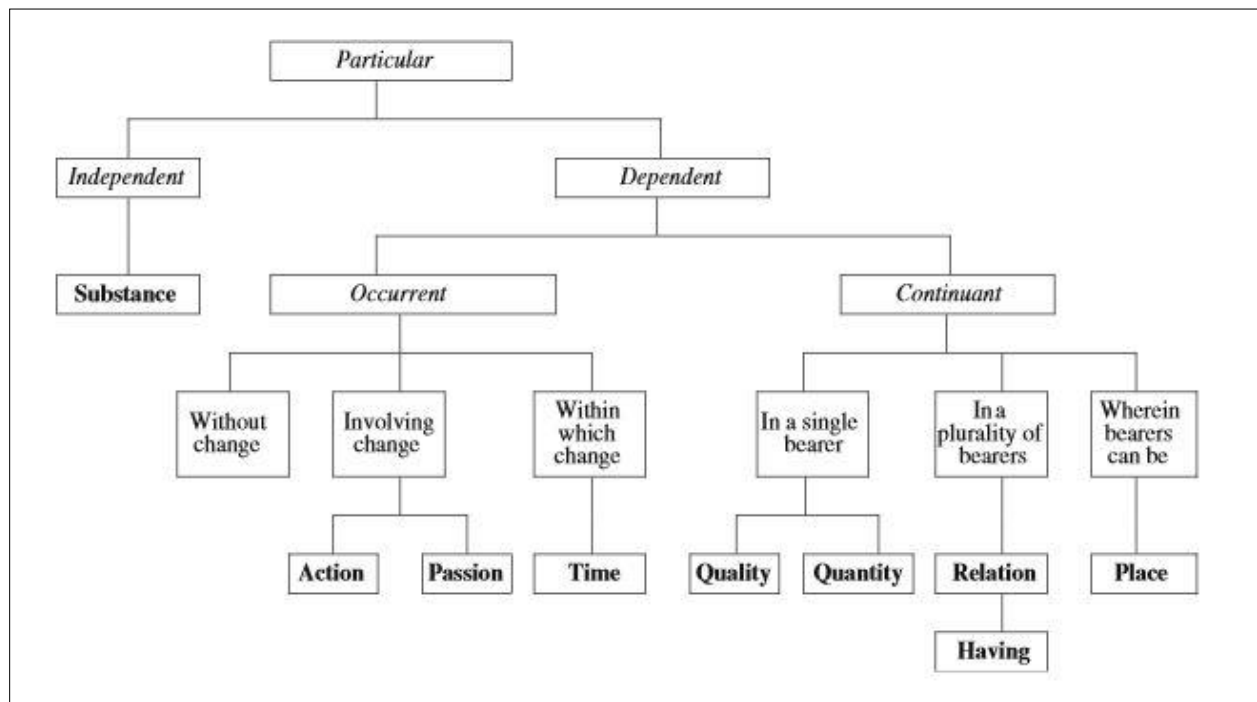
Porphyrus Tree.



Gontier, N. (2011). Depicting the tree of life: The philosophical and historical roots of evolutionary tree diagrams. *Evolution: Education and Outreach*, 4(3), 515-538.

**Appendix H**

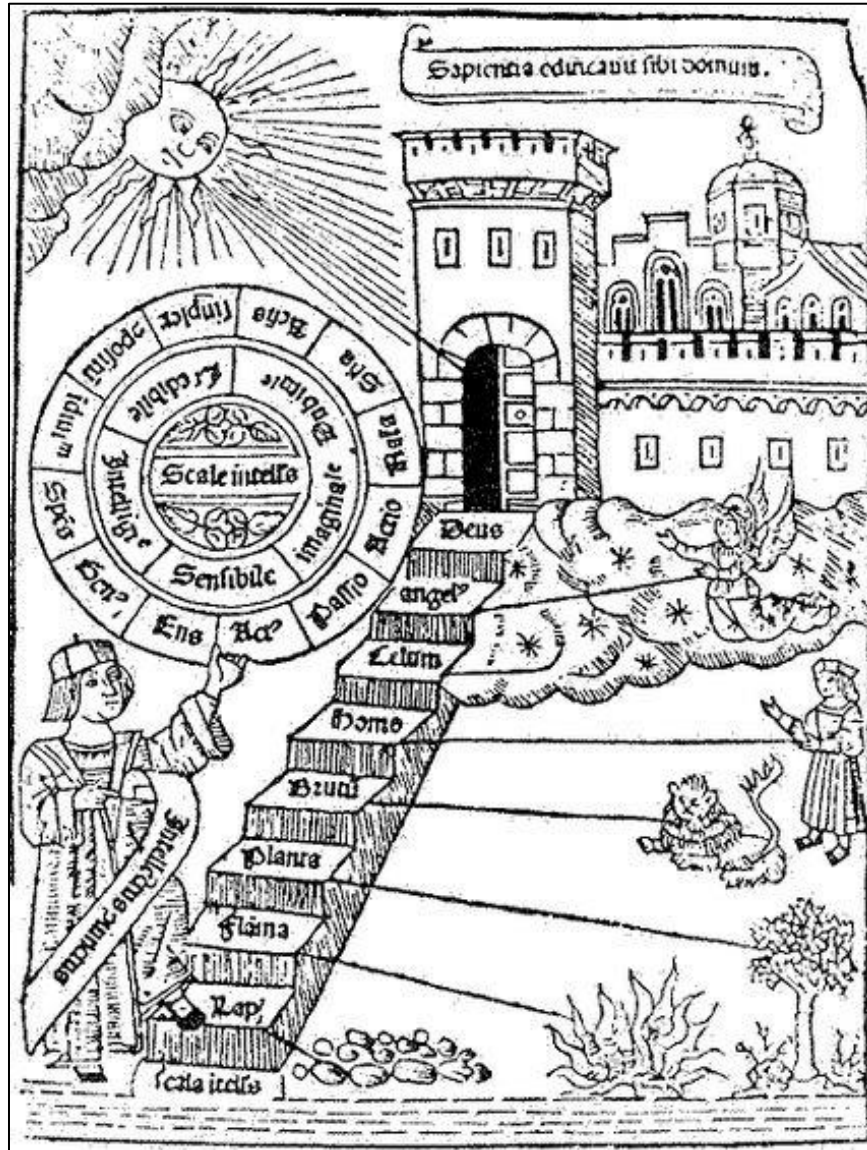
Aristotle's Hierarchical Ontological Schema, *Categories*



Jansen, L. (2007). Aristotle's *Categories*. *Topoi*, 26, 153-158.

Appendix I

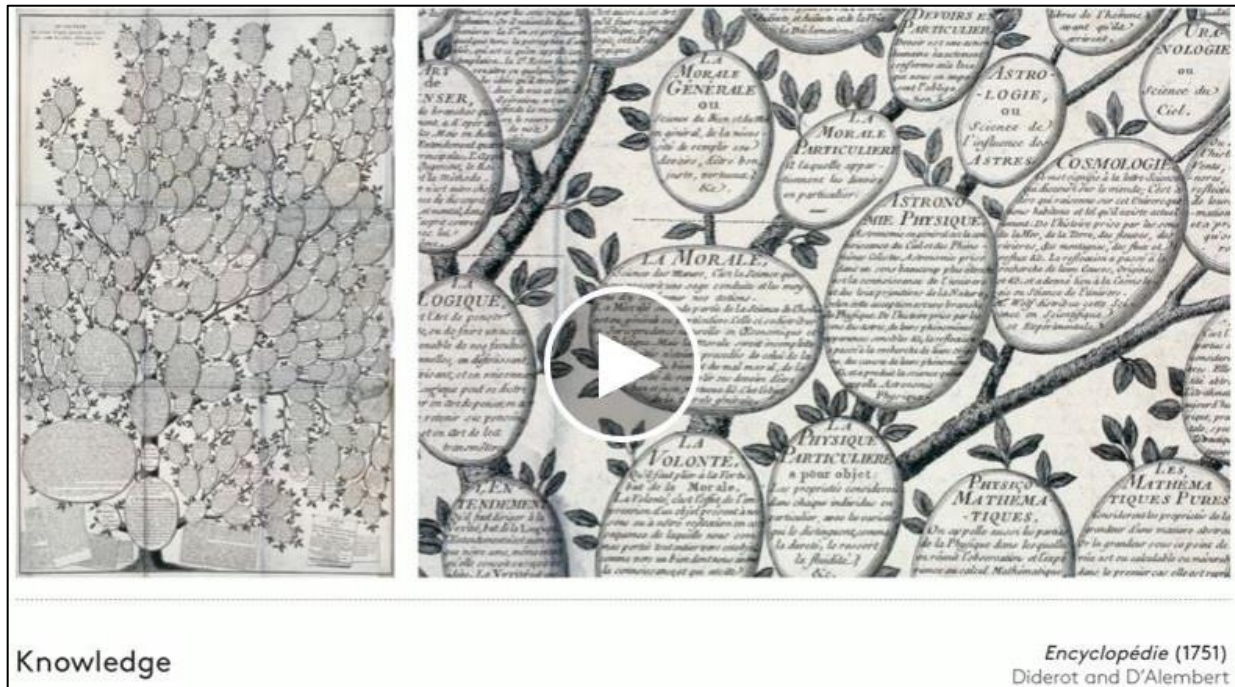
Great Chain of Being (*Scala Naturae*), derived from Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and Proclus



Lima, M. (2011). *Visual complexity: Mapping patterns of information*. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

Appendix J

Discrete Domains of Knowledge as Individual Branches (Diderot & D’Alembert, 1751)



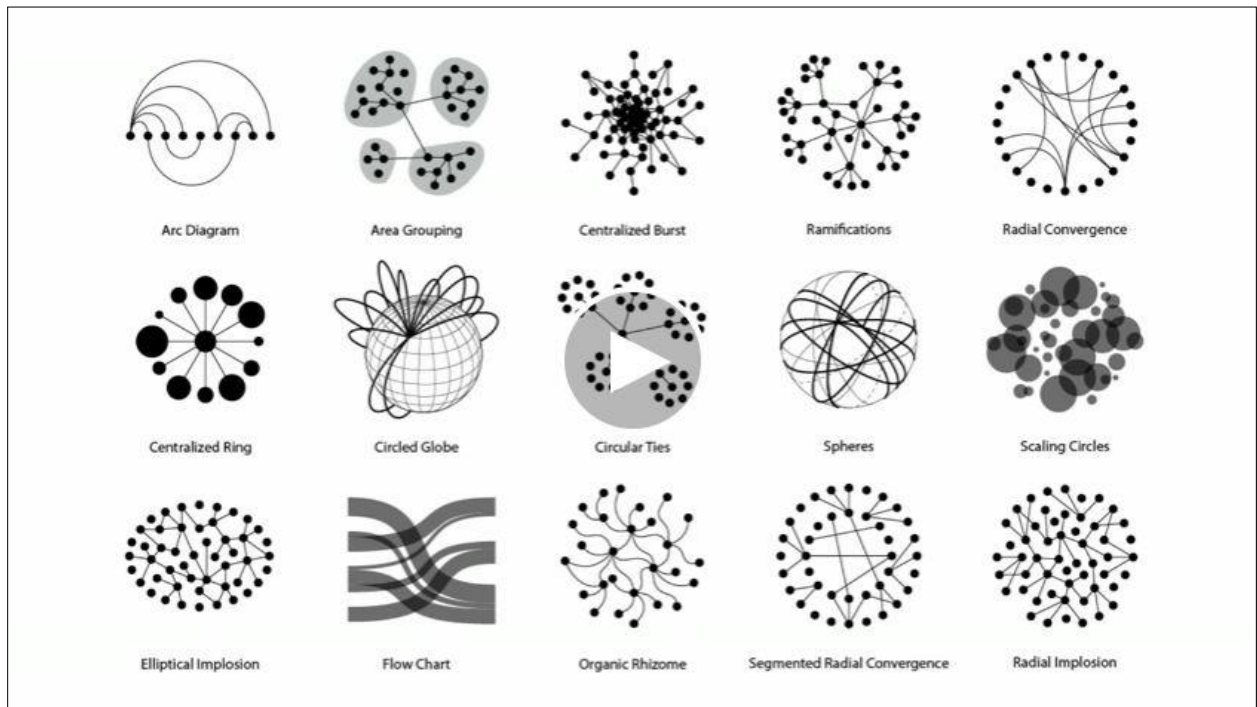
Knowledge

Encyclopédie (1751)  
Diderot and D’Alembert

Lima, M. (2011). *Visual complexity: Mapping patterns of information*. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

**Appendix K**

Data Typologies: Transformation of Metaphor from Tree to Network



Lima, M. (2011). *Visual complexity: Mapping patterns of information*. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

Appendix L

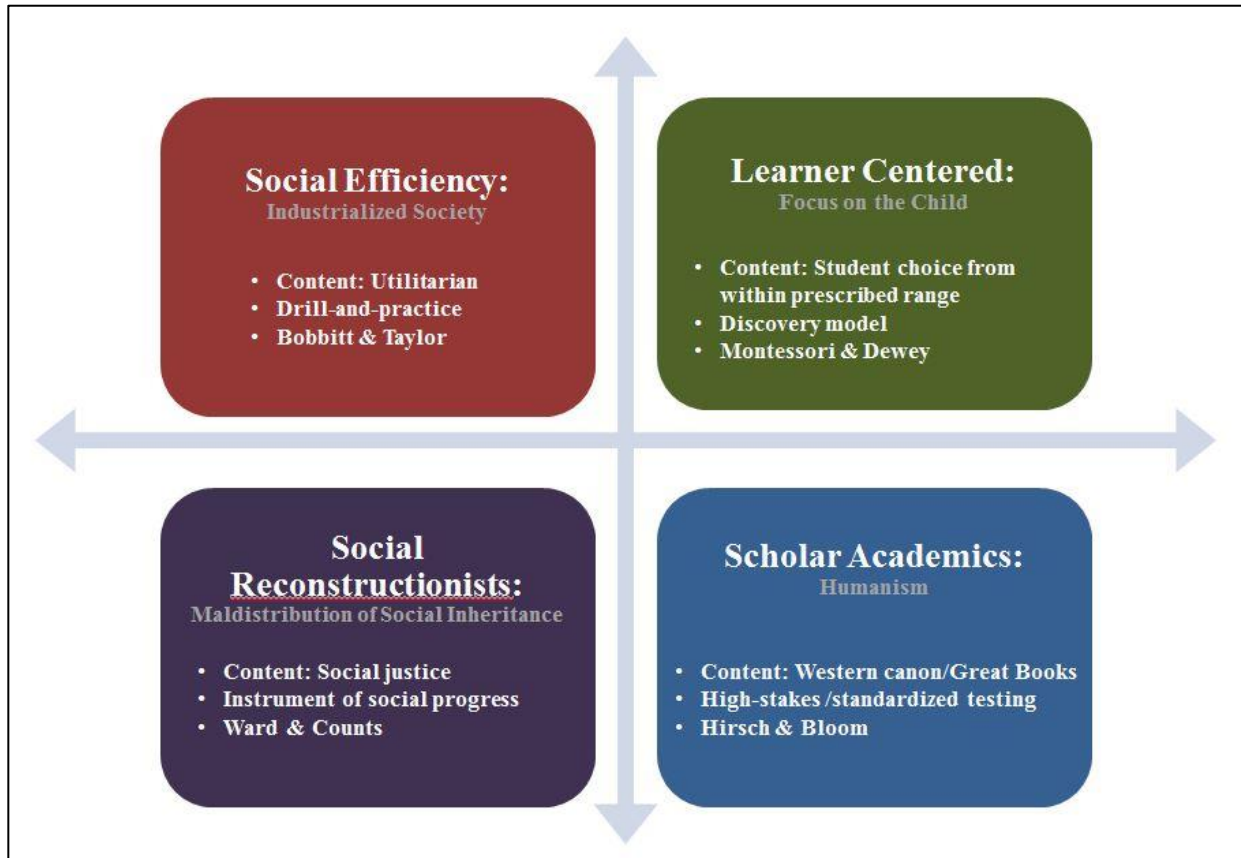
PERL Development Network



Lima, M. (2011). *Visual complexity: Mapping patterns of information*. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

**Appendix M**

21<sup>st</sup> Century Curriculum: Interest Groups Competing for Control



Kliebard, H. M. (1995). *The struggle for the American curriculum, 1893-1958*. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.



## Appendix N

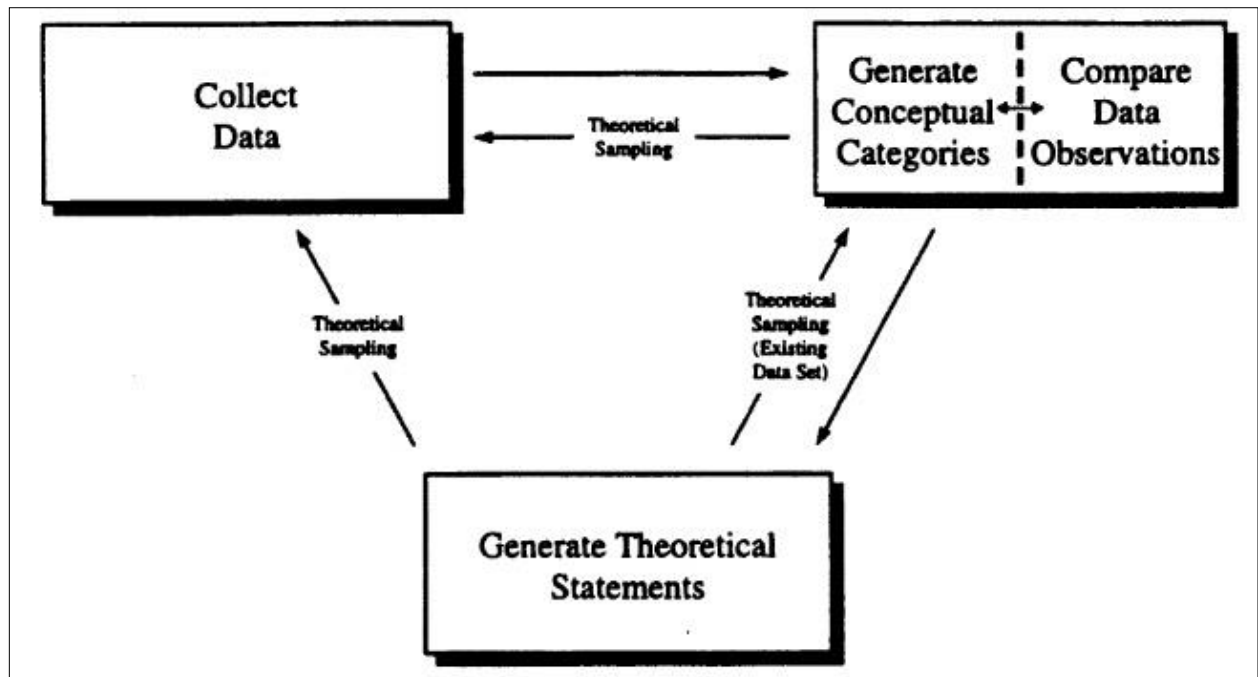
### Taxonomy: Qualitative Codes

<b>Leadership Style (Bolman &amp; Deal, 2013)</b>	
Structural	L-ST
Human Resources	L-HR
Political	L-POL
Symbolic	L-SYM
<b>Curricular Preference (Kliebard, 1995)</b>	
Social Efficiency	C-SE
Learner Centered	C-LC
Social Reconstructionist	C-SR
Scholar Academic	C-SA

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Appendix O

Grounded Theory's Recursive Analytic Operations



Locke, K. (1996). Rewriting *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* after 25 years? *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 5(3), 239-245.

**Appendix P**

Enlightenment Philosophers and Democratic Government

	<b>Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)</b>	<b>John Locke (1632-1704)</b>	<b>Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755)</b>	<b>Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)</b>
Text	<i>Leviathan</i> (1651)	<i>Second Treatise on Civil Government</i> (1690)	<i>The Spirit of the Laws</i> (1748)	<i>The Social Contract</i> (1762)
State of Nature	All individuals naturally equal. No laws and no one to enforce them. All do what is necessary to survive, hence fear and danger. Need for absolute power of the king to impose peace.	Inalienable natural rights of life, liberty, and property exist.	Individuals so fearful they avoid violence and war. The need for food caused the timid to associate and live in society.	All are free, equal, peaceful, and happy. When people began to claim ownership of property, inequality, murder, and war resulted.
Social Contract	From English contract law: implied agreement. Lay down natural rights to sovereign.	Natural rights of individuals limit the power of the sovereign.	State of war between individuals and nations led to human laws and government.	Social contract is fraud against the people committed by the rich.

Constitutional Rights Foundation. (2004, Spring). Bill of Rights in action. *Constitutional Rights Foundation*, 20(2).

## Appendix Q

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED BY COUNTRY OR REGION OF BIRTH, FISCAL YEARS  
ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 1977 AND 30 JUNE 1965

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER		PERCENT CHANGE
	1977	1965	
All countries .....	462,315	296,697	+55.8
Europe .....	70,010	113,424	-38.3
Austria .....	400	1680	-76.2
Belgium .....	377	1005	-62.5
Czechoslovakia .....	575	1894	-69.6
Denmark .....	433	1384	-68.7
France .....	1618	4039	-59.9
Germany .....	6372	24,045	-73.5
Greece .....	7838	3002	+161.9
Hungary .....	853	1574	-45.8
Ireland .....	1238	5463	-77.3
Italy .....	7510	10,821	-30.6
Netherlands .....	1014	3085	-67.1
Norway .....	334	2256	-85.2
Poland .....	4010	8465	-52.6
Portugal .....	9657	2005	+381.6
Romania .....	2015	1644	+22.6
Spain .....	2487	2200	+13.0
Sweden .....	571	2411	-76.3
Switzerland .....	610	1984	-69.3
U.S.S.R. ....	5742	1853	+209.9
United Kingdom .....	12,477	27,358	-119.3
Yugoslavia .....	2791	2818	-.96
Other Europe .....	1088	2438	-55.4
Asia .....	157,759	20,683	+662.7
China and Taiwan .....	19,764	4057	+387.2
Hong Kong .....	5632	712	+691.0
India .....	18,613	582	+3098.1
Iran .....	4261	804	+430.0
Japan .....	4178	3180	+31.4
Korea .....	30,917	2165	+1328.0
Pakistan .....	3183	187	+1602.1
Philippines .....	39,111	3130	+1149.6
Thailand .....	3945	214	+1743.5
Vietnam .....	4629	226	+1948.2
Other Asia .....	23,526	5426	+333.6
North America .....	187,345	126,729	+47.8
Canada .....	12,688	38,327	-66.9
Mexico .....	44,079	37,969	+16.1
West Indies .....	114,011	37,583	+203.4
Cuba .....	69,708	19,760	+252.8
Dominican Republic .....	11,655	9504	+22.6
Haiti .....	5441	3609	+50.8
Jamaica .....	11,501	1837	+526.1
Trinidad and Tobago .....	6106	485	+1159.0
Other West Indies .....	9600	2388	+302.0
Other North America .....	16,567	12,850	+28.9
South America .....	32,954	30,962	+6.4

Reimers, D. M. (1981). Post-World War II immigration to the United States: America's latest newcomers. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 454, 1-12.