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Kresge College (U.C. Santa Cruz) in the late 1980's: An ethnographic portrait

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The University of Arizona, 1993
KRESGE COLLEGE
(U.C. SANTA CRUZ)
IN THE LATE 1980's :
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

by
Henry Witman Wolgemuth

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION
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1993
As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Henry W. Wolgemuth entitled KRESGE COLLEGE (U.C. SANTA CRUZ) IN THE LATE 1980's: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

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ABSTRACT -

Kresge College is located on the innovative and interdisciplinary campus of the University of California at Santa Cruz. Kresge was begun in the early 1970's as an experiment in undergraduate education that was deeply influenced by humanistic psychology and encounter and sensitivity training groups. During the late 1970's, U. C. Santa Cruz was transformed into a mainstream liberal arts university, in which disciplinary boards of study became predominant. At the same time, Kresge College was redefined as a humanities oriented liberal arts college focused upon the modernist and post-modernist perspectives. This ethnographic study suggests that, in the late 1980's, students and faculty at Kresge College still maintained some remnants of the original founding ethos. The elements which have persisted include: a personal classroom interaction atmosphere open to intimacy between teachers and students; the use of a consensus decision making process by student organizations; an array of educational values focused upon the realization of human possibilities; and the display of awareness of the power of personal and social transformation, in the celebration of public ritual occasions.
I The Situation, Its Background and Its Significance

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the cultural life of the United States of America has become an intricate and complex tapestry of diverse origins and threads. In fact, its basic patterns and overall dimensions are very difficult to perceive and portray (Morris, 1984). One strand of this intricate and complex social and cultural tapestry is the tradition of humanistic psychology (Back, 1973). With origins in European existential philosophy and phenomenological psychology, humanistic psychology in the U. S. developed as a "third force," in response to psychoanalysis and behaviorism (Spiegelberg, 1972; Misiak, 1973). The work of Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers and Rollo May led the mainstream of humanistic psychology, and the encounter group and sensitivity training movements formed its practical realization (Maslow, 1968; May, 1958; Rogers, 1961; Solomon, 1972). One of the major dimensions of North American cultural life which the tradition of humanistic psychology strongly influenced was that of education (Read, 1975). Its affect on primary and secondary education was
best seen in the growth of the free school movement of the 1960's and 1970's (Kozol, 1972). The problem that captivates my interest lies in the influence of humanistic psychology on higher education in the United States of America.

The late 1960's and early 1970's were a period of exploration and experimentation for undergraduate education in the United States. There were many unacceptable consequences for undergraduate education that arose from the growth of mega-campuses dominated by a graduate school oriented research ideal. In the face of this reality on campuses such as those at Berkeley and Los Angeles, the University of California attempted to create an alternative undergraduate educational environment at Santa Cruz. With a structure organized into small colleges, and a curricular emphasis upon innovative interdisciplinary investigation, the University of California at Santa Cruz came into life in the late 1960's. One of the colleges thus begun, Kresge College, was deeply touched by the tradition of humanistic psychology and its attendant encounter group and sensitivity training movements. The problems that I have studied are how this tradition was translated into new forms of undergraduate education at Kresge College, the ways in which this new experiment grew and changed in the 1970's, and what present forms of educational and cultural life still reflect the original founding ethos of the humanistic psychology tradition (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpts. 2 & 6).
The first two elements of this problem have been explored in Gerald Grant and David Riesman's ethnographic portraits of the University of California at Santa Cruz and of Kresge College. During a period of about seven years, Grant and Riesman studied internal documents, interviewed students, faculty and administrators, observed a wide range of situations in the life of the college, and corresponded with key leaders of the community. From this data, they painted a portrait of the founding of Kresge College, its early struggles, and the way it changed during its first decade of life (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 1).

Grant and Riesman portrayed the founding of a radically new undergraduate educational experiment. In their portrait, the early days of Kresge College were reflected as creating an ethos drawn from the tradition of humanistic psychology. This ethos created learning situations in which the personal relationships of students and teachers were more important than the rules to be followed in their respective roles in the learning and teaching process. This ethos also created decision making situations across the college in which the consensus of all involved persons was sought, rather than following majority rule or hierarchical enforcement patterns. In congruence with the practice of encounter groups and sensitivity training, the values of trust, growth and openness were established as much more important at Kresge College than the values of achievement, recognition and success. Within the ritual life of the new educational community at Kresge College, the symbolic
celebration of the process of personal and social transformation came to the fore, rather than the expression of rituals of socialization and legitimation (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 4, pt. 1-5).

After describing this founding ethos, Grant and Riesman sensitively portrayed the conflicts, struggles and changes through which Kresge College grew and developed in its first decade. Indeed, all of the elements of its founding ethos underwent at least adjustment and sometimes radical change. Rules for learning and teaching situations were standardized. Consensus decision making at the administrative level was abandoned. The traditional values of achievement and recognition, as part of the path to success in graduate school, grew in influence among faculty and students. Ritual occasions such as graduations were normalized to allow them to become more palatable to the college's larger constituency. By the late 1970's, Grant and Riesman spoke of the retreat, to a "corner of the college," of the original founding humanistic psychology ethos at Kresge College. In that corner, the experiment in new forms of undergraduate education continued in an abbreviated fashion (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 4, pt. 6-8).

In the late 1980's, did Kresge College still reflect the original founding ethos of the humanistic psychology tradition? Were some learning-teaching environments still primarily relationship oriented? In what decision making contexts, and at what levels, was consensus still followed? To what extent had the values of the research oriented traditional disciplines, which emphasize achievement,
recognition and success, limited or replaced the values of the humanistic psychology tradition, which emphasize trust, openness and growth? Were the primary public rituals of Kresge College expressed and understood by its community members as rites of passage in the processes of socialization and legitimation, or were they in any ways still celebrations of the power of personal and social transformation? And finally, what key elements of the structural and curricular changes that have occurred in Kresge College and in its relation to U. C. Santa Cruz could be seen to have supported or eroded the original founding ethos of humanistic psychology?

The fundamental significance of my ethnographic investigation of Kresge College, approximately two decades after its founding, lay in an attempt to answer these questions of what has become of the innovative forms of undergraduate education brought into existence through the ethos of humanistic psychology. Had any of the original experimental ideals or practices been maintained? Which aspects of the early Kresge ethos had been abandoned? What processes of transformation had brought Kresge College to its present state? Thus, my study explored the persistence of reform and innovation in higher education in the United States in the latter half of the twentieth century (Gamson, 1984; Levine, 1980; Riesman, 1980).
II A Theoretical Framework for the Study of Change

Grant and Riesman began their study of reform in higher education, of which Kresge College was one of several cases, by admitting their inductive approach to social science. They confessed that they did not construct a sociological or educational theory. Rather, they said they were following Dewey's understanding of the nature of theory. This involved the ascertainment of the conflicts that exist in any social situation, and then, in order to understand and resolve these conflicts, the preparation of a perspective that is deeper and more inclusive than any of the conflicting perspectives. Thus, they have arranged their cases of reform in a typology that is intended to show more deeply and inclusively the nature of the conflicts which gave birth to the reforms (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 2).

Their typology describes the mainstream or unreformed higher education situation as dominated by the "multi-versity," oriented toward graduate school research ideals, and understandable through the following categories: 1/ student's primary motivation -- certification, employability and licensure, 2/institutionally valued ends -- knowledge, expertise and community service, 3/social model being followed -- bureaucratic at low end of prestige ladder, stratified collegial at top of prestige ladder, 4/ norms and core values -- cognitive rationality, meritocracy, 5/ process and style of education -- scientific method, 6/ historical roots -- German university built on
English collegiate model, authority grounding -- judgment of expert peers (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 6 & Appendix 1).

In contrast to the multi-versity, all of the major reform movements that Grant and Riesman studied were seen as "telic" in nature. They all purposefully challenged the ruling educational ideal embodied in the multi-versity. Kresge College illustrated a telic reform that Grant and Riesman label "communal-expressive." At its formation, Kresge College conflicted with the research oriented multi-versity ideal in the following ways: 1/ student's primary motivation -- acceptance, expression of feelings and group support, 2/ institutionally valued end -- social harmony, 3/ social model being followed -- tribal family, 4/ norms and core values -- affective loving support, egalitarian-humanism, 5/ process and style of education -- encounter and T-group ritual, interpersonal feedback, 6/ historical roots -- explorations of the National Training Laboratory, experiments of utopian communities, 7/ authority grounding -- charisma of a prophet or guru (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 4 & Appendix 1). By employing these typologies, Grant and Riesman revealed the fundamental points of conflict between mainstream higher education institutions and the telic reform movements.

Grant and Riesman's characterization of the educational mainstream, and of the conflicting telic reforms that developed in response to the mainstream, revealed a dialectic notion of the process of social evolution, drawn directly from Dewey and indirectly from Hegel through his influence on Dewey. I intended to envision a
wider and broader context for understanding the process of the evolution of social systems by employing general systems theory. This theory suggests that a dialectical logic of change and growth needs to be expanded and deepened. To accomplish this, I needed to understand the environment in which the growth occurs, the networks of communication which support the growth, and the self-directed creation and evolution of the social system. This perspective sees the dialectical process of change and growth as only one aspect of the total process of the evolution of a living system (Boulding, 1970).

The theoretical framework of general systems theory, although foreshadowed in twentieth century organic, existential and process philosophies, originated primarily in the natural sciences. It first arose from the physical sciences, was then developed through biological metaphors, and finally came to fruition in the psychological study of cognition. This theory focuses upon three basic elements in attempting to investigate any living system:

1/ the importance of understanding the environment in which the system exists, changes and grows; 2/ the significance of the interlinking network of the communication of information among the subparts of any living system; 3/ the radical self-creative individuality and uniqueness of each living system which is at the heart of its self-identity and self-expression (Bertalanffy, 1968; Miller, 1978; Maturana and Varela, 1980).
The work of Kenneth Boulding brought general systems theory concepts into the context of social theory. Boulding's perspective suggests that the metaphors of organic development and evolution drawn from the biological sciences are most appropriate for understanding social change. He develops a theory of societal evolution which sees the long-term development of social systems as organized and directed by ecological and evolutionary processes. For Boulding, the primary dimensions of the development of human social existence appear in the form of three basic systems. First of all, the "threat system" in a human society most clearly reflects the operation of a conflict/dialectical process. It involves the dynamics of a challenge being issued by one party, the reacting of another party, and the consequent creating of a new compromise relation between the two parties. In this arena, the political realities of the interaction of social systems in relation to their external environment are enacted. Second is the "exchange system," understandable through the metaphor of ecological interaction and equilibrium in a social system. The exchange system involves the dynamics of the giving of an invitation to exchange material, energy or ideas by one party. Then there is a response to this invitation by another party, followed by the creation of a new balance of communication among the two parties. This dimension of social change provides the context for economic growth and development. Finally, the "integrative system" follows the metaphor of evolutionary growth. It involves the dynamics of the offering of a gift by one party, the receiving of
the gift by another party, and the consequent creating of a new shared identity by the two parties. This process allows the self-creation of a unique culture in terms of its symbols, values and knowledge (Boulding, 1978, 1985).

The theoretical expectations of general systems theory, as adapted to the study of social systems by Boulding, led me in the following directions. First of all, I examined the relationship of Kresge College to U. C. Santa Cruz as a whole, both at its founding and at present, in order to discover what patterns of conflict, negotiation and synthesis have brought Kresge College to its present place within the environment of the university community. Secondly, I studied the structure and communication patterns of the major disciplines taught at Kresge College, both as they unfolded in the 1970's, and as they existed in the late 1980's, in order to see how the ecology of intellectual discourse at Kresge College had changed. Finally, I investigated the unique ethos of Kresge College in order to understand its cultural values, norms and ideals, at its founding under the influence of humanistic psychology, as well as in the late 1980's.

When U. C. Santa Cruz was first begun in the late 1960's, its internal structure was so created as to provide for the relatively autonomous existence of several colleges, each of which would choose an interdisciplinary curricular focus and a unique style of education. At the same time the university as a whole was structured through the creation of the office of chancellor, the major academic divisions,
and the "boards of study" that would represent the traditional disciplines. This university organization formed the administrative environment in which the individual colleges negotiated political power.

Very soon after the founding of most of the individual colleges in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the boards of study began to play a role of great significance in the life of the university. In most of the colleges, the boards of study eventually gave birth to a departmental structure which the original interdisciplinary vision had not anticipated. Thus, the disciplines began to determine both the curriculum and the style of education in the various colleges.

Each individual college at its founding created for itself, usually through the vision of the founding provost and faculty, a unique ethos that expressed the values, norms and goals of the college as a living-learning human community. Kresge College was deeply influenced by the ethos of humanistic psychology and of the encounter group and sensitivity training movements (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpts. 4 & 8).
III Basic Research Questions

In order to gather the materials necessary to paint a portrait of Kresge College in the late 1980's, I focused upon the following research questions:

1 / What is the institutional structure of Kresge College in relation to U. C. Santa Cruz, and how does this compare with the structure and inter-relations upon which it was founded? Have there been major institutional developments, since Grant and Riesman's portrait in the late 1970's, that have significantly altered the environment in which Kresge College exists? (Chapter two addresses these questions.)

2 / What were the patterns of the ecology of exchange of intellectual influence and communication, within the disciplinary boards of study, at the beginnings of Kresge College? What are they now? Is Grant and Riesman's portrayal of the burgeoning influence of the boards of study upon the curriculum and style of education in the college still accurate? (Chapter three addresses these questions.)

3 / What are the basic elements of the present ethos of Kresge College, i.e. its interaction patterns, decision making styles, educational values, and public rituals? How has this evolved from its founding ethos, as portrayed by Grant and Riesman?

a / In classroom interaction between students and teachers, are personal relationships seen to be just as important in the learning-teaching process as the rules which govern the roles
enacted by students and teachers? (Chapter four addresses this question.)

b / Are there any contexts within the college where decision making processes follow the practice of consensus, rather than another form of choice, such as majority rule or hierarchical enforcement? (Chapter five addresses this question.)

c / Are the educational values expressed by faculty, administrators and students at Kresge College primarily informed by humanistic psychology's commitment to trust, openness and growth as the path to personal self-realization, or primarily oriented to and dominated by the graduate school research ideal affirming achievement and recognition as the path to academic and career success? (Chapter six addresses this question.)

d / In public ritual ceremonies at Kresge College, is the power of personal and social transformation celebrated at the center of the occasion, or are the ritual ceremonies understood and enacted by the members of the Kresge College community as rites of passage in the processes of the socialization of students and the legitimation of traditional cultural ideals? (Chapter seven addresses this question.)
IV  A Design for Ethnographic Investigation

A/  Theoretical Foundation -
the symbolic-expressive analysis of culture

I have drawn upon several major anthropological traditions that have attempted to understand social and cultural change. At the macro-level, the early traditions in anthropological theory measured cultural change by contrasting the social structure of a given culture at differing times. They also studied the ways in which influence and communication patterns among the primary groups of the culture had changed. These early traditions contributed to my research by allowing me to see the present institutional structure of Kresge College in relation to its structure in the 1970's. They also allowed me to study the group communication networks of the individual disciplines predominant at Kresge College, in relation to their patterns in the 1970's (Evans-Pritchard, 1981). Later traditions in anthropological theory, often called symbolic-expressive perspectives, looked toward comprehending cultural change through observing the micro-level patterns within a culture. These patterns included the interaction among various members of the culture, the language use styles of various groups and individuals, the primary symbols expressing basic values at various levels of the culture, and the public rituals which legitimate and transform the experience and way of life of the culture. In order to put the flesh and blood on the bones of Kresge
College's institutional structure, and on the connecting joints of its disciplinary networks, I employed these later traditions in anthropological ethnographic investigation (Clifford, 1988).

In the anthropological study of education, the symbolic-expressive perspective has focused upon the interaction patterns of students and teachers in classrooms, in order to see if supposed changes in curriculum and teaching style have really resulted in significant changes in classroom interaction patterns (Cazden, 1972). In addition, these symbolic-expressive approaches to the study of change in schools and universities have studied styles of language usage as a way of seeing the culturally learned communicative codes being followed by various members of an educational community. Significant change in schools and universities has been seen to be accompanied by change in these styles of language usage (Bernstein, 1971-77). These traditions in ethnography have also looked for the symbols expressed by members of an educational community as keys to the underlying values being followed, with the assumption that significant cultural change would be reflected in changes in the values enacted within the community (Henry, 1963; Kimball, 1974). Finally, these symbolic-expressive traditions, through examination of public ritual behavior in schools and universities, have tried to study significant cultural change (McLaren, 1985).
B/ Methodological Perspective -
a synthesis of traditions in ethnography

I want to sketch the methods of the symbolic-expressive analysis of culture in the context of the traditions out of which they arose, and by doing so to suggest the synthesis of these methods that has been most useful for me in my ethnographic investigations. I see four primary methodological discoveries, arising in four anthropological movements, that in turn are grounded upon four philosophical traditions, as the background for my ethnographic research methods. First of all, I understand the method of analysing patterns of interaction in classrooms to have been strongly influenced by the methodology of "conversation analysis", arising in the ethnomethodology movement, that was founded upon the traditions of German phenomenology and existentialism (Heidegger, 1962; Jaspers, 1971; Binswanger, 1963; Garfinkel, 1967; Wilkinson, 1982). Secondly, the method of analysing styles of language usage, often called communicative codes, seems to me to have grown from the methodology of "discourse inference" and "discourse strategy" analysis, in the movement called sociolinguistics, that was founded upon the traditions of French structuralism and semiotics (Levi-Strauss, 1963; Foucault, 1971; Barthes, 1968; Derrida, 1978; Hymes, 1974; Gumperz, 1982). Thirdly, the method of the value analysis of key symbols arose from the methodology of "ethnographic semantics," employed by the movement called
cognitive anthropology, that was formatively guided by the tradition of language analysis in British philosophy (Wittgenstein, 1958; Tyler, 1969; Goodenough, 1981). And finally, the method of observing public rituals, in order to see the system of transmission or transformation of the self-identity of a community, seems to me to have been influenced primarily by the methodology of "ritual interpretation", arising within the movement called symbolic interactionism, that was founded upon the North American philosophical traditions of pragmatism, experimentalism and instrumentalism (Peirce, 1940; James, 1907; Dewey, 1927; Blumer, 1969; McLaren, 1985).
V  Operationalizing the Basic Questions

1 / In order to answer my first question, I followed the theory of dialectical synthesis, grounded by Boulding in the image of the workings of the threat system, in which the challenge of one party triggers the reaction of another party and results in a new compromise relation between the two parties. I wished to understand the institutional structure of Kresge College, in relation to U. C. Santa Cruz, and how its structure and relation changed from the past. First, I analysed internal documents selected for the light they shed on the interaction of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz. Then I interviewed administrators chosen for their roles in overseeing this process of interaction, attempting to discover the nature of the process, both at present and in the past, and the environment in which this interactive process unfolds. (See Chapter two.)

2 / In order to answer my second question, I followed the theory of ecological equilibrium, grounded by Boulding in the image of the workings of the exchange system, in which the invitation of one party engenders the response of another party and results in a new balance of communication between the two parties. I wished to understand the patterns of the equilibrium of intellectual influence and communication within the disciplinary boards of study at Kresge College. First, I analysed internal documents intended for public expression of the program and goals of these boards of study. Then, I interviewed the chairpersons of these boards of study, attempting
to determine the ways in which curriculum and styles of education were adopted, and how this has changed from the past. (See Chapter three.)

3 / In order to answer my third question, I followed the theory of the evolution of social systems, grounded by Boulding in the image of the workings of the integrative system, in which a gift from one party is received by another party and results in the creation of a new shared identity of the two parties. I wished to understand and portray the basic elements of community identity within the ethos of Kresge College. These included interaction patterns, decision making styles, educational values, and public rituals:

a / I observed the interaction of students and teachers in the Kresge College core course, and in several advanced level courses, trying to understand the "conversational turn-taking" patterns exhibited. More specifically, I focused upon whether these patterns revealed a sense of the importance of personal relationships between students and teachers, or revealed adherence to rules which firmly separate the roles of student and teacher. The investigation of these patterns was supplemented by an analysis of the classroom attitudinal environment, undertaken through using Grant and Riesman's categorical dichotomies: "affective support, egalitarian humanism, and charisma" vs "cognitive rationality, meritocracy, and expert judgment." (See Chapter four.)
b / I observed decision making meetings of students in the major student organizations at Kresge College, and analysed styles of language usage, including patterns of "discourse inference" and "discourse strategy." More specifically, I attempted to see if there were any remainders of the practice of choice by consensus, that follows Grant and Riesman's model of the "tribal family." I contrasted this style with decisions made by majority vote, that follow Grant and Riesman's "stratified collegial model," and with decisions enacted through hierarchical enforcement, that follow Grant and Riesman's "bureaucratic model." (See Chapter five.)

c / I interviewed primary faculty, policy making administrators, and key students, selected to represent various aspects of Kresge College, and asked them questions to reveal their educational values. I then undertook a "symbolic-value" analysis of their responses. My goal was to understand the underlying ideal that guides their work and participation in this educational community, in terms of a tendency toward a commitment to trust, openness and growth as the way to personal self-realization, or a tendency toward a fundamental commitment to achievement and recognition as the path to academic and career success. Then I cast this analysis on a continuum between two of Grant and Riesman's ideal types. On the one end of the continuum was the early Kresge communal-expressive experiment, focused upon "social harmony." On the other end was the ideal type of the multi-versity, focused upon "research production." (See Chapter six.)
I observed a wide range of public gatherings in the ritual life of the Kresge College community, analyzing each occasion through the process of "ritual text interpretation." More specifically, I asked whether the purpose of the ritual, as well as the sentiments and ideas expressed in the ceremony, were being understood as an opportunity to celebrate the power of personal and social transformation, in accord with Grant and Riesman's picture of the ritual dynamics of "encounter and sensitivity training groups." Alternatively, I asked whether the ritual occasion was seen primarily by the community as a rite of passage in socializing the students, and in legitimating the existence of Kresge College, in accord with Grant and Riesman's picture of the ritual dynamics of the "scientific university." (See Chapter seven.)
VI Data Collection and Analysis

Question 1/

I located internal documents that revealed the process of interaction between Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz, especially in terms of their respective institutional structures, during the period from 1978 to the present. Each document was analysed by asking: Does Kresge College or U. C. Santa Cruz have primary authority/power in the situation described? How is conflict and negotiation handled? Is the outcome of the situation more autonomy for Kresge College or more control for U. C. Santa Cruz? Did the institutional structure of Kresge College or of U. C. Santa Cruz change? I chose administrators to interview by the consideration of their roles, direct or indirect, in overseeing the process of interaction of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz. Their response to an open ended question about the nature of this interaction process was analysed in terms of their view of the conflict and negotiation dynamics involved, and the compromises reached.

Question 2/

I selected documents which defined the goals of, outlined the programs for, and attempted self-reflection upon, the boards of study. These were then analysed to see if there were any repeated overall patterns of intellectual influence and communication which revealed the intellectual ecology of the board, and which consequently affected decisions about curriculum and styles of education. The chairpersons of the boards were interviewed in an
open ended way by inquiring into their personal view of the intellectual ecology of their board and their understanding of how curriculum and teaching styles were determined.

Question 3/ part a/

Classroom observation focused on the interaction between students and teachers in terms of basic categories employed in conversational analysis. These included the number of conversational turns taken, the patterns within the conversational turn-taking, and the interactional attitude of the classroom.

For the category of the number of conversational turns taken, the ratio of student turns taken to teacher turns taken was calculated and averaged for each class observed. It was then interpreted as follows: 1/ ratio of 2.0 : 1.0 = students take twice as many turns as teacher (therefore student-teacher and student-student interaction occurs often); 2/ ratio of 1.0 : 1.0 = students and teacher take equal turns (therefore there is much student-teacher interaction but little student-student interaction); 3/ ratio of 0.1 : 1.0 = teacher takes almost all turns (therefore there is little student-teacher interaction and no student-student interaction).

For the category of the patterns within the conversational turn-taking, three contrasting elements were analysed. The first involved a contrast between "loose" (silence occurred between turns) or "tight" (no silence between turns). The second involved a contrast between "unstructured" (little or no formal ritual required to obtain turn) or "structured" (formal ritual required to request and obtain
turn). The third involved a contrast between "slow" (much time between successive turns=long turns) or "fast" (not much time between successive turns=short turns).

For the category of the interactional attitude of the classroom, a continuum based on Grant and Riesman's analysis was employed. This continuum included at one end the foci of: "personal, supportive, humanistic, and charismatic." At the other end were the foci: "rule oriented, rational appeal, merit behavior, and expert judgment."

part b/

Observation of decision making meetings of student organizations focused on the basic discourse analysis procedure of understanding the style of language usage employed. This style was analysed in terms of two elements, discourse strategy and discourse inference patterns.

Discourse strategy rules the interaction dynamics of a decision making process. Discourse strategy was interpreted in three styles. The speaker was either responding directly to other members, or negotiating with selected members, or controlling all members.

Discourse inference patterns reveal the ways in which individual speakers become involved in interactions. Discourse inference patterns were interpreted by three contrasting structures of involvement. Speakers' responses were either "open" (no restriction on possible replies) or "closed" (narrow range of possible replies). Speakers' style was either "unstructured" (lack of formal
ritual) or "structured" (formal rituals to be followed). Speakers' involvement level was either "participatory" (fully engaged response) or "non-participatory" (minimal response).

The overall decision making style of each organization was interpreted as functioning through consensus (tribal family model), or majority rule (collegial model), or hierarchical enforcement (bureaucratic model).

part c/

Faculty interviewees included all full-time faculty affiliated with Kresge College and teaching classes during fall 1989 (a total of 9 faculty). Administrative interviewees included one core policy making administrator at each of three functional levels- college, division, university (a total of 3 administrators). Student interviewees were selected because of their involvement in Kresge affairs. In order to approach a representative sample, a statistical profile of Kresge students was correlated with actual students chosen (a total of 6 students).

Interviews were structured to begin with basic information about the interviewees' relation to Kresge College, and to ask for historical observations and personal interpretations of the community. Then I presented Grant and Riesman's dichotomy between the multi-versity and the Kresge communal-expressive experiment, as a spring board for elicitation of the interviewee's educational values. Responses were analysed for key words
expressing educational values, and then cast on a continuum between Grant and Riesman's ideal typologies.

part d/

Public ritual occasions were observed as social texts. Each social text was seen as including a surface layer (including the stated purpose, the sentiments expressed, and the ideas communicated), and a hidden layer (including the ritual behavior being enacted and the social function being accomplished). The differentiation between surface and hidden layers was primarily based upon the contrast between verbal expression and non-verbal behavior. These surface and hidden layers of the social texts were analysed as revealing either a tendency toward expressing and enacting a celebration of the power of personal and social transformation, or a tendency toward expressing and enacting a rite of passage in the process of socializing students and legitimating the existence of the community.
VII Practical Implementation

I studied Kresge College at U. C. Santa Cruz through participant observation during the fall quarter of 1989. The documents answering question one were found through library research. Interviews with the provost of Kresge College, the former dean of humanities, and the associate chancellor, as well as one founder of Kresge College and the chair of the history of consciousness board, enriched the final portrait of U. C. Santa Cruz as an environment for Kresge College. The answering of question two was facilitated through observation of the "board orientations" offered to new students at the beginning of the quarter, and in board chairperson interviews. During these interviews a number of relevant internal documents were collected as well. The classroom observation portion of question three included the participant observing of a variety of courses. These included the Kresge College core course (six sections with 20+ students each), the women's studies beginning level course (500+ students), the only course taught by a philosophy professor affiliated with Kresge in the fall 1989 (75+ students), an advanced level course cross-listed in literature and women's studies (45+ students), and an advanced level seminar course in literature (20+ students). The arena in which I found consensus decision making still operating was the Kresge College student organizations of student parliament, the student newspaper, and the student drama/humor group. Each of these I observed in their organizing
phase at the beginning of the quarter. I was not able to observe the Kresge College food co-op, which was rumored to follow a consensus decision making process. Although several faculty affiliated with Kresge College were on leave, I was nevertheless able to interview, and in some cases observe, nine full-time teachers. Also, one administrator from each of the three primary levels (college, division, university) was interviewed, as well as a representative selection of six Kresge College student leaders. The public ritual occasions observed included the parent’s orientation, the college orientation (for new Kresge students), the academic overview, and the university-wide new student convocation, all at the beginning of the fall quarter. Sometime later I observed the quarterly Town Hall event and several lecture series sponsored at Kresge College. There was no graduation ceremony at the end of the fall quarter, and the annual "Kresge Day" in spring was beyond my time of observation.
CHAPTER TWO
UNIVERSITY IN A NATIONAL FOREST --- HOW THE WOODS HAVE CHANGED

I Looking Into the Woods

What was the institutional structure of Kresge College in relation to U. C. Santa Cruz in the late 1980's, and how had this changed since its founding? Employing Grant and Riesman's portrait of the founding and early years of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz as a base line, I compared their analysis with the situation in 1989. My investigation followed Boulding's image of the dynamics of the threat system. Boulding suggests that institutional and political changes occur when one party issues a challenge, another party reacts to the challenge, and a new compromise relation between the parties results. Significant institutional changes were thus seen as part of a dialectical, threat-oriented political process of compromise between Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz. Through this process the negotiation of authority and power in the university was conducted (Grant and Riesman, 1978; Boulding, 1978).

At the beginning of my investigation, I located four informants who were, or had been, in key positions at Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz. Upon interviewing these key administrators and long-time faculty, I discovered the central significance of the event now
called the U. C. Santa Cruz "campus reorganization" of 1978-79. At that point in the history of U. C. Santa Cruz, the innovative and experimental traditions from earlier years came into dialectical conflict, as thesis, with the educational and political vision of the new chancellor Robert Sinsheimer, as anti-thesis. The synthesis which resulted formed the institutional milieu for Kresge College which exists up to the present day. In addition, U. C. Santa Cruz, under Sinsheimer's new leadership, challenged Kresge College as a semi-autonomous unit. Kresge College reacted by yielding its power in faculty hiring and curriculum control, thus creating a new compromise relation of more dependence for Kresge College.

My four informants included the following individuals, each with their unique perspective. I found that the historical perspective of Henry Hilgard, one of Kresge College's original founding faculty, suggested a radical alteration had occurred when Chancellor Sinsheimer came to U. C. Santa Cruz. The perspective of Hayden White, who came to U. C. Santa Cruz as chair of the History of Consciousness program in 1978-79, provided insight about the new intellectual directions which were taken in Kresge College. The former dean of the humanities division, Michael Cowan, who had been with U. C. Santa Cruz almost from its beginnings, presented a wealth of details about the political conflicts, interactive negotiation and restructuring compromise which Sinsheimer's new leadership brought into play. The social and political realism of the present Associate Chancellor, Gary Lease, who came to Kresge College in the
mid-1970's, suggested some possible ways of interpreting the basic dialectical forces at work at Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz during the campus reorganization process.

Through these interviews, I was directed to the central events of the process by which Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz were transformed in their structure and inter-relations by Chancellor Sinsheimer. Through research in the U. C. Santa Cruz library, I documented these changes during the campus reorganization. Both Sinsheimer's inaugural address, and a long sketch of his plans in reorganizing U. C. Santa Cruz, were key documents in seeing the prevailing patterns of authority, control, negotiation, and compromise. The U. C. Santa Cruz self-study, prepared for its accreditation review in 1985, provided a secondary source of description of the state and structure of U. C. Santa Cruz before and after the campus reorganization. The report of the Committee on Undergraduate Education brought my understanding of the interaction between the colleges and U. C. Santa Cruz's administration up to 1988 (U.C.Santa Cruz, 1978; Sinsheimer, 1979; U.C.Santa Cruz, 1985; U.C.Santa Cruz, Committee on Undergraduate Education, 1988).

In the following pages, I will first summarize Grant and Riesman's portrait of the early years of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz (in section II). Then I will document the actual changes which occurred during the campus reorganization as recorded in the written records, both through condensing secondary source descriptions and through summarizing primary source material (in section III). My
key informants' perspectives and interpretations of the past and present of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz will then be described (in section IV). Finally, some questions which are now being raised on campus as to the future of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz will be sketched (in section V).
II  Giving Birth to U. C. Santa Cruz

The 1960's and early 1970's were a time of great conflict, idealism and transformation, both in our culture as a whole, and especially on the campuses of higher education institutions. One of the best known educational innovators of the time was Clark Kerr, president of the University of California system. Out of his frustration from repeatedly failed attempts to humanize the Berkeley campus, he channeled his utopian idealism into the creation of a new campus at Santa Cruz. Working intimately with his former roommate, Dean McHenry, he envisioned a university on the cluster college model which would continue to seem small even as it grew large. This ideal was realized from 1965 through 1972, in the creation of eight individual colleges, each with a unique interdisciplinary orientation, a self-defined community identity, and a peculiar architecture expressing its ethos. Cowell College opened in 1965 with an orientation to creative exploration in the humanities. Stevenson College was begun in 1966 to experiment with new ways of envisioning and employing the social sciences. Crown College was created in 1967 to integrate the natural sciences with contemporary values. Merrill College was founded in 1968 to speak to the concerns of the emerging third world. College V (Porter) came into existence in 1969 with a new way of experiencing and interpreting the arts in our society. Kresge College was given birth in 1970 as a radical communal experiment founded upon humanistic psychology and
encounter group traditions. Oakes College appeared in 1971 focusing upon problems and solutions for ethnic minorities in North American culture. College VIII was started in 1972 attempting to delve into problems of environmental planning and the creation of social systems in balance with earth ecology. The early administrators of U. C. Santa Cruz, and the original provosts of the colleges, were men who for the most part confessed to being educational innovators. In some degree, they possessed an idealism and/or charisma which allowed them to feel at home in the midst of a pioneering new experiment in university education. For example, as Page Smith orchestrated the creation of Cowell College, he expressed a philosophy of education holding that playfulness and wonder were essential elements in the learning process. His educational perspective was described in his book about towns in the U. S., AS A CITY UPON A HILL. It envisioned an ideal community which would be nurturing of these child-like dimensions of our humaneness (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 8, pt. 1).

The majority of the early faculty at U. C. Santa Cruz brought a spirit of experimentation to their teaching and research. Bert Kaplan at Cowell College found himself falling in love with the interaction he encountered with his students in his humanities courses. He prized the unpredictable open-endedness of U. C. Santa Cruz, and refocused his creative energy toward teaching rather than research and writing. In the natural sciences, Eugene Switkes attempted to integrate his desire for teaching undergraduates and his interest in
research. He did this by exploring the physical chemistry of organic plant dyes and then co-publishing with his students his discoveries in this area. He began to teach his own specialty, the bio-chemistry of visual perception, to non-science majors, employing a more speculative and less quantitative approach. Frank Barron at College V (Porter) directed his interest in the psychology of creativity into the creation of a major in aesthetics, allowing great freedom for students and teacher to explore the experience of beauty from a wide range of perspectives in human consciousness. In the same way, the early students entering U. C. Santa Cruz were for the most part deeply in tune with the transformations occurring in our culture. They tended to have goals for their education focusing on personal development, humanistic social change, cultural awareness and educational innovation. The extraordinary openness and intimacy in classroom interaction between students and teachers at U. C. Santa Cruz were enthusiastically embraced by early students. These students considered faculty as friends just as much as they considered their fellow students as friends. The actual areas in which early students at U. C. Santa Cruz grew the most, as reported by early alumni, reveal the experimental and non-traditional nature of their undergraduate experience. These include the development of a world view and philosophy of life, the broadening of their literary appreciation, and the discovery of new interests in new fields of learning (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 8, pt. 2).
From the perspective of the organizational structure of U. C. Santa Cruz, three primary innovations were attempted. First, there was the founding of separate colleges clustered together on the same campus, which nurtured individual uniqueness. Second, a system of shared governance of the university was inaugurated on the part of the colleges, the divisions/boards of study, and the central administration. This system opened a dialectical political tension felt by many to be at the heart of the early creativity of administrators, faculty and students. And third, there was adopted a pass/fail system of narrative evaluations that allowed for much richer and qualitatively oriented evaluations between faculty and students (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 8, pt.3).
III A Stormy Adolescence for the City On a Hill

Even as the last stages of the birth of U. C. Santa Cruz were occurring in the early 1970's, the first changes in the wind blowing over North American higher education were felt. The period of great abundance of students and of resources came abruptly to an end in the mid-1970's. The World War II baby boom generation had already passed through college, and public funding for higher education began to suffer. U. C. Santa Cruz was faced with declining enrollments and with cut backs in faculty and in resource expansion funds. The U. C. Santa Cruz administration consequently canceled many original plans for further curricular and graduate school development. In addition, governing tensions between the colleges and the boards of study were exacerbated by unstable university leadership in the mid-1970's. Finally, the original euphoria of creating a new and ideal educational experiment at Santa Cruz reached a burn-out stage at about this same time. In such an atmosphere, the early idealism of most of U. C. Santa Cruz's educational leaders underwent some modification. Some early faculty and administrators concluded that the Santa Cruz dream had failed, and they simply left the campus for positions elsewhere. The new faculty and administrators hired to replace them were neither familiar with, nor committed to the early Santa Cruz dream, and a tension of ideals thus began on campus. This conflict of values and goals began to take on serious proportions in the operation of the
shared governance system among colleges, divisions/boards of study and central administration. The responsibilities, demands, and criteria for advancement became confused. Consequently the faculty began to divide their loyalties on basic issues of educational policy and procedure. The original curricular plans for U.C. Santa Cruz had envisioned growth to the size of Berkeley or U.C.L.A. These plans, and the consequent development of graduate programs, had to be curtailed in many aspects. In fact, the administration found itself quite over-extended in the programs already being offered. The school was seen as out-of-balance, toward the level of undergraduate instruction. This sense of incompleteness and inadequacy was made worse by a significant change in leadership on campus in the mid-1970's at all levels, prompted primarily from changes in the University of California system as a whole. The presiding chancellor came into conflict with the new U.C. system approach and was forced to resign. In addition, the power of discipline oriented faculty caucuses, replacing more inter-disciplinary faculty groups, began to dominate promotion and hiring decisions. Among the faculty, the early idealism shifted to a mood in the mid-1970's of frustration and dismay at the truncated reality of what U.C. Santa Cruz had become (U.C. Santa Cruz, 1985, Introduction, pt. 2).

In 1978, the new Chancellor, Robert Sinsheimer sailed into a maelstrom of tension, conflict and confusion on the U.C. Santa Cruz campus. The theme and tone of Sinsheimer's inaugural symposium sounded the notes of a new music, expressing the direction which U.
C. Santa Cruz was to take for the next stage in its growth. "Liberal Education for the 21st Century" was the title of Sinsheimer's inaugural address. He clearly focused the leading ideals of his philosophy of education toward the integration of the natural sciences and the humanities and social sciences, within the context of the moderating and awareness producing atmosphere of the liberal arts college. The shift in the wind at U. C. Santa Cruz seemed at first only a moderate change. From an experimental and innovative living-learning university founded by utopian idealists, Sinsheimer transformed U.C. Santa Cruz to a liberal and progressive university following the model of the traditional liberal arts college. But the modifications in internal structure and in governance and policy, as well as the transformations of the self-defined identities of the individual colleges, were profound (U. C. Santa Cruz, 1978).

By the end of Sinsheimer's first year as Chancellor, all of the major changes which later came to be called the "campus reorganization" had been effected. The first sweeping administrative changes struck at the heart of the utopian experiment of the early Santa Cruz. The dialectical tension in governing power between the colleges and the divisions/boards of study rested upon the fact that each had partial power to hire and promote faculty and to determine curriculum. This tension was resolved in favor of the divisions/boards of study. In the same move the role of the colleges was redefined as concerned primarily with the residential life of the students. What had begun, in each college in its unique way, as a
living-learning experiment was now put to rest in favor of the more traditional liberal arts college pattern of the clear separation of residential life from academic life. The second profound alteration of the inner dynamics of Santa Cruz extended significantly a process of faculty reaggregation which had begun before Sinsheimer's arrival as the new Chancellor. Sinsheimer redefined the significant intellectual and political units of the university as the academic divisions and the boards of study, rather than the colleges themselves. He then used these units as the basis for reassigning faculty to the various colleges. Thus the offices for each of the academic divisions were relocated in one or more colleges, and specific boards of study were constituted according to their divisional affiliations (U. C. Santa Cruz, 1985, Introduction Pt. 1).

Perhaps the best example of this reorganization process was Kresge College. Originally, it represented a communal-expressive educational experiment on campus that attempted to create the community form of a radical and ideal "tribal family." After this community form disintegrated, Kresge was left mostly empty of its original faculty. When Sinsheimer arrived, he relocated the humanities division at Kresge College, and along with it the boards of philosophy, literature and history of consciousness, as well as the American studies and writing programs. From the original innovative curriculum of Kresge College, only the women's studies program remained (U. C. Santa Cruz, 1985, Introduction Pt. 1).
Sinsheimer's reorganization expanded some elements that had been part of the original academic plan at Santa Cruz, but had remained undeveloped. These elements included a deeper commitment to expanding graduate education on campus, an attempt to stimulate research among U. C. Santa Cruz's faculty, and the creation of programs of pre-professional and professional education in the curriculum. In the year following this profound campus reorganization, one might say re-creation, of U. C. Santa Cruz, Sinsheimer wrote a lengthy article in the student newspaper outlining what had been accomplished, and the goals guiding the changes. The rhetoric of this explanation clearly reflected an attempt to bring U. C. Santa Cruz more into alignment with the University of California system as a whole. In addition, it emphasizes the essential nature of the campus, a la Sinsheimer, as a liberal arts university. There was resistance to these changes among some original faculty who remained, but it was ineffective in the face of Sinsheimer's style of administrative fiat and the concurrence of newly hired faculty with his decisions (Sinsheimer, 1979).
IV Some Personal Views of Change

In accord with a pattern reminiscent of the traditional liberal arts college, U. C. Santa Cruz has been a community cherished by its faculty, one in which ties of friendship and of employment have continued for most of its history. While some of the most radical original innovators left U. C. Santa Cruz behind in the mid-1970's, the majority of the original faculty were still living and working at U. C. Santa Cruz, although almost entirely in very different roles and assignments. Thus the fabric of memory and reflection, as well as of awareness and perspective, about the growth of U. C. Santa Cruz in its short history was quite rich in 1989.

For example, in my interview with Michael Cowan, whose subject specialty is in American studies, I discovered that he was provost of Merrill College as the campus reorganization began. In Sinsheimer's divisional focus, Merrill, Stevenson and College VIII were redefined as social science oriented colleges, and consequently Cowan resigned his post and moved with the humanities division and the American studies program to Kresge College. In Cowan's reflection, this was a time of the reforging of faculty and administrative alliances along divisional and departmental lines. He watched as the then dean of humanities, and also provost of Kresge College, Helene Moglen persuaded senior faculty of the philosophy, literature and history of consciousness programs to begin a new liberal arts orientation at Kresge College. This orientation came to be
called a "modernist," and later a "post-modernist," intellectual ethos, and formed the academic self-definition of Kresge College for the next decade. In terms of the early Santa Cruz vision of the colleges as living-learning communities, Cowan suggested, "Kresge College was completely redefined on its learning side, but with little faculty sense of allegiance to its living side." Cowan saw this reorganization process as having created a sub-disciplinary intellectual matrix at Kresge College, with about 60% of the humanities faculty in the university actually relocating their offices to Kresge. Cowan eventually became the dean of humanities, and served in that capacity until 1988, returning to the faculty of American studies at that time (Cowan, 1989).

While interviewing Gary Lease, I discovered that he had come to Kresge College in 1973 to teach religious studies, at a time when the original Kresge experiment was expanding significantly in size. Indeed from his perspective it was the increase in faculty from 10 to 40, and the increase in students from 100 to 600, that precipitated the disintegration of the original ideals of the Kresge experiment. Lease also interpreted the campus-wide reorganization of 1978 as also a natural consequence of the size increases of the U. C. Santa Cruz campus as a whole. He suggested that the original shared governance structure of colleges and divisions/boards of study was no longer operable when the campus moved beyond 3000 - 4000 students. In 1989, Lease was Vice-Chancellor of U. C. Santa Cruz, and he continued to understand the campus situation in light of the
demographic and political realities which have evolved. He sensed that, "the faculty are moribund in relation to Kresge College, the original notion of the college is opaque to most faculty and not a shared experience with students, and student values are inaccessible to administrators" (Lease, 1989).

An interview with Hayden White revealed that he came to chair the history of consciousness program at U. C. Santa Cruz in 1978, just as the reorganization was being accomplished. He worked with Helene Moglen to recreate the academic identity of Kresge College. Within the interdisciplinary vision of the history of consciousness program, Kresge's academic identity was redefined as an undergraduate general education program oriented toward modernism and post-modernism. Thus, the Kresge College core course was recreated as an attempt to introduce students to the sentiment and sensibility of the 20th century, as a time in western history significantly different from any time before it. White's perspective on the U. C. Santa Cruz campus as a whole created a distinction between its "aura" and its "reality." For White, U. C. Santa Cruz still retained its original aura, drawn from its early innovative years. This aura involved a community committed to humaneness, tolerant of great diversity, and open to personal intimacy between faculty and students. The reality of campus life at U. C. Santa Cruz in 1989 tended more toward a faculty driven by an emphasis on research production, and toward students oriented to the goals of going on to graduate school and/or finding a suitable career. In his
own words, "U. C. Santa Cruz has an endearing ambience left over from the cultural glitch of the late 1960's and early 1970's, but it is driven by the natural sciences and by professional orientations" (White, 1989).

During a fascinating interview with Henry Hilgard, I came to see that he is perhaps the best example of a faculty member who has maintained a continuing allegiance to U. C. Santa Cruz as a human community even as he has contributed to a highly specialized intellectual discipline. Hilgard was a biologist whose specialty is immuno-biology. After coming to Crown College in 1967 to teach in his subject area, he became deeply involved in the birthing of the original Kresge experiment. Having had no prior exposure to humanistic psychology or encounter groups, he became one of the founding faculty at Kresge College. Reflecting upon the many struggles of the first years at Kresge, he saw the influx of new faculty and new students, most of whom did not share the original vision of Kresge College, as the prime catalyst for the disintegration of the Kresge experiment. In addition, he understood the 1978 campus reorganization as a move to separate U. C. Santa Cruz's intellectual life from its social existence. He saw that move as only partially successful. His vision of the U. C. Santa Cruz campus in 1989 involved the metaphor of a patchwork quilt. This quilt brought some of the original utopian ideals upon which U. C. Santa Cruz was founded together with more recent orientations to research production and academic development. He saw the emergence of
this patchwork as a reflection of the changes which have occurred in our society and culture in the last 20 years. Hilgard felt that the campus at U. C. Santa Cruz will maintain its experimental and innovative atmosphere. He said: "I don't think we're going to get much less personal. U. C. Santa Cruz is still a very organic experience" (Hilgard, 1989).
V What Is Becoming of the Trees?

As I talked with Hayden White, he raised the question of what the next decade at Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz might look like. He saw several developments which perhaps portend some future directions for the university. In relation to Kresge College, he suggested that several of the boards of study brought together by the 1978 campus reorganization were moving or poised to move to other colleges. Most of the American studies faculty have already moved to Oakes College where a North American ethnic minorities program is being created. The philosophy board is ready to move to another college in an attempt to consolidate its far-flung faculty. The history of consciousness program will most likely be moving from Kresge College, probably to Oakes College, some time in the near future. This move for the history of consciousness program would promote a sharing of interdisciplinary focus and perspective with a new politically and culturally sensitive "world literature" orientation being developed at Oakes (White, 1989). Were these changes in physical location of the boards of study to be interpreted as the emergence of a new ethos or sub-ethos at least in some parts of the campus? Or were they merely matters of housekeeping adjustment?

In addition, a report was being circulated from the Committee on Undergraduate Education. The committee was composed of eight faculty from various divisions, and two students, all appointed by the new chancellor, Robert Stevens. This report addressed and
recommended a "proposed integrated curriculum" for the whole of U. C. Santa Cruz. The proposed curriculum included general, divisional and core requirements for all undergraduate students. If adopted, this new curriculum would create a university-wide core course experience for beginning undergraduates, rather than the present core courses operated by the individual colleges. In addition, this report recommended that the governance of this new undergraduate curriculum be clearly controlled by university administrators and faculty committees, leaving little room for major influence by the individual colleges (U. C. Santa Cruz, Committee on Undergraduate Education, 1988). Was the existence and possible adoption of this report a signal that U. C. Santa Cruz was ready to enter a phase in its growth in which the first steps toward becoming a multi-versity would be taken? Or were its suggestions merely a more rigorous and efficient way of organizing and staffing undergraduate education requirements?

Whatever directions U. C. Santa Cruz may take in its next years, it is clear that its second decade represented a significant alteration of the original organizational structure of the university. It also revealed a comprehensive modification of the experimental and innovative founding ethos of the campus. Out of the tempest of utopian idealism and charismatic leadership of U. C. Santa Cruz's beginnings, there emerged in the decade of the 1980's a form and sensibility much more akin to the traditional liberal arts university. Among the faculty, the tension between loyalties to colleges and
boards of study was reduced by giving the boards of study primary power in decision making. For the administration, the tension between U. C. Santa Cruz's innovative style of education and the multi-versity style of most of the U. C. system was reduced by defining U.C. Santa Cruz as a liberal arts university. A unique feature of U. C. Santa Cruz was that this definition occurred within a public and non-parochial, rather than a private and sectarian, educational context and system.
CHAPTER THREE
FLOWERS GROWING IN A HIDDEN CLEARING ---
FOUR BOARDS OF STUDY

I Exploring a Hidden Garden

What were the patterns of the ecology of exchange of intellectual influence and communication within the disciplinary boards of study at Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz, both in 1989 and from the beginnings of the college? Was Grant and Riesman's portrayal of the burgeoning influence of the boards of study upon the curriculum and style of education in Kresge College still accurate? I attempted to answer these questions by following the theory of ecological equilibrium, which suggests that all living systems maintain an internal balance in relation to their external environment. This theory is the basis of Boulding's image of the exchange system. Boulding suggests that when an invitation to exchange material or energy or ideas is offered by one party, and another party responds by participating in this exchange, then a new balance of communication is created between the two parties. Thus the growth of the boards of study on the Kresge College campus, and their present patterns of intellectual influence and communication, were seen as part of a delicate intellectual and social ecology. This involves an ever changing equilibrium of the communication of ideas
and of interpersonal influence. (Grant and Riesman, 1978; Boulding, 1978).

I began the process of understanding the intellectual ecology of the boards of study at Kresge College by observing the board "orientations" offered to incoming students at the beginning of the Fall quarter. This gave me an overall picture of the scope of the program of each board. Then I interviewed the chairpersons of each board. First, I asked about the history of their personal relationship to the board. Then I posed an open ended question concerning their perspective on and interpretation of the intellectual ecology of their board of study. When I observed the board orientations and interviewed the board chairpersons, I also collected documents produced by the boards themselves. These documents, e.g. program descriptions, course lists, self-studies, etc., expressed the intellectual commitments and educational goals of each board of study. All of these data, whether observation, interview, or document, were analysed in terms of the patterns of influence and communication they revealed. They also were evaluated in terms of their affect on the curriculum and style of education within each board.

Ethnographic description employs at least three types of metaphors. First, there are those metaphors actually used by the community being observed (emic metaphors). Second, there are those metaphors which, although not employed by the community being observed, nevertheless portray the living reality of specific relationships within the community. Third, there are those
metaphors which are chosen by ethnographers from their own culture in order to communicate what has been observed in the language and framework of their peers (etic metaphors). In portraying the present living reality of the boards of study on Kresge College's campus, I used a metaphor of the second type, namely the metaphor of a garden full of flowers. By using this metaphor I intended to suggest a picture of the whole situation at Kresge College, within which the individual boards of study may be understood in their uniqueness. Grant and Riesman spoke of the burgeoning influence of these boards of study in the 1970's. In the late 1980's, I found them to be full grown flowers. Although this metaphor is not employed by the boards themselves, it nevertheless reflects the living interactive realities of the situation at present.

The portraits of the Kresge College boards of study which follow include sketches of their historical origins, of their reorganization in the late 1970's, and of their recent growth. In addition, I present a description of their basic program along with a selective summary of courses offered. Finally, I present a characterization of the primary elements of their intellectual ecology, along with reflections upon its affect on their curriculum and teaching style. The patterns of intellectual influence and communication within the boards are represented in both the words of members and of publications of the boards. In addition, I have constructed my own interpretations of their structure and program. As will be seen, each board of study found within itself a unique
balance of the communication of acceptable ideas, meaningful values and guiding ideals, which forms the intellectual and social equilibrium of its ecology.
II The Traditional Rose : Philosophy

Philosophy provides a conceptual matrix within which an individual may clarify issues of personal existence, relationships to fellow human beings, and of the historical-cultural world to which he or she belongs. Above all, philosophy should help the student become aware of root assumptions in all branches of knowledge (U.C.S.C., GENERAL CATALOG, v27 n1, Aug 1989, p192).

In its early years, U. C. Santa Cruz was a rich garden for nurturing educational innovation. During this time, several philosophers were drawn to the campus who were on the leading edge of the introduction of new perspectives into the study and teaching of philosophy in the U. S. In accordance with its fundamental cultural affinities with the British Isles, the U. S. developed a dominant tradition in philosophy that focused on analytic ways of thinking. Thus, the most frequently encountered methods of philosophical investigation in North American philosophy were those of language analysis and of logical analysis. The original North American tradition of pragmatism, developed by Peirce, James and Dewey, somewhat affected this majority tradition, but did not radically alter its basic method of inquiry. The first philosophers who arrived at the new U. C. Santa Cruz campus were, however, innovators and not traditionalists in their philosophical perspectives and methods. Perhaps the best example is Maurice Natanson. He
was a pioneer in the translation of the perspectives of continental European phenomenology and existentialism into the analytic cultural milieu of philosophy study and teaching in the U.S. Natanson helped to transform North American philosophers' fledgling grasp of the significance and power of the work of Husserl, Heidegger and Sartre into a deeper comprehension of the breadth, depth and scope of the phenomenological perspective in philosophy. Indeed, his work extended even to the implementation of phenomenological methods of investigation in the social sciences, which in North America had long been dominated by positivist and behaviorist approaches. However, as U.C. Santa Cruz began to leave behind its original experimental and innovative ethos, many professors on the transforming edge of their disciplines left the campus. Thus, in the mid-1970's, the philosophy board at U.C. Santa Cruz lost both Natanson and Hofstadter, its two most senior and internationally known scholars (U. C. S. C. Board of Studies in Philosophy, 1979, 1984).

As the campus reorganization, that brought the philosophy board to Kresge College, was taking place, Richard Wasserstrom was hired as the chair of the philosophy board. He had advanced degrees in both philosophy and law, subject specialties in ethics, and social and political philosophy, and an international reputation as a moral and legal philosopher. Wasserstrom brought a new stability, as well as a new definition of perspective, to the board of philosophy at U.C. Santa Cruz. Wasserstrom was trained in and largely practiced the
dominant Anglo-American analytic mode of philosophizing. Thus, the reorganized philosophy board, as constituted at Kresge College in the late 1970's, created a focus and emphasis upon the tradition of analytic perspectives in doing philosophy. This contrasted with the alternative, innovative, phenomenologically informed perspectives which had oriented the board in its first ten years (U.C.S.C. Board of Studies in Philosophy, 1984). In attempting to characterize the philosophy board in 1989, Wasserstrom spoke of an "eclectic orientation", focusing on offering a "balanced main-line major" in western philosophy, and following a "loosely analytic approach" (Wasserstrom, 1989a).

The structure of the philosophy program, and also the way in which the philosophy curriculum is determined and modified, reflected as well this traditional Anglo-American analytic perspective. It was the essence of the intellectual ecology of the board of studies in philosophy at Kresge College in 1989. Students interested in a major in philosophy began by taking introductory courses in logic, ethics and either general philosophy or epistemology. Then they chose, from about a dozen courses in the history of western philosophy, those three which suit their interests and directions. Finally, some opportunity for specialization was provided. Students chose five upper division courses in philosophy, including two advanced study seminars in special topics. They then completed a written senior comprehensive exam or senior thesis. The fundamental way in which the curriculum is structured in this
program arose from the tradition of courses which have been taught in the past. The chair assigned faculty to teach these main-line courses based upon their background and expertise. All curricular innovations arose from the faculty themselves, through individual faculty initiative in teaching courses in areas of their special interests (U.C.S.C. Board of Studies in Philosophy, 1989; Wasserstrom, 1989a).

In summary, I saw that the Kresge College board of studies in philosophy, under the leadership of Richard Wasserstrom, has grown in the style of a traditional rose. By employing this metaphor I intend to refer to the medieval tradition of the rose as a symbol in European religious mysticism, of the unfolding of stability, strength and dependability. The primary aim of the board included supporting the overall program of U.C. Santa Cruz by offering two types of courses. The first type included introductory philosophy courses accessible to a wide range of students. The second type involved general courses, unencumbered by prerequisites, that assist students in other majors to comprehend the philosophical foundations of their own disciplines. This reflected the philosophy board's traditional commitment to liberal arts education, and to the educational goal of developing independent reflective thinking among students. In addition, the board offered, for its majors, an appropriate range of courses in the history and problems of western philosophy. These courses nurtured the experience of philosophical thinking and writing in depth. Courses in Asian thought were
available as religion electives, and study in feminist theory was considered a literature elective area. The philosophy board thus saw itself as essentially independent, but allowed its majors to draw upon other boards of study in pursuing their intellectual interests.
III The Volatile Oleander : Literature

To study literature at Santa Cruz is to encounter a wide range of courses, approaches and methods. ... The literature board offers courses that range from close interpretation of individual texts to a consideration of literature in broad social and historical perspectives. ... Questions of literary theory and social value are raised throughout the curriculum and are specifically addressed in individual courses (U.C.S.C., GENERAL CATALOG, v27 n1, Aug 1989, p.161).

The literature board at U.C. Santa Cruz was the largest board on campus, and it may also have been the most diverse. In 1989, it divided its energies between undergraduate and graduate programs. During the campus reorganization of 1978, its center of operations was brought to Kresge College. The board as a whole was already quite decentralized. In recent years, a more formal and administrative structure was created for the board. A new structure was needed because an excessively large faculty was unable to come to agreement on basic administrative policy issues. Under the new structure the chair of the board directed the entire program. He was assisted by directors of personnel, graduate study, and undergraduate study. An executive committee which includes elected faculty representatives provided direction. However, this public centralized structure belied the essential decision making units of the board. As far as curriculum planning is concerned, most decisions were made by the caucuses of faculty committed to or
teaching in specific theoretical perspectives and/or area studies in literature (Jordan, 1989).

There were in 1989 five "pathways" through the literature major available to undergraduate students. The comparative path, chosen by about 50% of undergraduate literature students, included four upper division courses in a literature of concentration, and four additional upper division courses in one or more other literatures, usually taken in translation. The national path required six courses in a literature of concentration, and two courses in a second literature studied in the original language. The classics path focused on Greek and Latin literature, and on the study of related fields. The creative writing path was available by application, through the submission of a portfolio of creative work. It allowed for a flexible choice of courses in various literatures, combined with creative writing seminars. The world literature path focused on theoretical, historical and cultural problems and questions in literature, combining the study of various world literatures with courses in cultural theory. All of these pathways culminated in a comprehensive examination, usually oral, or in a senior thesis or project (U.C.S.C. Board of Studies in Literature, 1989a).

The range of individual courses offered in the undergraduate program was quite amazing. Basic offerings included a full sequence of work in English and American literature, as well as somewhat more truncated series in French, German, Italian and Spanish literatures. Beginning and advanced study of Greek and Latin
literatures were offered. There was available a smattering of courses in Russian, Japanese, Chinese, South American and native American literatures, all in translation. A host of literary theory courses, and a selection of social and historical perspective courses in various literatures, portrayed the problems and contexts of various literary traditions. Seminars in creative writing and drama rounded out the program of the literature board of study (U.C.S.C. Board of Studies in Literature, 1989b).

The picture of the literature board I have so far portrayed provides only the texture and color of this oleander of a program. I use this metaphor because the oleander gives off a sweet and powerful aroma. The "aroma" of the literature program can only be sensed by experiencing what the director of the undergraduate program, John Jordan, named the "volatile" intellectual ecology of the board (Jordan, 1989). This aroma involved various value and perspective commitments and orientations among the faculty. One orientation was to a specific national literature and culture, either European or non-European. A second orientation was to various theoretical perspectives, traditional through post-modernist. A third orientation included a wide array of political consciousness, conservative to radical. A final orientation was to the nurturing of second languages and literatures as authentic expressions of personal and social creativity. A perfect example of the power and volatility of this aromatic intellectual environment of the literature board at Kresge College was encountered in the newly created world literature
and cultural studies pathway. This sub-program arose essentially from a newly forged caucus of faculty with common intellectual commitments. These shared commitments included neo-Marxist and post-structuralist philosophies, political concerns about the dominance of European over non-European cultures, and specific interests in the liberation of the repressed "voices of the other."

The unique style of community process and sensibility of the literature board at Kresge College once again gave off the aroma of the volatile and wild oleander. One sensed this in the faculty and administrative concern about average class size not exceeding thirty students. It was seen in the resistance to the creation of an honors program in literature because of its possible elitist overtones. It was present in the openness to accept non-canonical and even anti-canonical texts in senior orals exams. The same aroma was scented in the thoroughness and excellence of the undergraduate literature advising program. It was felt in the structure and workings of the literature board that allows for both decentralized faculty caucuses and a centralized administration to network with other programs. (U.C.S.C. Board of Studies in Literature, 1988).

In summary, the board of studies in literature at Kresge College nurtured a surprisingly flexible, diverse and sensitive program for intellectual expansion, political consciousness raising, and personal development for its students. The board envisioned its work within the context of literature as the creative self-expression of human society and culture. Its range of courses offered and clearly defined
pathways through the undergraduate major were unique. Its intellectual and political openness to alternative forms of interpretation and action were profound. Its community process brought all members of this beautifully blossoming program into touch with the contemporary world in which it exists.
IV The Complex Chrysanthemum: History of Consciousness

History of consciousness is an interdisciplinary graduate program concentrating primarily in the humanities and social sciences. Work in the program centers on the history of different cultural organizations and expressions, and the analysis of fundamental ideas of human nature, society and community which inform social praxis. The chief goal of the program is to encourage the development of informed scholars interested in relating learning to contemporary social, cultural and political issues (U.C.S.C., GENERAL CATALOG, v27 n1, Aug 1989, p. 144).

U. C. Santa Cruz was a university of more than 90% undergraduate students, where departments offering a Ph.D. program had until recently been the exception rather than the rule. Why then were more than 10% of the small graduate student population enrolled in the only graduate Ph.D. program which had no undergraduate component? And what sort of degree were these students pursuing in a "deviant" department, with no formal program, no one chosen discipline, and the outrageous name of "History of Consciousness?" How could such a graduate level program have any influence upon the undergraduate environment at Kresge College? Such were the first questions I encountered in meeting, and attempting to comprehend, the complex chrysanthemum of the history of consciousness program at Kresge College (White, 1988). I suggest the metaphor of a chrysanthemum for this department because each flower is complexly created from a
multitude of smaller flowers that are nevertheless integrated into the whole.

Generally, graduate study came late in the development of most of the boards of study at U.C. Santa Cruz. But the history of consciousness program was an exception. It was initiated as a Ph.D. in the humanities and social sciences in 1965 when U.C. Santa Cruz was born. It was constituted and has remained an essentially interdisciplinary degree. In 1989, the research interests of its faculty and students included a wide range of specialties. Some of these were cultural theory, feminist studies, literary theory, continental philosophy, history and theory of social movements, political theory, critical studies of religion, semiotics, film theory and studies of modern science and technology. The name of the program was chosen as a clear reaction to the positivism and objective formalism reigning in social scientific and humanistic studies at the time. The history of consciousness program was philosophically and ideologically committed to the concrete historical study of the development of human cultural reality, of human consciousness. A look at the courses taught, as part of what its chairperson calls a "deviant" program, revealed a wide range of topics. These included theories of consciousness, theory of the text, studies in Marx and Hegel, theories of representation, feminist literary theory, recent European philosophy, and phenomenology and signification. The history of consciousness program was open to a wide range of continental European thinkers and theories. Until recently, most of
these perspectives had been rejected, or at least ignored and neglected, in the mainstream of North American intellectual exploration and cultural development (White, 1988; U.C.S.C. Board of Studies in History of Consciousness, 1989).

Hayden White suggested that when the campus reorganization of 1978 brought the humanities division to Kresge College, the history of consciousness program became an integral part of the redefinition which took place. Indeed the fundamental self-definition of Kresge College, at least on its academic and intellectual side, was reforged at that time by Helene Moglen and by Hayden White himself. In his own words, the new ideal and ethos for Kresge College was for it to become a "modernist," and later a "postmodernist," college. Within this definition, the meaning of the twentieth century was considered an essential question in introducing undergraduates to the intellectual realm of life. Kresge's core course, required of all incoming freshpersons, was restructured, to focus upon the contemporary continental European thinkers and theories that had so deeply influenced the history of consciousness program. The large majority of instructors who taught the core course at Kresge College were graduate Ph.D. students in the history of consciousness program (White, 1989). In many essential ways, then, this complex chrysanthemum of the graduate program in history of consciousness has shaped the vision and practice of undergraduate learning at Kresge College for the last decade of its life.
V  The Enduring Rhododendron:
Women's Studies

Women's studies is an interdisciplinary major which draws its questions and approaches from the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and arts. It helps students to develop theoretical, empirical and methodological perspectives for studying gender. Students examine feminist scholarship and focus on material of particular relevance to women (U.C.S.C., GENERAL CATALOG, v27, n1, Aug 1989, p.229).

There is a flower which blossoms so enduringly in the depth of the redwood forest, that it seems to be part of the essence of the stately and magnificent trees themselves. This is the hardy and enduring rhododendron. The one program which has been a part of Kresge College from its beginnings, women's studies, partook in a human way of this ancient, delicate and magnificent essence of the forest and of the earth. As the original communal-expressive educational experiment was being undertaken at Kresge College in the early 1970's, a student collective was formed in order to nurture the study of women's issues. This collective met weekly, created and implemented coursework in women's studies, and granted credit for participation to all its student members. In deep and formative ways, the collective expressed and concretized many elements of the original ethos of Kresge College. One of Kresge's founders, Matthew Sands, nurtured the presence of women's issues on U.C. Santa Cruz's campus by hiring women as faculty at a time when almost all new appointments were still men. When Kresge's original innovative undergraduate educational experiment began to fall apart, Kresge
lost its founding provost. His replacement was a woman, May Diaz, from the women's center at U.C. Berkeley. Although she took a very different approach to recreating the crumbling ethos of Kresge College, her committment to and nurturance of the women's studies program was clear. As the campus reorganization of the late 1970's swept over Kresge College, bringing the humanities boards of philosophy, literature and history of consciousness together, women's studies remained at Kresge College but began to experience profound change. One of the chief forgers of the reorganized Kresge was Helene Moglen, who was both Provost of Kresge College and Dean of Humanities. Working with faculty already involved in teaching women's studies courses, she moved to regularize the women's studies collective. In order to do this, she eliminated student control, created a faculty chair, and administratively reorganized the curriculum and credit granting decision making process along the lines of what was becoming the norm for U.C. Santa Cruz as a whole. Indeed the women's collective at this time became a women's studies academic program in the formal sense. In the midst of this profound change, the importance of women's issues, especially as represented through the voice of feminism, was given a great boost on U.C. Santa Cruz's campus, and at Kresge College. This was accomplished through the refocusing of the history of consciousness program with a strong commitment to feminist scholarship and to the feminist intellectual perspective in doing interdisciplinary research in the humanities and social sciences (Frantz, 1989; Hilgard, 1989; White, 1989).
It was at this time of ferment and change, as the 1970's were turning into the 1980's, that a new instructor appeared in the loosely defined women's studies core program on a temporary and part time basis. Her name was Bettina Aptheker. She was soon to become the central presence of the women's studies program because of her thorough commitment to living, thinking and acting from the perspective of women's consciousness. By the end of the decade of the 1980's, she had become the "guiding spirit and intellectual leader" of the women's studies program. She was regarded as something of a "legend as a genuinely inspiring teacher" on U.C. Santa Cruz's campus as a whole.

In the early 1980's, the administrative chair of women's studies had been Donna Harraway, a feminist scholar hired in the history of consciousness program. In 1984, Helene Moglen's presence and expertise in educational administrative re-creation once again was felt as she became coordinator of women's studies. Within the space of five years she had accomplished all of the goals set by the women's studies program in the mid-1980's, in response to the university required visit and recommendations of a team of external reviewers. She organized a group of almost thirty faculty interested in women's issues who became formal affiliates of the program. The core curriculum of the program was redefined, and a new curriculum committee was created to consider future possibilities and changes. A networking committee was created to encourage the humanities and social sciences divisions to develop
appropriate women's issues courses. And this was just the beginning. In 1984, the Feminist Studies Research Activity came into existence to provide a structure for the intellectual exchange and interaction of students and faculty committed to the feminist perspective in scholarship. In 1985, the Women's Center was begun. It became a social and political meeting ground for students and faculty who wished to translate their thinking about women into living and acting with and for women through building bridges to the local women's community in Santa Cruz. In 1986, the women's studies program was formally advanced to the status of a Committee of Studies, and was granted its own FTE faculty funding. In 1987, Bettina Aptheker finally relinquished her seven year position as a temporary instructor. She was hired as the first full time associate professor in women's studies, designated to teach American women's history. In 1988, Gloria Hull was hired full time to teach women's literary history and theory. And in 1989, Wendy Brown, a former graduate of U.C. Santa Cruz's women's studies program, became the third full time teacher in women's studies, assigned to teach feminist politics. Becoming a formal Board of Studies, implementing an official graduate program, and doubling the number of FTE faculty remain as the yet unrealized goals of the women's studies committee (Moglen, 1989).

The women's studies program in 1989 reflected the various strands of its long and enduring history. The 160 students who had chosen to major in women's studies first took a three course
sequence in feminist issues, theory and methods. Four courses followed which address women's issues in the humanities and social sciences. Majors took one course on women of color in the U.S., and one elective course in women's issues. A senior thesis seminar, with options of writing a thesis, producing a creative artistic project, or organizing and teaching a seminar, brought the program to completion. This is however only one side of the women's studies program major. In addition, all students majoring in women's studies had to complete a second major or minor in another subject area, or an individually constructed thematic program of courses. In essence most women's studies majors were double major students when they completed their programs. Many women's studies students also participated in the intellectual community of the Feminist Research Activity. Some students took part in the social and political life of the Women's Center, through which field study experience in the local community could be taken for academic credit. There was a magnificent variety of coursework open to students in this program. This included black women writers, lesbian psychologies, third world women, women's liberation movements, and Asian American women. In addition, courses were offered in the major disciplines which address the role of women in science, society, culture and the arts (U.C.S.C. Committee of Studies in Women's Studies, 1989).

Both the history and present structure of women's studies at Kresge College revealed the hardy and enduring nature of the
intellectual ecology of this program. In its structure, women's studies was clearly a radically interdisciplinary program drawing from all fields of study. It was a program which attempted to ask questions and find answers from the perspective of gender difference in social and cultural existence. It always pursued the insights of women's consciousness as valuable and distinct in their own right. Students in women's studies were encouraged to claim their own education, as a way of life, and as a form of political awareness. Practical experience in working with the local women's community was considered just as important as theoretical exposure to the power and significance of feminist theory. In deep resonance with the original ethos of Kresge College, the growth of women's studies majors was nurtured both intellectually and emotionally. Intellectual growth was developed in classroom experiences and small group discussion sections, as well as through participation in the Feminist Research Activity. Emotional maturity was fostered through interpersonal community building on campus and, with the Women's Center, in the local community as a whole. In short, the enduring rhododendron of women's studies partook of the whole range of feminist activity which has made the women's movement in the U.S.A. such a radical, transformative and humanistic force for change and growth in our culture. The history of the women's studies program revealed an infancy formed by student initiative and control. This was followed by an adolescence in which faculty took over the definition and structuring of the program. In its adult
maturity, the administrative control of the program has been integrated with the style of U. C. Santa Cruz as a whole. At the same time, the interactive ethos among women's studies faculty, students, and the local community remains open and flexible.
CHAPTER FOUR
BRIGHT SUNSHINE, PASSING CLOUDS, FOGGY RAIN ---
MOODS OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION

I Listening to the Weather Report

From the perspective of the tradition of symbolic-expressive analysis, the ethos of a culture or sub-culture is defined by four major elements. The first element is the shared values held by members of the culture. The second element is the patterns of group association and interpersonal interaction in which the members engage. The third element involves the language and symbols used to communicate within the culture. The last element contains the ritual behavior and public ritual occasions which express the meaning of the life of the community. Grant and Riesman's portrait of the ethos of Kresge College in its early years suggested an educational community in which profound intimacy and deep emotional involvement were an everyday element of the life of students, teachers and administrators. The basis upon which Grant and Riesman's portrait rested includes three primary aspects. The first aspect was the fundamental goals and principles of the community, enunciated by Kresge College's first provost Robert Edgar, as honesty, openness, trust. The second aspect involved the early creation of a structure of "kin groups" of faculty, students and administrators, through which personal intimacy was developed and
maintained. The final aspect included the experience of everyday life in this innovative college, which was explored through interviews with members of the Kresge College community. Grant and Riesman clearly portrayed an educational ethos in which personal relationships between teachers, students and administrators were experienced as deeply intimate. Interpersonal interaction was seen as at the center of the program of the college. The goals of the community were focused upon the growth of each student in all aspects of their personal development (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 4).

I wished to answer the question of how Kresge College's present ethos had changed from its founding days. I followed the theory of the evolution of social systems as interpreted by Boulding's image of the integrative system of culture. This image suggests that a community's interaction patterns, decision making styles, deeply held values, and ritual behaviors are woven together into a continuous fabric. Boulding suggests that any of these elements of a culture may evolve into greater integration through a giving and receiving process that creates a new shared identity among the parties involved. Thus a community's interaction patterns change and grow into a whole woven fabric when they are shared as a gift with new members. Through this giving and sharing process, an intimate identity within the community comes into being (Boulding, 1978).
The first dimension of Kresge College’s educational ethos was the primary forms of group association and interpersonal interaction. The fundamental question I asked was whether personal relationships and interpersonal intimacy between teachers and students were still highly valued at Kresge College. In the early Kresge College, kin groups, consensus meetings, and classroom interaction formed and fostered the group life of the community. In the late 1980s, the primary form of group association was that of the classroom experience. In classroom interaction, I looked for the possibility of a continued commitment to personal intimacy and personal relationships among students and teachers as a significant part of the educational growth experience.

In order to uncover the nature of classroom interaction between students and teachers, I employed the method of conversational turn-taking analysis. The first element of conversational turn-taking I studied was the ratio of the number of turns taken by students in relation to the number of turns taken by the teacher. In a classroom where interaction between teacher and students was minimal this ratio approached zero. In such a situation, the opportunity for openness and the development of personal intimacy was for the most part not available. In a classroom where students and teachers interacted openly and flexibly, this ratio approached one to one. In such a situation, the development of interpersonal intimacy was a strong possibility. In a classroom where interpersonal interaction was highly valued, this ratio
approached two or more to one. In such a situation, there was much interaction both between teachers and students, and among students themselves (Wilkinson, 1982).

The second element of conversational interaction that I explored in classrooms at Kresge College was the pattern of turn-taking. In a classroom where interpersonal interaction, openness and personal intimacy were highly valued, the patterns of conversational turn-taking showed three trends. First of all, they tended to become "loose" -- i.e. silence occurred and was accepted between turns. Secondly, they tended to be "unstructured" -- i.e. little or no formal ritual was required to obtain a turn. Finally, they tended to proceed "slowly" -- i.e. much time occurred between successive turns. These trends of conversational turn-taking patterns facilitated and nurtured a classroom in which interaction was flexible, open and uncontrolled. In contrast, in a classroom where opportunities for open sharing of feelings were mostly unavailable, the patterns of conversational turn-taking showed different trends. First of all, they tended to become "tight" -- i.e. little or no silence was tolerated between turns. Secondly, they tended to be "structured" -- i.e. a formal ritual, usually hand-raising, was required to obtain a turn. And finally, they tended to be "fast" -- i.e. little time occurred between successive turns. This pattern of conversational turn-taking created a classroom in which interaction was inflexible, closed and controlled (Wilkinson, 1982).
Finally, the third element of classroom interaction dynamics which I observed involved the overall attitude displayed from teacher to students, and vice versa from students to teacher. This was expressed in language and behavior that was conducive either to fostering openness and intimacy, or to preserving control and distance. The major aspects in which I cast my investigation of the attitudinal atmosphere of Kresge College classrooms were taken from Grant and Riesman's dichotomies. In these dichotomies the original Kresge College communal-expressive experiment was contrasted with the style of the multi-versity. On one end of this continuum, students and teachers in a communal-expressive style classroom were seen to take a specific attitudinal stance toward each other. This stance included being personal, supportive, and humanistic in their relationships to each other. On the other end of the continuum, students and teachers in a multi-versity style classroom were expected to follow a different attitudinal stance. This stance involved following certain roles with specific rules for the respective behavior of teachers and students. It included a focus upon rationality in classroom discussion, and the display of behavior oriented toward the granting and receiving of merit in classroom performance. It also revealed repeated appeals to the importance of expert knowledge in answering problems posed in the classroom.

The classroom interactions which I observed were chosen to include a variety of course sizes and levels. This included the small group Kresge College core course (Myth and Image) for beginning
students. It included one very large (Introduction to Feminism) and one medium-sized (Introduction to Legal Process) introductory level course. It also included two small advanced level courses (Black Women Writers and Dickens Year-seminar). These classes also were chosen to span the scope of the boards of study on Kresge College's campus at present. These boards include history of consciousness, women's studies, literature-writing, and philosophy-legal studies. Individual professors teaching these classes were chosen to represent the full scope of appointments at Kresge College, from graduate student teaching assistants to long-time tenured faculty.

For the Kresge College core course, I observed about 25% of all class sessions in each section. For the remainder of the courses, I observed about 33 to 50% of all class sessions held during the Fall 1989 semester. On average, the percent of students interacting in each class ranged from 15% in large classes to 50% in small classes. In the largest class observed (500+ students), the professor alternated lecture time with open ended questions answerable by students in short responses. There was a small amount of questioning initiated by students. In the smaller classes, students were more often the initiators of question and answer interactions.

A summary of conversational turn-taking analyses for the classroom interactions I observed is presented in Table I. The specific conclusions which can be drawn from Table I include three major findings. First of all, no classroom observed revealed a ratio of turn-taking much less than one to one. And indeed, most of the
Kresge College core course classrooms were closer to ratios of two to one. This suggests that openness and the opportunity for personal intimacy were available in all classrooms observed. It also suggests that in the Kresge College core course classrooms, openness and the opportunity for personal intimacy were highly valued. Secondly, within the ten classrooms observed, the patterns of turn-taking were predominantly loose, unstructured, and slow, with only occasional departures from this style. This suggests that classroom interaction was open and flexible. It also suggests that interpersonal interaction was expected and permitted, and that the development of personal intimacy was highly valued. Finally, the overall attitudinal environment of the Kresge College classrooms observed was structured by three trends. The first trend revealed a clearly personal, supportive, and humanistic atmosphere in 40% of the situations. The second trend showed role-rule orientation, rationality, merit behavior expression and appeals to expertise in 10% of the situations. The final trend included a blend of these attitudinal characteristics in 50% of the situations.
Table I - Conversational Turn Taking Summary Analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KRESGE COLLEGE CORE COURSE</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6 sections 20-30 students each)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. White sect 1</td>
<td>1.12 : 1</td>
<td>T U F</td>
<td>blend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. K. Martin sect 2</td>
<td>1.95 : 1</td>
<td>L St Sw</td>
<td>P Su H C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Goodeve sect 3</td>
<td>1.51 : 1</td>
<td>L U Sw</td>
<td>P Su H C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sect 4</td>
<td>1.61 : 1</td>
<td>L U Sw</td>
<td>blend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sect 5</td>
<td>1.87 : 1</td>
<td>L U Sw</td>
<td>blend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sect 6</td>
<td>1.92 : 1</td>
<td>L U F</td>
<td>blend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION TO FEMINISM</td>
<td>0.97 : 1</td>
<td>L U Sw</td>
<td>P Su H C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(500+ students)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION TO THE LEGAL PROCESS</td>
<td>0.95 : 1</td>
<td>L St Sw</td>
<td>R R M E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(75+ students)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK WOMEN WRITERS</td>
<td>1.06 : 1</td>
<td>L U Sw</td>
<td>P Su H C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(45+ students)</td>
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<td>DICKENS YEAR SEMINAR</td>
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KEY -

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<tr>
<th>Ratio</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
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<tr>
<td>2.0+ =students take twice # of teacher turns</td>
<td>Loose - Tight</td>
<td>Personal b Rule</td>
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<td>1.0=students &amp; teacher take equal # of turns</td>
<td>Unstructured - Structured</td>
<td>Supportive l Reason</td>
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<td>0.1=teacher takes almost all turns</td>
<td>Slow - Fast</td>
<td>Humanistic e Merit</td>
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(source: classroom observation data sheets)
Boulding's theory of the evolutionary development of a society is based upon his image of the integrative system of culture. This image suggests that a shared intimate identity is at the heart of the weaving together of the interaction patterns of a community into an integrated fabric. Grant and Riesman's portrait of the early Kresge communal-expressive experiment revealed complex group networks. These networks were all focused upon personal openness and the development of intimacy, as an integral part of the "living-learning" community modeled after a "tribal family."

In my study I employed conversational turn-taking as a way of analysing the classroom interactive atmosphere. If a classroom was dominated by the teacher, it showed a turn-taking ratio close to zero and a tight and structured pattern. Such a classroom was defined, for this study, as not productive of personal openness and shared group intimacy (designated as case A). In contrast, if a classroom was democratically organized, it showed a turn-taking ratio approaching 2.00 and a loose and unstructured pattern. Such a classroom was defined, for this study, as nurturing of personal openness and shared group intimacy (designated as case C). In between these contrasts, a classroom with a basic openness to good teaching interaction showed a turn-taking ratio around 1.00 and a loose but often structured pattern (designated as case B).

Within the context of these definitions, the answer to my basic question, i.e. whether personal relationships and interpersonal intimacy between students and teachers were still possible at Kresge
College in the late 1980's, was yes, this was true. In classroom interaction at Kresge College in the late 1980's, the attitudinal environment, conversational patterns, and turn-taking ratios all indicated at least an openness to the creation of personal intimacy which good teaching requires (there were no case A classrooms; all classrooms were at least case B classrooms). In some cases there was also a strong valuing of this intimacy and of the deep personal relationships between students and teachers which it fosters (there were several case C classrooms).

The portraits which follow are drawn from personal and general observations of each individual classroom interaction situation. They attempt to give some flesh and blood to this skeletal summary of conversational turn-taking. Each portrait gives first a sketch of the overall structure of the course. Then a summary of attitudinal environment, conversational pattern, and turn-taking ratio data is presented. Finally a portrait of the personal experience of the classroom interaction dynamics is provided.
I I Nurturing Critical Thinking, Speaking and Writing

The Kresge College core course, "Myth and image: our 20th century imagination," was required for all beginning students affiliated with the college. It was designed to introduce undergraduates to the nature of university education at Santa Cruz. Each student attended a small informal class, and an even smaller discussion group. This small group environment oriented new students to the ethos of Kresge College. The content of the course provided the opportunity for learning to respond critically to a wide range of ideas and issues at the heart of modern and post-modern 20th century western culture. The early Kresge College experiment involved regular faculty in introductory courses with students. In 1989, the half-dozen core course classes, of about 20-30 students each, were taught primarily by graduate students in the history of consciousness program. The early Kresge College experiment involved faculty and students in very small encounter group experiences. In 1989 all that remained of that kind of face to face intimacy was in the even smaller discussion groups of 5-10 students each, led by upper division undergraduate Kresge students. The core course thus preserved only a memory of the group intimacy that Kresge College in its beginnings placed at the center of its educational life and ideals. The intellectual dimensions of Kresge's ethos were clearly portrayed through required readings of modernist and post-modernist writers. These included Roland Barthes, Susan Sontag and
Joseph Campbell, among others. The range of issues addressed was wide. It included how myths affect reality, constructing myths of gender and race, TV as a contemporary mythmaker, and the scientific and religious construction of myth. These issues directly suggested an underlying foundation of the interpretive approach to contemporary myths and images. This approach included both the phenomenological and hermeneutic perspective, and the structuralist and semiotic stance (Kresge College, 1989).

Looking more specifically to the living reality of classroom interaction between students and teachers in the Kresge core course, I could see some variation in the conversational turn-taking patterns in the six different sections. The ratio of conversational turn-taking of students and teachers varied from 1.12 : 1 to 1.95 : 1. The lowest ratio represented about one student turn for each teacher turn. The highest ratio represented about two student turns for each teacher turn. Four of the six sections showed ratios above 1.60 : 1. The style of conversational turn-taking patterns was, over all sections, fairly loose (i.e. silent time occurred between turns). In addition, it was mostly unstructured (i.e. rituals required to obtain a turn were minimal or non-existent). There was variation in tempo (i.e. amount of time between successive turns) from medium fast to medium slow. The attitudinal environment in classroom interaction across the half-dozen sections showed a predominant exhibition of personal support and humanistic charisma. There were occasional exhibitions of rule/role oriented rationality and expertise focused
behavior. Finally, much time was spent blending together a personal humanistic atmosphere with role oriented and expertise focused behavior.

What follows are some personal and general observations on three sections of the Kresge College core course. These sections were taught, respectively, by a regular long term professor, by an administrator/instructor, and by a graduate student. The conversational turn-taking ratios exhibited spanned the full range of variation. These included for section one, a ratio of $1.12 : 1$. Section two showed a ratio of $1.95 : 1$. And section three showed a ratio of $1.51 : 1$. The conversational turn-taking patterns revealed several possible alternatives. Patterns for section one were tight, unstructured and fast. Patterns for section two were loose, structured and slow. And patterns for section three were loose, unstructured, and slow. The attitudinal environment of these classrooms was, on the whole, personal, supportive, humanistic and charismatic. There was present, in section one, some rational, rule-oriented, merit based, and expertise behavior and expression. On the whole section one, taught by a regular long term professor, was less focused on personal relationships and intimacy between students and teacher than the remaining sections. The personal and general observations which follow attempt to portray the unique individual style of classroom interaction followed by these three teachers.
Hayden White, chair of the history of consciousness program, was the only regular long term professor to teach a section of the Kresge College core course. He organized his classroom by focusing discussion through a series of leading questions related to the text and topic for the day. His style of interaction with students followed primarily an intellectual orientation. However, he personalized his teaching style by sharing stories from his own life, and through his subtle but engaging humor. The direction and turn of his mind attempted continually to nurture student ability to read the codes of meaning hidden in the myths and images being studied. He also assisted students in comprehending the social and political sources of these codes from our culture.

Mary Kay Martin was director of the writing program at Kresge College, and also coordinator of the Kresge core course. She taught a section which most clearly expressed the original Kresge ideal. Her classroom interaction environment focused on personal relationships between students and teachers. She created an intellectual openness and support in her classroom. She followed a humanistic perspective in inquiry, and showed a gentle but touching charisma as a teacher. She employed personal introductions by each student to create an openness within the classroom, and then she brought the text and topic of the course down to earth by asking each student to remember and to share personal myths about themselves. Through image analysis of graphic symbols and photo-essay pictures presented in the class, she attempted to help each student find their
own interpretive voice. Through a free writing process, she nurtured each student's individuality in learning to respond to the ideas and issues of modernist and post-modernist writers. In the end her leading goal for each student, i.e. to become a critical thinker, speaker and writer, was fulfilled through the creation of a classroom environment which nurtured individual uniqueness.

Thurza Goodeve, a doctoral student in the history of consciousness program, taught a section of the core course which focused upon the interpretation of mass images in contemporary culture from a variety of perspectives. She encouraged students to interact with each other and with their teacher. Acting as a sort of advocate for the expression of each student's perspective and opinion, she tended to ask very open questions. These questions led not to a specific answer, but rather to helping students learn to ask questions for themselves in their own ways. Then she bumped answers up against other students in order to receive and to give critical responses. While leading classroom discussion through such an open and branching process of inquiry, she was always willing to accept and to share personal stories and feeling responses within the whole scope of the questioning process. Student's written assignments were read and responded to in class, by teacher and students, providing an open environment for critical response. Each student was expected to consult individually with the teacher concerning their unique learning experience in the course.
The women's studies program taught its basic course, "Introduction to Feminism," for very many reasons and to very many kinds of students. This course had a large and illustrious staff that included Bettina Aptheker as professor, three graduate teaching assistants, and thirty upper division undergraduate assistants. The class served women's studies majors as a foundation course, humanities and social sciences students as a divisional requirement, and students with various other majors as an elective. When all of these various students sat down together to listen to the inspiring lectures of Bettina Aptheker, they numbered 500+ and filled to overflowing the largest classroom auditorium on campus. All students met once a week for discussion in groups of 10-30, and they focused on a collage of issues both central and tangential to the course. These issues included Latinas, reproductive rights, lesbian consciousness, sexual violence, Jewish women, women and addiction, etc. Required readings for the course included essential feminist writers, such as Adrienne Rich and Audre Lorde, as well as personal stories of the lives of individual women from various cultural traditions. Students were simultaneously surprised, challenged and delighted by Bettina Aptheker's interpretations of these readings. She creatively thought, poetized and sometimes almost preached through topics such as placing women at the center, racism and women's history, the politics of rape and domestic violence, and the
significance of the lesbian experience (Aptheker, 1989).

In a classroom of 500+ students, with one major instructor, it would not have been surprising if conversational turn-taking patterns would have been quite one-sided, namely leaning toward the instructor. But this was far from the case in Bettina Aptheker's Introduction to Feminism class. In this class the ratio of student's average conversational turns to teacher's average conversational turns was 0.97 : 1 (i.e. almost one student turn for each teacher turn). This ratio was a result of the alternation of classroom lectures with periods of open ended quick response questions addressed to students by the teacher. In addition, the style of conversational turn-taking patterns did not exhibit a tight order, structured approach and fast pace as one might expect in order to control such a large class. Rather, the style of this class was loose, unstructured and slow. As was overwhelmingly clear at every moment to students in this class, the instructor's attitudinal stance was intimately personal, deeply supportive, passionately humanistic and profoundly charismatic.

I experienced my undergraduate education in a small liberal arts college, with classes generally no larger than fifty students. Thus, I had no way to imagine what a class of 500+ undergraduates might feel like, on the day I first walked into Bettina Aptheker's Introduction to Feminism course. By design I sat in the last row at the back of a very large auditorium, with rows of seats slanting down toward the front stage podium. My first surprise was to witness the
instantaneous creation of women's community bulletin boards. These were being raised, lowered and written upon as a series of movable blackboards above and behind the podium. Eventually this activity and the interpersonal interactions among students occurring all over the auditorium came to an end. Bettina Aptheker began to smile from the podium, and then to speak. Barely had she introduced herself, and thanked all 500+ students for taking the course, when I began to sense a feeling and mood flooding over my whole being. This feeling and mood was the absolute opposite of the mass class alienation I expected to experience. As Bettina smiled and spoke with an intimate tone of voice, I felt like I was sitting in my own living room listening to my mom speaking to me. Such was the intimacy and force with which Bettina communicated as a teacher. Bettina closed the first day of class by inviting any of the 500+ students to meet her outside where she would be sitting in the sunshine until everyone who wished to had talked with her. By now it was clear to me why Bettina Aptheker had been referred to as the guiding light of the women's studies program, and as a genuinely inspiring teacher.

As her lectures, stories, personal anecdotes, etc. unfolded subsequently throughout the quarter, I discovered that my first impressions were quite correct. Here was a professor with impeccable intellectual qualifications as well as an international scholarly reputation. Her command of the intellectual, social and cultural history of the peoples of the earth was thorough and
academically sound. Her understanding of the intricacies of the feminist perspective in interpreting the place and role of women in these cultures and histories was sensitive and poetic. And here was a professor who was a deeply feeling, playful and profoundly mature human being. In every moment of her presence, she revealed the passionate inwardness about which she spoke. She always remembered to ask how everyone's weekend had been. She often told all 500+ students how good they all looked to her. Upon the occasion of Halloween falling on a class day, she appeared dressed as a teddy bear passing out candy all through the auditorium. Her profound knowledge showed itself most clearly in her ability to portray the lives of women in any era and in any culture. Her profound wisdom allowed her to share with students what it felt like from the inside to be a woman in such a place and at such a time.
IV Argumentative Advocacy in the Classroom

Richard Wasserstrom was chairperson of the philosophy department. On occasion, he also acted as chairperson of the legal studies program, as this was one of his special subject areas of interest and expertise. In the fall of 1989, he taught the “Introduction to the Legal Process” course. This course serves to give students a foundation in the reasoning, interpretation and application behind the practice of U. S. law. Wasserstrom employed a case study approach in order to portray the concrete realities of the philosophy and practice of law. He also lead students through the maze of forms of legal reasoning, primarily in U. S. Supreme Court desegregation cases. He first attempted to present the principles of interpretation in legal reasoning. He went on to assess each individual opinion and judgment from the perspective of Anglo-American analytic philosophy. The 75+ students in this class were majors from a wide variety of subjects in the humanities and social sciences (Wasserstrom, 1989b).

The ratio of the average number of student conversational turns to the average number of teacher conversational turns for this class was 0.95 : 1 (i.e. almost one student turn for each teacher turn). The style of conversational turn taking patterns allowed silence between turns and thus was loose. It required a formal ritual of recognition, i.e. hand raising of students, making it a structured pattern. It also followed a slow pace with plenty of time between conversational turns. The attitudinal environment in this class was
somewhat different from other classes observed. The teacher was clearly exhibiting classroom interaction behavior expressing certain rules to be followed. These rules issued from the perception of separate roles for the teacher and the students. He continually focused on canons of rationality upon which to base arguments and interpretations, and he clearly presented the significance of expertise in comprehending this field of study.

The interaction dynamics of this class seemed to follow a basic presupposition that the understanding of the legal process was quite complex and inaccessible. There was in addition a basic methodology of asking pointed questions in order to explore this arcane intricacy. After spending some time on the definition of terms, a range of types of questions were pursued. This included direct information questions, questions of analysis patterns, leading questions for which there was a right or wrong answer, and finally questions about styles of interpretation. These questions were almost always posed by the teacher, and after several faltering attempts to answer on the part of students, were given their final definitive analysis by the teacher. This basic style of interaction was accompanied by some unique teacher behaviors. These included continual pacing at the front of the class, repetition of key words and phrases of the argument being followed, and occasional lack of observation of students’ raised hands. The overall style of reasoning attempted to introduce students to the experience of the advocacy argumentation process which occurs in the U. S. court room.
The interdisciplinary nature of the women's studies program was seen clearly in "Black women writers." This was an American literature class taught by a women's studies professor, Gloria Hull. The 45+ students were a mixture of literature majors, women's studies majors, and a few other program majors. The style of interpretation in the class was clearly from a feminist perspective. It was applied to black women writers in the U. S. from the eighteenth century to the present. Literary and feminist interpretation of such authors as Ann Petry, Gwendolyn Brooks, Audre Lorde, etc. became the bread and butter of the class. Both students and teacher partook of this interpretation process in an informal and open ended way. Individual growth and understanding in the course was evaluated through periodic papers reacting to specific literary works, and through a final synthesis paper at the end of the course (Hull, 1989).

The ratio of average student conversational turns to average teacher conversational turns in this class was 1.06 : 1 (i.e. about one student turn for each teacher turn). The style of conversational turn taking patterns was very loose, mostly unstructured and quite slow. The attitudinal environment was overwhelmingly personal, supportive, and humanistic while charismatic in a subdued fashion.

Gloria Hull appeared to me as a teacher with two commitments. First, she practiced sustained historical literary scholarship. Secondly, she partook of personal, intimate and
passionate interpretation of the meaning of women's, and especially of black women's, experience of life as expressed in literature. She was clearly drawing upon a wide range of sources of literary criticism. She assertively presented a black feminist perspective which interpreted literature as a force for confrontation and change of the prevailing and dominating images of contemporary culture. Her interpretations of black women writers were always made very personal with the pain of her suffering and the spice of her humor. She shared personal poems, stories from her life, and her own passion for women's studies as a form of feeling-consciousness. She exemplified the vision of black women's "mother wit" that she so clearly held to be the nurturing and sustaining foundation for the work of black women writers in the U. S. In a thoroughly human response to this class, students seemed able to feel all at once intellectually challenged, emotionally nurtured and spiritually enlightened. Gloria Hull seemed to me a delightful blending of nurturing primary school teacher, thoughtful widely read scholar, and sensitive and wise observer of human social behavior and of cultural idiosyncracies.
VI Reading Together as a Way of Life

In a university as large as Santa Cruz, each undergraduate student was allowed only a specific number of quarters to complete a degree. Most courses were a quarter in length, and most students chose their courses very carefully. Thus, the overall atmosphere of the university was fast paced. Within such an atmosphere, who would expect to find a slow paced, year long course, meeting one afternoon each week, and granting credit only upon the completion of the class in the spring semester? And what greater surprise would be occasioned if the reason for this administrative anomaly were discovered to be the creation of a situation in which some of Charles Dickens' works could be read in their original serial parts. But this was exactly the course which Murray Baumgarten had created to experience in authentic originality several of Dickens' major novels. Baumgarten supplemented classroom discussions with an interactive computer communication network. In addition, he suggested that students could better understand the backgrounds of Dickens' writing through additional readings of Dostoevsky, Carlyle, and J. S. Mill. In this course, he broke new ground in the creation of a multi-dimensional learning environment, a sort of Dickens enthusiasts' family (Baumgarten, 1989).

Within such an interactive educational environment, the interchange of about one student conversational turn for each teacher conversational turn was not surprising (ratio of number of student turns to number of teacher turns was 1.1 : 1). Neither was
the loose, unstructured and slow style of conversational turn taking patterns in this class unexpected. The attitudinal environment blended a personal intimacy and supportive humanism with an appropriate sense of the importance of rationality and expertise in advanced literary interpretation.

In this small class of about twenty students, Murray Baumgarten pursued his unique and earthy interpretations of the works of Charles Dickens. He attempted to see Dickens' writings in a melodramatic soap-opera genre style. He focused upon the rhythm of Dickens' prose, and interpreted Dickens as a ritual and collaborative writer. He clearly revealed the narrative space creation and character mapping process at the core of Dickens' style. Baumgarten saw the intellectual dimensions of the work of Dickens as posing a dialectical problematic focusing upon the themes of love and death. He also saw Dickens as often employing the deferral and suspension of meaning as a tool for exploring and expanding this problematic. The style of class discussion became a sort of counterpoint. This counterpoint included, first of all, a rational, role focused presentation and analysis of literary interpretations of Dickens. Secondly, there evolved a series of personal, intimate invitations to students to explore the possibility of becoming a collaborative class, even as Dickens was a collaborative writer. Students began to consider the project of reading Dickens together as becoming not merely a class, but a way of life.
I believe people are creatively alive to the extent that they perceive themselves freely responsible for shaping their own destinies. This perception must be real in the sense that personal success and personal failure must both be outcomes of decisions and activities. Even benevolent intervention inhibits the growth of free and responsible behavior. To test this premise, I would like College Six [Kresge] to be, as much as possible, a participatory consensual democracy. To achieve this goal, I wish to leave as many decisions as possible to the newly forming college community. The community as a whole will create its own mechanisms for regulating collective activities. I would hope that these organization structures would be creatively built to fill our felt needs and responsively change as our needs as a community change. By a participatory consensual democracy, I mean that all members of the community have the right to participate in decisions that will affect them and that no decision will be reached to which even one individual is opposed, whether he be provost or freshman. While this principle insures the honest valuing of the individual, it is likely to put enormous stresses on interpersonal relations and the achievement of meaningful decisions. This is where I hope the application of behavioral science skills can help the community develop open and effective communication and conflict resolution within a consensual decision making framework. I believe this approach will lead to the establishment of a learning community that is exciting and alive (Robert Edgar, "Interpersonal Communication: thoughts about College Six", Kresge College, 1970).
I Finding a Needle in the Haystack

Grant and Riesman were clearly surprised, and perhaps somewhat in awe, at the commitment of the early Kresge College experiment to make decisions through the process of group consensus. They saw in this idealistic approach to the regulation of a human community the presence of a model of the "tribal family," which most aspects of western culture had left behind many centuries ago. Boulding interprets the theory of the evolution of social systems through his image of the integrative system of culture. Cultural integration brings together in harmony a community's interaction patterns, decision making styles, deeply held values and ritual behaviors. He suggests that this integrated harmony results from a shared identity formed when members of the community give and receive openly. In relation to a community's decision making styles, this process of evolutionary development through integration proceeds most effectively when each member of the community takes part in making community decisions. Within these contexts, I asked the question of whether, and in what aspects, and at what levels, Kresge College still maintains its original commitment to making decisions through consensus (Grant and Riesman, 1978; Boulding, 1978).

The process of consensus decision making at Kresge College was much more than a way of choosing approved paths of action. Robert Edgar, Kresge's first provost, called it "participatory consensual
democracy." As Edgar understood it, consensus decision making was a form of community building and consciousness raising. He traced its roots back to the tribal mode of social organization. It can be clearly contrasted with a majority decision making process based upon a collegial model of community organization. It can also be contrasted with a hierarchical decision making style grounded upon bureaucratic organizational models.

In a consensual community, the members interact with each other through styles of language usage which clearly reflect the inner dynamics of a tribal family. These styles of language usage include a unique discourse strategy, through which the interaction dynamics of the speech event are fundamentally structured. They also include various patterns of discourse inference, by which individual speakers interact with each other within the speech event. The primary form of discourse strategy employed in interaction in such a consensual community is that of responding directly to each member. The patterns of discourse inference are usually "open" (i.e. without restriction on possible replies), "unstructured" (i.e. without formal rituals), and "participatory" (i.e. with an expectation of fully engaged response). These styles of discourse strategy and patterns of discourse inference in a consensual community contrast sharply with the style of a bureaucratic and hierarchical organization. In a bureaucracy an appointed leader tends to follow a discourse strategy of controlling other members of the organization. This is accomplished through a discourse inference style which is "closed"
(i.e. possible replies are restricted to a narrow range), "structured" (i.e. formal rituals must be followed), and "non-participatory" (i.e. with an expectation of minimal response). Within a community based upon the collegial model and structure, a majority decision making process is followed. The style of discourse strategy tends toward negotiation rather than either direct response or assured control. The discourse inference patterns followed by an elected representative, for example, tend to emerge somewhere between the poles of "open - closed," "unstructured - structured," and "participatory - non-participatory" (Gumperz, 1982).

I attempted to discover if there were any remainders of a tribal family model of community organization and a consensus decision making style at Kresge College in the late 1980's. In searching for any survivals of this model and process, I looked first of all to official statements of the decision making organizations at Kresge College. Then I examined the actual language usage employed in decision making meetings of these bodies. In what follows, I present a sketch of the original Kresge College consensual ideal and its fading away. Then I analyse the Kresge College student organizations in which some remainders of this ideal and process remain.
In the fall of 1970, the first provost of Kresge College, Robert Edgar, along with his charismatic sensitivity training friend, Michael Kahn, offered a course called "Creating Kresge College." In this course the decision making ideal of consensus was explored and modeled. The community created by this course wrestled with a host of group dynamics problems. These included the defining of rights for each person in such a process, the resolving of conflicts with minority opinions in the group, the continual recreation of flexibility, and the finding of common goals. The consensus model for the most part was found to be workable, when supplemented with sensitivity training to resolve conflicts. When Kresge College opened in the fall of 1971, it attempted to make all decisions within the college community through weekly Town Hall meetings. In these meetings all 285 members of the community could participate in consensus democracy. Eventually this original example of the consensus model of decision making became unworkable, due to the extensive time taken up by Town Hall meetings. At this point, the power of choice in college affairs was transferred to the Kresge kin groups, upon agreement by faculty, students and administrators to do so. These were small groups of students and faculty that met weekly as encounter and support groups. Each kin group sent a representative to a steering committee. By the fall of 1972, Kresge College had
created three primary decision making committees, along with several task force groups, to regulate the college community. Membership in any of these groups was open to whomever in the college community wished to participate. Decisions were made by those members who were in attendance at any given meeting. This example of a somewhat modified model of consensus decision making was further augmented in the spring of 1973. At that time, a coordinating board of representatives elected from the committees and task forces was created. This new board's function was to oversee the whole process and to guarantee decentralization of leadership. By the beginning of the 1973-74 school year, faculty preceptors had been appointed by the provost to chair the committees and task forces. Membership in these groups was open to all at the beginning of the school year. But then each group self-selected itself, through voluntary discontinuance of membership, down to a size of fifteen. Decisions of the various groups were published each week. Conflicting opinions were brought to expression at the next weekly meeting. Thus, the original ideal of consensus eventually evolved in the early years of Kresge college to a form augmented somewhat by majority rule and semi-bureaucratic models of choice making (Kresge College, 1974).

As the original Kresge experiment came to an end in the late 1970's, the ideal of consensus decision making seemed to fall by the wayside. The campus reorganization of 1979 dealt it a death blow. More bureaucratic forms of hierarchical choice making were enforced
upon the college, and upon the university as a whole, in order to follow its emerging pattern of becoming a traditional liberal arts university. Indeed, in the late 1980's, the overall organizational structure of U.C. Santa Cruz and of Kresge College was clearly bureaucratic in nature and hierarchical in structure. At the same time, the model of majority rule by representative democracy persisted among the faculty in their decision making processes. This was true both formally in the faculty senate, and informally in departmental caucuses. Also, for the Santa Cruz student population, when voting as a university-wide body, decision making processes tended to follow an elected representative form of majority rule. However, after investigating the three primary student organizations on Kresge's campus—i.e. the student parliament, the student newspaper, and the student drama/humor group, it became clear that the ideal of decision making by consensus has not quite fallen into oblivion.
According to its Constitution and By-laws, the Kresge Student Parliament served as the official voice of the students at Kresge College. All U.C. Santa Cruz students affiliated with Kresge College were eligible for membership in the student parliament. They activated their membership by attending three of its weekly meetings in any year of their residence. The Kresge student parliament allocated funds granted to it by the college. It also discussed issues and formulated proposals related to decisions which affect the Kresge College community as a whole. Finally, it appointed students to college and university committees. It made these decisions, for the most part, through consensus. Beginning with the issue or problem of concern, the question of what needs to be decided was clarified and then discussed by all members present. Upon the suggestion by any member of a proposal for action in relation to the issue, discussion of the proposal was opened for all to contribute. Then a test for consensus was taken in which members could choose among several options.

First of all, they could consent to the proposal. This meant that they basically agreed with the proposal. Secondly they could abstain. This meant that they neither agreed with nor opposed the proposal. Thirdly, they could stand aside. This meant that they opposed the proposal but not strongly enough to prevent its passage. And finally,
they could block the proposal. This meant that they opposed the proposal and prevented its passage. If no member of student parliament present in the meeting blocked a proposal, the consensus decision was ritually approved and celebrated. This was done by everyone who consented making a "happy face," i.e. pulling up the sides of one's mouth into an exaggerated smile. If one member blocked the proposal, it was referred to the next weekly meeting for continued consideration. A second block referred the proposal to a third meeting. If consensus was not reached upon the third consideration of the proposal, a simple majority vote was taken. According to the Kresge student parliament constitution, elections of officers for the student parliament, as well as any constitutional amendments, were also subjected to majority vote (Kresge College student parliament, 1986).

What did the living reality of the Kresge student parliament look like in terms of its interactional dynamics and its styles of language usage? In the fall of 1989, as the new semester was beginning, I observed the Kresge student parliament having its first meetings of the year. With an attendance of 50+ students, all sitting in a rough circle in the Kresge College student lounge, the community organized itself. This included electing officers, allocating funding for the year, and beginning to confront some significant issues on the campus. It was not just an experience of making decisions.
Members of the student parliament, and especially its new leaders, were quite consciously attempting to build a community of shared awareness and of mutual affection and respect. They were trying to build something of a tribal family for Kresge College students. The style of discourse strategy followed by the entire group was that of direct response to each other, rather than control or negotiation. The president of student parliament served as facilitator by granting turns to each member who wished to speak and through moderating any discussion. For each individual member, whether officer or not, a discourse inference pattern of open, unstructured and participatory interaction was followed. Indeed, the model of the tribal family was cherished as a workable ideal.

In the fall of 1989, I also observed the two other primary student organizations at Kresge College as they followed the same process of consensus decision making. The first of these was the "Town Crier," Kresge College's student newspaper and literary magazine. It began to take form for the year as about ten students met in a student apartment to divide the workload and to set up publishing deadlines. The student who had served as editor for the previous year led the organizing of this year's crew. He clearly followed a discourse strategy of direct response. The students who were undertaking various aspects of writing, publishing and distributing interacted in ways that followed discourse inference patterns which were open, unstructured and participatory.
The model structuring this student group's interaction dynamics was clearly that of the consensual tribal family.

The final student organization I observed was the "Skit Review," Kresge College's student humor, social criticism and drama organization. They began to brainstorm and plan creatively for productions for the year early in the fall semester. With no clearly defined facilitator, this group of 15-20 students followed a radically open, unstructured and participatory discourse inference pattern. They also adhered to a direct responding style of discourse strategy. They proceeded to share ideas, feelings and much laughter about the possibilities of creating dramatic sketches. These sketches would be designed to portray the light and the dark sides of various aspects of the everyday life of Kresge College. This student group displayed the jubilantly celebrative dimensions of a consensual tribal family that shares a sense of community identity and sensibility.

Boulding's theory of the evolution of social systems through cultural integration suggests that a shared identity of the members of a community is the essential ingredient in this integrating process. Grant and Riesman's portrait of Kresge College clearly suggested that consensus decision making was one aspect of the shared identity which this community evolved. In the late 1980's, the process of decision making on Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz's campus presented the following conclusions. First of all, it was uniformly clear that the largest part of decision making at Kresge College
and U. C. Santa Cruz followed a bureaucratic model and style, especially among administrative bodies. In addition, a majority rule model and style was predominant among faculty organizations and caucuses, as well as among campus-wide student bodies. Finally, it was just as clear that the tribal family model of community, and its attendant consensus style of decision making, still survived among the primary student organizations at Kresge College.
THE KRESGE STATEMENT OF COMMUNITY ETHICS

The Kresge statement expresses a set of values symbolic of the spirit of Kresge so that all who come to Kresge may read, understand, affirm and practice in their daily lives. This statement was written by Kresge students in 1987-88 and is the result of community meetings, shared ideas and a College vote.

Kresge College, acknowledging that difference is integral to its community of students, staff and faculty, upholds the ideals of cultural, ethnic, sexual, political, and religious diversity. Kresge realizes that freedom to decide and to express one’s opinion and beliefs is of utmost importance. However, attitudes of disrespect or intolerance of the beliefs, ideas, lifestyles or person-hood of another are not conducive to the academic and social environment Kresge strives to create. Freedom of expression does not mean freedom to violate others’ rights or cause harm to any individual or group of individuals.

Acts of oppression and exclusion, such as, but not limited to racism, sexism and homophobia violate mutual respect and undermine community trust. We the Kresge community, along with the University, will not accept or tolerate such acts and will, with due process, hold accountable those whose actions are not in accordance with our expressed ideals. In choosing to be affiliated with Kresge, we affirm these ideals and make a personal commitment to practice them in our daily lives.
CHAPTER SIX
A RAINBOW OF DIVERSITY  ---
COLORS OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES

I Shining the Light Through a Prism

Grant and Riesman's portrait focused strongly upon the alternative values that reigned among faculty, administrators and students in the original innovative experiment. In order to study these values, they analysed published statements of educational goals, and they interviewed members of the Kresge College community. Grant and Riesman suggested that the purpose of learning and teaching during Kresge College's early years was the self-realization of its students, faculty and administrators. This purpose was realized through the practice of the everyday values of trust, openness and growth in personal interactions. The overall institutional goal was that of creating social harmony. Students tended to prize Kresge College as a community in which they felt accepted, and in which they were able to fully express their feelings. Grant and Riesman contrasted these alternative values of the Kresge College communal-expressive experiment with the multi-versity's commitment to academic and career success. This commitment follows a graduate school research ideal valuing achievement and recognition. The multiversity also combines the institutional values of the creation of new knowledge and expertise with students' values
of certification, employability and licensure (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 4).

Boulding interprets the theory of the evolution of social systems through his image of the integrative system of culture. This image sees interaction patterns, decision making styles, essential values, and ritual behaviors as created and expressed in an integrated whole in human society. He suggests that the process of cultural integration proceeds through a giving and receiving among members of a community, in which a shared identity emerges. The deeply held essential values of a culture, thus, are woven into an integral whole through the sharing of these values by members of the culture in their personal lives as well as in their public expression (Boulding, 1978).

In this study, I asked the question of what Kresge College’s educational goals and values were in the late 1980's. I also asked how they had changed since its founding. I answered this question through interviews with faculty, students and administrators, performing a symbolic-value analysis of their responses. My first step in this process was to select key informant interviewees from the present Kresge College community. All nine Kresge associated faculty who were full-time, and teaching during the Fall 1989 quarter, were interviewed. In order to ensure a balanced selection of students, I followed a statistical average profile of Kresge College students. This profile included their undergraduate year, geographical origin, class background, age and race. The six actual
students interviewed were all active in Kresge College affairs. The profile of actual students interviewed matched all of the elements of the statistical profile. Five were from California, while one was from out-of-state. Five were traditionally aged (17-22) students, while one was a returning (over 22) student. One came from the lower-middle class, three from the middle-middle class, and two from the upper-middle class. Five were white Anglo-Saxon protestant, while one was from Afro-American and Jewish roots. One was a 1st year student, two were 2nd year students, two were 3rd year students, and one was a 4th year student. The three administrators interviewed included Kresge's acting Provost, the former Dean of Humanities, and the Associate Chancellor of U. C. Santa Cruz. They were chosen because of their central policy making role in each of the three levels of governance, namely college, division, and university.

My next step was to create an interview structure to elicit educational value responses. My interviews began with general questioning concerning the interviewee's personal and historical relationship to Kresge College. Then I asked for observations upon and interpretations of the present Kresge College community. Finally, I presented Grant and Riesman's ideal dichotomy between the educational values of the early Kresge College communal-expressive experiment and the multi-versity. This presentation served as a springboard for each interviewee to speak of educational goals and values in response to Grant and Riesman's typology.
My final step involved an analysis of interviewee responses in terms of the educational values they held. Each educational value was coded with a key symbolic word used by the interviewee to express their educational values. Next I wrote a concise summary of these key word responses for each of the eighteen interviewees. Then, these key words were associated with similar responses from other interviewees into nine key-word groupings. Next I cast the nine key-word groupings of symbolic value responses on a continuum between the ideal values of the Kresge College communal-expressive experiment and the ideal values of the multi-versity (Goodenough, 1981).

The continuum resulting from this symbolic-value analysis of my interviews is presented in Table II, "The Spectrum of Educational Values." The top and bottom lines present Grant and Riesman's dichotomy in values between, respectively, the Kresge College communal-expressive experiment, and the multi-versity. The spectrum of values is structured in terms of basic ideal, personal goals, and overall social purpose for each value perspective presented. Nine separate colors of the spectrum, i.e. nine value perspectives formed from the key-word groupings, are analysed in this way. The eighteen individuals interviewed are grouped together in the left-hand column according to their participation in one of the nine value perspectives. The summaries of each interviewee's symbolic-value perspective, which make up the remaining sections of the text of this chapter, begin at the top of the spectrum and move to
the bottom. Dotted lines, separating groups in this Table, correspond to the beginning of a separate section in the text.

My general conclusion from this analysis was that neither of Grant and Riesman's ideal typologies of values, for the early Kresge College communal-expressive experiment or for the multi-versity, dominated the present campus milieu. Rather there existed three fundamental refractions of educational value perspectives. First of all, about one-fourth of the community, i.e. four faculty and one administrator, held to a value perspective in which the pursuit of the liberal arts and its associated goals and purposes are central. This is the bottom group of Table II, and is portrayed in section IV of this chapter. Secondly, about one-fourth of the community, i.e. two faculty, one administrator and one student, experienced a value perspective involving a complex contrasting and interweaving of personal and bureaucratic goals and purposes. This is the middle group of Table II, and is portrayed in section III of this chapter. Finally, about one-half of the community, i.e. three faculty, one administrator and five students, followed a value perspective which creatively attempted to transform present personal and social realities into new possibilities of more refined humanness. This is the top group of Table II, and is portrayed in section II of this chapter.
Table II  The Spectrum of Educational Values

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<tr>
<th>Communal-Expressive</th>
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(source: interview notes and tapes)
In addition, Table II suggested that the composition of these three value groupings was not uniform. Neither was it indicative of the overall composition of interviewees. Interviewees as a whole were composed of 50% faculty, 33% students, and 17% administrators. The liberal arts value grouping was composed of 80% faculty, 0% students, and 20% administrators. This would suggest that many faculty and administrators have adopted the liberal arts ideal and values initiated in the late 1970s by Sinsheimer's reorganization of the campus. The contrasts value grouping was composed of 50% faculty, 25% students, and 25% administrators. This segment of the campus community, including some students, seemed to contrast and blend the ideals and values of the new and old U. C. Santa Cruz together. The human possibilities value grouping was composed of 33% faculty, 56% students, and 11% administrators. This would suggest that many students, some faculty, but few administrators were motivated by ideals of personal transformation and the realization of human potential. In terms of the overall responses of all interviewees, it is clear that about two-thirds of faculty and administrators did not hold ideals focused upon the realization of human potential. This is a definite shift from the early days of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz.

Boulding's theory suggests that the evolution of social systems proceeds through cultural integration. He suggests that the values of a community become woven together into a harmonious tapestry through the shared identity that emerges as the members of the
community give to and receive from each other. Grant and Riesman's portrait of the educational values of the early Kresge communal-expressive experiment clearly reflected the pattern of a deeply held and well integrated value commitment. This commitment was focused upon the self-realization of members of the community through openness, honesty and trust.

In the late 1980's, the educational values of the Kresge College community were quite diverse. They were clustered around the three orientations described in this study. About one-half of the present Kresge College community held to educational values which reflect the realization of full human potential through a variety of means and processes. It may be concluded that this half of Kresge College in the late 1980's was in essential accord with the educational ideal of the early Kresge College. However, members of the community who held this ideal disagreed with the style or process of the fulfillment of this ideal that had been followed in Kresge's early years. In addition, about two-thirds of the faculty and administrators did not hold to educational values oriented toward human self-realization. This would suggest that these more long term and permanent residents of Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz have embraced the traditional ideals and reward structure of mainstream academic institutions which tend not to promote change.
II New Ways of Being

This section portrays the educational values of the one-half of the present Kresge College community holding to a creative and transformational perspective in their educational vision. While not strictly coinciding with the values of the early Kresge College communal-expressive experiment, these perspectives nevertheless were focused upon the realization through education of a more aware and refined humanness.

Gerry Vizenor was the acting Provost of Kresge College for the 1989-90 school year. He was a specialist in the literature of native North American tribal cultures, and a teacher of creative writing. In his interview, he clearly comprehended the importance, for our contemporary post-modern culture, of a sensitivity to the earth, and of the experience of individual creativity. At times he seemed somewhat uncertain about the scope and structure of his work as acting Provost. However, he was never doubtful of his vision of the power of education that informed and inspired his personal and professional life. In his own words, "Imagination is self-liberation and the beginning of a healing life style." For Provost Vizenor, imaginative self-realization is what college life at Kresge is all about. This process begins with the student’s experience of personal liberation from prejudice. Then it develops through a communal knowledge drawn from interaction within a living and learning community. Finally, it comes to fulfillment in an environmental and
ecological awareness which is the foundation for creative social change (Vizenor, 1989).

Amy Stoll was a third year transfer student from the San Diego area. She was a double major in women’s studies and psychology. She was active in Kresge student parliament. She also was a member of the core council, the central decision making committee of the student union assembly. And she was a happily aware Lesbian feminist. In her interview, she suggested that her life has been changed through partaking in the warm, spiritual and intimate community of the women’s studies program at Kresge College. She has become committed to extending this spirit to the Kresge community as a whole. Thus her vision of a complete and authentic educational experience included several dimensions. First there was the personal dimension of emotional growth. Second there was the dimension of an intellectual encounter with a creatively open and exploratory research community. Finally, there was the development of, in her own words, "a spiritual connection to earth spirits, to goddesses and to the universe" (Stoll, 1989).

Bettina Aptheker was the primary intellectual force and guiding light of the women’s studies program at Kresge College. She was deeply conversant with the history of most of the peoples of the earth, and especially sensitive to the perspective and consciousness of women in world cultures. She lived and thought and spoke an educational vision both practical and radical. In her interview, she shared that by placing women at the center of her historical and
cultural interpretations, she attempted to nurture in her students a political awareness which was essentially a new form of consciousness. While observing her classroom, I clearly saw her profoundly human interactions with students, and her support of their personal as well as their intellectual growth. In addition, I observed her commitment to a form of community building. This form helped women's studies students, and women in the local community, to grow together into mutual support of their common goals. As she expressed so clearly, "women's studies begins with the personal and reaches out to others." In her classroom she passionately explored the darkness of sexism, racism, anti-semitism, and class and domestic violence. By doing this, she engendered a cultural sensitivity which could hear and listen to the voice of the other, of the non-traditional and non-mainstream perspective, in any culture of the earth (Aptheker, 1989b).

Gloria Hull was a black woman, and professor of black women's literature, history and consciousness in the women's studies program at Kresge College. I observed in her classroom an exploration of the perspective and voice of black women in the U. S. She spoke for black women who have lived through the terrors and ravages of the full historical force of both racism and sexism. She transformed that experience into a profound personal political awareness for her students. As she said, "women's studies is a personal passion and a form of feeling-consciousness." Creating a community within and outside her classroom, she followed the style of nurturing sisterhood
and brotherhood in light of the vision of black women's mother wisdom. In her interview, she suggested that she interpreted literature as a form of social insight and cultural awareness. She attempted to create an environment in which sensitivity to the way of life, and to the experience of existence, for black women of various cultures, could easily be encountered and comprehended. Thus her educational ideals partook essentially of the goals and values of feminist activity from within the historical experience of black women (Hull, 1989b).

Brant Smith was a second year student at Kresge College. He was originally from the San Francisco bay area. He was an active leader in Kresge student parliament as well as in the Town Crier and Skit Review. He was a student who had a vision for Kresge College. During his interview, he communicated his naturally exuberant and creatively effulgent way of life. He shared his vision of the deepest purposes of education to be not the formation of social roles, but rather the self-development of each individual student. And he spoke of a communal ideal of group self-determination. For Kresge College, his vision took the form of working for the building of an open, inclusive and interactively communicating family of students, faculty and staff. For Brant, the foundation of student political awareness and activism lay in an ideal-realizing and individual growth nurturing community. In this community, the guiding principles for both living and learning would follow his maxim of "never stray far from your highest sense of right" (Smith, 1989).
John Jordan was director of the undergraduate program in literature, and professor of English literature at Kresge College. While interviewing him, I was struck by his awareness of the playful, storytelling side of literature. This side was a complement to his comprehension of the subtleties of hermeneutic and semiotic literary theories. His understanding of the structure, political interactions and ideological idiosyncrasies of the literature board of studies contributed much to his work as part-time administrator of the undergraduate program in literature. In resonance with the overall perspective of the literature board, his educational ideals embraced a fundamental cultural pluralism. This allowed for and celebrated the toleration of great diversity in intellectual perspective and personal life style among students and teachers. It nurtured ethnic individuality among students and professors from ethnic minority backgrounds. And it created an open non-Eurocentric operating framework from which students and teachers could explore the meaning and function of literature in all of the cultures of the earth (Jordan, 1989b).

Chris Livanos was a third year student at Kresge College. He was majoring in the newly created world literature path. He was also the editor of the Town Crier. During his interview, he suggested that he originally decided to come to U. C. Santa Cruz because of its alternative approach to education. Consequently he has found the recent administratively led movement toward a more mainstream style of research university education quite dismaying. He
contrasted the "old U. C. Santa Cruz" style of alternative innovative education with two other styles. First, he spoke of the style of a large research oriented university, such as U. C. Los Angeles and U. C. Berkeley. Then, he spoke of the style of a more traditional liberal arts university, such as the University of Chicago, "dedicated to the life of the mind but with Eurocentric and elitist limitations." He expressed his educational ideals in terms of several goals. These were the creation of "cross-cultural understanding, of a non-Eurocentric intellectual perspective, and of the acceptance of individual cultural diversity" among students and teachers (Livanos, 1989).

Craig Souza came to U. C. Santa Cruz from a high school experience in Los Angeles. Before that he lived for several years with his family in the middle east. He was a second year student at Kresge College, double majoring in theater arts and politics. He was also an organizer of the Kresge Skit Review. In his interview he identified himself as a practical conservative republican. He shared that he experienced Kresge College students as quite idealistic, as not involved in playing societal games, and for the most part as non-career oriented. He cherished the challenge of the possibility of a diverse group of students being able to learn to listen to each other, and to encounter and accept each other's radically unique life styles. He saw the advantage of a liberal arts community as promoting intellectual individuality and personal growth through the experience
of, as he suggested, "diversity as an interactional challenge through which toleration is learned" (Souza, 1989).

Darwin Fishman was a black man, of mixed black and Polish background, from Davis, where his father was a professor of English literature. A second year student, he was majoring in history, but was about to change to sociology. He was a representative appointed by Kresge Student Parliament to the student union assembly. During his interview, he shared that he came to U. C. Santa Cruz because he perceived it as a very different and unique campus among the whole University of California system. While understanding that the racial composition of U. C. Santa Cruz and of Kresge College was predominantly white, he had experienced the campus as supportive of its racial minority students and teachers. His personal commitments were to respect for individual authenticity, to the expression of ethnic diversity, and to the development of third-world consciousness. He felt manifestly at home in the liberal arts environment at Kresge College. These commitments had led him to work primarily toward the building of a sense of community at Kresge. His goals had been the recapturing of some of Kresge's original ideals of consensus decision making, community service, and faculty-student intimacy. In his own words, "a respect for individual diversity must be at the center of the recreating of community ideals at Kresge College" (Fishman, 1989).
III Aura and Reality

This section portrays the educational value perspectives of that one-quarter of the present Kresge College community which experienced a deep and continuous counterpoint in everyday life on campus. This interplay, sometimes conflicting and sometimes harmonious, existed between the ideals, goals and purposes of two campus sub-cultures. The first involved the research oriented scientific university culture being born at U. C. Santa Cruz. The second involved the remainders of the original innovative, experimental and communal-expressive ethos upon which U. C. Santa Cruz and Kresge College were founded.

Henry Hilgard was one of the founders of Kresge College in the early 1970's. In 1989, he was a professor of biology, with his specialty in immuno-biology. Although he no longer had daily contact with the life of the Kresge College community, his ties of interest and remembrance with the Kresge College experiment kept him coming back from time to time into the sphere of Kresge’s influence. While interviewing him, I began to see an incredibly mature human being and a deeply reflective thinker. He maintained a complex but harmonious vision of the original ideals and ethos of Kresge and of U. C. Santa Cruz. He also saw many of the forces working for change in the present campus situation. Thus he saw U. C. Santa Cruz as an odd sort of place where friction and tension between alternative ideals and groups was built into the organic
fabric of the campus. One element of this conflict involved the gulf between the remaining traditional faculty and the new faculty. For the former, U. C. Santa Cruz was and always will be a living-learning experiment. For the latter, U. C. Santa Cruz's becoming a famous research university was a primary goal. Hilgard was quite convinced that student-faculty interaction will always preserve the intimacy and innovative openness cast as the original mold for U. C. Santa Cruz. But he saw some individual departments becoming involved in the race to develop a national research reputation. He saw many unexplainable paradoxes at U. C. Santa Cruz. These included an increasing tendency toward administrative centralization along with a movement to enrich student's living experience on campus. Another paradox was the survival of many traces of Kresge's original ethos in the face of a decade of sustained attempts by Kresge administrators to kill it. Finally, he saw a clear persistence of a liberal arts environment on this public campus in spite of continuing pressure from the University of California system toward cloning all of its branches to the research university model. As he said, "U. C. Santa Cruz will continue to be a bit of both intimate liberal arts college and research university with an openness to try new forms" (Hilgard, 1989).

Steve Parks was a third year student, and by his own confession, a "Kresge addict." He had spent two years at Kresge from 1984-86, and then returned in 1988 to continue his undergraduate education. He was an American studies major and a literature minor.
He was originally from Los Angeles. He was an active leader in Kresge student parliament, having written its constitution in 1986. By his words and actions, he professed both the cynical disillusionment and the heart-felt involvement he felt for the life of Kresge College and of U. C. Santa Cruz. On the one hand, he saw little support from the present administration for the original ideals of Kresge and of U. C. Santa Cruz. He sensed there was little personal investment in the Kresge community on the part of the faculty. He saw just a hint of the beginning of an intimate community at Kresge among the students. However he recognized that administrators at all levels at U. C. Santa Cruz really do listen to student opinion and respect it. He was aware that many faculty in the classroom support an intimate learning environment. And he believed that student leaders at Kresge, himself included, were working to recreate an open and strong community and to pass on some of the original ethos and ideals to future generations of students. In his own words, "it will take the struggle of a new political activism and a new political consciousness to reclaim the original community at Kresge as a tribal family" (Parks, 1989).

Hayden White was chairperson of the history of consciousness program. He was also a co-designer of the reorganized modernist/post-modernist Kresge College, and was involved in the Kresge core course. During his interview, he suggested that as a student of the history of world cultural development, he tends to follow a perspective which might be termed cultural realism. From
this perspective, he saw the period in the history of North American higher education from the mid-1960's to the mid-1970's as an extremely fascinating cultural "glitch." In a quite learned, subtle and seasoned way he reflected, "there is a great difference at present between the aura and the reality of U. C. Santa Cruz" and of Kresge College. Beginning with present reality, he suggested that a career orientation among students and a graduate school approach among faculty has been on the rise in recent years. Then he suggested that small intimate classes were beginning to become an unaffordable luxury in the University of California system. Moreover, he saw that some students were beginning to relate to grades and evaluations as commodities. In his view, faculty promotion at U. C. Santa Cruz was clearly based primarily upon research production and only secondarily upon teaching quality. And he believed that U. C. Santa Cruz as a whole was beginning to be driven by the ideals and goals of the natural sciences and the professions. Existing along with this reality, he sensed that U. C. Santa Cruz still maintained an aura from its past. This aura painted a portrait of the campus with several major elements. First, it was seen as respecting personal individuality in learning. Second, it was perceived as supporting a humane and intimate liberal arts environment. Third, it was understood as tolerating a wide range of intellectual perspectives and personal life styles. These include ecological sensitivities, feminist activity, alternative sexual preferences, and minority ethnic diversity. For Hayden White U. C. Santa Cruz still projected an
endearing ambience from its innovative past cast over the central reality of a liberal arts university on the way to becoming research oriented in many of its aspects (White, 1989).

Gary Lease has been a spectator of and participant in the U. C. Santa Cruz and Kresge College experiment ever since 1973 when he came to campus to teach in his specialty, history of religions. In 1989 he was vice-chancellor of the U. C. Santa Cruz campus. His reflections upon and analyses of the present situation as it has evolved from its beginnings were astute and complex. They were cast in the mold of a political realist perspective. As he suggested, during his interview, he clearly saw that U. C. Santa Cruz maintained an intimate atmosphere unlike other campuses in the University of California system. In addition, many remainders of the original innovative ideals still existed in the city on a hill. Nevertheless the university was rapidly approaching a size where most of its original internal community structures will no longer be functional. In the midst of this transition, he sensed the malaise that often accompanies such a cusp period in an organization’s growth. He suggested that "the faculty are moribund in relation to Kresge College." He sensed that students and faculty at Kresge College did not for the most part partake in a shared experience. Also, the college staff functioned as a self-preserving bureaucracy. Thus he saw much decay in the internal structure and life of the campus (Lease, 1989).
IV The Life of the Mind

This section portrays the educational values of that one-quarter of the present Kresge College community that is committed to the goals of a liberal arts education as the primary purpose of the college. While in no way directly coinciding with the ideals, goals and purposes of a research oriented university, these perspectives nevertheless focused upon academic and intellectual dimensions as foremost in the educational experience.

Murray Baumgarten was a professor of English literature whose specialization penetrated the literary and personal world of Charles Dickens. While observing his classroom, I saw him employing the communicative possibilities of computer networking and of personal interaction in order to create in his teaching a model of collaborative interpretation. The educational values upon which his approach was grounded were suggested in his interview. He held as essential a commitment to a life of reading, brought into a communal context, and transformed by, as he suggested, "ceasing to be a class, and becoming a way of life" (Baumgarten, 1989b).

Michael Cowan was the dean of humanities for U. C. Santa Cruz through the spring of 1988. His subject specialty was in American studies. He has been part of the city on a hill for some time, serving in various administrative positions, including provost of one of the colleges. During his interview he sifted through his many years of experience and observation of U. C. Santa Cruz, and he shared his
vision of its unique educational contribution. Growing from the original innovative experiment, this involved, as he said, "the creation of an intellectual and organizational milieu on campus which has nurtured interdisciplinary experimentation par excellence." U. C. Santa Cruz, he felt, "has been a womb for creating a spirit of educational innovation." This innovative spirit has focused upon the exploration of multi-perspective inquiry and teaching. This was most clearly exemplified by several unique programs. These included the Ph. D. in history of consciousness, the largest women's studies program in the University of California system, and the new politically and culturally sensitive world literature path within the literature board of studies (Cowan, 1989).

Richard Wasserstrom has been chair of the philosophy board at U. C. Santa Cruz for a decade, as well as a contributor to the creation of the legal studies program. During his interview, he suggested that he sees the board of philosophy as constituting a main-line, loosely analytic major. He felt the point of the program involved the provision of disciplinary depth for, and the nurturing of critical thinking ability among, students. His educational ideals were focused on the discovery of the excitement and adventure of the experience of thinking and writing. He called this "the enjoyment of reading philosophy combined with a hunger to write philosophy" (Wasserstrom, 1989a).

Marge Frantz has been a very unique member of the city on a hill for most of its history. Her specialization was in American
studies, and she has an interest in North American women's history. She has pursued her own unique journey of reading, thinking and teaching in relation to the women's studies program as well as several other boards of study. As she shared in her interview, for her the golden age of U. C. Santa Cruz has been the decade from the campus reorganization of 1978-79 until the late 1980's. During this time the ideal of a liberal arts university reigned on campus. She saw an intimate liberal arts environment as the best educational situation for nurturing, as she called it, "the ideal of enlightened citizenship as a foundation for meaningful participation in a democratic society." The central goals of education for her dealt specifically with the development of effective citizenship in a democracy. One of these goals was the development of an ability for critical thinking. Another was a depth of exposure to one subject in the liberal arts. A final goal was the nurturing of a sense of personal responsibility (Frantz, 1989).

David Hoy has been a professor of philosophy at U. C. Santa Cruz since the early 1980's. He was hired within an Anglo-American oriented, loosely analytic board of studies in order to offer a continental phenomenological perspective in philosophical investigation. While being interviewed, he suggested that he sees the advantages of U. C. Santa Cruz's liberal arts environment as including several factors. First of all, he thought that small classes bred an intimacy between students and faculty. Secondly, he believed that a lack of emphasis upon graduate studies allowed students to embrace
philosophy in their own ways and for their own reasons. And finally, he felt that the commitment to a subject specialization for students was a way in which they can, as he said, "learn to ask and answer critical questions in some depth of inquiry" (Hoy, 1989).
CHAPTER SEVEN

HEALING THE BODY OF THE EARTH ---

VOICES FROM RITUAL OCCASIONS

... the graduation ceremony in June, held in the main assembly at Kresge, ... Members of the class that had created Kresge sat in a wide circle on the wooden floors ... Michael Kahn stepped forth ... bearing a large seashell in his hands ... and explained that the nautilus was a creature that lived in the depths ... Anyone wishing to speak about something "deep down" would hold the shell while they spoke ... A student read from the WIZARD OF OZ: "Be what you is and not what you is not" ... an Asian student ... went to the center of the circle with four other students. They hugged and kissed each other ... Another student gave the Sioux signs of cherishing, respect and gratitude ... A heavy girl wearing a patchwork denim skirt ... leaned her head back, let loose with an ear splitting scream, shaking her arms and body ... a girl in jeans added, "I just want to say ... I'm all warm, I'm all excited, I'm all sad" ... It was a very Kresge-like moment, full of expression, of feeling ... At the end, each graduate silently gave a rose to someone present who was especially important to them.

(Grant and Riesman, THE PERPETUAL DREAM, U of Chicago: 1978, pp.119-121)

The public ritual life of an academic community is a symbolic key to the ideals, goals and values embedded in and enacted by its members. In both clearly formulated expressions of purpose, idea and sentiment, and in more hidden exhibitions of social function and cultural role, institutions of higher education present themselves on public occasions. In the early years of Kresge College, ritual occasions
were plentiful, decisive, and radically transformative in the life of the community. The interpersonal rituals of the kin groups focused upon creating an intimacy and openness which would allow for creative feedback among students and faculty members. Decision making occasions such as Town Hall meetings followed the rituals of consensus. In this process each individual's opinion could be expressed and decisions were made only when complete agreement was reached. There were also structured times of community self-reflection such as the yearly "Kresge advance." At these times rituals designed to foster community solidarity and community self-consciousness were enacted. Finally, academic ceremonies were highly innovative in design, such as the first Kresge College graduation (Grant and Riesman, 1978, Cpt. 4).

The study of the ritual behavior of a culture or sub-culture, either as individual or group enactment, allows for the understanding of the values, beliefs and interaction patterns of a society in concrete public expression. Ritual behavior is a symbolic code combining the communication of consciously intended cultural mores, along with the revealing of often unconscious but deeply felt patterns of social legitimacy and of cultural change. Boulding interprets the theory of the evolution of social systems through his image of the integrative system of culture. This image suggests that the interaction patterns, decision making styles, value commitments and ritual behaviors of a community are woven into a continuous tapestry. He suggests that this integration process occurs through the growth of a shared
identity among members of a community as they give to and receive from each other. The ritual behavior of a community expresses and concretizes this shared identity through enacting public moments. In these public moments the group identity is celebrated, and at the same time re-created, through the inclusion of new members (Boulding, 1978).

In this study, I asked two primary questions about the ritual life of Kresge College in the late 1980's. Did it still maintain an orientation toward radical transformation? Or did its mores and patterns focus on the socialization of students to life in modern society and on the legitimation of the present academic community?

I wished to observe both the conscious and often unconscious elements of the ritual life of the present Kresge College community. In order to do this, I employed the method of understanding public ritual occasions as "social texts." Each public ritual occasion was seen to have a "surface" layer, i.e. the "written" text. This included the stated purpose of the event, the sentiments expressed, and the ideas communicated. An example of the surface written text would be a typical sermon in a protestant Christian worship service as it puts forward certain ideas, projects certain emotions, and relates certain behaviors to be either emulated or shunned. At the same time, each public ritual occasion was observed as having a "hidden" layer, i.e. the "unwritten" but implied text. This included the patterns of the ritual behavior displayed, and the social function being enacted by the event. An example of the hidden unwritten text would be the
way in which the same typical sermon displays ritual behavior focused upon making verbal expression central in religious worship and teaching. The hidden text would also include the enactment of the social function of the minister as dominating the religious reflections, emotions and behaviors of his parishoners through being cast in the role of a spiritual guide (McLaren, 1985).

In practical terms, the analysis of the surface and hidden layers of the public ritual occasions that I observed was accomplished through several means. First of all, the surface layer was defined as including three aspects. These were the stated purpose of the event, the ideas communicated during the event, and the sentiments expressed within the event. Secondly, the hidden layer was defined as including two aspects. These were the patterns of behavior exhibited during the event, and the social function of the event within the community as a whole. The analysis of these public ritual occasions then followed a summarization and presentation of the elements of the surface layer and of the aspects of the hidden layer without reference to each other. In this way these two layers of public ritual occasions were allowed to speak independently, whether they showed agreement or contrast.

In the late 1980's, the public ritual occasions that surrounded and accompanied the life of Kresge College had taken on a more subdued character compared to the early Kresge. These public ritual occasions could be grouped into three parts. At the beginning of each academic year, a cluster of orienting public events introduced new
students and their parents to the life of the Kresge community. In
the Fall of 1989, these included the “parent’s orientation,” the “college
orientation” (for new Kresge students), the “academic overview,” and
the Fall convocation” (for all new U.C. Santa Cruz students).
Secondly, during the main body of the academic year, several public
lecture series and the quarterly “Town Hall” events constituted the
ritual life of the community. I was able to observe the quarterly
Kresge College “Town Hall” event for Fall quarter 1989, and several
lecture series sponsored at Kresge College. Thirdly, in the spring,
toward the end of the school year, "Kresge Day" and graduation
ceremonies brought the yearly cycle of public ritual occasions to a
close. Both the Kresge College graduation, and the annual “Kresge
Day” were beyond my time of observation. The total of seven public
ritual occasions which I observed, then, both at the beginning and
during the middle of the academic year, are portrayed in the
remaining sections of this chapter.

Accepting these limitations, the questions I asked involved the
tendency of Kresge College's public ritual occasions to focus on two
contrasting functions. Did they celebrate the power of personal and
social transformation by clearly speaking of the possibilities for
change and growth in the issues and situations being addressed? Or
did they function as a ritual of socialization of students and of the
legitimation of the present life and form of the community by
praising only the existing norms of the community being addressed?
I I Getting Started On the Right Path

During a long weekend in late September, Kresge College began its academic year. It held a series of orientations for parents and students, followed by a university convocation for new students from the whole campus. The first of these ritual occasions was "parent orientation", for the parents of new students. This was held in the Kresge Town Hall, and was presided over by the provost of the college, Gerry Vizenor, with assistance from some of his staff. The surface layer of this public ritual occasion began with Provost Vizenor giving a short talk to the parents in which he welcomed them to the Kresge community. He spoke first of its origins, in the Rogerian and sensitivity training experiment. Then he spoke of its architectural design focused upon forced encounter, pioneered by Charles Moore. He concluded his welcome with a concise description of its modernist/post-modernist liberal arts emphasis at present. His sentiment was personal, soft-spoken and playful as he presented his own philosophy of education and of Kresge College. This philosophy of education was oriented toward the development of imagination as a process of self-realization. It included a vision of Kresge College as a community which attempted to blend several elements into a college of imagination. These elements included life experience, scientific methodology, intellectual discourse, liberation from personal prejudice, and community knowledge. He spoke then of the uses and incredible need of the powers of imagination in our 20th
century culture to face up to and significantly alter the consequences of the environmental crisis on our earth. He mentioned specifically the personal responsibility each human being has to become ecologically conscious and to act accordingly. He celebrated the power of transformation residing in imaginative and informed judgment in the face of the destruction of our earth. The hidden layer of this public ritual occasion revealed itself as being focused upon the presentation of the cultural ideals of the Kresge College community. These ideals included two aspects. First, there was the influencing of public policy and personal life styles in relation to the ecological crisis. Second, there was the celebration of the power of individual and group awareness to transform society (Vizenor, 1989).

Having set the tone of his leadership ideals for Kresge College during the parent's orientation, I observed Provost Vizenor speaking even more to the point for the "College Orientation," primarily for students. The surface text of this public ritual occasion was presented by recalling his committment to imagination as a self-liberating and healing way of life. Then he went deeper into the "angry subject" of environmental pollution and our personal responsibility to transform present realities. He suggested, "We are the earth, our bodies are the natural world ... we are the imagination of the earth in our bodies ... the earth has no way to speak but through our bodies." The hidden text of this public ritual occasion was focused upon the espousal of communal ideals of earth-care for
the Kresge community. It also included the celebration of personal and social struggle as the way to healing change in this crisis (Vizenor, 1989).

The tone and character of these two ritual occasions, led by Provost Vizenor, contrasted somewhat with the "Academic Orientation" and the campus-wide "New Students Convocation" which I observed next. The surface layer of the academic orientation included an attempt to present, in words and in charts, the basic structure of U. C. Santa Cruz, and of Kresge's unique academic program. This was done in terms of basic requirements, guiding policies and time constraints. The hidden layer of this occasion involved setting the rules for success and progress in the academic system. It included an attempt to convince students of the importance of the system for their own intellectual development. Thus, this public ritual occasion was essentially one of socialization of students to the academic system of the university. And it was one of the legitimation of the present state of the college and university as the system most likely to produce intellectual growth and maturity.

Walking together under the Kresge College banner of "wise owls" to the university convocation, I observed a number of new students experiencing the open "quarry" amphitheater at their first all-university event. The chancellor, his administrative staff, and the provosts of the colleges were seated at the front of the quarry. New students from all of the colleges were arranged around in a gigantic semi-circle. The surface layer of this public ritual occasion began
with an address from Chancellor Stevens, speaking primarily of the history, present growth and prospects of U. C. Santa Cruz as a component of the University of California system. Then the winner of the faculty teaching award for the previous year spoke on the nature of a liberal education. He focused upon learning to question, exploration of diversity, encounter with surprise and the development of personal and community self-awareness. The hidden layer of this public ritual occasion involved an attempt to expose new students to the ideals of a liberal arts university. At the same time they were initiated into membership in the campus community. Thus this event revealed elements of the process of socialization of students to the values of liberal arts education. It also included the legitimization of the existence of the community in its present form as a bureaucratic university.
The quarterly Town Hall event at Kresge College has in the last decade been a focus for the public life of the community. It has brought nationally known speakers to campus for an exchange of ideas and perspectives. Political radicals on the edge of social change, popular "consciousness" oriented entertainers, and "new paradigm" thinkers were brought to Kresge College's Town Hall. They have included Dick Gregory in 1980, Daniel Ellsberg in 1981, Ralph Nader, Holly Near and Angela Davis in 1982, Joseph Chilton Pearce and Linus Pauling in 1983, and Rollo May in 1985.

In the fall of 1989, the Town Hall speaker was an entertainer of the consciousness-oriented variety. Bob Fellows presented his "Mind Magic" to an auditorium full of students and a few staff, but no faculty. Blending simple magic tricks with experiments in meditative visualization, ESP, clairvoyance and channeling, he sometimes befuddled, sometimes charmed his audience. Confessing continually, "I'm a complete fake," he encouraged his audience to "believe in your own magic, not someone else's illusion." Having deconstructed the illusions of magic, he spoke in conclusion to the illusions of the disease of addiction and chemical dependency. He exhorted students to stay in charge of their own life situation by resisting the manipulation of others, and through maintaining awareness of what they were thinking and feeling in every moment. The deeper stream, i.e. hidden text, of this public ritual occasion celebrated the power of personal growth and maturity in the context of
interpersonal encounter and communication. It suggested that the
development of personal independence from peer pressure, and of
emotional stability in relation to other human beings, was an integral
part of what becoming educated is about.

There were two primary lecture series on Kresge College's
campus. The first was the history of consciousness lectures, which
introduced new perspectives in cultural interpretation. The second
was the Kresge College lectures, which examined public policy issues
from a historical and intellectual orientation. In the fall of 1989
Hortense Spillers gave the history of consciousness program lecture.
She spoke to a group of about thirty on the topic: "In the flesh:
feminist discourse." She brought together subtle and complex
insights from a wide range of semiotic interpretations. She exhibited
a commitment to comprehending the symbolics and poetics of
gender and race in our contemporary culture. In this context, she
spoke eruditely and eloquently of the development of African-
American women's consciousness and community in the United
States in the 20th century. The deeper purpose, i.e. hidden text, of
her lecture emerged as an attempt to confront students with the
power of structuralist methodology. This power included the
penetration of black women's studies and the transformation of black
feminist awareness and community. Thus she suggested an
intellectual possibility for change and growth in ways of thinking
about black women in our society and culture.
The Kresge College lecturer for fall 1989 was Judy Auerbach. She spoke to a group of about twenty on the topic of "Family Research." She attempted to present a way of studying child care issues from a critical perspective. She outlined the lack of a national family/maternity policy, and the varying levels of support of individual employers for child care programs. Then she employed discourse analysis to uncover the antagonism between national government and local communities in relation to family policy issues. She suggested that the dominant ideology of capitalism with its commitment to competitiveness was the only social force in the United States which could eventually convince employers to adopt employee-supporting child care policies and programs. The underlying focus, i.e. hidden text, of this public ritual occasion was an attempt to bring practical social realities into reflective awareness. By doing so one can see what possible transformations might be engendered and the power of intellectual reflection to uncover the social forces dominating any human situation.

In conclusion, it is clear that there was much variety in the kinds of ritual occasions enacted on the Kresge College campus in the late 1980's. It was also clear that they were very different from the public ritual occasions of the early Kresge College experiment. These early rituals included encounter groups, consensus decision making meetings, structured times of intensive community self-reflection, and innovative academic rituals. They all partook of a depth and shared meaning which the ritual occasions of the late 1980's did not
have. Although not as radically transformative as the early Kresge rituals, reported in Grant and Riesman’s study, five of the seven ritual enactments that I observed continued to celebrate the power of personal and social transformation. The remaining two of these public ritual events were merely occasions for socializing students into their role in the university and the society at large, and for legitimating the present bureaucratic structure.
CHAPTER EIGHT
RUMBLINGS FROM A DISTANT PAST ---
SHIFTING LAYERS OF THE COMMUNITY

I Listening To a Chord

Grant and Riesman's portraits of Kresge College and of U.C. Santa Cruz were written at a time when the campus was fundamentally a center for innovation and experiment in educational theory and practice. My study of Kresge College, as its campus development unfolded through the late 1980's, revealed the formation and solidification of a more mainstream liberal arts ethos on campus. This more recent layer of educational sub-culture was blended with survivals and remainders and transformations from the original layer.

During my residence as a participant observer of the Kresge College community, an event which brought these complex and shifting layers of the community into clear focus occurred. A major earthquake in the Santa Cruz area struck a loud chord for the campus community. The response of various layers of the community revealed much about the composition and tone of the present situation.

Although this chapter was not a part of my original research design, I have attempted to use the earthquake experience as an opportunity to look at some of the various layers of the campus
community. Thus, I suggest in section II the ways in which the ideals and values of various layers of the campus community were revealed in their response to this catastrophe. Section III presents some concluding characterizations of the campus community from recent comment, statistical information, and popular opinion on campus.
II Earthquake Weather

It was Tuesday afternoon, October 17, 1989, in the middle of the driest, warmest and sunniest spell that the central California coast at Santa Cruz had seen for a long time. It was a little after 5:00 p.m., and many residents of this city by the sea were returning home from work, while many students of the city on a hill were finishing a day of classes. All of a sudden, a sound began to rumble through the earth, a sound like thunder rolling through clouds. And then the earth began to shake. For fifteen remarkable seconds the shock waves, emanating from a major shifting of the Pacific and Continental plates along the San Andreas fault, shook Santa Cruz and most of the Bay area. With the earthquake's epicenter just north of Santa Cruz, and a Richter scale magnitude of 7.1, a major catastrophe was at hand. Individual experience ranged widely. Those who were in moving automobiles on rock foundation areas of town, barely noticed the tremor. Those who were in the sedimentary foundation area of downtown Santa Cruz were immersed in a catapulting barrage of falling bricks. Those who were crossing the San Francisco-Oakland Bay bridge were thrown into a life threatening situation as an upper portion of the bridge collapsed. Aftershocks of magnitude up to 6.0 were continuous for 12 hours after the first temblor. They compounded the loss of telephone, electric and gas networks for almost three full days. The community was in a state of shock, literally and figuratively.
How did such a catastrophe affect Kresge College and the U. C. Santa Cruz community? With minimal physical destruction to the campus, the primary responses were to the human and emotional shocks sustained. The university administration closed down all functions for the remainder of the week. Students who chose to remain on campus were given free food and entertained with free movies. By the next week, classes were resumed and many faculty used the first class session to talk out some of the earthquake trauma. Group therapy and individual counseling were offered to all students for dealing with post-traumatic emotional upheavals. Low interest loans were made available to students and faculty who had suffered property or other financial losses through the earthquake. Services were made available to assist in finding new housing or jobs. Kresge College students opened their campus food coop for extended hours, and those students who remained on campus spent time getting to know new neighbors.

As a whole, the university community sustained much less serious damage from the earthquake than the Santa Cruz community. The response of the campus to the local community's need was most insightful. Much of Santa Cruz's rescue efforts hinged upon volunteer agencies such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. Students and faculty collaborated to organize volunteer teams that coordinated with these agencies. Students and faculty collected funds on campus to buy food for the earthquake homeless. These were all humane and sensitive responses from U. C. Santa Cruz as a whole. The
question remains as to whether this intellectual community found the wisdom to allow an event of such social and cultural significance to touch its academic life. Was there any part of the campus which responded in the way the early Kresge College experimental encounter community would probably have responded? Did any part of the community embrace the intellectual, emotional and physical dimensions of this crisis as a time of trial for the whole "tribal family" of the local human community?

The answer was both yes and no. For the university as a whole, the answer was "no." The experience of the earthquake was seen as merely a temporary disruption in the on-going intellectual life of the campus. The profound issues of the meaning and significance of the cultural phenomenon of North American people responding to a major catastrophe were not addressed. For the women's studies program at Kresge College, however, the answer was "yes." It already had established commitments to the human and emotional, as well as intellectual, growth of its students. It already had built bridges to the local women's community. The catastrophe became an opportunity to extend, strengthen and expand the bonds of sisterhood and brotherhood with all members of the local community. The historical and intellectual meaning and significance of the earthquake experience were addressed in courses within the women's studies program. Students were granted course credit for volunteer work with earthquake victims and for written assignments exploring the social and cultural dimensions of the catastrophe. The
local community was embraced as part of the "tribal family" through the networking contacts of the Women's Center. Local organizations working with poor and homeless persons were helped to rebuild their base of support. Only from the perspective of the women's studies program were the personal dimensions and cultural significance of the struggle of the local community in this disaster seen as part of the life struggle of the tribal family of all human beings on earth.
Page Smith was the founding provost of Cowell College, the first college created on the new innovative and experimental U. C. Santa Cruz campus. As the original utopian and idealist visions for U. C. Santa Cruz began to fade, Smith left U. C. Santa Cruz. In 1973 he retired from university teaching in order to devote his attention to writing. As my dissertation was being written, his new book KILLING THE SPIRIT, a very personal history of higher education in the U. S., was published. With fascinating insight and passionate commitment, he bemoaned the degree to which the research ideal has come to overshadow most forms of higher education in the U. S. In what he called an appalling development, scientific objectivity became the only guiding ideal of the university community. The result was that the teaching of undergraduates was severely neglected. Through the rejection of imagination, emotion and sensuality, Smith argued that the research oriented university eliminated the modeling and teaching of courage, love and passion. All of this was done for the sake of promoting reason and rationality as the only acceptable goals of higher education. In chapter seventeen, entitled “Women’s Studies,” Smith spoke directly of the situation that he saw developing on the U. C. Santa Cruz campus before he left. He suggested that two separate U. C. Santa Cruz campuses came into existence. In his own words, “One institution, the University of California, Santa Cruz, Male Division” was deeply
committed to science, objectivity and research as the goals of higher education. "The other ... the University of California, Santa Cruz, Female Division" was committed to a passionate conviction about the importance of women's studies. The female division had a personal interest in the students taking its courses, and created a supportive environment for the emotional growth of undergraduates (Smith, 1990).

Henry Hilgard was one of Kresge's founding faculty. He has remained at U. C. Santa Cruz and watched its growth through all of its trials and tribulations. He suggested a slightly different perspective. For Hilgard, the contradictions and contrasts on U. C. Santa Cruz's campus were woven together by the fabric of campus life itself into an organic, albeit patchwork, tapestry. Thus the divergent perspective and style of the women's studies program, in relation to the research orientation of the rest of the campus, was seen by Henry Hilgard as only one of many complex aspects of the quilted tapestry of the life of U. C. Santa Cruz at present. In his own words, "U. C. Santa Cruz is still a very organic experience" (Hilgard, 1989).

What, then, were the layers of the organic tapestry of the Kresge College community in 1989? And how have they shifted from the past? Even a few tentative answers to this question might shed some light on the survival of a situation nurturing an alternative vision of education. This vision saw personal self-realization and group support and acceptance as significant educational goals. The first layers of the Kresge College community were laid down in the
early 1970's as about 300 students, faculty and staff attempted to create and sustain a living-learning community. In this community, emotional openness and spiritual intimacy were just as important as intellectual endeavor. Within several years this original humanistic vision had retreated to a corner of the college. There had been a doubling in community size, and the recruitment of many new community members unfamiliar with and uncommitted to the original vision. Something of an organizational earthquake, or at least a great shift of community layers, occurred in the late 1970's at Kresge College. At this time, the new chancellor Robert Sinsheimer reorganized and redefined the community, bringing the humanities focus of philosophy, literature and history of consciousness to the campus. Through all this time and change, the women's studies program, born in the early Kresge experiment, was growing and adapting to its new environment at Kresge College.

In the late 1980's, Kresge College had an enrollment of about 1100 students. About 400 of them, primarily first and second year students, lived on campus. The campus housing situation of shared apartments tended to attract mature and assertive students. Through a residential staff program, on campus students were encouraged to develop as much of a sense of an extended family at Kresge College as was possible. By year undergraduate students affiliated with Kresge College broke out as follows: 1st year - 20% ; 2nd year - 30% ; 3rd year - 30% ; 4th year - 20%. In addition, 80% of Kresge's students came from white, Anglo-Saxon protestant
cultural backgrounds, with 20% from a mixture of minority subcultures. The class background of 90% of the families of Kresge College students revealed that they were primarily middle class in terms of annual income. Twenty percent of these students were from families with lower middle class income ($15-25,000). Forty percent of these students were from families with middle middle class income ($30-75,000). Thirty percent of these students were from families with upper middle class income ($75-100,000).

Traditionally aged students (17-22) outnumbered returning students (aged over 22) by a ratio of 7 to 3. About 90% of Kresge College students came from the state of California, with only a few students from other states or countries (A. C. E. and U. C. L. A, 1988).

The organic patchwork tapestry of the U. C. Santa Cruz community in the late 1980's can perhaps best be portrayed through images of its uniqueness. Where else in the University of California system, or at a major university, are inter-collegiate sports considered of little importance? On how many university campuses is the dominant voice of the student newspaper consistently not just liberal but rather radical? In which other large campus situations are the majority of students offered credited and paid assistantships in advising, counseling, or teaching? Kresge College students were free to "shop" for classes that feel right to them. They only needed to register after they have attended classes for the first week. Kresge students all completed their major programs through either a senior thesis or project, or alternatively through comprehensive oral or
written exams. All U. C. Santa Cruz students received written narrative evaluations of their work, which are recorded on their transcripts instead of letter grades.

Outside the Kresge College Town Hall stood a realistically portrayed male nude sculpture, "The Naked Man," hanging from a knife or sword edge. This was the source of a controversy in the mid-1970's in which Kresge College lost the support of the Kresge Foundation rather than remove the sculpture. The U. C. Santa Cruz campus symbol was no roaring lion, howling wolf or charging buffalo, but rather the "banana slug," a unique coastal forest creature about which a U. C. Santa Cruz professor has written a natural history. The town of Santa Cruz, as the earthquake reporters from Washington, New York and Chicago discovered, was the city where "the sixties never died." It boasted as many natural food stores as churches; its fast food shops offered vegetarian alternatives. While perhaps on the way to becoming just another multi-versity in the University of California system, U. C. Santa Cruz, Kresge College, and the town of Santa Cruz remained very unique academic and human communities in the late 1980's. There were many traces of layers from the past clearly evident in the organic fabric of the present.
CHAPTER NINE

TO EVERYTHING THERE IS A SEASON ---

CHANGE, GROWTH AND MATURITY

... lovers of the Santa Cruz ideal ... When they contemplate the picture of a trans-formation of Santa Cruz into just another university campus ... experience a deep unease ...
... The first ideal was that of a large university campus whose educational practice would be such as to value and really utilize the intimacy and sense of belonging characteristic of the small ... experimental ... college ... But changes are now in order ... As in any living system, there are forces in operation which pull in different directions ... it remains a challenging question whether in the shaping of the mature Santa Cruz, its identity with its earlier existence can persist in development.

I Dreams and Nightmares

In the early 1970's, Kresge College was created as an innovative experiment in undergraduate education. It was founded upon the humanistic psychology of Carl Rogers and organized along the lines of encounter groups and sensitivity training. Until the late 1970's, the institutional structure of Kresge College and of U. C. Santa Cruz gave relative autonomy to the college in defining the nature of its living-learning community. It also gave equal authority in faculty hiring to the colleges and the disciplinary boards of study. The central university administration acted as a guiding force in decision making, but it allowed shared governance with the various colleges
by granting them voice and vote in many decision processes. From its beginnings through the mid-1970's, Kresge defined itself as an educational tribal family. This included the creation of community intimacy in classrooms and "kin" groups. Kresge fostered educational experimentation by hiring faculty committed to personal interaction with students as well as to intellectual growth. The realization of the ideal of a tribal family was facilitated through participatory consensus decision making.

In the late 1970's, the original Kresge experimental ideal faded to a corner of the college. This occurred when large numbers of new students and faculty, uncommitted to the practice of a tribal family lifestyle, joined the college. A season of confusion, malaise and uncertainty followed. During the 1978-79 school year, Chancellor Sinsheimer reorganized the campus to make it conform more closely to the ideal of a mainstream liberal arts university. Kresge College was redefined, on its academic side, as a modernist/post-modernist liberal arts college. In the process, it was restructured in many ways. It had much less autonomy in matters of the self-creation of its community atmosphere. It lost almost all authority in hiring faculty. And it gave up most of its influence in policy making.

In the late 1980's, Kresge College at U. C. Santa Cruz had completed a decade of its existence as a modernist/post-modernist liberal arts college. What little curricular autonomy Kresge still retained was being threatened by a proposal for a campus-wide centrally defined university core course. Authority to hire faculty
was firmly in the hands of strong boards of study that were oriented to specific mainstream disciplines. The central administrative bureaucracy set policy for Kresge, although the chancellor and his staff remained sensitive to input from the college. By the late 1980's, Kresge had moved away from the vision of its early experimental years. However it seemed still far from becoming a clone of the multi-versity ideal, although the vision of such a possibility existed on campus as a dream or nightmare for its respective proponents or opponents.
In the founding period of U. C. Santa Cruz, the boards of study were subordinate to the colleges. The boards were seen as representatives of the traditional disciplines within an overall interdisciplinary framework. However, faculty associated with the boards of study began to use them to assert the traditional conservative authority of the disciplines. Thus the strength of the boards of study began to grow during the 1970's. The campus reorganization of the late 1970's supported this growing autonomy of the boards of study. Chancellor Sinsheimer defined the interdisciplinary relationships of the boards primarily in terms of the liberal arts conceptions of divisions of study, i.e. humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. Kresge College lost its orientation to humanistic psychology, and became host to several humanities boards of study. The philosophy, literature and history of consciousness boards were brought to its campus to join the women's studies program. Because of the influence of the board of the history of consciousness in the definition of Kresge College as a modernist/post-modernist liberal arts college, Kresge College retained a strong interdisciplinary orientation.

In the late 1980's, the primary boards of study at Kresge College reflected a range of intellectual ecology. The philosophy board represented a traditional Anglo-American loosely analytic approach to philosophical investigation. The
literature board represented a diverse and culturally pluralistic orientation to the study of literature. The history of consciousness board represented a hermeneutic and semiotic interpretive perspective. The women's studies program represented a commitment to a radical feminist consciousness.

Each board of study at Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz was relatively autonomous in terms of hiring faculty, choosing a curriculum and employing its own style of education. The size and growth patterns of the boards were negotiated with the central administration in response to student enrollments and centrally planned projections of curriculum development patterns. Because of their interdisciplinary heritage, U. C. Santa Cruz and Kresge College continued to nurture interdisciplinary perspectives within specific boards, and in sub-programs of more traditional boards.
III Memories and Realities

How has the ethos of Kresge College at U. C. Santa Cruz changed since its founding under the influence of humanistic psychology, encounter groups and sensitivity training? On the surface the answer to this question would suggest considering several phenomena. First, the original Kresge tribal family experiment faded and died by the mid-1970's. Second, the living-learning environment at U. C. Santa Cruz broke down as academic life was separated from residential life in the late 1970's. And third, Kresge College and U. C. Santa Cruz were reorganized in 1978-79 according to the model of a liberal arts university. At a much deeper level, however, I found indications that the ethos of Kresge College continued to retain many survivals of its early ethos. This deeper level is found in the patterns of everyday life of the community.

In its original form, interaction between students and teachers was intimate and extensive at Kresge College, cutting across a wide range of the everyday life of the community from classroom to kin group. The primary focus of student-teacher interaction in 1989 was in the classroom, and only a remnant of the original atmosphere of openness and intimacy still prevailed. Of the five courses observed, at all levels of instruction and varying class sizes, the ratio of conversational turns taken by students to conversational turns taken by the teacher never fell much below
1.0 : 1. This indicated a relatively equal number of turns for students and teacher. With the exception of the section taught by a regular long term professor, the Kresge College core course classroom ratios tended toward 2.0 : 1. This suggested both frequent student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction. The patterns of conversational turn taking in all classes observed were, with a few exceptions, loose, unstructured and slow. This is a combination essential for nurturing open, easy flowing interaction between students and teacher. The overall attitudes expressed by faculty in the classrooms observed were primarily personal, supportive, humanistic and often charismatic. There was in addition some blending of these intimacy developing dispositions with a more traditional and formal academic classroom demeanor. The intense personal intimacy of the early Kresge ethos, then, was retained in diluted forms in the late 1980's. It occurred primarily in classroom interaction and was strongest in the Kresge College core course classrooms.

The original Kresge experiment in consensual participatory democracy for the entire college community had long since been replaced by centralized administrative decision making. At the faculty level, and among university-wide student bodies, representative forms of majority rule persisted. Among the students at Kresge College a quite surprising awareness of and commitment to the ideal of decision making through consensus still existed. This was clearly expressed and enacted in the Kresge College student
parliament constitution and in student practice. Consensus decision making was also followed in the organization and working procedure of the "Town Crier" and Skit Review. Consensus decision making was employed as a foundational relationship in building a community of shared awareness and action in these student groups. This was in deep resonance with the original ideals of the founders of the Kresge tribal family community. Thus the ideal of consensus had faded significantly on Santa Cruz's campus, but remained strong among students on Kresge's campus.

The spectrum of ideals, goals and purposes at Kresge College did not exemplify extreme models such as a communal-expressive community or a multi-versity. It did however stretch across a wide range of values for educational growth. One side of this spectrum involved seeing imaginative self-realization as a path to ecological awareness. Another side involved a commitment to the liberal arts as education for participatory citizenship. About 50% of the students, faculty and administrators interviewed expressed educational visions representing new ways of being and becoming in our present age. Slightly over 25% of the interviewees saw liberal arts values as central at Kresge College. The remaining 25% experienced a mixture of traditional and experimental values in the educational life of the university. Although the spectrum of educational values was not as broad as in Santa Cruz's early years, it was far from being a reflection of the values of the modern multi-versity.
The public ritual life of the original Kresge experimental tribal family was complex, diverse and rich. Public ritual occasions in the community I observed were much simpler, more formalized and more subdued. Nevertheless, survivals of the past often appeared unexpectedly. They could be seen in the impassioned call to ecological consciousness on the part of Kresge College's provost during orientation rituals. They were encountered in the cosmopolitan and sometimes new age perspectives of visiting Town Hall speakers. They were exhibited in the intellectually profound and socially aware presentations of campus lecturers. The celebration of the power of personal and social transformation was still a beacon light within the public ritual life of the Kresge College community, if not quite the bonfire around which the tribal family warmed itself.

The original communal-expressive educational experiment at Kresge College was deeply influenced by the social movements of the late 1960's and early 1970's. As Grant and Riesman clearly showed, the humanistic psychology movement was the inspiration for Kresge's founders. The rituals of the encounter group and sensitivity training movements were incorporated in the community life of Kresge from its beginnings. As the influence of humanistic psychology waned in our culture, the experiment at Kresge slowly faded, almost disappearing by the end of the 1970's. As the women's movement gained momentum in our culture, some elements of feminism revealed deep affinities with the fading humanistic
psychology ethos. These elements included a commitment to personal self-realization, and to an educational holism that considered emotional and spiritual development to be just as important as intellectual growth. On Kresge's campus the fledgling women's studies program thus sustained these shared values from Kresge's beginning ethos. Interaction between women's studies students and teachers in 1989 was warm, intimate and complex. The program's goals were oriented toward emotional and intellectual growth for its students, and included a feminist spirituality. Most other women's studies programs at present focus upon academic pursuits. In contrast women's studies at Kresge and U.C. Santa Cruz encouraged students to invest as much time in community building as they do in intellectual pursuits. Academic and career success was of secondary importance to the transformation of personal and social awareness through the vision of a sisterhood and brotherhood of all peoples of the earth.
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