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RESIGNATION FOR PRINCIPLE

by

ANNE THORP

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in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Winnipeg, Manitoba.

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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This thesis was designed to contribute to the new values-based theory in the study of organisations and administration. It examines the "resignation for principle" of an administrator who was unable to lead his department through changes in which he did not believe.

The study addresses the following questions:

1. In what ways does the resigner's character influence the events of the dissent between that person and the organisation?
2. How does the organisation affect the events of the dissent?
3. When considering the resignation for principle, what is the significance of the resigner's relationship with the organisation and its wider environment?
4. What are the consequences of the complexity of the issue(s) of the resignation for principle?
5. What are the outcomes of the resignation for principle for the resigner and the organisation?

Little formal literature exists which deals with resignation for principle. The study draws on an emerging critique of contemporary theory, and on classical notions, such as those of Chester Barnard, which see leadership and administration as the achievement of moral order.

Preliminary investigations suggested that such resignations were often silent, painful and secret acts, not readily available for study. Therefore, a single case was examined in detail. Data were gathered in interviews with the principal actors, observations were made of the setting and documentary evidence was also used.

From the examination of this case it appeared that the person who resigns for principle is likely to demonstrate other strongly held opinions. The actions of the organisation may prolong the dispute. In this example, the organisation had changed significantly over time, while the administrator had not, thus creating a growing dissonance between the two sets of values. There was also an internal conflict for the individual whose loyalty to the organisation indicated that he must change, but who could not lead others through changes in which he did not believe. The issues were clear, and the organisational culture open and responsive, with the result that damage to the individual and the organisation was less destructive than preliminary investigation had suggested was usual.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
TABLE OF FIGURES. . . . .	.iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	.v
Chapter	
1. THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY. . . . .	.1
Background Literature. . . . .	.5
Specific Literature. . . . .	.5
Definitions Arising from the Literature. . . . .	.8
Some Issues Raised by the Literature . . . . .	.23
Research Questions . . . . .	.34
Research Methodology . . . . .	.36
Concluding Comments. . . . .	.44
2. THE SEARCH FOR A SUBJECT . . . . .	.45
History of the Principal Actor . . . . .	.59
History of the Organisation. . . . .	.64
3. THE SETTING OF A RESIGNATION FOR PRINCIPLE . . . . .	.69
Principal Actor's Situation. . . . .	.69
Situation of the School. . . . .	.74
Organisational Structure . . . . .	.74
Plant and Equipment. . . . .	.77
Ecology of the Organisation. . . . .	.80
Finances of The Rushmore Academy . . . . .	.82

Chapter	Page
3. (continued)	
Personnel Policies . . . . .	.83
Policy Making. . . . .	.86
Academic Programme of the School . . . . .	.88
Illinois Mathematics . . . . .	.94
Environmental Influences on the School . . . . .	.98
Trustees and Parents . . . . .	.98
The Merger . . . . .	.100
4. INTERPRETATIVE DATA. . . . .	.105
Events Surrounding the Resignation . . . . .	.105
Issues in the Resignation. . . . .	.117
Basic Issue. . . . .	.118
Secondary Issues . . . . .	.119
Behaviour of the Principal Character . . . . .	.125
Organisational Behaviour . . . . .	.136
After the Resignation. . . . .	.143
5. ANALYSIS OF A RESIGNATION FOR PRINCIPLE. . . . .	.150
Research Questions . . . . .	.154
1. The Character of the Resigner . . . . .	.155
2. The Effect of the Organisation. . . . .	.163
3. The Relationship between the Organisation and the Resigner. . . . .	.167
4. The Complexity of the Issues. . . . .	.178
5. Outcomes. . . . .	.181
Concluding Comments. . . . .	.187
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	.192
APPENDICES	
A. METHODOLOGICAL NOTES. . . . .	.199
B. NOTES RE MATHEMATICS VISITING COMMITTEE . . . . .	.204
C. INTERNAL NOTE ABOUT VISITING COMMITTEE REPORT . . . . .	.206

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Handling of Dissent. . . . .	.4
2. Hodgkinson's Value Paradigm. . . . .	.17
3. Schema of Value-related Terms.25
4. Weick's Diagram for Thorngate's Postulate.37

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Chapter 1

THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Throughout the development of the body of literature which examines human behaviour in formal organisations, there is a persistent concern with the relationship between the organisation and its members, with the interdependence of the parts and the whole. It is present in such early writings as those of Plato and Machiavelli. In this century the father of modern organisation theory, Chester Barnard, attempted to deal with it by endowing individuals with dual personalities, a private one and another for public use in the organisation (1968, p.88).

Later theorists concentrated on particular aspects of this classic tension. The Hawthorne experiments drew attention to the influence of group pressures on the individual (Perrow, 1979, pp.90-98). The interest of some writers who subscribed to the "human relations" model focused on Argyris's (1960) dynamic conceptualisation of the person changing the organisation and vice-versa. Other authors and scholars, like Simon (1957) and March (1958), although concerned about structure, did not ignore the

influence of authority figures in organisations. Etzioni (1961) considered the "compliance" that organisations asked of their members, and Talcott Parsons (1960) dealt with the integration of the individual and the group through adherence to a central value system.

Some recent thinking suggests a move away from this position. Weick, for example, questions Parson's view.

The common assertion that people organise in order to accomplish some agreed-upon end is not essential to an explanation of orderliness found in concerted action, nor is goal-governed behavior that evident in organizations (Weick, 1979, p.239).

A growing awareness of the importance of considering the individual in the study of organisation theory is evident in the work of writers such as Greenfield. He explains that

individuals not only create the organizations, they are the organization. Of course, different individuals bring diverse ideas, aspirations, or needs to the organization. To see organizations as created out of such diversity is to recognize organizations as the social reality within which individuals interact (Greenfield, 1973, p.556).

Here the focus is not on "integration" but on "diversity." Even in the philosophically conservative literature of business management, there is interest in issues of dissent, individuals' rights within the organisation, corporate ethics and whistle blowing. Many people who work for a formal organisation find themselves, at some point in their career, in disagreement with their employer. Their conflict may be small, or they may face a dilemma of the magnitude

that assistant manager, Peter McDermott, confronted in Arthur Hailey's novel Hotel, when he was required to refuse a room to a prominent black, because of the hotel owner's racial prejudice. He thought,

If I had the courage of conviction, I'd walk out of this hotel and quit. But reason argued: If he did, would anything be achieved? It would not get Dr. Nicholas a room and would effectively silence Peter's own right of protest to Warren Trent, a right he had exercised yesterday and intended to do again. For that reason alone wasn't it better to stay, to do - in the long run - what you could? (Hailey, 1965, p.175).

Such conflicts are not only the subject of novels, but are part of the reality of working life. Warren Bennis, in The Leaning Ivory Tower (1973) and The Unconscious Conspiracy (1976), describes a conflict which arose when he was acting executive vice-president of the State University of New York at Buffalo. Despite knowing of Bennis's disapproval, the acting president of the University ordered the use of police to handle a campus demonstration. Rather than be identified with this action, Bennis resigned his administrative post and made his point of view known publically.

For Bennis and for the character in Hailey's novel, the resolution of their dilemma involved some combination of two components, speaking out about the issue of conflict and resigning from the organisation. A. O. Hirschman (1970) would call this using "voice" and "exit."

When individuals are in conflict with their employing organisation, they have four possible courses of action:

1. to remain in the organisation and be silent,
2. to leave the organisation and to remain silent,
3. to remain in the organisation and speak out,
4. to leave the organisation and speak out.

These options can be expressed diagrammatically:

	No voice	Voice
No exit	1	3
Exit	2	4

Figure 1: The Handling of Dissent

In order to resolve their conflicts, some people choose to resign from their organisations and, therefore, fall into either quadrant 2 or 4.

Although Hailey's McDermott chose not to resign, the issue for him and for Bennis was a matter of principle. Both were being expected by their organisation, or by some powerful subgroup of that organisation, to agree to actions or policies which violated their personal, strongly held beliefs.

The resignation of an individual because he or she

is asked to do what they believe is wrong is "resignation for principle."

Background Literature

In spite of some similarities, each resignation for principle is unique. Such actions are the result of diverse value systems, operating in complex organisations, dealing with a variety of problems.

At the present time, there is very little in the literature of organisational behaviour which helps to unravel the complexities of resignation for principle. Insights are needed which will begin to provide answers to some of the questions about why some people, in some organisations, behave in this way.

Specific Literature

One of the most relevant books to any study of resignation for principle has already been quoted. A. O. Hirschman's Exit, Voice and Loyalty (1970) is sub-titled "Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations and States," which indicates its rather abstract nature. This small volume begins from an economics-based analysis of market forces. It draws parallels with the relationships between individuals and the organisations with which they are involved, either by birth or by choice, their family, local,

state and national communities, clubs and religious organisations. Although Hirschman pays scant attention to the individual and his employing organisation, some of his concepts and terminology are very useful. The expressions "exit" and "voice" have already been used, but much of Hirschman's book focuses on the mitigating factors in the blend of exit and voice, particularly the role of loyalty, which will be examined in greater detail later.

The second example of writing which is relevant in a study of resignation for principle has also been mentioned. It is Warren Bennis's description of his own resignation, which is found, with differing emphases, in two of his books, The Unconscious Conspiracy (1976) and The Leaning Ivory Tower (1973).

However, Bennis's accounts are not only descriptions of his own experiences. As would be expected with his background of interests in organisational behaviour, a more detailed analysis of dissent in organisations is included. In fact, Bennis, in The Unconscious Conspiracy, defines the possible courses of action for those who have value conflicts with their organisation, in a way similar to that given in Figure 1, on page 4 above.

They oppose some policy, and they quickly learn that bureaucracies do not tolerate dissent. What then? They have several options: They can capitulate. Or they can remain within the group and try to win the majority to their own position, enduring the frustration and

ambiguity that can go with this option. Or they can resign. Remaining can be an excruciating experience of public loyalty and private doubt. But what of resigning? Superficially resigning seems an easy out, but it also has its dark and conflictful side. And, if resignation is the choice, the problem of how to leave, silently or openly voicing one's position, still remains (Bennis, 1976, p.38).

When Bennis published The Unconscious Conspiracy, he was aware of the lack of literature dealing with resignation for principle, but knew of the contribution of Exit, Voice and Loyalty (1970). He said that

virtually nothing has been written on the dynamics of dissent in organizations, although a recent book by Harvard political economist Albert O. Hirschman almost single-handedly makes up for past deficiencies. Oddly enough, the book still remains "underground," largely unread by the wide audience touched by the processes Hirschman describes (Bennis, 1976, p.38).

There is no indication that Bennis was familiar with the third significant piece of writing in this area, a book by Edward Weisband and Thomas M. Franck called Resignation in Protest, which was published in 1975. This is a study of the holders of high political office in the United States and the United Kingdom who have dissented with government or presidential policy and left their posts. Although the study is extensive, there are some limitations to its relevance to resignation for principle. For example, the relationship between the individuals and their organisations is not identical in the two sets of circumstances. Most of the subjects of the Weisband and Franck study either were

elected to their posts or held them by presidential favour, a different relationship from that between employee and employer. The resignations in the study were defined as being "in protest" rather than "for principle." They were resignations which defended some publically declared position, and were open to interpretation as face-saving or power-grabbing either for the resigner or a constituent, rather than based on deeply held personal beliefs.

Nevertheless, in their different ways, these writings begin to focus on some of the issues raised in the first section of this chapter. They initiate a task of definition which can also be aided by the general literature of organisational behaviour, but which cannot be completed because of the limited amount of specific research which is relevant to this topic.

Definitions Arising from the Literature

The meaning of the "resignation for principle" of people who have been employed in complex, formal organisations may be clarified by an examination of some of the more general literature of organisational behaviour and related fields.

1. On being part of an organisation. One of the circumstances which defines this study, and which the examples mentioned above share, is that of belonging to a

complex organisation. The implications of being a part of such a group go beyond all concerns for economic security, to the fulfilment of a psychological need. Almost thirty years ago, Whyte, in The Organization Man, called this "belongingness," a need which he believed was transferred to the work group because of the weakening of other human groups, such as the family and the church (1956, p.36). And he warned of group power:

The group is a tyrant; so also is it a friend, and it is both at once. The two qualities cannot easily be separated, for what gives the group its power over the man is the same cohesion that gives it its warmth. This is the duality that confuses choice (Whyte, 1956, p.399).

Even in a political setting, Weisband and Franck find the same "friend and tyrant" duality.

The organization ethic demands loyalty and acceptance of institutional tactics and policies in return for companionship, security, advancement and the shared adventure of common enterprise (Weisband and Franck, 1975, p.9).

Such a picture of the "organization man" may appear, at first, to be overdrawn, but the strength of the bond between the individual and the organisation cannot be ignored. Bennis explains that

pressures against registering dissent cannot be subsumed under the clumsy label of "loyalty." In fact, they represent much more subtle personal and organizational factors, including deep-rooted psychological dependence, authority problems, simple ambition, co-operative mechanisms (the "devil's-advocacy" technique), pressure to be a member of the club and fear of being outside looking in (Bennis, 1976, p.52).

Similar effects of team loyalty are very apparent to any reader of the numerous volumes dealing with the Nixon era of American politics, and particularly the events surrounding Watergate. John Ehrlichman's rationalisation of his actions in Witness to Power (1982) is only one example of the bonds which tie the individual to his team and his leader.

Many of the people discussed in the formal literature of organisational behaviour, however, are not ordinary members of organisations, they are in leadership positions, either as managers or policy-making professionals. This suggests that, because of their opportunities to bring about change in the group, their investment in it, and their identification with it would be greater than that of other members. Nor should it be assumed that the influence of the manager and the loyalty of the group are always positive forces.

Experience with top executives and their organizations revealed that parallels could be drawn between individual pathology - excessive use of one neurotic style - and organizational pathology, the latter resulting in poorly functioning organizations. In dysfunctional, centralized firms, the rigid neurotic styles of the top executives were strongly mirrored in the nature of the inappropriate strategies structures and organizational cultures of their firms (Kets de Vries, 1984, p.17).

(It should be noted that in the literature, and in the discussion of this literature, the terms "administrator," "executive" and "manager" are used interchangeably.)

Certainly, leaders are not strangers to conflict within their organisations. According to Christopher Hodgkinson (1983, p.205) "value analysis and conflict management are integral parts of decision making and leadership skills." James MacGregor Burns, in his book Leadership explains that

ultimately the moral legitimacy of transformational leadership, and to a lesser degree transactional leadership, is grounded in conscious choice among real alternatives. Hence leadership assumes competition and conflict, and brute power denies it (Burns, 1978, p.36).

But, Burns goes on to explain how an effective leader will use such conflict to pull the group together:

Leadership acts as an inciting and triggering force in the conversion of conflicting demands, values and goals into significant behavior. . . .They (leaders) discern signs of dissatisfaction, deprivation and strain; they take the initiative in making connections with their followers; they plumb the character and intensity of their potential for mobilization; they articulate grievances and wants; and they act for followers in their dealings with other clusters of followers (Burns, 1978, p.38).

The increased identification with the organisation which results from operating in an environment of potential conflict and uncertainty was noted by Rosabeth Kanter in her study of managers, Men and Women of the Corporation.

Because of the situation in which managers function, because of the position of managers in the corporate structure, social similarity tends to become extremely important to them. . . .The men who manage reproduce themselves in kind. . . .Conformity pressures and the development of exclusive management circles closed to "outsiders" stem from the degree of uncertainty surrounding managerial positions (Kanter, 1977, p.48).

To break the complex bond of loyalty can be extremely difficult. When that bond is the basis of a person's identity for eight hours or more of each working day, the difficulty is compounded. Weisband and Franck use the word "crisis" to describe the individual's perception of the break: "members of even the best-run organizations cannot escape moments of profound crisis when they must break faith either with the team or with themselves" (1975, p.7). Furthermore, the organisation will react to increase the stress of the situation:

The person who sacrifices team loyalty in order to pursue a competing value, such as integrity, is likely to have brought to bear against him the coercive weight of that society's historically conditioned sense of self-preservation (Weisband and Frank, 1975, p.3).

From the body of literature that exists, it would seem that pressure to conform is probably experienced by everyone who resigns for principle, whether silently or with voice.

2. On principles. Interest in the moral component of administrative behaviour is as old as the literature itself. Plato, in The Republic, discusses the training of leaders of the State, and concludes that the need to study philosophy to understand "the nature of the good" is the most important element in the preparation for leadership (The Republic, Book VI, pp.241-5).

In more recent literature, Chester Barnard is

notable for his extensive discussion of the role of individual ethics in the behaviour of the executive. Having made the point that the moral codes of anyone are extremely complex, he goes on to examine those of a person in a senior management position, codes which he finds to be even more complicated:

Every executive possesses, independently of the position he occupies, personal moral codes. When the individual is placed in an executive position there are immediately incumbent upon him, officially at least, several additional codes that are the codes of his organization (Barnard, 1968, p.273).

Barnard also stresses that executives, because of their leadership positions, have a further task which he calls "moral creativeness." Thus "the distinguishing mark of the executive responsibility is that it requires not merely conformance to a complex code of morals but also to the creation of moral codes for others" (1968, p.279).

Concern with individual ethics as a component of leadership behaviour has been largely ignored by the writers who followed Barnard. Much current interest in ethics in business focuses on the codes of practice of the organisation rather than on personal standards of behaviour. Benson defines business ethics as

those principles, or aspirations towards principles that guide businessmen in their commercial connections with suppliers, customers, workers or others. Business ethics are normally part of and consistent with general ethics (Benson, 1982, p.xiv).

This rather austere approach to "graft" expectations, anti-trust laws, the moral aspects of advertising and the suspicion of links between trade unions and organised crime is remote from the people who are present in Barnard's work, coming to terms with their consciences and the expectations of their jobs. And so it is with other recent writing. The 1968 book by Raymond Baumhart, Ethics in Business, its follow-up study published in the Harvard Business Review by Brenner and Molander during 1977, and the 1983 poll by Gallup for The Wall Street Journal are impersonal and ignore the tension and emotionality which accompany ethical dilemmas.

The apparent over-simplification which exists in much of the work on business ethics is not quite so evident in that section which deals with whistle blowing. Much of what has been written in this area has its roots in work by Ralph Nader and a group of colleagues, who published some case studies in 1972, following a conference on professional responsibility. Another important influence is the writing of Alan Westin, a professor of law at Columbia University and president of the Education Fund for Individual Rights (1980, 1981).

Westin defines whistle blowing as the action of employees who believe their organization is engaged in illegal, dangerous or unethical conduct. Usually, they try to have such conduct corrected through inside

complaint, but if it is not, the employee turns to government authorities or the media and makes the charge public. Usually, whistle blowers get fired. Sometimes they may be reinstated. Almost always, their experiences are traumatic, and their career and lives profoundly affected (Westin, 1981, p.1).

This definition indicates some similarities between whistle blowers and those who resign for principle. Both groups of employees are dealing with behaviour by the organisation with which they do not agree. However, in the case of whistle blowers that behaviour can be judged by law, rules of safety, or professional codes of ethics, not merely standards rooted in personal belief. In addition, the decision to leave the organisation is out of the control of whistle blowers. They are often fired, they do not resign. Using the diagram in Figure 1 (see page 4) and Hirschman's terminology, those who resign for principle exit and may or may not use voice, thus falling into quadrants 2 and 4. Whistle blowers use voice and may or may not exit, therefore falling into quadrants 3 and 4 of the diagram.

Recently, there have been some indications that the more general literature of organisational behaviour is beginning to examine complex problems of individual ethics and organisations with increasing seriousness. The September-October, 1983, volume of the Harvard Business Review contains two articles of relevance to this area. One, by McCoy, called "The Parable of the Sadhu" draws

parallels between the dilemma involving personal ethics and group well-being and similar corporate conflicts. The second article, by Jackall, investigates the effect of the development of bureaucracy upon the Protestant ethic and individual morality. The author explains his point of view very clearly:

Because moral choices are inextricably tied to personal fates, bureaucracy erodes internal and even external standards of morality, not only in matters of individual success and failure but also in all the issues that managers face in their daily work. . . . What matters in the bureaucratic world is not what a person is but how closely his many personae mesh with the organizational ideal; not his willingness to stand by his actions but his agility in avoiding blame; not what he believes or says but how well he has mastered the ideologies that serve his corporation; not what he stands for but whom he stands with in the labyrinths of his organisation.

In short, bureaucracy structures for managers an intricate series of moral mazes (Jackall, 1983, p.130).

Such complexity in individual ethical choice seems greatest when the issues are not defined by law or published codes of practice, but by personal belief, by principles.

To begin to understand that "principles" can be distinguished from those values which can be termed "good" it is necessary to examine a model of value concepts such as that which Hodgkinson uses in Towards a Philosophy of Administration (1978) and The Philosophy of Leadership (1983). In these books the author classifies values into three main types (see Figure 2). Type III values are those based on emotive preference; something is "good" because it

Value Type	Grounds of Value	Psychological Faculty	Philosophical Orientations	Value Level
I	PRINCIPLES	conation willing	religion existent- - ialism intuition	I
IIA	CONSEQUENCE (A)	cognition	utilitar- - ianism pragmatism humanism democratic liberalism	II
IIB	CONSENSUS (B)	reason thinking		
III	PREFERENCE	affect emotion feeling	behaviourism positivism hedonism	III

Figure 2: Hodgkinson's Value Paradigm
(1983, p.38)

is liked. Such values are primitive - Hodgkinson uses the word "subrational." Type II values are social because they depend on consensus or rational consideration of outcomes, while Type I values are called "transrational."

The grounding of Type I values is metaphysical. We can concede this without apology. I have called such grounds grounds of principle. The principles take the form of ethical codes, injunctions or commands, such as the Kantian imperative or the Mosaic "Thou shalt not kill." But whether they derive from a postulated moral insight, an asserted religious revelation, or an aesthetic sense of individual drama, their common feature is that they are unverifiable by the techniques of science and cannot be justified by merely logical argument. . . . The characteristic of Type I values is that they are based on the will rather than upon the reasoning faculty; their adoption implies some kind of act of faith, belief, commitment (Hodgkinson, 1978, pp.111-113).

With the help of this classification it is possible to begin to separate the "principles," which caused the resignations of the potential subjects of this study, from the Type II values which occur in formal professional ethical codes and in the laws applicable to business practice. However, identification of principles remains a matter of perception. Values, which seem Type I to the individual who holds them, may appear to be rationalisations, face-saving or power-seeking ploys, to others in the organisation.

Principles are difficult to define, and even more difficult to identify. The resignations with which this study is concerned involve deeply held personal beliefs.

That such values are transrational seems to be evident from the possible costs to subjects like Bennis who resigned an administrative post at a time in his career when he was being considered for university presidencies.

3. On resignation. It is important to this study to consider the implications of the action which finally separated the individuals from their organisations. They resigned, they were not fired.

Occasionally, resignation rather than firing is a question of timing. A hurried resignation before being fired may be intended to "save face" but even then it is significant that control of the break-up remains in the hands of the employee, since this suggests a better personal future than termination.

Executives frequently resign because they do not believe in a policy adopted by their employer. Many businessmen understand this and admire such a man for his independence; he frequently receives other job offers (Benson, 1982, p.56)

Some authors are less confident of the consequences of such a resignation. Bennis describes its appearance to other members of the organisation when he says that "resignation is defiant, an uncomfortable posture for most organization men. . . Worse, it smacks of failure, the worst social disease among the achievement-oriented" (1973, p.100). And Weisband and Franck see problems in becoming

part of a new organisation, once a suspicion of "disloyalty" has arisen.

If a vice-president of General Motors doesn't like the firm's response to the need for pollution-controlling or safety-inducing devices, he may, within the confines of the executive offices, urge a new policy: or he can resign and go to work for Ford. But if he decides to stay and fight, he must not allow his disagreement to become public. And, similarly, if he decides to go, he must go quietly. A failure to abide by the first part of this injunction would probably cause General Motors to fire him; and a violation of the second part would probably scare Ford away from offering him a job (Weisband and Franck, 1975, p.148).

However, while resigners may be suspected of disloyalty to one organisation, they may also be admired by other managements who share their views and values. For whistle blowers the future is bleak, because they seem to be regarded with suspicion by all organisations. Of the cases that Westin quotes, only one was re-instated when his charge was proved, and only two received even partial compensation (1981, p.132). Nader's findings were very similar (1972).

The fact that the individual in a resignation for principle appears to remain in control, dictating the events of the break-up, need not lessen the personal difficulty of the task significantly. In Woodward and Bernstein's The Final Days there is a telling picture of Elliot Richardson trying to balance his loyalty to Nixon and his team against personally unacceptable demands that he, Richardson, should fire the special prosecutor, Archibald Cox:

Later that night, Richardson sat in his study in McLean, Virginia. The rush of the Potomac River was barely audible in the distance. He wrote at the top of a yellow legal pad: "Why I must Resign." . . . It was dawning on Richardson that he wasn't going to be able to play much longer. Writing it down helped him to make it clear to himself (Woodward and Bernstein, 1976, pp.53,54).

However, even if the act of resigning is difficult for the individual at the time, there may be compensations after it has been accomplished.

In fact a few more resignations would be good for individual consciences and good for the country. . . . My own resignation was a turning point. The decision represented the first time in many years of organizational life that I had been able to say, "No, I cannot allow myself to be identified with that particular policy," the first time I had risked being an outsider rather than trying to work patiently within the system for change (Bennis, 1976, pp.53,54).

Those who resign, and are the subject of this study, occupy positions in their organisations from which they are able to affect policy making. Thus, they have the power within the organisation to bring about change, with the implication that a low level of dissent is acceptable within the limits of their normal work. The people who resign are valuable to their organisations. They are probably more difficult to replace than an hourly-paid worker or a low-level supervisor, and may use their threat of severance as leverage to bring about the change they favour. Thus their resignation following their use of "voice" may be part of their protest, not merely a result of it. Most whistle

blowers do not have this security; they have neither the legitimate power to bring about change nor a unique set of skills which makes them invaluable.

Another difference which tends to protect the potential resigner more than the whistle blower is the complexity of the issues involved in the dissent. Warren Bennis's resignation over the use of police to handle a campus demonstration is an example where the issue was not clearly defined as one of illegality, questionable safety standards or broken professional codes of ethics. Unclear issues are not good grounds for firing.

However, there remain some similarities between resignation for principle and whistle blowing. For every employee, of whichever group, the risks can be high, the protest difficult, and, to quote Nader, "Every situation that might require such a heavy investment of personal courage is unique and not subject to simple analysis" (1972, p.230).

Those who resign for principle often have power in the organisation to bring about change. They can use threats of leaving to strengthen their arguments because of their value to the organisation and because the issues involved may not be clear cut. Thus, they have some control over the events leading up to their resignation.

4. Summary of definitions. Resignation for principle has been examined in the light of some of the relevant literature. It can be defined as a person's voluntary withdrawal from an employing organisation because he or she was expected, by the organisation to do something which he or she believed to be wrong.

Some Issues Raised by the Literature

There are a number of topics related to resignation for principle which are raised in the literature and which deserve more attention.

1. The character of the resigner. In considering the examples quoted in the earlier pages of this chapter, it may be important to bear in mind a point raised by Hodgkinson. Writing of administrators, he says that, "for the time we shall merely assume that though administration may make extraordinary demands it is practised by ordinary men" (1978, p.20). If the moral demands of routine administration are extraordinary, the commitment which leads to a resignation would seem to be excessive. And this begs a question: are the men and women who resign for principle particularly sensitive to their value system?

There is very little in the literature of administration which focuses on the moral codes, the character of administrators. This represents a surprising

and critical deficiency. Hodgkinson is of the opinion that we are

unable to speak factually or scientifically about administrators' characters as opposed to their characteristics, despite the insights of Barnard and the importance he ascribed to the moral element in executive behaviour (Hodgkinson, 1978, p.19).

He finds the work of his fellow philosophers to be generally deficient in its attempt to help administrators because "by and large, contemporary philosophers have inclined towards an obsessive preoccupation with the cleanlinesses of logic and mathematics or a fixation with the convolutions of language" (Hodgkinson, 1978, p.x).

In other disciplines there are a number of studies similar to Minzberg's The Nature of Managerial Work (1973) which deal with the composition of administration. There is a body of work like Fiedler's (1966) which examines, in part, the personality characteristics of leaders and administrators. And there are some explanations of human development in the work of Freud, Jung, Erikson (1963), Daniel Levinson (1978) and Sheehy (1974), which were extended by Kohlberg in his examination of moral development (1958, 1981). However, for many of these authors, feminine development has been something of a problem. In the last decade, Gilligan has drawn attention to the sex bias in Kohlberg's contribution, and hence to the limitations of earlier work, suggesting that feminine morality is very

different from masculine (Gilligan, 1977, 1982).

Nevertheless, all such work has a psychological basis - it concentrates attention on personality characteristics rather than on the individual's value system. The distinction between personality characteristics, the motivational base, the set of values and the attitudes of an individual have been clarified by Hodgkinson (see Figure 3).

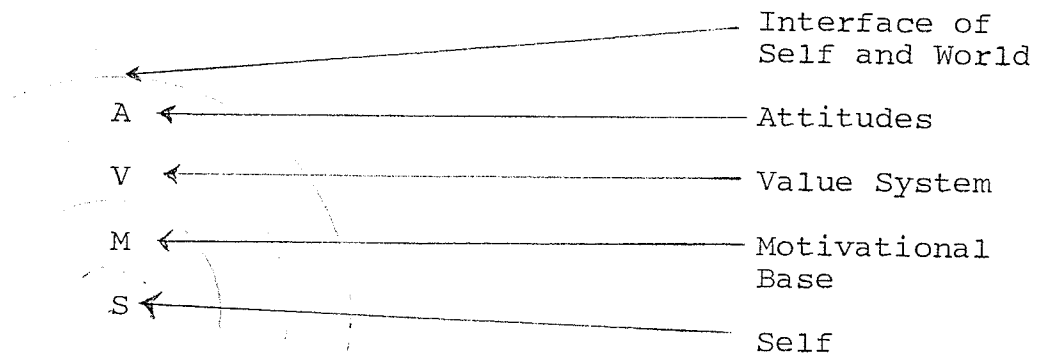


Figure 3: Schema of Value-related Terms
(Hodgkinson, 1978, p.109)

In his exposition, Hodgkinson suggests that the roots of motivated behaviour, whether the "needs" of Maslow, "desires" and "wants" or conscious and unconscious "drives" are all sources of value. Furthermore, he goes on to explain that values are themselves sources of attitude, that "attitudes are manifestations of values at the interface of skin and world" and that attitudes are at least observable

(1978, pp.107,108). It would seem, therefore, that any examination of the character of people who resign should focus on their value system, particularly with respect to their transrational values.

2. The effect of the organisation. There is very little in the literature which deals with how organisational circumstances affect the course of the development of dissent. However, it may be relevant that one case, in which exit was preceded by a generous use of voice, occurred in the field of education. Warren Bennis held a position in higher education, where public discussion about differences of opinion is not unusual.

Hirschman merely touches on the role of the organisation in the development of dissent, when he discusses how organisations become used to handling one type of protest. He mentions the value of changing from one mode of dissent to another to maximise the effect, quoting the introduction of voice "through the courage and enterprise" of Ralph Nader, into an area where exit had long been the dominant mode of protest (1970, p.125).

Once dissent has developed, its handling is often surrounded by rituals unique to that organisation. "Voice can become mere 'blowing off steam' as it is being emasculated by the institutionalization and domestication of

dissent. . . . And exit can be similarly blunted" (Hirschman, 1970, p.124). Resignation in Protest (Weisband and Franck, 1975) examines the careers of political figures in the United States and Britain, and finds that although public protest is rare in the first country, it is common in the second. And furthermore, there are standard practices within the institutional culture which allow such protest to be "normal."

However, such freedom of protest does not often carry over to the British Civil Service, as Snow observed in Corridors of Power:

"I should like to put one consideration before you. If you resign now, it won't pass unnoticed. You are fairly conspicuous. There will be those who will be malicious enough to draw certain conclusions. They might even hint that your departure is not unconnected with recent differences of opinion. And it wouldn't be altogether easy to prove them wrong."

He went on: "That would be somewhat embarrassing for us. No doubt you will make your own view heard in your own good time. But I suggest you have some obligation to give us a decent interval. You've been working for us for along time. It wouldn't seem proper if you made matters awkward for us by a dramatic resignation" (Snow, 1964, p.347).

Nor are such "establishment" demands unusual. Talking generally about organisational behaviour, from his wide experience on another continent, Bennis concludes that

the act (of resignation) is made innocuous by a set of organization-serving conventions that few resignees are able (or even willing, for a variety of personal reasons) to break. When the properly socialized dissenter resigns, he tiptoes out One retreats under a canopy of smiles, with verbal

bouquets and exchanges, however insincere, of mutual respect. The last official duty of the departing one is to keep his mouth shut (Bennis, 1976, p.39).

And it would seem that those resigners who ignore the "organization-serving conventions" risk much.

The more the resigner speaks up, the more he has been attacked by the men who govern, the press, and by ordinary citizens: not solely or primarily on the issues he is raising but on the propriety of his speaking up at all. In disarming the rebel the team always prefers to tackle his etiquette rather than his cause (Weisband and Franck, 1975, p.65).

3. The relationship between the organisation and the individual. In the early pages of this chapter, it was stated that the handling of dissent between an individual and his or her organisation involves some balancing of exit and voice, unless the person decides to take no action at all. Hirschman makes the point that the balance between these two options is mitigated by what he calls "loyalty." "Loyalty is a key concept in the battle between exit and voice. . . . While loyalty postpones exit its very existence is predicated on the possibility of exit" (1970, p.82). Thus loyalty can be conceived of as a device for keeping the person within the organisation, but only for as long as the option to leave exists.

For some exit is not readily available. These are the people who have high entry or exit costs with respect to the organisation. Many years of trying to join will

generate a type of loyalty - an exaggerated sense of the importance of belonging. Similarly, high emotional or financial costs make it impossible to leave. As Hirschman explains, "High fees for entering an organisation and stiff penalties for exit are among the main devices generating or reinforcing loyalty in such a way as to repress either exit or voice or both" (1970, p.92).

In the examples quoted earlier, small entry and exit costs seem to provide greater freedom for action. Warren Bennis was able to speak out, and at the same time minimise his costs, by resigning one of his two positions. In the book Resignation in Protest there is another example:

Ickes' courage may, in part be attributed to the fact that, at the age of seventy one, he had little reason to fear the effects of his behavior on his future career. . . . Had he been forty-five, the pressures to conform would have been far greater. (Weisband and Franck, 1975, p.20).

Decisions about the balance of exit and voice, in the handling of dissent in organisations, appear also to be linked to the individual's power, or perception of power, in that organisation. The literature, and experience, suggests that there is a wide range of behaviour, from those with enormous power, who neither say anything nor leave but choose to effect change to suit their own standards, to those who perceive themselves as powerless and leave in silence.

Under certain circumstances, the tactics of asserting one's ethical autonomy may actually lead one to stay on the job. . . . The Nobel Prize-winning German chemist Otto Hahn, who co-discovered uranium fission in 1938, covertly arranged the escape from Germany of his Jewish collaborator, Lisa Meitner; then, knowing the military potential of his discovery, he stayed on as head of the wartime German nuclear-research program to impede the development of Hitler's atomic bomb (Weisband and Franck, 1975, p.91).

However, not many organisation members either have, or think they have, this amount of power and so must use some combination of exit and voice. Most who disagree with their organisation fall into quadrants 2, 3 or 4 of the conceptualisation in Figure 1 on page 4.

Hirschman analyses extensively the situations in which voice is used:

Two principal determinants of the readiness to voice when exit is possible were. . .

1. the extent to which customer-members are willing to trade off the uncertainties of an improvement in the deteriorated product; and
2. the estimate customer-members have of their abilities to influence the organization (Hirschman, 1970, p.77).

Once they have resigned, protestors have used one of their major weapons, their threat of resignation, and must then rely on the strength of the public opinion which they can influence.

It would thus seem important, in any study of resignation for principle, to examine the position of resigners within the organisation, their loyalty, their power base, and their perception of their ability to bring

about change in the value system of the organisation.

4. The complexity of the issues. The literature indicates that there are at least two factors related to the issues in a dissent, both of which determine the effectiveness of voice inside and outside the organisation, and hence the balance of exit and voice which is suitable. The first consideration is that the issues themselves must be relevant to other members of the organisation if voice is to be used inside the organisation, or to an even wider public if it is used outside. In no way should the issues be open to interpretation as being in the protestor's self-interest. The second factor is that the issues should be clearly identified and defined so that they are easily understood. As Weisband and Franck point out, such resignations would seem rare, but they do occur occasionally. The resignations of Elliot Richardson and William Ruckelshaus during Watergate provide one example:

Then, too, it helped that the issue precipitating the resignation was a relatively clear and straightforward one, readily understood by the public. Being intimately related to the Watergate scandal, the resignations also encountered no difficulty in attracting extensive media coverage. Since the central issue of the resignations was so directly within the resigners' area of responsibility and expertise, their views carried particular weight. Perhaps most significant, the circumstances under which Richardson and Ruckelshaus resigned made clear that they were not acting in self-interest. They had not, themselves, been directly attacked but were sacrificing their careers to defend a colleague and, more important, a principle.

Their evident integrity of purpose created an ideal backdrop for an appeal to the public conscience (Weisband and Franck, 1975, p.16).

Lack of clarity in any circumstances surrounding the resignation can result in failure, as Warren Bennis discovered when his resignation of an administrative post and retention of an academic one was seen as no resignation at all. But, lack of clarity of the issues is particularly dangerous if voice is to play any part in the resignation.

5. Outcomes. Discussion in the previous section has already begun to consider the success of exiting from an organisation. In his consideration of the optimal mix of exit and voice, Hirschman mentions the effects of exit when it is

a highly unusual event. Social psychologists have noticed that "the disappearance of the source of communication leads to a change of opinion in its favor." Exit is unsettling to those who stay behind as there can be no "talking back" to those who have exited. By exiting one renders his arguments unanswerable (Reference quoted: Serge Moscovici, "Active Minorities, Social Influence and Social Change," a paper prepared at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, 1968-1969. Hirschman, 1970, p.126).

Thus for Hirschman, success apparently is measured in terms of change to the organisation.

However, it is possible and equally reasonable to argue that success can also be measured by the effect of the resignation on the individual. Certainly Warren Bennis would agree. For him, personal outcomes were important.

If we find it impossible to continue on as administrators because we are at total and continuous odds with the institutional policy, then I think we must quit and go out shouting. The alternative is petit Eichmannism and that is too high a price (Bennis, 1976, p.54).

Even if individual action is not able to bring about significant change in an organisation's value system and resulting behaviour, an easily identifiable outcome, it is appropriate that the results of the dissent be considered in terms of the individual's transrational values. If resigners believe that they have done what they can to right a wrong, their resignation has been successful.

6. Summary of the issues raised. Thus, there would appear to be a number of areas from the literature, which had to be considered when the research questions for this study were framed.

The first of these areas deals with the influence which the character of the resigner has upon the development of his disagreement with the organisation. The second area looks at the way the culture of the organisation, its values, rules and rituals, affects the dissent. In addition to these foci the relationship between the individual and the organisation also has significance, as do two areas about which there is less literature. The complexity of the issues in the dissent, already discussed as influencing the course of events, and the outcomes of the resignation for

principle are two final areas which were considered when the research questions were asked.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore the phenomenon of resignation for principle through the eyes of the actors involved, taking into account their biases and personal interpretations. However, it has already been stated that this is an event about which little has been written. The frequency with which it occurs is open to speculation, although the researcher's experience suggests that:

- a) it is considered as a possible course of action by many managers and professionals at some stage in their careers.
- b) when it takes place, it will not necessarily be a "public action," but may be seen as a resignation for principle by only a few, as the resigner tries to leave the organisation silently to minimise possible damage to his future career or to reduce emotional stress for himself, his family and his colleagues.

It is probably more common than the small amount of literature about it would indicate.

When little is known about a phenomenon many of the

questions about it are raised in a general way. There is a temptation to ask "What information can be uncovered about resignation for principle?" However, such an approach is likely to result in a disconnected jumble of facts, impressions and unfounded conclusions. To ask a number of very specific questions is to go to the other extreme.

In order to avoid the extremes of too general or too specific enquiry, the research questions focused on the five areas identified in the limited literature of resignation for principle. This gave structure to the work without inhibiting exploration of the phenomenon. The research questions, therefore, were:

1. In what ways does the resigner's character influence the events of the dissent between that person and the organisation?
2. How does the organisation affect the events of the dissent?
3. When considering the resignation for principle, what is the significance of the resigner's relationship with the organisation and its wider environment?
4. What are the consequences of the complexity of the issue(s) of the resignation for principle?
5. What are the outcomes of the resignation for principle for the resigner and the organisation?

Research Methodology

Research in a previously unexamined area of organisational behaviour requires that the design be appropriate to both the questions raised about the behaviour and also to the circumstances in which it is observed.

Karl Weick, in The Social Psychology of Organizing (1979, pp.35-42), addresses this problem of theory and research design, quoting "Thorngate's (1976) postulate of commensurate complexity. This postulate states that it is impossible for a theory of social behavior to be simultaneously general, accurate and simple" (p.35). Weick uses the diagram shown in Figure 4 and identifies desirable research as that with two of the three characteristics.

It is in the category of "10 o'clock research" that Weick places Exit, Voice and Loyalty by Hirschman (1970), thus describing it as general and simple, but not very accurate (p.39). This work has been seen to be particularly significant to this study. Another major source, Hodgkinson (1978), could be classified as "2 o'clock research," general and accurate. It would therefore seem appropriate that the aim of this exploratory study would be "6 o'clock research," simple but detailed and accurate.

Given the potential difficulties in finding subjects who had resigned for principle and, given the type of

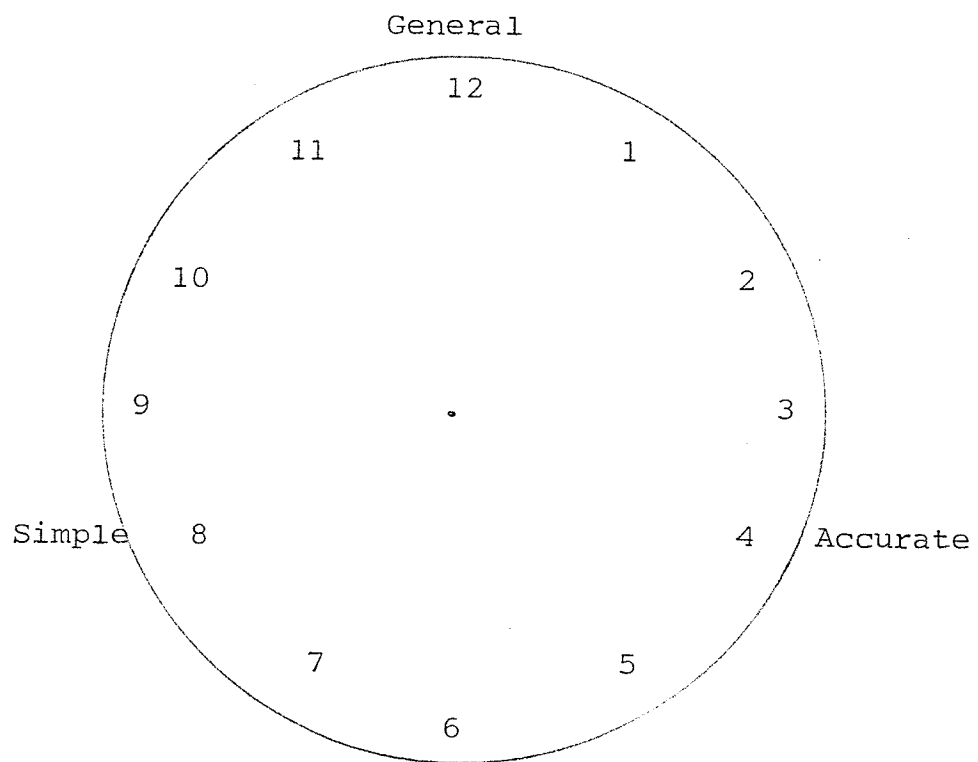


Figure 4: Weick's Diagram for
Thorngate's Postulate

knowledge sought by the research questions, a small scale qualitative study seemed to be indicated. A quantitative study suggests the existence of a sizeable population and a value level rooted in positivism (Hodgkinson, 1983, p.38). Indeed, to use Gwynn Nettler's words:

Knowing men scientifically is not only difficult, but it may not provide the answers men need when they ask for an explanation. Today's significant questions are moral questions, not the technical ones that science might satisfy (Nettler, 1970, p.171).

Since the questions which form the framework of this study have to do with moral issues and human ideology, a qualitative approach seemed suitable.

The particular kind of qualitative approach could be determined when other requirements of the research were weighed. Once again an important factor was the possible difficulty of identifying examples of resignations for principle. It has already been suggested that although many people may consider such a course of action, few follow through, and even fewer are prepared to talk about their experience afterwards. This number is further reduced when consideration is given to the limitations which accuracy of recall imposes.

Another important consideration in determining the methodology was the need for flexibility in the research design. The study was exploratory, and in such circumstances information may be uncovered which acquires significance as

the investigation continues. A rigidly structured design can preclude following up on such information, and would certainly not allow for the building of explanations which can be used as stepping stones to further investigation. While there are potential dangers,

it should be clear that many explanations - -perhaps all- - are fictions; they describe events, put them together as if the descriptions were complete, uniquely accurate, and the relationships the only patterns discernible. It should be clear, too, that fictions work - - some better than others, of course - - and that there is no one correct way to explain human action if it is agreed that explanations are encouraged to satisfy diverse purposes. It should surprise no student that explanations that satisfy one man's curiosity or another man's morality or the third man's urge for action may fail the fourth man's desire to predict (Nettler, 1970, p.6).

However, in spite of the dangers, the building of explanations is necessary if understanding is sought of human behaviour. As Kets de Vries expresses it:

I would like to add another dimension to the explanation of human behavior and individual and organizational action. I am referring to the need for a different level of organizational and individual analysis which goes beyond mere description and, instead, is more orientated towards explanation. (Kets de Vries, 1980, p.2).

Given the qualitative nature of the research, the need for flexibility in design, and the potential problem of identifying numbers of subjects, the use of a single case study seemed appropriate. Good points out the many disciplines in which such research has been useful, noting that

case-study procedures have been extensively followed in such fields as law and juvenile delinquency, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, education, counseling and guidance, sociology, social work, economics, business administration, political science and journalism (Good, 1972, p.329).

Some very successful uses of the case study in administration would include Kanter's Men and Women of the Corporation (1977), where a complete organisation was the subject, Hennig and Jardim's The Managerial Woman (1976) based on a set of studies of women in business, Davis and Gould's "Three Vice-presidents in Mid-life" from a 1981 Harvard Business Review and Levinson and Rosenthal's C.E.O.: Corporate Leadership in Action (1984).

Weick quotes case studies as examples of "6 o'clock inquiry" which, if conducted carefully, can be valuable. However, he warns that

many pseudo-observers, trying to imitate Woodward and Bernstein's Watergate coup, seem bent on describing everything and, as a result, describe nothing. It can be argued that the current upswing in social science enthusiasm for ethnography, thick description, grounded theory, and case studies is partly a symptom of the Watergate Zeitgeist. . . . Two things are necessary to offset these trends. First, more than ever we need to invest in theory to keep some intellectual control over the burgeoning set of case descriptions. . . . Second, those people who insist on doing case descriptions should be encouraged to adopt the model of theoretical degrees of freedom and to supply a contextual embedding along with at least partial theoretical interpretation (Weick, 1979, p.38).

Bearing in mind Weick's warning to "keep some intellectual control," the search for a suitable model for

a study of resignation for principle was further complicated by the fact that "there are no widely accepted comprehensive diagnostic procedures for assessing and evaluating organizations comparable, for example, to the examination process in medicine" (Levinson, 1972, p.5). In this study, the difficulty was compounded because the case deals with a series of events rather than an institution at one point in time. And the research questions which have been raised imply a concern for both the individual and the organisation.

The case study outline which Levinson provides in Organizational Diagnosis (1972) is adaptable. It can be reconstructed to accommodate the dual paths of investigation without Levinson's penchant for the psychoanalytic. Other adaptations are also necessary. The original design was for the study of profit-making business organisations and in an educational setting some of the information which Levinson suggests is inappropriate. The case study outline which was finally used is given in Appendix A.

The data which are gathered in a case study are frequently relevant to a number of categories in the outline with slightly different emphases (Levinson, 1972, p.7) but the classification is, of itself, straight forward. The first category, genetic data, identifies both the individual and the organisation, and traces their

development. Historical facts are likely to influence the functioning of the person and the institution; the experiences of childhood help to mould the values of adult life; organisational upheavals may determine the way an institution reacts and explain some of the behaviour of its members. This information is included in Chapter 2.

The second category of data consists of a description of the circumstances in which the resignation took place. It looks at the resigner, the organisation and the wider environment of the organisation. Like the first, this category is factual in nature and aims at defining the setting of the resignation. The data in this category form the basis of Chapter 3 of the study.

The third section of the case study outline is interpretative. It is presented in Chapter 4 and begins to build a picture of the resignation itself by examining the significant events leading to the resignation and any differing interpretations of the issues in the resignation. This chapter also contains composite impressions of the values of the subject and of the organisation.

The principal source of this information was a series of interviews. The choice of the interview as the main research tool was dictated by the need for flexibility and by the nature of the data to be collected.

Although the interview belongs to a class of methods

that yield primarily subjective data, that is, direct descriptions of the world of experience, the interests of many social scientists call for such data, however crude the method of data gathering may of necessity be. For example, the interview technique has certain advantages for the collection of data relating to three of the most prominent emphases of social psychology, all implying subjective data; the emphases on desires, goals and values by students of personality; interest in social perception; and the concept of attitude. (Good, 1972, p.239).

The interviews used were not standardised, as each actor in the case study has knowledge of different parts of the total picture. However, as Kerlinger explains:

the unstandardized, nonstructured interview is an open situation in contrast to the standardized, structured interview, which is a closed situation. This does not mean that an unstandardized interview is casual. It should be just as carefully planned as the standardised one (Kerlinger, 1973, p.481).

In addition to the interviews, some documentary evidence was used. Personal papers and internal organisational memoranda were available to provide verification and additional data. Observation by the researcher also provided some insights.

The final sections of the case study deal with the analysis of the information gathered. The analysis was framed around the five research questions given above (see p.35). While it was possible to summarise the study, any conclusions which were drawn relate only to the specific events and circumstances of this study. These findings are not generalisable although they may suggest directions for

future research in an area of organisational behaviour about which little is known at present.

Concluding Comments

For most of their working life, individuals are part of complex organisations. The formal literature dealing with organisational behaviour provides considerable insights, but there are many areas in such a field of multifaceted study where detailed understanding does not exist.

Resignation for principle is one of the complicated and often emotionally charged examples of human behaviour about which little has been written. However, this study was designed to begin the task of providing data and explanations about this phenomenon.

Chapter 2

THE SEARCH FOR A SUBJECT

After the decision had been made to carry out a detailed analysis of a single case of resignation for principle it was necessary to find an example which was suitable for study. The search of the formal literature suggested that although many people may consider such a course of action, few follow through, and even fewer are prepared to talk about their experience afterwards. Potential difficulties became reality when the search for a subject for a case study began in earnest, and the search itself became significant because it stressed the number and variety of these difficulties, while providing a considerable amount of data.

Warren Bennis's descriptions and analysis of his own resignation were valuable in raising awareness of some of the problems of finding a subject (1973, 1976). When he resigned for principle Bennis was the acting vice-president of the State University of New York at Buffalo, an administrative position which he held in addition to a tenured academic post. His career seemed at a turning point

because he was being considered tentatively for the presidency of his own university and his name was on the short-list for the presidency of Northwestern University in Chicago.

The event which caused his resignation was a decision by the acting president to use police to handle student rioting on campus. Bennis had protested such action on previous occasions, but this decision was made while he was attending an interview in Chicago. On his return to Buffalo he found that the police had already been brought in and, with support from his family and friends, he resigned his administrative post, publically stating his reasons.

In later analysis he decided that his actions had had limited usefulness. Personally the time of the disagreement was very emotional and rather painful despite the amount of help he received from those closest to him. His actions lacked clarity and force to all but those with a detailed knowledge of academic organisational structure because he resigned only the administrative post and not the academic one. Nor did the issue have relevance to the wider public outside the academic community. Bennis's resignation had little effect on the University. He did not raise public opinion or even gain the unanimous support of his colleagues. However, on a personal level he was pleased with the certainty that his actions had been "right" even

though some of the risks had been high.

From Bennis's accounts there are indications of some of the areas of potential difficulty in finding a subject to study. His description and analysis are completely one-sided. He makes little attempt to deal with the behaviour or feelings of other members of the University who were involved in the dispute. He provides some organisational history which helps his readers to understand the development of the disagreement but does not give any corroboratory evidence about the events and issues of the dissent. In a more detailed analysis of a resignation for principle such omissions must be corrected.

At the beginning of the search for a subject there were practical difficulties to be overcome. The location of the individual, the organisation and other main actors could be an important factor in the decision whether to pursue a possible case. If any of the principals were at a great distance it would prove difficult to spend the time necessary to collect all the background needed for the study, or to return to check details as the study progressed. One potential resignation, of a headmaster in dispute with the trustees of a school over their "interference" with the content of the curriculum, was discarded because the headmaster was now living at the opposite end of the continent.

Similarly, the time interval since the resignation took place was vital. Although very significant events may be remembered accurately by the main actors, a long time frame makes it difficult to be confident of the recollection of those who played a smaller part, and also raises problems about the availability of actors. A case involving the resignation of the head of a Catholic college in dispute with his bishop had to be discarded, even though its physical location was ideal, because it had taken place in the early seventies. Documentary evidence and local press accounts existed, but some of the principal actors were no longer alive!

In the early stages of the search one potential case had to be discarded when an independent observer suggested that the action was part of an attempt to regain power not connected to the subject's principles. Some resignations which appear at first to be possible subjects for study are face-saving exercises. They may be designed to protect the organisation from embarrassment like David Lewis's from General Dynamics (New York Times, June 16, 1985), or they may take place to cover up imminent loss of power through organisational restructuring or policy change. The latter circumstances applied to the president of a small chain of department stores. Her resignation seemed at first to have been brought about by policy differences with the chain's

parent company. However, press statements from the owners suggested that such differences were not significant, but that some restructuring was being considered. Thus suspicion about the levels of values involved in the issues of dissent made it necessary to discount this resignation.

Even when potential cases were suitable because of their time and location and when the issues in the dissent seemed to be based on principles, there were other reasons why investigation might not be carried out fully. On the part of the main actor, there were often personal difficulties, fear of repercussion or loss of professional reputation, even with guarantees of anonymity, and unwillingness to experience painful recall. In cases of silent resignation it seemed impossible to gain access to the organisations in an ethical way while protecting the resigner. And even in public resignations access was not always available. Both the organisation and the individual had moved away from the trauma of the resignation and could reasonably be reluctant to relive unpleasant events. In addition to those mentioned above, four resignations were investigated in depth as potential subjects for this study but had to be set aside because they involved a combination of factors which would make their study extremely difficult.

One of the first cases to be examined more fully concerned a successful personnel executive (Personal

communication, July, 1983). When David Thurston was hired his task was to put together a sophisticated compensation package. Before this was completed the company needed a new vice-president of personnel and decided not to hire from inside. Thurston was comfortable with this. He lacked experience in the important area of industrial relations legislation and approved of the decision to look outside the company.

The new man very quickly showed himself to be extremely manipulative. Thurston, a religious man, described him as "evil in the biblical sense." The vice-president had already had one established and trusted member of the personnel team fired when he began to attack another, a very competent, older woman. The keystone of his method was to manoeuvre members of the department to agree publically that her office space should be moved and reduced in size. In that corporate culture this amounted to a public demotion. The result was as the vice-president had intended. She resigned.

Thurston realised that he could not work with a manager who resorted to such methods and so he redoubled his efforts to find another job. This task was made difficult by a need for absolute secrecy to avoid being fired, and by his wife's insistence that they not relocate.

The position he found was adequate and he planned to

leave quietly. However, the president of the company, whom Thurston knew well, was not convinced about the reasons he had given for his resignation. The confidential discussion that followed confirmed the president's growing suspicions about his vice-president. Although the vice-president was fired shortly afterwards, Thurston still left the company. However, the personal cost of the resignation was high. The strains of the experience were a major factor in his divorce, and his new position was not a success. It was only five years later, after coming to terms with his divorce and establishing a successful consulting company, that Thurston began to be able to talk about his resignation.

The largest problem with this as a potential subject for a detailed case study was the difficulty of access to both the organisation and the vice-president who had been fired. Thurston was still somewhat hesitant talking about his painful emotional experience but he was more concerned about his professional relationship with the company in the case, an organisation with which he now works on a consulting basis. Therefore, in order to protect his professional reputation and because of the possibility of problems in locating the vice-president and gaining his agreement to take part in the study, David Thurston's case was abandoned.

Michael Conrad's was another case in which

confidentiality and access proved to be problems too great to allow more detailed investigation, although for very different reasons (Personal communications, June, 1983 - May 1984). At the time of his resignation Conrad, an honest, cautious and conscientious engineer with a graduate degree, was employed in a middle management position in the aerospace industry. He worked in a branch plant of a multinational corporation which was contracted to do work for the federal government. One of his tasks was to prepare the progress reports necessary to maintain the flow of government money to the plant. However, little work was being carried out on these projects and Conrad was instructed by the senior manager of the plant to produce fictitious accounts.

In this difficult situation Conrad did not know where to turn for help. He felt powerless, from his middle management position, to reach the senior corporate executives who could have checked the plant management. Because he was new to the country, he was unsure of his professional association's ability to protect him and he had the responsibility of a wife and growing family. With these considerations in mind he resigned, moving out of the area to a company in a different but related field.

In the early stages of the investigation of this case Conrad expressed unease about the decision he had

taken. He wondered if he could have done more to stop such illegal practices but is still worried about repercussions. The legal advice he took to clarify his position if the study continued did little to quieten his fears. He was eager to be involved because he felt that in some way he might be able to help others in a similar dilemma but his lawyer warned that his identity must be carefully concealed. Telephone discussions with the researcher were always about a "third person," tape recordings of interviews were considered unwise, and Conrad was not able to supply any handwritten notes. The company was under investigation for wrongdoing and the possibility that Conrad might incriminate himself was ever present.

To proceed with a detailed case study under such circumstances would have been unwise. Data from Conrad would be very difficult to collect, and from the organisation impossible, resulting in an unbalanced account while risking the professional and personal reputation of the principal actor.

Another promising case which had to be abandoned as complications arose was that of Sister Ruth (Personal communications, September - December, 1983). During the liberalisation which followed the second Roman Catholic Ecumenical Council, and with twenty years experience in education, she had been given the opportunity by her order

to return to college. She trained in audio-visual production, developing skills which she hoped to use in her religious education work. When she had completed her training she took a job in a community college where she began a television department.

In her third year at the college a new director was appointed for the television department. The decision to hire a director from outside the college did not upset her. She was not personally ambitious although she gained satisfaction from knowing that her considerable salary was very valuable to her order. However, Sister Ruth was uneasy with the man appointed, finding his lack of commitment to his job unprofessional and his sexism difficult to handle. Her resignation was eventually brought about by the director's affair with one of the work-study students during working hours, which apparently culminated in the student's pregnancy. Such behaviour was completely unacceptable to Sister Ruth, both on professional and religious grounds, but she felt absolutely powerless.

Unable to find anyone to advise her, she resigned, but her exit costs were high. She never again attained a comparable position and returned to work directly with her order. The experience was, and still is, extremely painful to her. And she continues to wonder how else she could have handled the situation.

The obvious problem of attempting a detailed study where so much emotion remains was complicated by the fact that the college involved did not know why Sister Ruth left. Because of increasing awareness of sexual issues recently it seemed likely to be difficult to gain the agreement of the college. And an accurate study would also have required the cooperation of the director of the department.

The barriers to gaining access to all actors in a silent resignation for principle seemed less insuperable in public resignations. When Roger Swanson left his position as Dean of the Institute of Technology at a large American university in 1983, details of the dispute were quickly made public by both sides (Press reports, 1983 a,b and c). He had joined the university in 1979, leaving a full professorship and a large research group at another prestigious university for what he called "reasons of belief" (Swanson, 1983 e). These beliefs had to do with increasing the enfranchisement of the individual, with the urgency for the United States to expand its technological base in order to maintain the international balance of power, and with concerns about the misuse of technology. Swanson felt strongly that the university was the place to begin to address such issues because changes of attitude are able to spread from there to the wider community (Swanson, 1983 a,b,c and d).

When he joined, the university seemed enthusiastic about using the Institute of Technology to build bridges to the community. And, in the months and years that followed, bridges were constructed, to the schools through a special science project (Swanson, 1983 f), by the formation of a statewide High Technology Council, and by the collaboration of government, the university, industry, labour and the public sector. Inside the Institute changes began to take place also. With the help of business, new programmes were started and a Microelectronics and Information Sciences Center opened (Swanson, 1983 c and d).

Then in May, 1983, amid a flurry of media attention Swanson resigned. The internal differences between the university and the Institute, between the central administration and the Dean became public when the university failed to support an Institute fund-raising initiative in the state legislative body. Swanson's conviction shows in his words:

Business, government, the I.T. faculty, and citizens lived up to and surpassed my expectations. The University to which the community so clearly signaled the urgent need to develop bridges, did not agree with how I approached the building process. I had no choice (1983 e).

Roger Swanson was initially very willing to talk about his resignation, and it seemed that a suitable subject had been found. The location and the timing of the

resignation were ideal. The issue appeared to be one involving a deep commitment, and both sides in the dissent had been willing to state their position publically. However, when it came time to begin very positive approaches about carrying out a study, Swanson decided against being involved. A new dean had been appointed to the Institute. The search for a new president of the university was taking place. Swanson had retained his tenured academic post, and he felt that it was unfair to the new head and to the stabilising organisation to resurrect old disputes.

After so many unfruitful preliminary approaches had been made, a case was found which appeared to fulfil the requirements of the study. The source of the information had been closely involved in the resignation and the accuracy of his detailed knowledge removed some of the uncertainties which had come to surround initial contacts. Therefore, before any discussion took place with the principal actor, the location and the time of the resignation were known. It was also fairly certain that the institution would be prepared to be involved in a study because the contact was a member of the governing body of the organisation. There was an additional advantage in the fact that the contact person had experience of case study work and understood some of the potential difficulties of the type of study which was to be undertaken.

The first step, however, was to contact the resigner, John Keller, to obtain his permission to begin. The initial approach was made in a letter which described briefly both the study and the background of the researcher and which concluded with a request for a meeting. The response came quickly with agreement to meet at Keller's home. At this time, the purpose of the study, the researcher's understanding of the resignation and her personal background were examined in greater detail. By the end of an hour of discussion, John Keller had agreed to take part in the study, assuming that consent was also given by the head of the organisation involved. Keller's main concern was that care should be taken in the approaches to some members of the organisation who had felt threatened at the time of the resignation.

Obtaining permission from David Williams, the head of the organisation, The Rushmore Academy, was not difficult. He already knew the purpose of the study, and something of the way in which it was proposed to carry it out, from the member of the board of trustees who had made the original suggestion. His agreement was given without a meeting, and with offers to help in any way that he could.

Although the resignation with which this study deals was not carried out in silence, awareness of the issues and events were not widely known outside the organisation in

which it took place. Indeed, there were a number of members of the organisation who did not know what had happened. This was surprising as the network of relationships in the environment was closely interconnected. The actors had a number of roles, both formally within the organisation and informally as friends and neighbours. Therefore the question of discretion took on an extra dimension. No request for anonymity was made by either John Keller or the headmaster of The Rushmore Academy. However, since little was to be gained by identifying sources of information, names were changed and locations discussed in vague terms, wherever it was practical to do so without jeopardising the accuracy of the study.

History of the Principal Actor

This study deals with the resignation for principle of a teacher named John Keller from the chairmanship of the mathematics department of a prestigious, private school, The Rushmore Academy, in the Upper Mid-west of the United States, a post he had held for over twenty years.

At the time of his resignation Keller was in his middle fifties. He had been born and brought up in a small community on the outskirts of Chicago, one of two children of parents with ethnic origins in Germany. His mother and father were both from large families, blue-collar workers in

the main, with very traditional values. As he explained, "In my family, the tradition was, you grew up, you got a job, found a man or woman and got married, settled down and had children" (Keller, 2, p.4) (see Appendix A). However, his father's family was rather unusual because some of its members were self-educated beyond grade school and were "studious, curious and argumentative." His father was educated through grade 8 and briefly in a technical school (Keller's data sheet).

Although Keller grew up in the Depression, he did not know severe hardship. His father was capable and hard-working and was able to find enough work to support his wife and children, as well as to help those members of the close, extended family who were less fortunate (Keller, 2, p.3). His mother was also hard-working, a capable homemaker and very deeply committed to her husband (Keller's data sheet).

The values of his background were carried through into his own marriage. At the time of his resignation he had been married for almost thirty years, and Elizabeth, his wife, had also had the role of homemaker. They had lived in their present home for all but the first two years of their marriage. It is a large house, built in the early part of the century, in a residential neighbourhood near to the school where Keller still teaches (Keller, 2, pp.6,7). Of their three children, two are married but the house is by no

means empty, as John and Elizabeth now provide a home for their mothers, both of whom are widowed (Keller's data sheet).

Keller's education began with grade school in his home community, but for high school he had to travel into Chicago. In 1945 he enlisted and went into the United States Reserve, and when he was discharged the following winter, he signed over to the regular Navy where he remained until the end of 1948 (Keller, 1, pp.1-4). During this time, he was planning and saving so that he could go to college when he left the service. From part-time jobs while he was in high school, and by being "the tightest sailor you ever saw," he had a reasonable foundation for carrying out the dream, which, in spite of their self-education, his extended family thought was "crazy!" With his payments from the G.I. Bill it seemed as if his plans were going to be realised (Keller, 2, pp.4,5).

In December, 1948, he was at home beginning to make enquiries about colleges which offered courses of interest to him when his father died suddenly of a heart attack. With the responsibility of a mother whose health was not good at that time, and who was "almost destroyed" by her grief at her husband's death, and of a thirteen year old sister, Keller's choices of college were restricted to ones to which he could commute. However, because of his

government grants, he was able to attend the University of Chicago at the beginning of the next academic year (Keller, 2, pp.2,3,). He worked in a steel mill to boost the family finances until classes began, and then went from year to year, adding academic qualifications as he went in case he would not be able to afford to continue. By the time he left, in 1954, he had gained an A.B., a B.S. and a professional teaching certificate (Keller's data sheet).

During the following year he took a permanent job in Michigan and married Elizabeth, his girlfriend for many years. However, he was interested in teaching, and, in the autumn of 1955, the couple moved to the city where they now live so that Keller could join his present school as a mathematics teacher (Keller, 2, p.6).

As he settled into his new post he became aware of some of the new mathematics programmes which were being designed in universities and schools across the country, and particularly one being developed at the University of Illinois. This interest grew as he read, attended meetings and seminars, and, during the academic year 1959-60, took a sabbatical to do graduate work in mathematics at his local university. He completed his M.S. in 1963, but before that, with encouragement from his headmaster, he had begun to introduce the Illinois programme into the department of which he was now chairman (Keller, 6, pp.1-8).

Use of the University of Illinois Course in School Mathematics, usually known as the UICSM, expanded, first across all the tracks and again when the school was enlarged by a merger with a nearby school. The growing mathematics department was well pleased with the course, but in recent years there has been increasing criticism of the programme. In this time there has been a decided shift in the policy of the school and a change of headmasters (Keller, 6, pp.8-12).

Over his years as chairman of the department, John Keller has had considerable professional involvement outside of the school. He has been an active member of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics and of the associated local organisation, and has ties with the National Science Foundation, who funded part of his advanced studies and for whom he went to Washington to appraise some of their programmes (Keller, 1, p.8,9,). He has also spent summers both as a student and a teacher in programmes dealing with the teaching of "new mathematics" at colleges in Illinois and Michigan (Keller's data sheet).

The commitment which Keller shows in his professional and family life is also present in his interests and friendships. His study of philosophy, which he sometimes shares with the students he teaches, and his wide-ranging knowledge of Middle Eastern historical development are of long standing. His religious faith, although not

allied to any organised Christian church, "Churchianity," to use Keller's own expression, is deep and began in his childhood (Keller's data sheet and 2, pp.11,12). His friendships, too, are close and of long standing, as he explained, "We have very close friends now - almost family, considered family, and they consider us family" (Keller, 2, p.10). This is the background of one who resigned for principle.

History of the Organisation

The Rushmore Academy is a private, co-educational, non-denominational school, taking pupils from Kindergarten to the end of grade 12. It is located on two sites in an established residential area of the city. The Lower School has about three hundred students, and, at the end of grade 6, most of them are transferred to the Upper School where they join other students admitted at this level to make year groups of approximately ninety. With an enrollment of a little over five hundred in the Upper School, The Rushmore Academy, at the time of Keller's resignation was educating approximately eight hundred children (The Rushmore Academy Profile, 1984).

From its founding the school had aimed to prepare its students for college and admission is highly competitive, even at the level of Kindergarten where in 1983

there were seventy five applications for twenty five places. Entry to the Upper School is based on testing and personal interview for all potential students except those who have attended the Lower School. However, transfer for these pupils is not automatic and each year a small number of students leave or enter the Upper School with probationary status (Williams, 1, pp.1,2).

The Rushmore Academy attained its present form in 1969 as the result of the merger of two schools, one for boys and one for girls. The Boys' School was founded at the turn of the century by a group of wealthy parents who wanted their sons prepared for prestigious colleges, mainly eastern Ivy League institutions and preferably Harvard or Yale. In 1917 the Girls' School was established to educate the daughters of the same families and by the late sixties the two schools were operating in the buildings which provide the basis for the two campuses of the present school (The Rushmore Academy Handbook). There were many links between the two schools although their development had been somewhat different, the Boys' School having been a military academy for part of its history. The small group of families which provided the continuing financial support for the schools had intermingled over the years through marriages and business interests, and it was not unusual to find two trustees in the same household, the husband on the board of

the Boys' School and the wife closely associated with the Girls' School. The merger of the schools was, therefore, seen as a logical step economically when a need was recognised to expand the academic offerings of the schools (Keller, 3, pp.1-5).

The academic strengths of the two schools were different. With its military academy background, the Boys' School was reputed to be strong in the sciences and mathematics and its culture was competitive, with "strong" discipline and emphasis on grading (Fisher, 1, p.8). The Girls' School had a reputation for valuing the social skills appropriate for the daughters of well-to-do families and its academic strengths were in the arts, fine art and music, language and the humanities. It was seen as being a "warm and caring environment," and in its attitudes rather innovative with a good deal of student participation in the running of the school and a tolerance for such experiments as non-graded classes.

The school which emerged was different from either of the earlier schools. Although it was administered by the headmaster of the Boys' School, although most department heads were appointed from the faculty of the Boys' School, although many of the female staff left, and although the merger was regarded as a "take-over" by the Boys' School, the institution which was formed had its own character

(Fisher, 1, p.2; Patrick, 1, pp.5,6,). The Rushmore Academy drew on the strengths of the two schools which formed it, but it gained much of its character from two other factors. The first of these was a large influx of new faculty, who were hired to provide what was known at the time as "instant quality." This was a recognition on the part of the trustees that there was a need to operate at a financial loss for a number of years while academic programmes were put in place, and the result was the hiring of a number of additional staff over and above those lost in the merger (Stevenson, 1, p.6). The second important factor in the reforming of the school was the influence of the buildings which were available. It was decided to separate the Lower and Upper Schools onto the two campuses, and to enlarge the facilities on the site of the old Boys' School where there was room for expansion. The architect who was hired produced a design for the Upper School which accommodated the small classes which the school would have but which eliminated some traditional features such as large study halls (Keller, 3, p.5; Fisher, 1, p.4).

The merger was a challenging time for those who taught through it. Because of the building programme pupils were not able to be placed immediately on their correct campus, and some staff had to travel between the two sites. For those who did not travel there were other difficulties

connected with teaching on a building site (Fisher, 1, p.4). However, these initial problems were resolved by 1974 when the new headmaster was appointed. There were some concerns remaining though, among the principal being the continuing need to broaden the programme, to strengthen the scholarship endowment of the school, to work for faculty cohesiveness and to ease the transition of pupils from the Lower to the Upper School (Williams, 1, pp.7-9).

David Williams now heads a school which has changed considerably since he took over in 1974. His management style is far removed from the autocratic style of earlier heads. The views of faculty, students and trustees are sought before decisions are reached. Committees meet to determine policy, the place of women in the school has changed, new facilities have been added, uniforms have disappeared. However, the school continues to place its students in colleges across the country and to enjoy a good reputation in the community.

Chapter 3

THE SETTING OF A RESIGNATION FOR PRINCIPLE

In order to begin to gain some understanding of the resignation of John Keller from his departmental chairmanship at The Rushmore Academy, it is necessary to examine the components of the setting in greater detail. More information is needed about John Keller and about the school, but there are two other areas which must be explored, and which have only been mentioned briefly. These relevant areas concern the mathematics programme which was in place at the time of Keller's resignation, and the changes which had taken place in the school since the middle sixties.

Principal Actor's Situation

Focusing on John Keller's background reveals a very stable, traditional setting of family and friends. His childhood was spent with two hard-working, honest and highly principled parents, part of an extended family, most of which he knew. His father's family was in the Chicago area, and although many of his mother's family were two hundred

miles away in Wisconsin he saw them perhaps once a year and reports having "felt close" to them. The cohesion of the extended family was demonstrated in the way in which support was given to family members in need during the Depression, even though Keller's father's own work prospects were precarious at times (Keller, 2, pp.1-4).

His father's influence seems to have been powerful. Keller describes him with adjectives like "strong," "honest," "humble," "capable" (Keller's data sheet), and two of Keller's colleagues, one a close friend of the family, mentioned this influence. His father fostered his love of classical music and one of his friends believes that it was from his father that his value system came. Not surprisingly, his father's death when he was in his early twenties was a very significant event (Clark, 1, p.5; Hawkins, 2, p.15).

Elizabeth, his wife, has been part of his life for many years. Their courtship spanned five years before Keller had full-time permanent employment, and at the time of his resignation their marriage was one of about thirty years. Elizabeth is seen as a very capable, supportive homemaker by those who know her. Keller regards her role as "the highest of careers" (Keller, 2, p.6) and she was described as "wonderful. . . the best mother I've known" by a family friend whose children she had helped when their

mother died (Clark, 1, p.16). At the time of the study she was with her own family, giving support through her father's terminal illness, and finally returning home with her mother, by then a widow. Her marriage to Keller is "very traditional. . . he is going to be the person to have the job, she's going to take care of the family. . . And she supports that position" (Hawkins, 3, p.1).

Mention has already been made of the close friendships which the family have, extending over many years. John Keller's professional relationships with some members of his department are also of long standing, and are synonymous with his friendships. During his chairmanship the school expanded, the department grew and some of those that he hired are still there, including the man who became head of the department after Keller's resignation. These men have worked together for many years and they know each other well (Keller, 5, p.5).

Over the years Keller's interests and affections have remained constant. Although he has withdrawn from the professional organisations in which he was interested, he is still involved in his teaching (Keller, 1, pp.8-10). He continues to be unimpressed by organised religions but remains a man of considerable religious faith (Keller, 2, p.11). His interests in philosophy and archeology, in fishing and in music are strong. His family is very

important to him, and his wife supportive, although not involved in his work. But, in the opinion of those who know him, his greatest source of strength is within himself (Hawkins, 2, p.13; Clark, 1, p.5).

In considering factors which could have acted as restraints on him at the time of his resignation, it is difficult to identify anything which Keller would recognise as limiting his choices of action. His friends and colleagues were more concerned about the potential problems which could arise from the events leading to his resignation and from his resignation itself, than he seems to have been since, in his words, "this is no big deal for me" (Keller, 10, p.4).

The act of resignation in Keller's case followed a pattern seen in other resignations for principle in the field of education. He left his chairmanship of the mathematics department, but not his teaching post. Although, in theory, that meant that he would continue to have work and an income, in reality, there was an interval in which he was not sure whether the headmaster would terminate his contract (Keller, 9, pp.13-15). However, this did not seem to be a serious concern with him, in spite of being in his fifties and lacking experience in other work settings. In discussion of his wife's support and of her worries at that time, he said, "If I'm comfortable, she's

comfortable. . . . I think I generally put her mind at ease, because math teachers are in demand. So if I lost my job, I'd expect to get another - in spite of my age" (Keller, 10, p.4). Such a lack of worry was recognised too by his colleagues. One suggested that this feeling of optimism is linked to some of his experiences, "He works with a lot of older people that are down-and-out and can't help themselves. He knows how people survive" (Hawkins, 2, p.14).

His confidence in being able to continue working, and in his wife's support, was matched by his lack of concern for his health. Those who worked with him were worried that the events leading to his resignation were putting a severe strain on him. One said, "I didn't want the stress of this job doing anything to him or his family" (Clark, 1, p.4).

Therefore, it would seem that John Keller did not recognise the risk of being ill or unemployed which could have restrained his actions. He appears to have had "a blind spot" about the possible dangers, to have reached a decision and acted on it. He resigned the chairmanship of the mathematics department without discussing it with his wife. Nor did he tell her immediately that he had written his letter of resignation. The decision was his, and his alone (Keller, 10, p.4).

Situation of the School

At the time of Keller's resignation, The Rushmore Academy employed, as it does at present, about ninety academic staff on both a full-time and a part-time basis, between the Upper and the Lower Schools. The faculty is well qualified for the task of preparing students for college entry, including among its many academic degrees thirty-nine at the masters' level and five doctorates. Staffing numbers are sufficient to allow for a pupil to teacher ratio of 10.5 to 1 over the whole age range, and there are additional staff employed to carry out ancillary tasks in the laboratories, the language centre and the library (The Rushmore Academy Profile, 1984).

Organisational Structure

The Lower School is organised by year group, and much of the teaching is done by year teams. Some subject specialists are used, as resources or as instructors in such areas as music, Spanish and physical education. With its own principal and its own site, the Lower School tends to operate as a separate organisation, and has a reputation in the wider community as providing a nurturing environment for its pupils.

The Upper School also has its own principal, Mary Patrick, who like her colleague in the Lower School is

responsible to the headmaster, David Williams, for the operation of her school. However, the Upper School is organised by academic discipline, with departments of fine arts, humanities, language, library and media, mathematics, physical education, science, social science and history, and typing. Each department is headed by a chairman, and the Upper School has two counsellors and a number of administrators, who also teach.

The Rushmore Academy has an administrative staff whose school-wide responsibilities focus particularly on the financial tasks of running a private institution. Thus the school has a business manager, a director of development, two assistant directors who work with the alumni and the annual fund-raising campaign, as well as a director of admissions (The Rushmore Academy Handbook and 1984-84 Calendar).

There is also a considerable secretarial and domestic staff. The tasks of maintaining the buildings and grounds are contracted out, as are the catering services, which each day provide lunch for all the students and the staff on site. However, although these operations are directed by outside agencies, their staff tends to remain the same and is well known by the pupils and faculty (Keller, 8, pp.3-5).

The governing body of the school is a board of

fifteen trustees. Nine of the fifteen are called lifetime trustees, and, in theory, can remain on the board for the whole of their life, although, in practice, they usually serve for six or seven years leaving when their children are out of school. Four trustees are appointed for terms of four years duration and may serve two terms, and the two remaining board members, a woman and a man, are elected by the alumni for two year terms. The term and lifetime trustees are appointed to the board whenever vacancies appear, by a process of internal selection after a search among friends of the school and the parents of pupils. And, because of the bounded environment of the school, the resulting board consists of members of some of the families which have been connected to the school over many years, and of former pupils (Stevenson, 1, p.2).

As with any board of directors, the role of the trustees is to determine policy. In the case of The Rushmore Academy, this involves decisions about such things as whether to continue as a college preparatory school, or become more comprehensive in character. More routinely the board is involved in financial planning and approving the operating budget, in determining admissions policy, and in choosing a chief administrator for the school (Stevenson, 1, p.3).

Decision making takes place in a number of trustee

committees, which also have faculty sitting on them. Some of these trustee committees are permanently in place and others are set up as they are needed. For example, there is a personnel committee which came into being in the third or fourth year of the present headmaster's tenure. And there has been a long-range planning committee which met for a time and "self-destructed" when its task was complete (Stevenson, 1, pp.7,8).

In addition to the trustees' committees, there are committees composed solely of faculty members, to deal with academic matters (Stevenson, 1, pp.7,8). There are also some committees in which faculty work with students, such as the Upper School Council existing to advise the administration, the Student Activities Committee which plans dances, festival and other social activities, and the Student-Faculty Discipline Committee (The Rushmore Academy Handbook).

Plant and Equipment

The Upper and Lower Schools of The Rushmore Academy are two miles apart, and the larger site, which covers thirty-five acres, was chosen to house the Upper School. Both buildings are modern adaptations of plant which was used by the Boys' School and the Girls' School from which the present institution was formed.

Much of the modernisation at the Upper School site was begun at the time of the merger, and the buildings now in use consist of recent additions, grafted onto an older structure which contains the administrative offices and some classrooms. The range of facilities available on this site is impressive and these are grouped, in the main, by academic discipline. In the last fifteen years, science laboratories have been built, and a computer centre and language laboratories established. A new block houses extensive fine arts studios, an art gallery and a very spacious dining room. The athletic facilities now include a gymnasium, an indoor ice arena, an all-weather metric track, a rock-climbing wall, tennis courts and fields for such sports as football, baseball and soccer. There is also a music wing which contains teaching space and practice rooms. The libraries and auditorium are other recent additions (The Rushmore Academy Handbook).

From inside, it is not always obvious which parts of the structure are recent because of the continuity of the interior design. The decor is consistently light and bright across the campus. The design of the buildings provides a number of areas where students are able to gather, to talk and to work, in small informal groups, and noise levels are reduced by the carpet which covers the floor in all areas where it is practical (Personal notes, 16 October, 1984).

However, the building is not without problems. At various times there have been complaints about difficulties in controlling the temperature of some classrooms (Self-evaluation document, mathematics department, 1978), and about roofs leaking (Fisher, 1, p.4). There are mixed feelings amongst the faculty about the groups of pupils who gather in corners and corridors, sitting on the floor to work, rather than use the large library (Personal notes, 16 October, 1984). And there are some concerns that the athletic facilities are becoming short of space (Keller, 4, p.8).

The Lower School has also been renovated, during a modernisation programme beginning in 1976. Its facilities include an art studio, a library, a science laboratory, an auditorium, a gymnasium and an athletic field (The Rushmore Academy Handbook).

Equipment at The Rushmore Academy is as liberally provided as the buildings into which it goes. It was suggested by one member of the faculty that the school "may be the richest in the area for that sort of thing" (Keller. 4. p.8). Certainly the mathematics department at the time of Keller's resignation suffered no shortage of equipment, and that area of the school seemed "littered with personal computers" (Personal notes, 16 October, 1984). The provision of equipment in other areas is equally generous.

Particularly expensive requests, such as the restocking of a laboratory, might not be dealt with immediately, but if a definite need could be shown, efforts would be made to solve the problem and would probably be successful (Keller, 4, p.8).

The condition of the plant and equipment is good. The school has an atmosphere of being well cared for, which is probably due to the availability of staff for maintenance. But the carpeted floors, the donated works of art which are about the building, and the rather maze-like floor plan, which is the result of the renovation, create an atmosphere which is far-removed from the stereotyped American high school (Personal notes, 16 October, 1984).

Ecology of the Organisation

In considering the consequences of the interaction of the organisational structure and the buildings in which The Rushmore Academy operates, a few factors emerge which have some relevance to this case study.

The distance between the two campuses of the Lower and Upper Schools had the result of creating two schools with almost separate identities. There are a few members of the faculty who work in both schools, particularly in music, Spanish and physical education (Williams, 1, p.7), but, in many areas, contacts between the staff are limited to a

small number of meetings each year (Keller, 4, p.7).

Within the Upper School, the design of the buildings has a tendency to separate the administration from the teaching area of the school. Modern, glass-walled offices were placed on two floors in the old building, in a complex arrangement in which some rooms are behind the more enclosed reception area and others open onto corridors which link teaching areas. The offices of the headmaster and the principal are part of this nucleus of administrators, close to the faculty lounge and some of the classrooms, but at the same time rather detached from the work of the school (Personal notes, 16 October, 1984).

A third characteristic of the building which may be relevant to the study is the design of the major teaching area for mathematics. The department is housed in a group of classrooms opening into a central space, which serves as a classroom, meeting place and office. From this central space there is access to the lecture theatre and to a number of classrooms. Not all mathematics teaching takes place at this location because classrooms, more suitably sized for some groups, exist in other parts of the building. However, the area contains the desks of some members of the department and serves as headquarters for the department (Observation visit, 18 October, 1984).

Thus, in three ways, the identities of parts of the

organisation are underlined by the manner in which the facilities are used. The two campuses separate the Lower and the Upper Schools, and the design of the Upper School intensifies the departmental identity and emphasises the distance between the administrative and the teaching staff.

Finances of The Rushmore Academy

The original financial foundations of The Rushmore Academy lie in a group of Midwestern families, who made large fortunes prior to and at the turn of the century in lumber, manufacturing and the expansion of the railroads. This wealth, "quiet wealth," has tended to remain accessible to the school, because, although some of the families have other homes elsewhere, their contacts with the neighbourhood continue through the unostentatious houses they maintain, and through family members who have married, and still live in the city (Keller, 4, p.9). Besides the smaller gifts which they provide on a fairly regular basis, they are the main resource when the school undertakes a major rebuilding programme. Thus, at the time of the merger, the capital drive raised eight and a half million dollars for new buildings and deficit reduction through the endowment fund (Stevenson, 1, p.6). And, only five years later, when renovation of the Lower School was begun, further gifts totalled about five million dollars (Keller, 4, p.9).

The school is also dependent on the parents for its day-to-day financial health. The operating budget of the school is of the order of four and a half or five million dollars a year, of which between seventy and seventy five percent comes from tuition. Tuition fees are on a sliding scale, which begins at a little over two thousand dollars a year for children in Kindergarten, and rises to more than five thousand for pupils at grade 12. This fee covers basic teaching, and parents can expect to pay about four hundred dollars more for lunches, which are obligatory, up to a hundred dollars for books and materials, and fees for extra activities such as instrumental lessons.

The remaining operating income is derived from interest on the endowment fund, from charges for leasings and summer courses, and from parental giving, co-ordinated into an annual campaign which raises over three hundred thousand dollars (Stevenson, 1, p.22, The Rushmore Academy Calendar, 1984-85 and The Rushmore Academy Profile, 1984).

Personnel Policies

The policies which related to the handling of personnel at The Rushmore Academy had not been clearly defined until recent years. At the time that John Keller was appointed to the Boys' School, headmasters hired and fired, and although faculty are still employed on yearly contracts

which are renewed at the end of each academic year, some procedures now exist to protect them from unfair termination, to hear grievances and to discuss salary scales (Fisher, 1, p.3). The trustee and faculty committee on personnel, therefore, provides a measure of security which did not exist even ten years ago.

The processes by which staff have been recruited are varied. When a need is identified in the Upper School, consideration is given to people who are known to be available and interested. However, a post may also be advertised, or a search carried out in universities or colleges where contacts exist who will help to identify suitable students. The amount of involvement by the headmaster in this process has been varied depending on his personal areas of academic interests and the range of resources open to the department head. However, even when the department head has recruited the new member of staff it is the headmaster who must make the final appointment (Keller, 5, pp.1-5).

In discussions about recruitment to the mathematics department, John Keller outlined some of the sources he had used to build the department over the years. Because his priority had been competence in mathematics rather than in teaching, he had hired students completing graduate work through the contacts he had in university mathematics

departments across the country, including one student who had substituted for him when he was on sabbatical. He has also hired past pupils of the school and teachers from other schools in the area, and at one time maintained a list of people that he would approach each time there was a vacancy in the department (Keller, 5, p.2).

In general, the salaries paid to the faculty are high for a private school. The school is ranked in the top ten percent in the country with respect to its salaries, but these are still lower than those paid by some school districts in the area (Stevenson, 1, pp.23,24), and considerably less than a mathematician in industry would expect (Keller, 5, p.2).

When staff were hired at The Rushmore Academy, their training and supervision was the responsibility of the department head. Thus procedures varied greatly across the school. At one time in the mathematics department, some training was given to new staff. This was necessary because of the unusual nature of the programme which was being taught. Training involved observing lessons given by established members of the department, discussion about the significant sections of an unfamiliar programme, summer courses and the use of training films. However, this ceased to be as necessary as the "new math" spread across the country (Keller, 5, pp.6,7,). It is also significant that

the pool of experienced teachers within the department had grown. Turn-over of staff was low and a number of the mathematicians have been there for over ten years, so that the appointment of a new member no longer required a formal programme for training to be in place.

Each academic year the headmaster meets individually with all members of the Upper School faculty for an open-ended discussion of their concerns. This provides an opportunity for looking at career development and performance (Williams, 2, p.9), but the functions of supervision, performance review and departmental administration are, in general, the responsibility of the departmental chairmen. The appointed department heads, therefore, have considerable power to decide policy within their department and to allocate budget as they wish (Keller, 4, p.10), using the management techniques with which they are most comfortable.

Policy Making

The overall policy making body of The Rushmore Academy is the board of trustees, and an outline of the trustees' role has been given. Major changes in the direction of the school were seen after trustee initiatives such as the merger of the Boys' and Girls' Schools and with the more recent appointment of David Williams. This latter

occurred when the board was aware of problems of separation between the two parts of the school and also within the faculty, and realised that there were areas of the curriculum which required strengthening. With these concerns in mind, a new headmaster was found who had an orientation which was likely to lead to a solution of the problems (Williams, 1, p.9).

At a level below the overall design of policy, the board is able, through its financial and personnel committees, to maintain control of the direction of the school. Adjustment of the amount of money available for faculty salaries, as during the drive for "instant quality," or a decision to go to the friends of the school to raise money for a new building are distinct policy decisions in the same way that a determination that the school remain college preparatory is a policy decision (Stevenson, 1, pp.3-7). Over the years the process of control has changed. It no longer takes place over lunch in a private club, two or three times a year, but is carried out in a series of structured meetings and in the interactions of the president of the board and the headmaster (Stevenson, 1, pp.7-10).

The separation of policy making and administration is perceived by the headmaster, David Williams, as clearly defined. He says that he does not feel bound by the trustees, and is comfortable with the definition of his

task, as he explains, "When we're talking about curriculum, teachers. . .that's my business" (Williams, 1, pp.11,12). Nor is he seen by many of his staff as a policy maker. Keller reports him as saying that he does not have a policy, but prefers to let philosophy and policy develop (Keller, 4, p.3). Certainly the committee structure allows the osmosis of ideas to take place. But not all of the staff are convinced. As one tentatively suggested, "I don't know if that's really going on or not. The school may be given a direction by David Williams, and it may kind of work its way out through these committees" (Hawkins, 1, p.6).

However, policy about academic issues is determined by the administration and the faculty. As this study will underline, the choice of programme and of materials is usually made within the academic area in which they will be used. There are a number of measures available to monitor these programmes, the formal accreditation process through which the school goes, the scores of pupils in the College Board Tests (SAT), the success of placing students in appropriate colleges, and feedback from the parents and the community about the education which is being provided.

Academic Programme of the School

The aim of the school remains, as it has always been, to prepare all its students for college admission,

both personally and intellectually, and the design of its curriculum, particularly in the Upper School, reflects this.

The Rushmore Academy is accredited by the Independent Schools Association of the Central States (ISACS) in a process which involves a block of school visits and follow-up discussions over a seven year cycle. The visit which took place in the autumn of 1978 is relevant to this case study. To carry out the inspection, a committee is formed from local educators and representatives of other members of the association. Before the visit, the committee is provided with documentation about the school, the previous accreditation report, self-evaluations by the academic departments, copies of the curriculum and administrative records. During the visit members of the committee meet with administrators and faculty formally, observe the functioning of the school and talk informally with staff and students.

At the end of the visit, the accreditation committee produces a report, which includes a number of recommendations for each academic area. In the months that follow, departments are expected to meet to discuss the recommendations, to plan any changes which they intend to make, and to frame a reply to the ISACS committee. Further responses to the recommendations are made after about three years, in this case in May 1982, which outline the progress

that has been made in the intervening period. At the end of seven years, the process of inspection and reporting is repeated.

The accreditation reports of The Rushmore Academy have been favourable in most areas, and criticism, where it exists, is usually couched in restrained language (Patrick, 1, p.10). Thus, a committee will suggest that a change "appears desirable" or will balance a criticism with an encouraging comment about another aspect of the same issue. However, the reports are generally regarded as important, if superficial, and are one of the ways in which the success of the school is measured.

Another measure of the school is the results that it achieves with its graduating class. The number of graduates varies from year to year. At grade 7, the year group is usually one of about ninety. However, pupils leave the school because their families leave the area, or, in a few cases, because they are failing and are "counselled out" (Williams, 1, pp.1,2). Although some students are admitted in higher grades, the number in the graduating class is usually in the upper seventies. In a typical year recently, from a class of seventy seven, the school had twelve finalists in the National Merit Scholarship Competition and a further twelve students who gained a commendation. And over a three year period, more than two hundred and twenty

pupils were placed in college, including four to Yale and three to Harvard and Radcliffe, two to the Air Force Academy in Denver and one to West Point, four each to Amherst and Brown, three to Vassar and Swarthmore, and one each to Princeton, William and Mary and Bryn Mawr (The Rushmore Academy Profile, 1984).

The academic programme which produces these results changes to mirror the development of the pupils. In the Lower School, the emphasis is on the language arts, mathematics and the social sciences, but the range of other opportunities is wide. At this stage, great stress is placed on the communication between the school and the home with scheduled meetings and evaluations, as well as conferences which can be arranged whenever a need arises (The Rushmore Academy Handbook).

The programme in the Upper School is described in the handbook as "traditional," with emphasis on reading, writing, mathematics and language, supported by the development of the study skills necessary for efficient and effective academic work. In the seventh and eighth grades the curriculum is prescribed and consists of humanities, mathematics, social science, science, physical education, art or music and work in a foreign language, Latin, German, French or Spanish. Beginning in grade nine, courses are usually taken for credit and a student must earn seventeen

credits to be able to graduate at the end of twelfth grade. Specific requirements are laid down for the distribution of these credits, four in humanities, three each in mathematics and a foreign language, and one each in modern world history, American history, a laboratory science and the fine arts. The remaining courses are electives, and pupils are allowed to take more than the minimum number of credits, more than five in one year if they are considered able to carry the heavy course load (The Rushmore Academy Course Description).

There are many opportunities offered by the school in addition to those laid out in the basic curriculum. In the area of physical activity, the school is usually able to offer about a dozen sports, and in the higher grades, where team sports are not required, the range of available physical education runs from aerobic dance through recreational biking, fencing and CPR, to weight training and weekend hiking and canoeing trips.

Independent study is encouraged through self-designed courses and internships. There are opportunities for drama and musical activities and for foreign travel, and students are involved in the running of the school (The Rushmore Academy Handbook).

Students in the Upper School work with their own advisor whom they choose from among the teachers and the

administrators. The task of the advisor is to help the student derive the maximum benefit from the opportunities the school has to offer and to help in the evaluation process. Grades are sent home at regular intervals throughout the school year, teachers write detailed evaluations in fall and spring, and advisors at the end of the year, and meetings between teachers, advisors and parents take place throughout the year (The Rushmore Academy Handbook).

With so many opportunities in a modest sized school, it is not surprising that the reputation of The Rushmore Academy is good. The headmaster reports that "it has the reputation for being tough academically, with high standards and pretty competitive" (Williams, 1, pp.3,4,). Parents who were involved in the study agreed, although a trustee suggested that a few see the school in less glowing terms, "a meat-grinder" was the expression he had heard (Stevenson, 1, p.12). However, much is expected of students. The demands of homework are heavy, and some faculty are beginning to query the appropriateness of this, when it bars pupils from joining activities such as girl scouts or boy scouts which will bring them into contact with pupils of other schools (Fisher, 1, p.12). On the other hand, the Lower School has a reputation for being "more student-oriented, for being less demanding academically, more

concerned with total child development. . .more gentle, more supportive" (Williams, 1, p.7).

However demanding either part of The Rushmore Academy is reputed to be, the rate of attrition is low. The majority of the students who enter the Lower School transfer to the Upper School and go on to graduate. The same is true of those who join the school in the higher grades. As David Williams explained, "By and large, our commitment is that once we take a student [we] work with them, and make them make it" (1, p.3). Nevertheless, children who are consistently failing will leave. These situations are handled with counselling, but even so can become difficult. When parents are members of the major donor families, trustees or alumni, the discussions can be extensive before such a suggestion is made. However, there are examples where such advice was given and acted upon in the best interests of the child.

The academic prowess of the whole school is relevant to this case study. However, it is also necessary to examine the mathematics programme in great detail, particularly that part of it which was developed at the University of Illinois.

Illinois Mathematics

It is important for this study to understand

something about the University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics materials, their content, development and introduction into The Rushmore Academy.

The UICSM materials originated in the early fifties at the University of Illinois, because of complaints from the engineering department that high school students were being taught mathematics which were outdated and of limited use (Keller, 7, p.3). The course reflected the views of Herbert Vaughan, a professor of mathematics, and Max Beberman, who did much of the writing and was an "outstanding pedagogue." The development of the material was carried out by a committee under Beberman, and the staff of the project contained psychologists as well as mathematicians (Keller, 7, p.3). As materials were produced they were tested in experimental classrooms, initially the University High School in Urbana, Illinois. The process of refinement continued until 1963 or 64, when the final text was produced (Letter from R.R. Christian, January, 1985).

The care which was taken in the preparation of the materials became their hallmark at a time when much that was being produced was merely the up-dating of old courses to include "new math." In the opinion of an independent professor of mathematics who was involved in the mathematical revolution "what distinguished the UCISM materials was their uncompromising devotion to correct,

somewhat formal logical development" (Christian). This, and the use of a Socratic approach, was their attraction, and the result was what one of The Rushmore Academy staff described as "a very challenging, difficult curriculum" (Clark, 1, p.1).

When John Keller joined the Boys' School, he had only recently left the University of Chicago, a prime mover in mathematics reform in the universities. His interest in modernising the curriculum was supported by the headmaster who encouraged him to investigate some of the possibilities which were available. The head of department, soon to retire and realising that changes were about to happen, went along with the suggestions Keller made, so that, by the year 1959-60, the Illinois course was being introduced into the school. At this stage, the school was part of the University of Illinois experiment and weekly reports were written to assess the materials (Keller, 6, pp.4-13).

In the early years the UICSM materials were used only with the upper track of students, a group of about twenty, but as the test scores of these students, already high, improved, the headmaster suggested that use of the programme be expanded across the year group. This change took place in 1964, after Keller had completed his graduate work and become head of the department. The involvement of the departments' staff increased. Robert

Clark, a young mathematician, who had substituted for Keller when he was on sabbatical, did his doctorate at the University of Illinois and returned to the school to teach. Some staff attended the four summer sequence of training that was usually required of those who taught the materials. But the largest expansion took place when The Rushmore Academy was formed at the end of the sixties (Keller, 6, pp.4-13).

The programme at the Girls' School had been more traditional, and the amalgamation meant that the UICSM materials could not be taught immediately across the whole year group. Because of the logical development of the programme, it was not possible for students to enter the course at any place except the end of seventh grade or in the eighth grade. Thus it was a number of years before the course could be taken once again by all the students in the Upper School (Keller, 6, pp.4-13).

From this time there seemed to be growing problems with the course. Test scores in the school dropped, as they did nationally, and with the larger enrollment the number of pupils having difficulties with mathematics increased. It became necessary to set up a third section for mathematics, below the honours and regular tracks, in order to help these students. Parental unrest about the course became more clearly heard for reasons which will be examined later

in the study (Keller, 7, pp.5-9). And there was also considerable discussion in the mathematical community about the views which are at the core of the materials. In an independent view, "it's safe to say that Vaughan's views on high school mathematics were not shared by many mathematicians who thought about such things" (Christian).

The textbooks have been long out of print. However, the course is still highly regarded by many of The Rushmore Academy staff for its logical coherence, particularly evident in the theorem project in the eighth grade, and for its challenge to students of mathematical ability.

Environmental Influences on the School

There are two external areas of influence which became apparent in the early stages of the research. Both have been mentioned in earlier contexts, but both permeated discussion of the case study to such an extent that it is necessary to look at them in isolation.

Trustees and Parents

The compactness of the community in which the school exists, and the origins of the financial support for the school have been discussed. The group of wealthy families who were involved in the early development of the Boys' School at the turn of the century, also left a well

established tradition of community service in the generations of their families which followed and in the companies with which they made their fortunes. Direct giving and foundation support provides a rich community background of music and art, with scholarship programmes, galleries and concert halls (Larson, 1979, p.3).

This tradition spread outside of the small group of families, to those who were around them. The professionals, lawyers, accountants, architects and others, who worked for them and the smaller businesses who were involved with the expanding national companies also gave generously. And the old allegiances remain. In a recent project, by one of the families connected with The Rushmore Academy, community fund-raising brought contributions from family connections, and work on the project was done by professionals and businessmen who have worked on family projects before.

Although not all trustees or parents are part of this group within the community a significant number are. A larger number of parents are part of the same social group as the school's benefactors because of where they live and the clubs to which they belong. The majority of the children in the school live in the neighbourhood where the school is situated, but, because the city has expanded significantly, there are also three or four suburban neighbourhoods where some pupils of the school live.

However, the parents and trustees of The Rushmore Academy meet in business, over cocktails, at neighbourhood parties and to play tennis and work out. They sit on the same boards and are involved in the same community projects.

It is important to appreciate the extent to which the roles of the parents and trustees overlap. Most trustees are parents. Many parents are also alumni of one of the schools. In addition, many of the faculty are parents, because of the free tuition which they receive for their children as part of their compensation. The social network which surround the school is complex. The formal role of the parents and trustees has been mentioned in the discussion of the committee structure for policy making, but the informal structure is also very healthy and well established.

The Merger

Throughout the research interviews for this study the topic of the merger of the Boys' and Girls' Schools has been raised repeatedly. The headmaster, David Williams, saw it as "an important background to understanding this particular issue" (Williams, 1, p.5). Although the events of the merger have been outlined in the previous section, examination of some of the attitudes surrounding those events also needs to be reported.

The decision to go ahead with the merger followed an approach by the board of the Boys' School to the board of the Girls' School. Each school needed to expand its curriculum but was too small to be able to achieve this economically without some major change. The "legal" merger, the planning stage, took place in 1967-68 and the "physical" merger the following year (Patrick, 1, p.2). And, in considering what follows, some perspective of events can be gained from the experiences of other schools which went through similar processes at about the same time. The creation of The Rushmore Academy was smooth in comparison. A member of staff reported that the headmaster made "himself something of a reputation around the country at that particular time for bringing it off the way he did" (Williams, 1, p.8).

The year of the legal merger was a year of planning. Committees were formed to discuss the new departments, to put together the building programme and to deal with issues as diverse as school philosophy and the equipping of girls' washrooms on the site of Boys' School (Patrick, 1, pp.2-7). The following year was one of physical difficulty, with some staff moving between sites, building taking place, and dust and dirt about the school (Fisher, 1, p.4). And, in the opinion of a faculty member who joined the newly formed school, "for the people who were

on one of the two schools previously, it must have been emotionally very difficult, because there are residuals today" (Hawkins, 1, p.2).

Emotional difficulties came from the differences between the schools. The Boys' School where "the archetype of discussion was combat" (Hawkins, 1, p.4) is remembered now by some pupils as a place of "hazing and harassing" (Fisher, 1, p.2), "pretty brutal if you weren't a good athlete, and if you weren't tough and could get back in the banter, if you were at all sensitive, interested in the arts . . . this was not a gentle place" (Williams, 1, p.4). The Girls' School was "probably a little softer" (Williams, 1, p.4), with its awards for community work and seniors who proctored their own examinations (Fisher, 1, p.2).

Against this background, the Boys' School seemed to "take over" (Hawkins, 1, p.5), making a mockery of the word "amalgamation." The headmaster of the Boys' School was appointed to head The Academy, and had the power to appoint staff to new positions. Heads of department were chosen from among the staff of the Boys' School, with possibly one exception. A decision was taken to operate with Lower and Upper Schools on two sites, contrary to the philosophy of the Girls' School which had regarded a wide age range of role models as important (Patrick, 1, pp.2-6). There were problems with contracts for the staff of the Girls' School,

the majority of whom were women, and who were paid at a lower rate than the men (Keller, 3, p.8), and with one particular contract which was not renewed because the teacher was pregnant (Patrick, 1, p.4).

Tension, particularly for the women staff of the Girls' School, resulted in an imbalance on the new faculty which was evident at the time of Keller's resignation and which is still present. The school now has only three or four women who worked in the Girls' School in comparison with about fifteen men who were connected with the Boys' School (Williams, 1, p.5). Although the imbalance may be attributed, in part, to womens' work patterns in the late sixties and early seventies, some probably originates in the tensions of the merger and some stems from attitudes which are reported to have developed immediately afterwards.

During the research interviews, male and female faculty members both raised the issue of the anti-feminist feelings which marred the early years of the new school. Some of these attitudes were apparent in the different ways students were treated, the most obvious being that girls wore uniforms and boys did not. One man reported that some of the male faculty "didn't like having girls around. And they thought girls were second class citizens" (Williams, 1, p.4). Women staff were teased (Fisher, 1, p.4). Other problems arose about leave for pregnancies. These attitudes

were a shock to both the female faculty and the students, because they were new issues for those with experience of an all girls' school (Patrick, 1, p.8).

The appointment of a new headmaster in 1974 seemed to mark the beginning of an improvement in these attitudes. John Keller commented of the previous head, that "there was some unpleasantness between women faculty and the boss in the latter stages of his headmastership" (Keller, 4, p.2), and women staff were particularly aware of sexual bias, even though on an individual basis he could be very supportive. However, the new head had experience of working in a girls' school (Williams, 1, p.9), and society's attitudes were changing with a growing awareness of sexist issues. Mary Patrick saw the change from an unusual position. She had worked in the Girls' School, had left the school, done graduate work in administration, and was hired by the new head to be principal of the Upper School. In her opinion, "the institution has made tremendous strides in eliminating the institutional things that fostered that [sexism], and actually reinforced it." She continued, "It still comes up once in a while" (Patrick, 1, p.8). These attitudes are important to this study because they are identified with the portion of the faculty known by some as "the old guard" (Patrick, 1, p.9), a group of which Keller is part.

Chapter 4

INTERPRETATIVE DATA

Much of the information about the resignation of John Keller from The Rushmore Academy is open to interpretation. By regrouping facts, by changing the emphases on particular events, each actor can create a different account and a unique personal explanation. This chapter examines the similarities and the differences between these accounts of the resignation. It attempts to identify the factors in the organisation and in the principal character which are relevant to understanding why John Keller resigned his post rather than change the mathematics curriculum.

Events Surrounding the Resignation

Although discontent about the mathematics programme had been voiced by some parents over a many years, and although some participants in the study considered that "the atmosphere was almost more important than the specific events" (Hawkins, 2, p.8), the first significant, identifiable, public event leading to Keller's resignation

was the visit of the accreditation committee in 1978.

The sub-committee which looked at the work of the mathematics department was headed by a professor of mathematics from the University of Missouri (Williams, 1, p.13), and also had as members two parents, both professors from two local colleges, one a mathematician and the other a chemist (Keller, 7, p.9).

In preparation for their visit a departmental self-evaluation was written by Robert Clark, a senior member of the department, who had been involved in the development of the curriculum at the University of Illinois under Beberman and Vaughan, and who was a close friend of John Keller. This document laid out under six headings details of the department's philosophy, information about its staff and its courses, responses to the programme from both parents and students, and a list of the concerns of the members and the head of the department.

Some of the points raised dealt with the shortcomings of the physical plant, "ventilation in some classrooms is totally inadequate," "the North Corridor is still too noisy," and "we need a typewriter with mathematical symbols." But some expressed a much deeper concern about the school, that "standards are declining." The faculty saw a need to develop more problem solving ability in their students and to increase computer

proficiency, both requiring greater classroom time. They expressed worries about the frequency and effectiveness of testing, and about the rigidity of the programme with "not enough freedom in choosing which materials we teach" (Self-evaluation, 1978, pp.13,14).

During the accreditation visit, the ISACS committee which was to report on the mathematics department followed its normal routine. Over a two or three day period the members of the committee talked with students, parents and teachers, saw the texts and some examples of students' work, and had discussions with the head of the department, before meeting together to write their report. The recommendations which were produced were very direct for the type of evaluation:

A shift away from the formalism of the Illinois Program should be undertaken. The present system emphasises formalized notation, axiomatics, tree proofs (an art form unknown outside this program). Instead we would like to see the program to be made more problem solving oriented (ISACS evaluation, 1978).

This preamble to the recommendations which were made sets the tone of what followed, and although some comments were supportive of the work of the mathematics department, there was an underlying theme of criticism. Suggestions were made about using a more intuitive approach to geometry in general, and Euclidean geometry in particular. The committee pointed to areas such as number theory, mechanics

and probability where problem solving could be expanded. And, although encouragement was given in the development of computer training, concern was expressed about the apparent paucity of student-to-student discussion. Nor was criticism of the mathematics department limited to the comments of the group who evaluated them. In the recommendations of the examiners of the science department appears the statement that

the faculty of the Science and Mathematics Departments are strongly encouraged to engage in an in-depth study of how problem-solving skills can be acquired through the co-operation of both departments. (ISACS evaluation, 1978).

In their response, the science teachers did not hesitate to point a finger when they agreed "that the Mathematics Department steadfastly resists implementing practical math studies."

The reactions to the evaluation committee report were varied. John Keller saw the recommendations as reflections of his own and the department's views (7, pp.9,10). This, and the opinion, held within the department and expressed by Bruce Hawkins, that appreciation of the Illinois programme is difficult without teaching the material (1, p.3), resulted in a departmental response which disagreed with some criticisms and was sceptical of others. These attitudes were present in both the sixth month response, and in the follow-up response which was filed in

May, 1982.

In the first response, numerous expert opinions were quoted which were in opposition to those expressed in the ISACS recommendations. By May, 1982, when the follow-up response was given, the department's tone was even more critical of the work of the accreditation body.

It was felt by the department as a whole that many of the examples used by the ISACS people were unclear or inapplicable, and that the progressions used and the development that is occurring is very much in line with what the reviewing committee was looking for, but perhaps didn't find (ISACS response, 1982).

The administration of the school was not comfortable with either the criticism of the mathematics programme or the departmental responses to that criticism. They regarded the committee report as "strong," as a "statement that something ought to happen" (Patrick, 1, pp.10,11). And they were somewhat surprised by the responses, which could be interpreted as "they don't know what they're talking about. We aren't going to change a thing." In the opinion of the president of the board of trustees, "it seemed way out of line to respond in that sort of way" (Stevenson, 1, pp.18,19).

During the interval which followed the accreditation visit, and which ended in the spring of 1982 with the filing of the second response, concerns about the mathematics programme seemed to grow. As David Williams, the headmaster,

explained, "the issue of the math program was not a sudden issue. It's been a long standing issue, and it was increasing" (1, p.12). Roger Stevenson, president of the board, reported that by this time, 1982, "the complaints about the mathematics department had been raging for. . .a good five or six years" (1, p.15). Nor was the number of complaints insignificant. Williams received them from many sources, parents, pupils and other members of the faculty (1, p.12) and Stevenson suggested that the "vast preponderance" of the trustees from that period shared his experience of getting complaints from "all over the place" (1, p.16).

That the problem had reached these dimensions is disputed by John Keller. Throughout the interviews for this study, he maintained the position that there have always been some students who, for one reason or another, had difficulties with mathematics, and that there had been little change in this. He said, "I'd had no comments from the headmaster that would convince me that the numbers were larger than they'd ever been, or that they were really appreciable in number" (9, p.5). He even went as far as to suggest that he was not given specific information about the complaints when he said, "The boss said he was getting them . . .not a part of all that is that [sic] when I tried to find out who they were so that I could address those

complaints, I was not given the information, except in one instance" (9, p.4).

This point of view cannot be corroborated from any of the interviews with other main actors. Mary Patrick, as principal of the Upper School, attempted to sort through the complaints which she received to eliminate those which seemed to be based on heresay, but she said, "I don't think there were many that weren't passed on. . . .I think I talked to John about most of the ones I got when they were specific" (1, p.15). The experience of Bruce Hawkins since he became head of department is also relevant. He talked of going to parents' meetings for eighth grade parents, in the two years after his appointment, where the topic invariably came round to the mathematics curriculum. And he commented, "I know that was happening previous to the time things went up. Also, there were some important people making personal statements of complaint. There were probably . . . individual complaints about individual teachers" (2, p.7).

Few members of the mathematics department seem to have had any idea about the magnitude of the discontent with the programme at that time. In the opinion of the administration, this was a result of selective downward communication on the part of John Keller. He had "protected the group from this for a long time" (Williams, 2, p.2) and had "fielded, had represented the math department, was the

sole voice of the math department" (Williams, 1, p.13). The isolation in which the faculty was kept was explained by Mary Patrick, "There was no way to get at the people in the math department, even though many of them said, 'If only we'd known.' The communication from John to the members of his department was very selective" (1, p.8).

Even within the department, little information about these problems was shared. When Bruce Hawkins became department head he was surprised at the amount of concern about the curriculum, and said that people had not expressed their disagreement because there had been no opportunity to make it known (1, pp.12,13).

Nor was information about parental complaints passed directly to members of the department without John Keller's knowledge. When Bruce Hawkins, before his appointment as departmental head, became involved in some parental discussion of the problems and asked Mary Patrick about them, he was given to understand that complaints were no more frequent in mathematics than in some other areas (Hawkins, 1, p.14). The administration, and particularly the headmaster, believed that they should use a "hierarchical, structural approach" (Hawkins, 2, p.6).

Roger Stevenson explained that Williams

feels if he started to undermine the authority of the department chairman in mathematics, he would lose the support of the other department chairmen. . . . He

felt that the right procedure is to work through the department chairman (Stevenson, 1, p.14).

During these years, the president of the board was involved in a number of discussions of the problems of the mathematics department with the headmaster. The two were friends, and so there were meetings in addition to those which would normally have taken place between the head and the president. After weighing all the options from telling through cajoling Keller to make some changes, it was on a fishing trip that David Williams began to talk about the possibility of using an outside body or consultant. He was aware that his views of the programme had little credibility because he was not a mathematician. He had sympathy with the emphasis on concepts and understanding as an educator, but he could not disregard the complaints and felt that he needed an up-to-date, independent analysis of the work of the department (Stevenson, 1, pp.14-17).

In the winter and early spring of the 1981-82 academic year, the mathematics department began to prepare the three year response to the accreditation report. There was a rare departmental meeting to discuss the response, and then John Keller wrote the document which would be sent to the committee. The response which was produced was, according to Keller, "not the kind of response that he [Williams] wanted" (9, pp.8,9). Therefore, the headmaster and the

departmental chairman met to discuss the problems of the department, a meeting at which David Williams is reputed to have accused John Keller of "stonewalling" (Clark, 1, p.1). However, Keller does say of the meeting, "I was for the first time, perhaps, aware of the fact that he was more concerned than I had thought" (9, p.7).

Developments came quickly. Bruce Hawkins learned, at a trustees' meeting, of the decision to bring in an outside body to look at the department. It was a decision with which Hawkins was not completely satisfied, a feeling which he discussed with David Williams. However, the head was convinced that he had no alternative, as he explained,

[Bruce Hawkins] has some gut feelings down here that somehow or other I didn't have to do that. "Why did we have to have that visiting committee in?" Nothing would have moved without it from my point of view - it really wouldn't (Williams, 2, p.10).

To involve the department in the planning for the visiting committee, the headmaster took the unusual step of calling a departmental meeting. Keller's understanding of the reason for the meeting is slightly different from the headmaster's because Keller said that "he wanted to talk with other members of the department because he felt that I had not adequately presented to the department his concerns" (8, p.8). The meeting was held in May, 1982, very close to the end of that academic year. Mary Patrick was present and described it in detail:

We had a meeting in David William's office - sitting all round, David, me, the math department. And we said, "We're going to have this outside committee." And there was devastation in the room. They seemed to feel they were not being trusted, or their judgement was being discounted, or their leadership taken away. That, in addition to sitting in a room with glass windows in [around]. They felt the whole world knew they were on the carpet. That simply would be the one thing that many people would say afterwards (Patrick, 1, p.13).

For most of those at the meeting, the decision to call in a committee was a great shock, which lasted for some time. One member explained, "I felt there was a lack of confidence on the administrator's part that we were doing the right thing, so I had bad feelings for a while" (Clark, 1, p.7). Even some of those who had had warning found the meeting a bad experience. In Bruce Hawkins' description, "the atmosphere was incredible - as if he'd [Williams] fired a charge. I was off the wall for about a week" (2, p.8).

In the days that followed, the atmosphere in the department grew worse, "it got sort of nasty. The least nasty person was John. He could see what was wrong" (Hawkins, 2, p.8). There were a couple of departmental meetings which were hurriedly called between end of year examinations as members of the faculty tried to understand what was happening, and on May 29, John Keller wrote his letter of resignation to the headmaster. The handwritten note, described by David Williams as "a beautiful thing" (2, p.5), followed a meeting between the two.

"May 29, '82

"David,

"The philosophical (educational especially) differences between us are too great for the moment - except for fishing.

"I also believe the school should be run by the boss.

"As a teacher I am able to acquiesce since decision making responsibilities (apart from the teaching itself) are not essentially involved.

"As a department head, however, responsible for departmental curriculum, staff, etc. (and to some extent for whole school curriculum), I am unable to acquiesce where vital issues are involved - at least not quietly!

"Moreover, you know diplomacy has not been one of the qualities cultivated by me.

"Sincerely, to make your job easier (to me it is an unpleasant job under any circumstances) and to make mine easier too (I have never liked or enjoyed the dept head post - strictly done as an obligation), I ask that you relieve me of the task and promote me to full time teacher only! I would be content to serve for one more year (Bob on sabbatical and all the connected problems) But, I prefer otherwise.

"Sincerely,
John K."

Having resigned his post, a short time elapsed before he told his wife, Elizabeth (Keller, 10, pp.4,5). And there was an interval when members of the department were not aware of his actions. On at least one occasion the department met at the home of one of the members to discuss what was happening (Hawkins, 2, p.9). Two of his closest colleagues were concerned about the strain he was under, and went to see him in the early summer, but reconstruction of events suggests that he had probably already resigned at that time. "Bruce and I felt when the pressure got to a certain point, that we really had no choice than to go to John and ask him to resign, because the pressures on him

were too great. I frankly became worried about his health," reports Robert Clark (1, p.4).

David Williams asked Bruce Hawkins to become the new head of the department, but had to wait for Hawkins' acceptance. Because of loyalty to John Keller and to the programme, the decision was difficult, and Bruce Hawkins "thought about it for a while" (Hawkins, 2, p.10). However, by the beginning of the new academic year John Keller was no longer head of the mathematics department. One of the other heads of department, long established in the school, reported that she, like most of the faculty knew very little except that in the fall of 1982 John Keller was no longer a departmental chairman (Fisher, 1, p.13).

The department then began the long task of adjusting to the new leadership and working toward a change in the curriculum.

Issues in the Resignation

The main actors in this case study appear to have little difficulty in identifying the principal issue which brought about John Keller's resignation, although there is less unanimity about the secondary issues involved, both in terms of what was important, and the degree of their importance in considering the resignation.

Basic Issue

Keller explained his position thus:

The basic issue was the curriculum. And a movement was afoot to reduce the curriculum in mathematics, which was a challenging kind of thing. And in a certain sense, the school's curriculum had changed elsewhere earlier, and I couldn't see my task as contributing to the diminution of a program against my better judgement (6. p.1).
(Underlining added.)

Others, involved closely in the events of the resignation, agree with this analysis although their emphases may vary slightly. Robert Clark saw the main issue as, "the administration's need to change from a very challenging, difficult curriculum to a more traditional, acceptable curriculum for the population we are now teaching" (1, p.1). From the perspective of the administration, Keller resigned because "he disagreed with the direction in which the math department was being told to go" (Patrick, 1, p.9). The president of the trustees identified the principal issue in a similar way when he said, "I think John Keller resigned because he was told that he absolutely had to change the mathematics program" (Stevenson, 1, p.13).

However, this is not to imply that Keller was hoping to force the members of the administration to change their minds by tendering his resignation. Rather he was coming to terms with his own principles and withdrawing from a

position in which he would feel obligated to fight. In an early discussion about the difficulties of being a departmental chairman, he said, "I wouldn't tell others, for example, in my department that they had to do something that they felt was not a good thing to do . . . that I didn't feel was a good thing to do, just because it was ordained" (Keller, 9, p.11). This problem, with the concept of administering a change with which he did not agree, was also appreciated by Bruce Hawkins. He interpreted Keller's reasoning as:

Do I want to be around when somebody's got to administer all these changes that I don't want to see? No!
Have I been thinking of resigning for some time? Yes!
Write a letter of resignation (3, pp.2,3).

Secondary Issues

Complicating this central theme of having to resign rather than administer a curriculum revision with which he did not agree, there are a number of secondary factors which, while not as clearly defined, were nevertheless relevant to John Keller's decision to leave the chairmanship of the mathematics department. They can be regarded as secondary issues because they represent circumstances in the organisation with which Keller was not in agreement, but about which, individually, his feelings were not strong enough to cause a resignation. Between them, they raise questions about organisational change and the multiple roles

of department chairmen as educational leaders, administrators and teachers.

Not least of the complicating factors was the strength of Keller's commitment to the UICSM program which his department was offering. His involvement with the materials had covered more than twenty years, from the experimental stages prior to publication, through the training of teachers in their use, both in his department and in summer schools in other cities, and in his own use of them in his classroom. His perception of their quality remained unchanged, and is reflected in his use of words like "reduction" and "diminution" in his descriptions of attempts to change the curriculum. In summarising the change which did eventually take place, after his resignation, he said, "The real losers are the students, not the department, not the former department head. The real losers are the students - that bothers me" (10, p.1).

Nor is he alone in his view of the quality of the Illinois materials. Robert Clark is also convinced of the value of the old programme. He said

We feel that the material we had was the best. . .
I think we are considerably weaker as a mathematics department now than we were two or three years ago, in a sense of the quality of the material that we're teaching our kids. We really have slackened off (1,p.3).

Bruce Hawkins, the new head of the department, shares their opinions, although to a lesser degree, as he explained, "I

was pretty committed to it for a long time. And I still am pretty committed to large parts of it" (Hawkins, 1, p.1).

With respect to the mathematics department, change was interpreted as a reduction in quality by John Keller, and this perception he also applied to the changes which were taking place in the wider curriculum of The Rushmore Academy. As a department head he felt some responsibility for school wide academic decisions, a point of view he raised in his letter of resignation. However, he was not comfortable with the trends of academic policy, and the issue of his resignation "is very much involved with the transition of the school" (Williams, 1, p.11).

Keller's opinion of declining standards shows, indirectly, in remarks such as "until recently we felt we had a commitment to provide all students with the best of instruction" (4, p.7), and, more directly, in discussion of the problems created for the mathematics teaching by perceived reduced expertise in other areas, when he said that the "students who come to us now are much less able to read" (8, p.1).

Two events in particular seem to be identified with his perception of declining standards. The first of these was the amalgamation of the Girls' and Boys' School, which he suggests diluted the pool of talent. "The boys' scores from the very beginning were considerably higher than the

girls' scores, both in mathematical, verbal and non-verbal areas" (3, p.10). The second event was the move to broaden the curriculum of the school, which he tends to identify with the current administration. "It's essentially been a battle of retaining standards against those who would relax them in favor of other directions, social, artistic, sports" (Keller, 8, p.3).

John Keller's attitude to the role of the headmaster also worked to make the issues in the resignation more complex. While he disagreed with both the direction in which the mathematics department was being told to move, and with the overall trend of academic policy in the school, he still recognised the authority of the headmaster. Throughout the interviews he repeatedly spoke of David Williams as "the boss" and in his letter of resignation said that he believed "the school should be run by the boss." With his background in the Navy, and his work under three more autocratic headmasters, this might have not created as much conflict if Keller had felt that Williams was setting academic policy. However, given the number of constituents involved in policy making, and William's style of letting policy develop (Keller, 4. p.3), the head of the mathematics department was uncomfortable with the administration and its modus operandi.

Within the mathematics department, there were other

issues which probably added to the tensions which were building, and which eventually led John Keller to resign. Although these matters were not directly connected with the curriculum, they were difficult for parents and students to deal with, and, therefore, tended to be identified with a defined problem. As the principal explained, "The thing that got talked about was the curriculum, Illinois math. It got to be some kind of catchphrase that went for all kinds of things that were difficult for people to talk about" (Patrick, 1, p.11).

One of these problem areas was the grading policy in the mathematics department. The grades of A,B,C,D, and E were used throughout the school, and the department was grading over each track rather than across the whole ability range, with the result that some able students were obtaining grades of C and lower. John Keller reported that the headmaster had "told me one day that he didn't think it right for anyone in the honors section to get a grade below B-" and Keller commented that he was surprised that the headmaster got upset, although he appreciated that parents might find this grading difficult to understand (8, pp.6,7).

UICSM materials were also being identified as faulty because, in some instances, they were being taught to groups of pupils for which they had never been intended. Bruce Hawkins discovered when he became head of the department

that the materials had been prepared for the top of the ability range (Hawkins, 2, p.4). Use of Illinois mathematics had been expanded to the whole ability range in the mid-sixties after outstanding results with the most able (Keller, 5, p.12). However, use across the whole range presented problems. In Hawkins' opinion "the program is much more suitable for kids that have mathematical talent. It can be taught to kids that don't have mathematical talent, but you have to be very careful" (Hawkins, 2, p.4).

Thus, sometimes, "the teaching of the material causes a problem" (Hawkins, 2, p.2), and in the case of the former head of department "there was a lot of criticism directly of John himself that had nothing to do with the program so much as his approach to students, not helping them through things, continuing to leave them out on a limb" (Williams, 2, p.8). This opinion is echoed by those who worked most closely with him, although they were quick to balance the problems of Keller's teaching with its strengths.

He can be an inspiring teacher . . .but he doesn't reach all the kids. . . .Maybe he may teach in an argumentative fashion, and some learners wouldn't learn well in that situation. He tries to strive for dialogue - he doesn't tell the kids how to do things, but he wants them to learn for themselves (Clark, 1, p.9).

From the point of view of the new departmental head

John is a problematical teacher. . . .Kids have

difficulties working with John. Kids have difficulties with his approach in the classroom. . . .In a certain way he could not be more supportive, and for some kids he just absolutely saved them (Hawkins, 2, p.5)

Among some of his colleagues there was particular suspicion of his attitude to girls as mathematicians. One member of the faculty, herself an advisor to a number of students and mother of three daughters who had all attended The Rushmore Academy commented, "I think he communicates some feeling that he doesn't think women are likely to be as capable as men" (Fisher, 1, p.13), although the department has produced some outstanding girl students.

Therefore, there appears to be other issues, besides John Keller's unwillingness to supervise a change in the mathematics curriculum, which were factors in his decision to resign. His discomfort with the academic direction of the school, and with the management style of the current administration, and criticisms of his work within the department all contributed to the mounting tensions which culminated in his letter of resignation to the headmaster on 29 May, 1982.

Behaviour of the Principal Character

Any attempt to begin to understand the behaviour of John Keller with respect to his resignation for principle must examine his value system as it is demonstrated through

his actions. His conduct and opinions have been observed by his colleagues and friends over many years, and were discussed in the interviews for this study, as they gave their own reports and interpretations of his resignation. This section is therefore a distillation of the individual opinions built up from these observations.

The initial reaction of the researcher, at the preliminary meeting before this project began, was that Keller was "serious, very strong minded," with a suspicion of stubbornness (Personal notes, 5 June, 1984). This impression was confirmed in discussion with his close friend, Robert Clark, who summarised some of the points about him which others would mention, when he said

John has remained quite firm in a lot of beliefs. We can view that as a negative or as stubbornness, or as unwillingness to change, and, on the other hand, it's a source of strength sometimes. So he's a remarkable, strong individual, which makes him hard to deal with (1, p.5).

The duration of his commitment, and the strength of his views, which can be interpreted as negative stubbornness or positive strong mindedness, are mentioned by all the participants in the events of his resignation. His uniqueness is not difficult to deduce from the events which have already been reported, but is even more obvious from the events which followed his resignation, and which will be discussed later. The difficulty of dealing with him in an

organisational setting was raised by all participants, although tempered with comments of respect or affection.

When asked about his strength, Keller has no doubt that its foundation could only be in his religious beliefs. He said, "I have an unquestionable confidence in God. That's where it [his strength] comes from, if it comes from any place" (2, p.11). However, as has been mentioned in a previous chapter, his Christian beliefs do not conform to those of any particular religious organisation. Rather they have developed as a result of the study of the Middle East, ancient history, the Bible, and philosophy over many years (Keller, 1, pp.10,11). The present head of the mathematics department commented about the faculty's opinions of these studies, "He's respected from the standpoint of intellectual background, understanding, knowledge of several areas" and mentioned specifically Middle Eastern ancient history and biblical studies (Hawkins, 1, p.12). Thus Keller's strong faith, his "early awareness of the Almighty as a child" (Keller's data sheet), was bolstered by years of study to become his main source of strength.

His interest in philosophy has also influenced his views on education. He subscribes to Mortimer Adler's view that "everyone should have essentially a college preparatory, liberal education" (Keller, 6, p.12).

Democratic society must provide equal educational

opportunity not only by giving to all its children the same quantity of public education . . . but also by making sure to give to all of them, all with no exceptions, the same quality of education. (Adler, 1982, p.4).

However, Keller's campaign for high quality education for all is somewhat contradictory, having been carried out in a private school, never in the public school system.

"He sees the function of the school as academic." Thus, although he attends school hockey games and has, in the past, coached, he regards athletics and art and music as taking time from the school's purpose (Hawkins, 1, pp.11,12). He was, therefore, more comfortable with the school in previous decades when the curriculum was more narrow and traditional, and sport and the arts were regarded as extra-curricula activities.

Keller's enthusiasm for the Socratic method and the UICSM materials also would seem to owe much to Adler's views.

The ultimate goal of the educational process is to help human beings become educated persons. Schooling is the preparatory stage; it forms the habit of learning and provides the means for continuing to learn after all schooling is completed (Adler, 1982, p.10).

The emphasis on questioning and on the logical building of theory such as is at the root of much of the Illinois material are part of an exercise in learning to think. They appeal to a man whose leisure time is spent, in part, in the study of philosophy and ancient history, and in the

appreciation of classical music.

Those who know him well comment on John Keller's principles, his moral values, his high integrity. Bruce Hawkins goes so far as to identify its source when he said, "I think his principled approach comes from studying philosophy. . . . I think that his real sense of conviction comes from theological beliefs, Christian beliefs" (2, p.13). And his friend Robert Clark remarked that "he's just a good, a very moral and ethical person" (1, p.3). Later in the same interview, he explained, "I've never met anybody with quite such a solid feeling of what's right and wrong" (1, p.5). And even those who are not in agreement with all his views comment that "his integrity is very high" (Williams, 1, p.10) and that "he is a very principled person" (Patrick, 1, p.10).

In addition to having strong principles, John Keller appears to form solid commitments and to show considerable loyalty to the people and the organisations in his life. The length of his marriage, his care of his mother and mother-in-law, his identification of family rather than career events as the significant milestones in his life (Keller's data sheet), all demonstrate the depth of his feelings for his family.

In his professional life, the length of his service to The Rushmore Academy is another example of his

commitment. However, there are other specific incidents which show his loyalty to the organisation and those who work with him. One of these was connected with the fund-raising in which the school is involved, both annually and in capital drives. Members of the faculty are not asked to contribute, but regularly, for twenty five years, John Keller has sent in a donation, an action appreciated by the trustees who see his loyalty to the institution as "just very, very touching" (Stevenson, 1, p.22).

His loyalty to his colleagues was demonstrated at the beginning of this study, when his one reservation about taking part was that they should not be upset by the investigation. This consideration for his staff also showed in his definition of his role as department head, "I always felt a great obligation to the department to facilitate things for them. In fact, that's what, essentially, I saw my job to be" (8, p.8). And, although this was open to interpretation as overprotection or as misguided management of professionals, in the wider context of his loyalty to his family and the school, it can be seen as an expression of concern.

Loyalty such as Keller showed is one example of single mindedness, and it is not the only kind which he exhibited. In his early life, the directness with which he worked towards his goal of a college education through the

Navy and after his father's death was also single minded. He handled the potential problems of limited financial resources and a dependent mother and sister, cutting across the traditions and opinions of his wider family who thought he had "rocks in [his] head for wanting to go to college in the first place" and who had been convinced he would do something "sensible" when his father died (Keller, 2, p.4). He still behaves in the same way. David Williams remarked that "he doesn't care if ninety million people are going that way!" and added his own admiration for such single mindedness (Williams, 1, p.13).

The perception of single minded behaviour in positive or negative terms depends on the value orientation of the observer. When it is seen negatively it is usually described as "stubborn" and in much of the discussion of John Keller's resignation this was the term which was applied, both by friends and by administrators. Negative connotations can result from disagreement over the issue, but also from the way in which the opinion is expressed, and in Keller's case this was very relevant. His close friend described him as a "stubborn individual" and qualified his remarks by saying

He's very hard to talk to at times because he talks from an arguing position. I find that very hard to deal with. I've skilfully learned to avoid it most of the time. I don't argue well, so I don't get into that combat with him (Clark, 1, p.9).

His enjoyment of a "friendly debate" with an outside examiner was reported by the headmaster (Williams, 2, p.5). The faculty's choice of him to represent them in salary negotiations was not surprising, as the president of the board explained, "he was elected by the faculty because of his reputation as a hard-nosed, tough, insulting kind of no-capitulation, no-compromise bargainer" (Stevenson, 1, p.24).

For those who meet him daily as administrators these are special difficulties. Bruce Hawkins suspects that John Keller's background of growing up in Chicago has some relevance to the "adversarial kind of situation" which he creates with administrators (Hawkins, 2, p.6). However, the fact that he "will take a dim view of administrators, and be combative when he talks to administrators" (Clark, 1, p.10) was noticed in the early part of research for this study, during a visit to The Rushmore Academy. The researcher noted Keller's attempts to "needle" one of the administration in a light-hearted way during a casual meeting on the corridor (Personal notes, October 16, 1984). When asked if this attitude was normal for John Keller, the principal replied, "Yes, and women in particular." She finds that,

Sometimes it's in jest and sometimes it's serious - that my position should be eliminated, - that I'm not doing anything, - wasn't it too bad that I somehow got suckered into it. It's been going on since I've known John, pre-merger times (Patrick, 1, p.14).

But, however it is expressed, there is little doubt that Keller deals with administrators by being combative.

The strong opinions that he holds and about which he enjoys to argue are not always seen as complete by those around him. There are areas of reality which he seems not to recognise and which Hawkins called "blindspots." The new head of department worries because Keller did not appear to realise that he might have been fired for continuing to argue about his principles, and that he did not to appreciate the potential problems of being out of work (Hawkins, 1, p.14). Talking of the same attitude, the president of the trustees is equally aware and amazed, "I just can't imagine that anybody else would have been so blind and so stubborn. . . blind to the degree of criticism, and stubborn about doing anything to change the curriculum" (Stevenson, 1, p.18).

In spite of the fact that he "argues very logically and very well and very clearly" (Clark, 1, p.1), the positions from which Keller begins are not always appear logical to everyone. Some examples have already been mentioned, one being his advocacy of democratic education from an elitist school. His attitude to Mary Patrick is also inconsistent. Although he needles her about her administrative post, he was very supportive of her appointment (Williams, 1, p.10). And there are times when

he will begin to argue from blatantly false information (Hawkins, 2, p.5). Talking of salary negotiations, Stevenson reported an example when "the television would say 'The C.P.I. was 8.5% so far this year.' Keller would say, 'That's incorrect. It's 20%.' He just made outrageous statements. Everybody laughed they were so outrageous" (1, p.25).

Throughout the study there have been indications from his behaviour that some of John Keller's attitudes were slightly anti-feminist. In part, this is to be expected because of his identification with the "old guard," those members of staff who were established in the Boys' School before the take-over of the Girls' School. Some observers merely reported suspicions (Fisher, 1, pp.9,13), but some were more explicit. Mary Patrick commented about his attitude to administrators, "women in particular" (Patrick, 1, p.14). And the headmaster described how, for many years. John "gave an award for the best math student. . . . Then he gave one for the best girl student. The assumption was they were never the same" (Williams, 1, p.5).

With the depth of his commitment to the UICSM mathematics program, which is "part of his personage" (Patrick, 1, p.17), his protective and single-minded leadership of his department, his strong principles, and his philosophical and religious interests, it is not surprising

that some of those involved in the study used religious analogies when describing him. Bruce Hawkins talks of him "resonating with the prophets" (2, p.14). Mary Patrick likened him to a religious leader at the head of his department, urging them to "hang onto this thing which is the golden tablets" because "someday people will see the light" (1, p.18). And Roger Stevenson drew parallels with the early Christians who were sent to the lions in the arena when he said, "Keller would probably have been willing to go to that arena on behalf of Illinios math." (1,p.19).

In spite of the difficulties that his opinions caused, his colleagues expressed a great deal of affection for John Keller. The new head of department wished that others would "take the same kind of interest that John continues to take" (Hawkins, 2, p.12). His supporters and admirers came from the most unexpected places. The headmaster said that, "he's a very complicated guy. His integrity is very high. He can support things you wouldn't think he would" and concluded, "I have a lot of respect for him" (Williams, 1, p.10). The chairman of the board admitted to having "a soft spot in my heart for John Keller" (Stevenson, 1, p.21) and the principal described some of her frustrations metaphorically, and with warmth, when she said, "I think what I needed to do was to hit him over the head with a brick! I mean, I like John, but I have to hit him

with a baseball bat" (Patrick, 1, p.12).

Therefore it would seem that the person who resigned was complex, with strong opinions and high integrity. He was respected, although difficult to work with at times, and was the object of much affection, even on the part of those with whom he disagreed.

Organisational Behaviour

Of equal importance to John Keller's behaviour and values, are those which form part of the organisational culture of The Rushmore Academy, and those of the people who were most closely involved in the events leading to his resignation for principle.

Throughout its development, the school has had a primary goal of preparing its students for college, and the value which has been placed on quality in education since the school's foundation, does not appear to have diminished. The headmaster's perception that The Academy has "the reputation for being tough academically, with high standards, and pretty competitive" (Williams, 1, pp.3,4) is validated by its achievements. Recently, students' results in the National Merit Scholarship Competition have been numerically the best in the state although the school's graduating class size is only a fraction of the size of that of most high schools. College placements have also been

impressive (The Rushmore Academy Profile, 1984).

Although the aim of providing excellent education has continued to be important, the school has not remained the same over the last fifteen years. The Upper School had been accused of being "cold, distant, not very supportive" in the past, but it "has come a long way in countering that kind of criticism" (Williams, 1, p.7). The system is now designed to provide more care and support for students through individual advisors, parental contact and frequent reporting. Attention has also been paid to the difficult transition from the Lower to the Upper School. As a result of the new goals of the two schools, curriculum revision and careful use of personnel, pupils are now less fearful of the transfer (Williams, 1, p.8).

Not only has the atmosphere of the whole school changed for the pupils, the curriculum and extra-curricular activities are also significantly different. The range of subjects which is offered has enlarged, and the methods of presentation have been adapted to new technology and techniques, with the result that it "is a school that is open, quite flexible - has arts students, has music students - some of those things that weren't [there] in the past" (Clark, 1, p.6).

The importance which is placed on the provision of top quality education is evident in other ways. The dilemmas

which arise occasionally over the children of wealthy patrons of the school are particularly difficult. Refusing admission or failing a pupil who is connected to a donor usually divides the trustees into one group which sees the action as "biting the hand that feeds" and another which wishes to preserve academic standards at all costs, but "by and large, standards are not compromised - very far" (Stevenson, 1, p.11). Thus, the emphasis on quality continues even though the definition of "top quality education" has changed over the years.

To a school which aims to place all its students in college, and which raises its financial funding almost exclusively from trustees and parents, success is important. In addition to competition and test scores and to college placement, another of the external measures of the school's standards is the accreditation process. To the trustees, the administration and many of the faculty, the results of accreditation visits are significant. However, John Keller suggests that "the headmaster is pretty sensitive to that whole process because he's in charge of the whole thing [setting up ISACS committees] for the whole private, school organisation in the country" (9, p.10).

It is not only in this respect that the headmaster is "sensitive." He has encouraged the development of a committee structure which has increased the participation of

students, faculty, trustees and parents in the governance of the school. The result is that

the school is increasingly governed, not by that kind of principle originating with the headmaster and the faculty, but rather is responsive to views and opinions of other constituents in the community and in the country as a whole (Keller, 9, p.2).

On the part of the trustees, there is "probably less informal influence than there was fifteen years ago, when there weren't all these committees" (Stevenson, 1, p.9) but there is the opportunity for regular participation, and some groups have gained influence.

At the time of the merger, women faculty were virtually without voice. Because of changes in the staffing patterns, and because of the committees, on which they are active, there are "faculty people who have said the school is run by women now, it's not run by men" (Hawkins, 1, p.8). The increased female influence in the school seems to have encouraged a decrease in sexism on the part of faculty. "But it still comes up every once in a while. . . .The question of women returning to work after having children is a hot one here right now" (Patrick, 1, p.8). Thus, a major problem of the merger is being resolved by the passage of time and increasing female influence.

The pace of management processes has been affected by the setting up of the committee structure. No longer are autocratic decisions reached and carried out in a short

space of time. With the committees has come a reliance on deliberate planning as the basis for management. "David Williams is very conscious of plans, like a long range plan, developed by groups of people and O.K'ed by the trustees. He looks at that plan. He says my job is to implement the plan" (Hawkins, 1, p.7).

There are other reasons, too, for the change of pace. "David Williams is more sensitive to a lot of different people. . . . I have the impression that David Williams will wait as long as he can before making a strong move" (Hawkins, 1, p.7). This sensitivity has been particularly appreciated by the mathematics department since Keller's resignation, as one of the faculty pointed out, "the administration's not heavy handed, even though they needed to make some changes. They've never come into us and griped or pushed or prodded or anything like that. . . . They're not dictating to us" (Clark, 1, p.13).

Such behaviour on the part of the administration is consistent with Mary Patrick's view of their style of management. She explained, "We give the teachers as much latitude in terms of what they do and how they do it as possible. We hire professionals" (1, p.15). And speaking of the headmaster, she said, "David doesn't think you ought to have to tell people" (1, p.19). There are other examples which demonstrate the autonomy which was afforded to

departments and faculty, such as the freedom from close control of the departmental budget. John Keller's definition of his tasks as head of a department, to "provide it with some direction, assign teaching positions . . .to promote a good mathematics program" (8, p.8) is a further testimony of departmental autonomy.

However, allowing such freedom has inherent risks. In the case of the complaints about the mathematics programme, "the matter had been left long enough up to the individual direction of the math department" (Patrick, 1, p.10). The choice of action to take was consistent with David William's style as "a very direct person" (Stevenson, 1, p.14). The decision to call a mathematics departmental meeting was made because the communication channels to the faculty were not working. "There was no way to get at the people in the math department. . . . The messages were going along the same channels as they were in other departments" (Patrick, 1, p.18) but were blocked.

The administration's unwillingness to use a devious approach to make the department members aware of the discontent about the mathematics programme was consistent with David Williams' attitudes, but, in the opinion of some who were involved, "might have been a mistake" (Hawkins, 2, p.6). It demonstrated a desire for openness in dealing with the problem, but perhaps miscalculated the impact, the

shock, which department members felt when they were presented with the facts.

In summary, The Rushmore Academy is attempting to provide a very high quality of education in a caring and open environment. To do this, it relies on participation from many constituents, so that philosophy and policy develop and are widely understood. The administration of the school tries to be straightforward in its dealings with faculty and to allow the academic departments considerable autonomy. In its communications on academic affairs, it makes use of traditional hierarchical channels through the department head.

Such behaviour is open to both criticism and abuse. Policy making techniques involving participation can be criticised by organisation members more comfortable with autocratic styles as showing weak leadership. Changes in emphasis can be interpreted as lowering old standards. A direct and open approach can be seen as lacking in subtlety. And the use of single, hierarchical communication channels can be risky if it implies that communication is filtered.

Given the differences which existed between the apparent attitudes of John Keller and The Rushmore Academy, study of the outcomes of his resignation may have value because, afterwards, compromises took place, misinformation was corrected and channels of communication opened.

After the Resignation

When John Keller resigned as head of the mathematics department, one of his greatest concerns was that the headmaster would hire another head from outside of the school, which Keller saw as potentially disastrous. In order to remove any urgency from David William's decision making, Keller had offered to serve for a further year, although he made it clear that this would not be what he would prefer (Keller, 9, pp.13,14). Neither of these possibilities became reality because David Williams asked Bruce Hawkins to take the position of head of the mathematics department.

However, Hawkins' acceptance took so long that for a time the administration "didn't know if we were going to have a head of the math department" (Patrick, 1, p.14). Bruce Hawkins could not rush his decision. He says, "I thought about it for a while. I talked to other people about it. I think I talked to everyone in the math department with maybe one exception" (2, p.10). The delay was the result of mixed emotions. "There was a feeling of loyalty to John in there. It was associated with what the administration was asking the department to do" (Patrick, 1, p.14). However, accepting that the programme was going to change, and that John Keller was not going to be head of the

department, Hawkins finally agreed to assume the post.

The resignation and the appointment of the new head of department took place during the summer of 1982. The majority of the faculty at The Rushmore Academy knew nothing of the change until the beginning of the next academic year in September. Even another department head knew very little of the discussions, as she explained, "I was aware that there was some controversy over this coming evaluation and over how math was going to be taught. And I was aware that John Keller was no longer head of math" (Fisher, 1, p.13).

One of the first tasks facing of the new head of department was to prepare for the visiting committee which was to look at the mathematics programme during the year 1982-83. Following the departmental meeting, in May 1982, at which he announced his intention to call in an outside committee, David Williams began to search for suitable members. He called the director of studies of the National Association of Independent Schools to explain the problem and ask for suggestions. From the names that were suggested, and the leads which came from them, a committee was eventually formed under the leadership of the president of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, a professor from New York University, Stephen Willoughby. The other two members came from a Boston private school, Milton Academy, and Northern Iowa University. The composition of

the committee raised no serious objection within the mathematics department. It was seen as reasonable and, in the words of Keller's friend, Robert Clark, "it wasn't stacked" (1, pp.2,3,).

The visit was planned for April, 1983, and at the beginning of the term the headmaster prepared a single page summary of the criticisms and issues in the department, which he sent to committee members (see Appendix B). These notes indicate that some changes were already taking place. Bruce Hawkins was meeting with parents and beginning to work with the Lower School to improve co-ordination between the two programmes. During the winter, members of the department were starting to regain their confidence, which had been badly shaken during the previous spring as the events leading to the resignation unfolded.

The visiting committee was in the school for three days, and in that time visited the Lower and Upper Schools. They met with the headmaster, the members of the department, some of the trustees, a random group of parents who represented a wide ability range of students, and with a number of the students (Williams, 2, pp.4,5,). Some of the staff of the department realised that the committee was addressing parental discontent rather than assessing the programme, and had no problem with this (Clark, 1, p.2), but John Keller was disappointed. He commented that the

committee members did not read the texts and had little familiarity with the materials, and he regarded their recommendations to change the programme as little more than "a rubber stamp" on a decision the administration of the school had already made (Keller, 9, pp.5,6).

In the report which the review committee produced, the conclusions about the programme were similar to those of the accreditation committee in 1978, although wider issues were also addressed in some detail. They warned that "the emphasis on precision in language and formalism is too great and too early" and that the "UICSM program has been surprisingly successful here precisely because of the remarkable ability and commitment of the mathematics faculty." The committee went on to suggest changes that could be made in the curriculum to bring it into line with current practice (Mathematics Review, April 1983).

On the related issue of textbooks, the committee stressed the importance of using texts, and, while admitting that no single set of texts existed which was appropriate, commented that the faculty was experienced enough to supplement texts and adapt them for their own use. The report also contained a section dealing with teaching styles and was critical of the use of the "Socratic" method in groups, expressing a need for caution in its use.

However, a large part of the report dealt with the

need to improve communications in many areas. The committee recognised the efforts which were being made within the department and with the Lower School and stressed the importance of continuing these improvements. In addition, the committee members felt that there was a need for meetings between the administration and the department to discuss subjects of mutual interest. Communications with parents were also highlighted, particularly in those cases in which students were having problems with mathematics (Mathematics Review, April, 1983).

During the following month, David Williams accepted the recommendations of the review committee in a note to the mathematics faculty and to the relevant members of the administration (see Appendix C). Since that time the department has continued to change, although in some areas there is still much to do.

The curriculum is being adapted each year so that the changes vary in quantity for each member of the faculty. For example, Robert Clark is teaching none of the old material, while John Keller's courses have had very little modification (Clark, 1, p.13). The administration is aware of the problems of not having texts readily available which are suitable (Williams, 2, p.9), and appreciates that change is taking place, although Mary Patrick wonders if "it's going a little slow" (1, p.15).

For their part, the administration is attempting to be more open about parental complaints, as the principal explained, "I think we have improved our system for taking in parental and student concerns, and somehow not adjudicating them in responding to them internally" (Patrick, 1, p.16). On the other hand, there have been few of the meetings between the department and the administration, which were suggested by the review committee. This may be the attempt to avoid being "heavy handed even though they needed to make some changes" (Clark, 1, p.13). It may also be designed to be a statement of confidence in the ability of the new department head.

The administration is pleased with the new chairman whom they see as "a very talented person in terms of interpersonal relationships, in addition to his ability [mathematically]" (Patrick, 1, p.17). From his individual meetings with them, the headmaster reported the faculty's comments when he said, "Some of them are quite different personalities, way apart from each other, but to a person they will, unsolicited, say Bruce Hawkins is just super" (Williams, 2, p.10). The success of the appointment is also evident from Robert Clark's comments that Hawkins has "handled it remarkably well" and that the department is "more confident" (1, pp.5,6,).

Admiration for John Keller is also shown by all

those involved. The principal commented that "John has done a really outstanding job in the transition from his previous role to where he is now" (Patrick, 1, p.16). From the viewpoint of the trustees "to his great credit, John Keller is pitching in like a good soldier" (Stevenson, 1, p.21). Those closer to him are also full of admiration for his strength in adapting. Robert Clark said, "I can't believe what he's been through. He's managed to deal with it as well as a person could be expected to" (1, p.12). And even the new departmental head, who admits to some discomfort on his own part in the situation, comments that "personally and from the standpoint of the department we don't have any problems. . . . He didn't back out" (Hawkins, 2, p.12).

Thus, it would seem that the crisis which surrounded John Keller's resignation has passed. The department is settling down to modify its programme and to extend its work in computers. Keller himself continues to be involved as a teacher in the work of the department. The administration is pleased with the new chairman and with the changes. The president of the trustees summed up the situation two years after the resignation when he said, "Things are shaping up gradually" (Stevenson, 1, p.19).

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF A RESIGNATION FOR PRINCIPLE

The resignation for principle which this study examines is a single example of a type of organisational behaviour about which there is little in the formal literature. Although preliminary research suggested that the behaviour was not uncommon, it rarely seemed available for study because it was often accompanied by personal pain and was cloaked in secrecy. Thus the design of the research was significantly influenced by the need for sensitivity.

The research methodology was chosen to take into account a number of factors. First, because the literature had yielded only one directly relevant piece of writing, Bennis's chapter in The Unconscious Conspiracy (1976), the study was exploratory. As such it had, in part,

to discover significant variables in the field situation, to discover relations among variables and to lay the groundwork for later, more systematic and rigorous testing of hypotheses (Kerlinger, 1973, p.406).

The second consideration was the necessity to explore in depth and systematically the relationship between an individual who resigned and the organisation which employed

him. This suggested that the research should be some form of field study. But, as Burton Clark explained,

A number of interrelated activities needed to be seen in connection with one another. This could hardly be done by surveying a large number of organizations on a few selected characteristics (1960, p.2).

And the third factor which was relevant to the choice of methodology was the expected difficulty of investigating a relationship which contained, potentially at least, a significant amount of conflict.

Given these limitations, the decision was made to carry out a single case study. In the early stages of the research, two major problems arose to complicate the search for a subject. The first problem is discussed in the second chapter of this document and had to do with finding individuals and organisations both of which were available for study. Some people were not suitable because their experiences were still too painful for them to be asked to recall events in detail. Even with guarantees of anonymity, others would have had to take unacceptable legal and professional risks if they had been included in the study. Some organisations were not even aware that there had been a conflict which had caused a resignation. And some were unsuitable for study because of large physical distances between participants or because of long time lapses since the events which were relevant to the resignation.

The second major problem which arose in the early stages of the research had to do with the definition of "principle." Although an academic definition had been established as part of the discussion of the literature in Chapter 1 (see pages 17,18), in the field the definition remained very subjective (see pages 4,5). Even when it was feasible to demonstrate that an individual believed completely that his or her resignation was for principle, it was possible that members of the organisation would not agree. They might prefer to interpret the action as "face-saving" or as part of a power play which did not work as had been intended. Such suspicions were raised in connection with the case of Roger Swanson, the Dean of an Institute of Technology, but did not have to be dealt with because of his withdrawal from the study. However, it seemed that this was a potential problem which would have to be resolved once a case was judged suitable on the basis of the more objective criteria of location and timing.

When the case was found which was used for the study, it presented few difficulties. Chapter 2 contains discussion of its comparative ease of access. The elapsed time was short, the actors were all available, and the level of acrimony was low. Nor did any problem of the definition of "principle" have to be settled before the study could begin. Never during the research did anyone on either

side of the dispute in the case suggest that John Keller's actions were the result of anything but his principles. No one hinted that he had threatened to resign to force the administration to reduce their demands for an amended syllabus. No one speculated that Keller had resigned before he was fired. No one mentioned face-saving, but they did talk of his independence and about him not caring "whether ninety million people are going that way" (Williams, 1, p.13). In all the interviews there was agreement that Keller had resigned because he was being expected to do something which he regarded as wrong.

During the preliminary exploratory studies, there were indications that the research would uncover current conflict and multiple versions of events and issues. However, from the beginning of the examination of Keller's resignation, interviews revealed consistent accounts of the issues and events and, also, a sense of satisfaction at the compromise which had emerged. Lengthy discussions at the start of the study with John Keller and David Williams provided a list of the other people who had been closely involved because, as Levinson remarked,

We could take advantage of the fact that there are some who have observed each of these leaders over an extended period of time during their close work association and so could tell us about how they did what they did. These observations would complement our interviews with the leaders themselves (1984, p.8).

Of those who were approached for their observations, few refused. And only one of these could be considered to have been close to the events of the resignation. Keller's wife was not comfortable with taking part in the study. She suggested that she could make little contribution because she had no involvement in her husband's professional life, an opinion verified by Robert Clark, who was close to the family.

Thus the research was simplified by the co-operative atmosphere in which it was carried out. Interviews were granted, help was given in locating documents which could provide additional evidence, and there was general agreement about the issues and events of the resignation. The basis of respect and friendliness which was present throughout the research period simplified the task of investigating the resignation for principle, but it also served as testimony to the comparatively successful outcome of the dissent.

Research Questions

In the first chapter of this document five aspects of resignation for principle were identified to form the framework for the study. Questions were asked which focused on these areas, and these will be discussed before more general comments are made.

1. The Character of the Resigner

In what ways does the resigner's character influence the events of the dissent between that person and the organisation?

From the interviews with those closely connected with John Keller's resignation there emerged a consensus that his character had influenced significantly the events of the resignation. David Williams, when asked about the length of the dispute, suggested that "a good bit of it is personality" (2, p.10). Other participants identified particular behaviours which influenced events.

During investigation of Keller's resignation two groups of behaviours emerged which seemed relevant. And from the early cases, which were not studied in such detail, there are indications that similar behaviours were present in those resignations also.

Throughout his life Keller has demonstrated what can be called "independent thinking," a disregard for other people's reactions to his strongly held opinions. In the study this appeared in two ways. Firstly, he was, and continues to be, seen as a very ethical person by many of those involved (Clark, 1, p.3; Williams, 1, p.10; Patrick, 1, p.10) who used words like "moral" and "principled" to describe him. The basis of his integrity and sense of

conviction was identified as Christian beliefs (Hawkins, 2, p.13). Evidence of strong religious belief was also available in a number of the early cases. Two of these resigners were members of religious orders and two others, Conrad and Thurston, discussed their beliefs and ethics during preliminary meetings.

But Keller's Christianity is not associated with any established church (Keller, 2, p.11). His strong religious beliefs existed along with an unconventionality which he showed in other actions, such as resigning without telling his wife of thirty years. His desire for a college education was not the norm in his family, and his insistence on pursuing such a goal after his father's death was considered "crazy" (Keller, 2, pp.4,5). His introduction of the Illinois mathematics materials to The Rushmore Academy was also unconventional. At the time he was an inexperienced teacher in a prestigious school with a national reputation, an unusual position from which to begin sweeping changes in the curriculum.

Others who resigned for principle seemed to show slightly unconventional behaviours. Sister Ruth left the usual work of her order to study audio-visual production. Michael Conrad and his wife had given up secure careers and their families to move to another continent. David Thurston recovered from his resignation and his broken marriage,

going on to set up his own successful company. The head of a Catholic college eventually left his order and married.

The combination of a set of strong principles and the lack of regard for conventionality, independent thinking, probably earned respect for Keller. In Barnard's definition "responsibility . . . is the power of a particular private code of morals to control the conduct of the individual in the presence of strong contrary desires or impulses" (1968, p.263). Keller's sense of responsibility to the school, and its pupils, brought comments of affection and admiration from those on both sides of the dissent, Mary Patrick, David Williams, and Robert Clark, with the result that these people showed a tolerance of Keller's principles which protracted the dispute.

It has already been suggested that Keller's independent thinking was influential in his early involvement with the Illinois materials. He believed they were far superior to any of the other materials for mathematics teaching which were available at the time. As the years passed the materials fell into disuse in the wider mathematical community but his commitment to them grew so strong that the UICSM project was described as "part of his personage" (Patrick, 1, pp.16,17). His behaviour was similar to the championship of a project discussed by Peters and Waterman (1982) and by Pinchot (1985), as an essential

ingredient in the introduction of change.

At the start of his career at The Rushmore Academy Keller's "mastery of change implie[d] leadership" (Brown and Weiner, 1984, p.10). He displayed the characteristics of "revolutionary leadership [which] demands commitment, persistence, courage" (Burns, 1978, p.169). But, as a change agent, with a strong moral sense and a deep commitment, he seemed in the early part of his departmental chairmanship to be showing

transforming leadership [which] occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation or morality. . . . Various names are used for such leadership, some of them derisory: elevating, mobilizing, inspiring, exalting, uplifting, preaching, exhorting, evangelizing (Burns, 1978, p.20).

Throughout his life John Keller has shown a second set of behaviours which seem to have been as important as his independent thinking in the events leading to his resignation. This second aspect to his character was loyalty, and it became more obvious as he grew older. His close relationships, his marriage and his friendships span many years. His financial support of his school has continued for over twenty-five years (Stevenson, 1, p.22), and his concern for the members of the department was evident, both before and after his resignation (Hawkins, 2, p.12; Keller, 8, p.8).

But such loyalty is not always seen positively, as a

close friend remarked, "We can view that as a negative or as stubbornness or as unwillingness to change" (Clark, 1, p.5). Keller, and those around him, recognise that his loyalty is to the school as it was before its amalgamation with the Girls' School. His perception of falling standards (Keller, 8, p.3), some of his earlier apparent difficulties related to teaching girls and working with women (Williams, 1, p.4; Patrick, 1, p.7), his discomfort with the current, democratic administration, point backwards to the time when he was leading the changes in an elite boys' school.

However, the existence of loyalty is of itself important. It seems to have been present in some of the other resigners whose histories contained long periods of commitment to a single institution, as Sister Ruth's did, or long and stable relationships, as in the case of Michael Conrad. Hirschman (1970, p.82) suggests that "loyalty postpones exit" and for Keller there was no evidence that he rushed to resign, with the dispute covering a period of four years.

Keller's increasing unwillingness to change the mathematics curriculum is not surprising.

As radicals move into the conflict that is often required to produce social change they tend to rigidify as individuals and to form themselves into highly dogmatic organizations, intolerant of diversity within their own ranks (Gardner, 1971, p.49).

He gathered his department around him and expressed his

opinion of the Illinois materials in terms which led others to describe his commitment with analogies to religious martyrs or prophets (Patrick, 1, p.18; Stevenson, 1, p.19). Such behaviour helps to locate the values involved within Hodgkinson's classification, since

the characteristic of Type 1 values is that they are based on the will rather than upon the reasoning faculty; their adoption implies some kind of act of faith, belief, commitment (1978, p.113).

Reason was not always the basis for John Keller's behaviour. His friends and colleagues report his reputation for enjoying an argument. Robert Clark finds him "very hard to talk to at times because he talks from an arguing position" (1, p.9), and Bruce Hawkins says that he "will take a very hard line . . . sometimes not even based on correct data" (2, p.5). He has used this approach as a staff representative in salary negotiations (Stevenson, 1, p.25) and there are indications that his defense of the UICSM was not always logical. Statements about others lacking competence to judge the syllabus are not designed to win support.

Over a number of years he did not admit that there were any significant difficulties with the course. He denied that the numbers of complaints was appreciable (Keller, 9, p.5), to such an extent that the new head of department expressed surprise about the size of the problem

when eventually he had access to the information (Hawkins, 1, p.13). Faced with criticism through the administration and by the accreditation committee, Keller responded that people "don't know what they're talking about" (Stevenson, 1, pp.18, 19). At a personal level he also denied the existence of any problems. He saw no risk of damaging his health (Clark, 1, p.4) or his career (Keller, 9, p.16).

The "blindspots" (Hawkins, 2, p.14) which his friends report seem to be comparable to a defense mechanism. Kets de Vries explains that "a primary manifestation of this type of resistance is the belief in a crisis that there is no problem" (1983, p.136). In the case of John Keller, denial behaviour created a situation which was difficult for the administration to address. Discussion to find a solution to a problem is impossible when one side denies that there is a problem, and so the dispute dragged on.

Another defense mechanism which Keller used was to isolate the department from the rest of the faculty and the administration. Given the physical characteristics of the school that was not difficult. The mathematics department in the Upper School was separated from the Lower School by a considerable walk, from the administration by glass office walls and from the rest of the faculty in a suite of classrooms and offices. With the administration's preference

for working through the departmental head it is not surprising that Mary Patrick remarked, "There was no way to get at the people in the math department. . . .The communication from John to the members of his department was very selective" (1, p.18). This avoidance technique is similar to behaviour which Kets de Vries classes as "neurotic" when "fear creates the need to reduce uncertainty, to erect barriers and isolate oneself from one's enemies" (1984, p.57) in fight/flight groups. In an organisational setting where communication patterns were restricted within the departments, as they were when Keller became chairman, such behaviour would not have been unusual. At The Rushmore Academy of the eighties, with its complex committee structure to supplement the departmental hierarchy, it seemed out of place.

Thus John Keller's behaviour worked to prolong his dispute with the administration. Having led his department through major changes in the sixties, his commitment to the curriculum became so strong that he used extreme behaviour to defend it. These tactics could be loosely classed as "voice" in Hirschman's terminology. They expressed protest and delayed "exit," but they were silent.

Keller remained chairman for as long as he felt he could help maintain the program (Keller, 9, p.12). But when a change became inevitable and when he could not lead that

change, he left. It can be argued that he was saving face. No-one in the study raised that argument. Perhaps to save face he would have left the school completely. Perhaps he had already lost face. Everyone involved saw his resignation as one for principle. John Keller, like Warren Bennis before him, could now say, "For the first time I had risked being an outsider rather than try to work patiently within the system" (1976, p.54).

2. The Effect of the Organisation

How does the organisation affect the events of a resignation for principle?

Discussion of this aspect of resignation for principle must draw almost entirely on the resignation of Keller from The Rushmore Academy. Any contribution which the preliminary exploratory studies make is limited because no research into the organisations involved was available.

However, a few facts were discovered in the interviews with individuals. One common factor which has emerged from some of the cases is that the dispute between the individual and the organisation occurred at a time of organisational change. Warren Bennis resigned when the university was in limbo between two permanent presidencies and when student activism was at a peak. Sister Ruth and

David Thurston resigned after the appointment of outside people to positions immediately above them in the hierarchy. John Keller's resignation came late in a long period of change started by the amalgamation of two schools at the end of the sixties and continuing with the appointment of a headmaster with a new educational philosophy in the mid-seventies.

The changes at The Rushmore Academy were far reaching. They had involved the inclusion of girls in the student body and the physical reorganisation of the school. The curriculum at all ages was broadened to provide greater emphasis in the arts. But of more relevance to the case study, the style of management of the school became increasingly participative and political. The administration was very aware of the parents who contributed the money which provided well qualified staff and exceptional plant, and was more "responsive to views and opinions of other constituents in the community and in the country as a whole" (Keller, 9, p.2).

The developments at the school have been viewed in a positive way by most of those involved. The staff turnover is low. The Academy continues to enjoy a good reputation in the community and to place its pupils in prestigious colleges. In the eyes of many, the changes have been successful. And it continues to be open to change. By

Kanter's criteria:

Organizations that are change-oriented, then, will have a large number of integrative mechanisms encouraging fluidity of boundaries, the free flow of ideas, and the empowerment of people to act on new information (Kanter, 1983, p.32).

Although dissent can be expected in all complex organisations, there was much in the climate at The Rushmore Academy which would reduce latent conflict. In the classification of Louis Pondy, there are three sources of organisational conflict, competition for scarce resources, the autonomy of subunits and goal divergence (Pondy, 1967, pp.296-320). Throughout the research into this case there was no indication that competition for resources was ever a problem to John Keller or the mathematics department. The issue of autonomy is not quite as clear. Structurally the department had its own very separate identity. The administration of the school communicated through the chairman so as not to undermine his authority (Stevenson, 1, p.14), and very serious efforts were made to treat members of the faculty as professionals (Patrick, 1, p.15). However, the administration did have opinions about course content within the department and was sensitive to parental pressure. And, although organisational goal divergence was minimised through the committee structure and through annual meetings with individuals, it did exist in certain parts of the school.

It was in this last area that significant difference of opinion occurred between Keller and the administration. Superficially both sides worked for high quality education, but examination of their value systems reveals a wide gulf. The administration of The Rushmore Academy was very little different from that of other organisations in that

the modal level for administration generally is Level II where the philosophical tendencies in so far as they can be labelled at all are inclined towards the pragmatic and the utilitarian (Hodgkinson, 1983, p.40).

By the late seventies Keller's commitment to UICSM was on the level of a Type I value and not likely to respond to a well argued discussion.

A detailed examination of the value conflict is contained in the next section, but it seems likely that the organisation's handling of the dispute worked to protract the problems. Observers reported that the administration was not "heavy-handed" and waited for some considerable time before making definite moves (Clark, 1, p.13; Hawkins, 1, p.7 and 2, p.6). After the event Mary Patrick expressed some doubt about the appropriateness of their approach (1, pp.10,16), and John Keller seems to have expected direct action on the part of the headmaster and the principal (Keller, 8, pp.7,8).

Thus it would appear that, in the dispute leading to

John Keller's resignation, the actions of the administration delayed resolution. In attempting to protect the autonomy of the department, the members of the administration seemed to put aside any sense of urgency for compromise.

3. The Relationship between the Organisation and the Individual

When considering the resignation for principle, what is the significance of the resigner's relationship with the organisation and its wider environment?

In examining this question, the resigner's relationship with the environment of the school will be dealt with as being synonymous with his relationship with the administration of the school. Throughout the dissent the concerns of the parents, the students and the wider community were mediated by the administration. Major complaints and criticisms went to student advisors, the principal and the headmaster, who made a serious effort to balance the needs of the students and academic standards of the school with its material well-being.

The literature of organisational behaviour has for many years recognised that there will be dissent between the individual and his employing organisation. In 1960, Argyris suggested that

Proposition 1: There is a lack of congruency between the needs of healthy individuals and the demands of the (initial) formal organization. . . .

Proposition 2: The resultants of this disturbance are frustration, failure, short time perspective and conflict (1960, pp.7-24).

Much of the time the effects of disturbance can be moderated, but in the months and years before Keller's resignation this did not happen. This is not to allocate unique blame to either side. Keller had worked previously in comparative harmony with other administrations. And the current administration was experiencing no significant difficulties with other chairmen or departments within the school.

Being part of a formal organisation has positive and negative aspects. As Whyte pointed out, "The group is a tyrant, so also is it a friend" (1956, p.399). The costs of membership are well recognised in the literature.

The organization ethic demands loyalty and acceptance of institutional tactics and policies in return for companionship, security, advancement, and the shared adventure of the common enterprise (Weisband and Franck, 1975, p.9).

And the concept of checks and balances, give and take, appears in writing from Barnard (1968, pp.167-170) and Simon (1957, p.12) to Hodgkinson (1983, p.62). When one side in the bargain becomes dissatisfied, that balance is disturbed and the conflict which inevitably follows can be very destructive.

The conflict which preceded John Keller's resignation can be examined from a number of points of view. Some characterisations are more satisfying than others, because they take into account more of the potentially relevant facts and so provide an analysis which is fuller, but they are all valid.

One of the most straight-forward interpretations was provided by Roger Stevenson when he described the conflict as "a colossal [example] of the far right perceiving a conspiracy of the left" (1, p.12). This characterisation has the merit of drawing attention to Keller's dogmatic reluctance to change, his preference for autocratic leadership, in a setting of more liberal views of education which involved a broad curriculum and democratic decision making. But Stevenson's use of the word "conspiracy" suggests that administration's approach to the conflict was covert, which was not the case. It oversimplifies and ignores an important distinction that Keller himself made when he resigned. Having eventually accepted that change was inevitable, he refused to implement it as head of department. He recognised his internal conflict as well as that between himself and the organisation.

Another possible interpretation of the disagreement is to regard it as one between the professional orientation of John Keller and the bureaucratic orientation of the

administration of the school. This view also has attractions. Keller had a professional orientation based on Kuhlman and Hoy's definition which

refers to a perspective characterized by a belief in a high degree of professional autonomy to make professional decisions in the best interests of students; a focus of expertise in the exercise of professional responsibilities and obligations (1974, p.20).

However, it is difficult to show that the bureaucratic tendencies of the administration at the time of the resignation were stronger than those of earlier administrations. The same authors provide a definition of "bureaucratic orientation" which includes "a reliance on the administration for guidance in controversial educational matters; a high regard for the necessity of rules and regulations." And this interpretation again ignores the apparent internal conflict for Keller, the administrator, and Keller, the mathematician.

Nor is such an explanation of resignation very useful in other cases which were examined. In Swanson's dispute with his employer not enough was known from the exploratory study for the dispute to be classified in this way. For Michael Conrad, David Thurston and Sister Ruth the issue in the dissent was based on inappropriate personal behaviour, about which a characterisation of a professional versus a bureaucratic orientation provides no enlightenment.

Use of social systems theory helps to overcome some of the difficulty of analysis. The Getzels-Guba model (1957, pp.423-441) consists of two parts, the organisational and the personal dimensions. The organisational dimension is concerned with the institution and the roles it contains. The personal dimension takes account of the individuals, their personalities and their needs. However, while the model is very useful to describe the behaviour of the organisation, it has a tendency to reify that organisation. This means that the explanations which the model provides do not contain the nuances of the complex interactions between the individual members of the organisation. And, although it is a dynamic model, it is unable to handle events over a long time scale.

Another option which provides some further insight in John Keller's resignation is the model which Hirschman developed in Exit, Voice and Loyalty (1970). Some of the points which Hirschman raised to describe an economic system of competition in the marketplace are applicable to a resignation for principle. Hirschman deals particularly with the concept of loyalty. He makes the interesting, and useful, suggestion that high entry costs to an organisation generate loyalty. Keller's preparation as a mathematics teacher prior to his appointment to The Rushmore Academy involved years of financial difficulties, and so his entry

costs were high. This was also true of others who had resigned for principle. Michael Conrad had left comparative security to emigrate, and Sister Ruth had moved away from the traditional work of her order to enter a new field.

John Keller also had considerable exit costs if he left the organisation. The main potential cost was the difficulty he would experience finding another job in his middle fifties. And as the dispute dragged on there were worries about his health also. These concerns he did not recognise publically, but he had shown other examples of denying facts which were uncomfortable to face. However, he was supported by his wife and his friends and their help seemed to moderate the possible costs.

In other cases which were included in the preliminary study the eventual exit costs were indeed high. Sister Ruth had to return to the traditional role of her order while dealing with the remaining strong emotions about her experience. David Thurston took a less satisfying job and lost his marriage. Michael Conrad had to uproot his family and spend years wondering about the legal implications of the situation he had walked away from.

Hirschman suggests that high entry and exit costs work to increase loyalty to an organisation. In John Keller's case the entry costs were high, the exit costs unclear, but there is little doubt of his loyalty to the

school. His years of service and his early success would help to cement the bonds between him and the school. And he demonstrated his loyalty with his continued giving and caring through and after the dispute.

However, Keller also showed loyalty to the curriculum. He had been involved in its conception, had built his career on it, and defended it against considerable criticism. This tension between loyalties Hirschman's model does not address, but it does provide some insights into the long time-frame of the dispute. He suggests that loyalty can delay the use of either voice or exit or both (1970, p.92). In John Keller's case the use of voice was very muted, being almost a silent protest. And exit, when it eventually came, was not complete, either physically or psychologically. Keller stayed within the organisation, he continued to care about the mathematics department, but he abdicated his leadership position.

Hirschman's analysis is more satisfying than others used above because it provides some suggestions helpful in dealing with the time scale of the resignation. It is also useful because it begins to shift the focus of the analysis on to the resigner and away from the organisation, without discounting the organisation. However, problems still remain. The resigner is depicted as devoid of emotion, acting completely on the basis of reason. The importance of

of the dual loyalties to the school and to Illinois mathematics is ignored, as are the attempts of the administration over the years to influence the course of events.

Four models of varying degrees of complexity have been put forward to help explain the resignation of John Keller. All have some merit in examining an aspect of the dispute, and one helps to explain the time-scale of the resignation. But all are open to the criticism of being impersonal. It is in the work of Hodgkinson (1978, 1983) that a useful framework is found that provides most insight into the actions and issues of a resignation for principle.

Hodgkinson's consideration of the place of value analysis in the study of organisational behaviour emphasises the complexities for both Keller and the members of the administration of the school. In Hodgkinson's words:

The problem of organizational value conflict resolution is one of alignment of idiographic and nomothetic values. For the ordinary man this means some accommodation and compromise, but for the administrator it is a matter properly calling for careful analysis of his own values and those of the organisation as expressed both in its formal goals and policies and in its informal workings (1978, p.145).

This focuses simultaneously on both sides in the dispute. Keller did not make any accommodation or compromise on the subject of Illinois mathematics. But neither did the administration of the school consider fully the personal

value systems involved.

It has been suggested above that the values of the school were Type II in Hodgkinson's classification, based on consensus and rationality. The values of John Keller with respect to the mathematics syllabus in the later stages of the dispute were Type I. The commitment which he was defending no longer had a basis in consensus or the rational consideration of outcomes but had become a principle, a firmly held belief. And it was in overlooking this that the administration was remiss.

It is the dominant characteristic of the decision, the salient valuational stress or emphasis, which determines the level of assignment in the value typology. Once again the possibilities for typing errors are rampant but clarity of analysis demands that the true level of value be discovered (Hodgkinson, 1983, p.48).

Thus, the disregard of Keller's level of value was significant because

the presence of a single actor with Type I commitments is enough to radically affect the organisational character, such is the potency of Type I value and the mystery of social chemistry (Hodgkinson, 1983, p.113).

The administration's lack of appreciation, in the early stages of the dissent, of the implication of Keller's growing commitment to the UICSM materials was understandable, but represented, in Burn's view, a deficiency in leadership. One of the tasks of leadership is to manage conflict (Burns, 1978, pp.36-39). And management

of conflict does not necessarily mean resolution. "Value conflict need not be resolved. One can simply live with the affective tension" (Hodgkinson, 1983, p.205).

At The Rushmore Academy the tension was too great for Keller to continue. At one level there was the conflict between Keller and the administration of the school, and at another his internal conflict as an administrator. With the criticisms continuing, Keller's behaviour seemed less rational as he denied the existence of problems and protected his department. His commitment to the programme was in conflict with his loyalty to the school as part of the administration. The difficulty was, as Hodgkinson would expect,

that true value conflict is always intrapersonal. This is a subtle but important point. The essential subjectivity of value dictates that any conflict between values must occur within individual consciousness (1983, p.206).

It is possible to speculate that if the administration had taken an early, more authoritarian position with Keller, they might have strengthened his bonds of loyalty as an organisation member. However, this could only have been accomplished in the early days of the dispute, before his commitment to the UICSM materials became a Type I value. They would have provided a setting such as he had experienced in his early days as a department head when his respect for the authority of the headmaster might

have over-ruled his interest, but not deep commitment, to the syllabus.

The characterisation of the dispute in a resignation for principle as, in part, an intrapersonal value conflict has potential for some of the examples explored at the start of the study. Michael Conrad, Sister Ruth and David Thurston could be considered to have resigned when their commitments to truth, family or professional standards became stronger than their loyalty to the organisation which employed them. Such an interpretation allows explanation of the time delay between the start of the dispute and the resignation. It suggests that the internal nature of the conflict is relevant to the small amount of voice which was used in these cases. And it provides a basis for understanding the emotional pain which was felt at the time, and afterwards.

If it is accepted that a resignation for principle is the result of both an intrapersonal conflict and a conflict between an individual and an organisation, it follows that the organisation is influential as the setting of the resignation. It may intensify the demands on the main actor which he or she finds difficult to handle, and it may force the individual into a position where personal comfort demands some resolution of the tension. Resignation for principle is one form of resolution.

4. The Complexity of the Issues

What are the consequences of the complexity of the issue(s) of the resignation for principle?

Two closely related factors in the issues at the root of resignations for principle are identified in the formal literature. One of these is the clarity of the issue itself, and the second is its relevance to others involved in the dispute.

In the case of John Keller the central issue is clear. He was not prepared to remain as chairman of a department and implement the changes in the syllabus which the administration, trustees, parents and outside examiners thought were necessary. He was uncompromisingly convinced of the quality of the programme in place, even though it could be classed as obsolete, asserting that any change would result in a lowering of standards. He expressed his position in a research interview (6, p.1) and in his letter of resignation (see page 116). This definition of the main issue in the resignation was also provided by other participants, members of the administration, trustees and colleagues from the mathematics department (Clark, 1, p.1; Patrick, 1, p.9; Stevenson, 1, p.13; Hawkins, 3, pp.2,3).

The literature suggests that such clarity is important if a resignation is to be well understood and

successful. Weisband and Franck stress this in reference to the resignation of Ruckelshaus and Richardson stating that "it helped that the issue precipitating the resignation was a relatively clear and straight-forward one, readily understood by the public" (1975, p.16). The literature on whistle blowing, which has some relevance to resignations for principle, also stresses the importance of a clearly defined issue.

A decision to proceed with a protest should include the determination of whether the conduct at issue represents a clear illegality, a potential illegality or danger, or merely an improper business policy. The distinction is important (Zimmerman, 1981, p.85).

Ralph Nader is equally explicit in his advice, cautioning whistle blowers

precisely [to] identify not only the objectionable activity or practice, but also the public interest or interests that are threatened and the magnitude of the harm that will result from non-disclosure (1972, p.225).

The second factor which is closely linked to that of the clarity of the issue in the dispute is the relevance of that issue to others involved. In further comments on the Ruckelshaus and Richardson resignations, Weisband and Frank make the point that "since the central issue of the resignations was so directly within the resigner's area of responsibility and expertise, their views carried particular weight" (1975, p.16). Thus there was no reason for others in the organisation to feel that they were being attacked.

However, in some cases organisation members begin to defend their positions by raising secondary issues which complicate the search for a settlement.

The case of Roger Swanson brought suggestions that his resignation was a face-saving exercise. This was never even implied in discussion of John Keller's resignation, but many other secondary issues were raised, on both sides of the dispute, as attack and counter-attack.

On one side, the secondary issues came from students and parents, who expressed their concerns to the trustees, the administration and other members of the faculty. These complaints centered around Keller's teaching methods (Williams, 2, p.8; Hawkins, 2, p.5) and his difficulties in working with girls and women (Fisher, 1, pp.10-13; Williams, 1, p.5). Other secondary issues, raised principally by the administration (Keller, 8, pp.6,7), were also to be found in the accreditation report, and had to do with departmental policy on grading and lack of internal communication.

Keller's counter-attack consisted of his charge that academic standards of the school were declining (3, p.10; 8, pp.1,2). This he blamed on the current administration of the school, and thus, in addition, attacked the policies and management style of the headmaster (4, p.3). He also attacked all critics of the mathematics programme on the basis that they were not competent to judge its quality.

These skirmishes were part of the dispute, being carried out around the central issue. They did not involve the mathematics department to any great extent because of its isolation by Keller, but they were related to the long time frame of the dispute. It is not clear whether they arose because the dispute dragged on or whether they were instrumental in protracting the disagreement. However, once Keller had resigned they seemed to fall from prominence, although they have not been completely addressed.

In a silent resignation neither the clarity of the issue nor its impact on others in the organisation have much importance to anyone except the person who resigns. The resigner's problems are known only to a very small circle of family and friends who would provide support regardless of the issue. However, the individual must be convinced of the correctness of his resignation in order to adjust in the days and months after his resignation.

5. Outcomes

What are the outcomes of the resignation for principle for the resigner and the organisation?

The two pieces of writing in the formal literature which discuss the outcomes of resignations for principle focus on two different sides in the dispute in their attempt

to measure successful results. Hirschman (1970) uses change in the organisation as a standard when he discusses "exit." He mentions the effectiveness of exit when "voice" is the "dominant reaction mode" (p.125) and the powerfulness of making one's arguments unanswerable by leaving (p.126). Thus it would seem that Hirschman regards organisational outcomes as important.

On the other hand, Warren Bennis (1976) seems to stress the personal outcome of his resignation. He was pleased with how he felt when he wrote that

the decision represented the first time in many years of organizational life that I had been able to say, "No, I cannot allow myself to be identified with that particular policy," the first time I had risked being an outsider. . . .It is important for everyone in a decision-making position in any of our institutions to speak out (p.54).

For him the outcome for the individual was most important, although he suggests that organisations will benefit ultimately from the behaviour of people of principle.

In the exploratory cases which are discussed in Chapter 2, the outcomes were varied. Like Bennis's, Swanson's resignation took place in the field of higher education, and was public (see pages 55-57). Also like Bennis's, it resulted in no immediate change in organisational policy. The changes which eventually occurred seemed to be the result of the appointment of a new dean to replace Swanson, and a new president for the

university.

David Thurston's resignation was neither public nor silent (see pages 49-51). The head of the organisation was aware of his reason for leaving, but a considerable amount of secrecy still remains. Others who worked with him at the time did not know that he had resigned over a matter of principle, and the silence is maintained because the company now uses him as a consultant. The outcomes in this case are very mixed. Thurston's resignation was a success for the organisation because the vice-president whose behaviour was the issue was fired. For Thurston, the immediate outcome was painful, a stalled career and a broken marriage. Only in the long term outcome was good because Thurston used the disruption to establish his own, successful company.

The private resignations among the preliminary studies seem to have been the least successful. They resulted in no organisational changes and for Sister Ruth and Michael Conrad were painful experiences. Conrad is still worried about the legal implications of the situation he was caught in and continues to wonder what alternative actions he could have taken (see pages 51-53). Sister Ruth also wonders how else she could have handled the events which caused her resignation, and which resulted in a lost career (see pages 53-55).

In comparison to the some resignations in the

exploratory studies and to Bennis's, the outcome of Keller's was unclear. The organisation was required to change in only a modified way. It did not experience great change or great disruption, but it did begin a gradual process of adjusting the curriculum of the mathematics department. For Keller himself, the events of the resignation were not so dramatic that he suffered illness or loss of job. He gave the impression of adapting well to his new role as a teacher, but it is perhaps significant that he distanced himself from this study some months after he had been interviewed. Because of other examples of him denying the existence of facts and opinions which he found painful, it is possible that the outcomes of his resignation had caused more damage than he was prepared to admit.

Following the resignation, the department was visited by an outside committee, which made a number of suggestions about changes which should be made. With careful handling by the new chairman of the mathematics department, the suggestions were discussed and a gradual adaptation of the curriculum was begun (see pages 144 et seq.). These changes were enough to satisfy the demands of the administration, trustees and parents. However, they were not so severe that they were disruptive within the department. For example, Keller was not required to teach any new material in the first year and he used only a small

amount in the year after.

Changes were also made in the communication channels between the department and the administration of the school. These had been restricted during Keller's chairmanship and were criticised in the committee's report. In this area, too, the administration was pleased with the progress which followed the resignation (see pages 148,149).

From Keller's point of view the resignation was not unsuccessful. He is still concerned that the new programme is not as good as the old one, so that "the real losers are the students" (Keller, 10, p.1) but he is accepting the change. In his assessment, the outcome is "about as good as I could have hoped for so I don't feel too badly about it" (9, p.18). And although suspicion might remain that this is an over optimistic expression of his feelings, he has not suffered the extreme disruption of his life that is the fate of some resigners.

There are a number of factors which probably affected the comparative success of the outcomes of this resignation. One factor is undoubtedly the skill with which the new chairman of the department mediated between the administration and the department. His behaviour removed much of the acrimony from the dispute and began to rebuild the confidence of all involved. However, his actions were not only beneficial to the members of the organisation. He

showed great sensitivity in dealing with John Keller, consulting him about decisions and continuing to involve him in the work of the department.

Another factor which probably helped Keller adjust to the decision he had taken and to the changes which took place was that he remained in the organisation although he had resigned his post. In this his resignation was similar to that of Bennis, which also had a relatively successful personal outcome. By remaining in the organisation both were aware of the results of their action, and were not plagued by the doubts which seemed to overcome some of the other resigners.

While his personal strength helped him to make the adjustment to his new post, the respect and affection which he retained throughout the period immediately after his resignation probably also provided support. Many of those involved expressed admiration for the way he had worked to become part of the new department (Patrick, 1, p.16; Clark, 1, p.12; Hawkins, 2, p.12; Stevenson, 1, p.21). Therefore he had considerable help from all around him, his family, his friends and the administration of the school.

Thus, the resignation of John Keller from The Rushmore Academy seems to have been, on balance, one of the less painful studied. It was not excessively disruptive in the long-term to either side of the dispute because

compromise remained possible, once Keller had stood aside.

Concluding Comments

The cases which have been examined in this study have all been concerned with a type of organisational behaviour about which little information was available. However, it has become apparent, particularly from the one detailed case study which was carried out, that many areas of the formal literature can provide insight. Reference has been made to writings on leadership, power and authority, role conflict, organisational change, dissent in organisation and conflict management. But the most significant contribution came from work which dealt with the impact of individual value systems on complex organisations.

While it is not possible to generalise, the studies which were carried out indicate that the people who resign for principle are likely to demonstrate strong commitments in a number of areas of their life, and at times to display unconventional behaviour. It is also possible that the organisations from which these people resign have gone through a period of change during the employment of the resigner. However, resignations for principle take place in well run organisations as well as poorly run ones, and the quality of management may have more relevance to the outcome of the resignation than to the development of the dispute

itself.

The resignation of John Keller was the action of an individual with a very strong personal commitment working in an organisation where values were determined by discussion and consensus. He resigned because he disagreed with the organisation and was not prepared to lead his department through changes which he thought were wrong. Keller's opinions reflected the values of the school as it has been in the sixties, with a narrow definition of curriculum and an autocratic administration. In the dispute with the administration over the appropriateness of the curriculum which he was advocating, Keller became involved in an internal conflict because his loyalties as a member of the organisation were in conflict with his values as an individual. The preliminary studies which were done demonstrated that such conflict can be very destructive, a finding which Hodgkinson predicted:

There is a lure in all this, and a peril. The lure is in the transcendence of Type I values, their suprarationality, and their ideological capacity to provide authority, meaning and simplistic responses to life's complexity.

The peril lies in the real-world effects of Type I commitment. Values translate into behaviours and behaviours into material consequences in the world of men and things. The historical record is bleak. Man's inhumanity to his fellows thrives upon ideology. . . . Powerful commitment is double-edged. The sophisticated administrator approaches Type I values with excitement tempered by caution (1983, pp.118,119).

The issue at the root of the resignation can effect

the development of the dispute. Clarity and relevance to others seem likely to reduce acrimony, so that the total effect of the resignation is less disruptive. Outcomes in the dissent can be assessed in terms of their impact on the individual and the organisation.

It seems likely that once the conflict has become intrapersonal, the individual has little control over events. The organisation, therefore, has a large responsibility to moderate the effects on both sides. For John Keller and The Rushmore Academy the outcomes were moderated by a strong and open environment in the school and by a sensitive replacement. But the results are not always so good.

When the organisation places pressure on personal principles, the conflict which is generated can be counter-productive. The organisation will suffer disruption. But the individual is, at the least, exposed to considerable pain, and the final results can involve neurotic behaviour within the organisation or a need to leave the organisation. This case study has demonstrated how openness can reduce the damage of the conflict for both the organisation and the individual.

It is important that administrators and leaders begin to be aware of the force of Type I values like the commitment which Keller showed to Illinois mathematics.

Such beliefs may have their foundations in comparatively well defined ethical standards such as are laid down in law, or safety and professional regulations. However, they may also be an individual commitment to a particular aspect of the job, as was John Keller's, or a set of beliefs about personal behaviour relating to religion, sexual equality, or emotional attachments which have relevance in the work place. But there is little in the formal literature which will alert the administrator because

much of received organization theory appears blind to ideology in organizations and in theories about them. It is blind, too, to the experiential base of ideology and to the struggle of the deviant notion, the radical view, and the charismatic vision against a social unity that is routine, patterned, accepted and considered right and proper (Greenfield, 1979, p.100).

This study has examined the behaviour of a loved and well respected man, one who was so independent that he could plan to go to college against the expectations of all his family and who could resign a job of over twenty years without discussing it with his wife of even longer. He maintained an unshakeable belief in the value of a syllabus, as a school developed and changed around him. When finally confronted with the reality that the syllabus must change, he resigned his administrative post and faced an uncertain future rather than lead others through the change he saw as wrong.

This was the effect of one "charismatic vision" and its

examination has raised more questions than it has answered. For each answer it provided about that resignation for principle, a new question appears, "Is it always so?" Questions can also be asked about the methodology, which was flexible and suitable for probing. But a single case study cannot deal with speculation about the frequency of the phenomenon. And there remain problems of defining values like "principles" and "loyalty" so that they can be identified for study.

What has emerged from the study is an example of ideologically-based behaviour in a well-functioning, formal organisation. Such examples seem not to be uncommon, but they are shrouded in secrecy, which probably increases the personal pain they can cause. If they are to be understood and managed with sensitivity for the benefit of the individual and the organisation alike, they must be brought out of the closet, one at a time, if necessary.

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Appendix A

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

Case Study Outline

Genetic Data (Chapter 2)

Principal Actor's Genetic Data

Identifying data	Name
	Age range
	Academic qualifications
	Professional status
	Family affiliations
Historical data	Family background
	Key developmental phases
	Major life crises
	Major affiliations, personal and professional

Organisation's Genetic Data

Identifying data	Name
	Location
	Type of organisation
	Size
Historical data	Key developmental phases
	Major crises:
	natural catastrophies
	loss of key personnel
	staffing problems
	financial emergencies
	technology changes
	Academic standing

Analysis of Setting at Time of Resignation (Chapter 3)

Principal Actor's Situation

Support systems	Family relationships Friendships Close professional relationships Organisational supports Religious organisations Professional organisations
Possible restraints	Family responsibilities and opinions Financial limitations Career implications Health considerations Professional opinions

Organisational Situation

- Formal organisational structure
- Plant and equipment
- Ecology
- Financial structure
- Structure for handling personnel
- Policies and procedures
- Academic programme
- Illinois mathematics

Environment

- Trustees and parents
- The merger

Interpretative Data (Chapter 4)

Description of events by those involved.

Definition of issue

Principal character's behaviour

Organisational behaviour

Outcomes

Analysis (Chapter 5)

The resigner's character and events of the dissent

use of exit
use of voice

The organisation and events of the dissent

use of exit
use of voice

The relationship between the resigner and the organisation

use of exit
use of voice

The consequences of the complexity of the issue

The outcomes of the resignation

for the individual
for the organisation

Concluding comments

- - - - -

People in the Study

Throughout the study reference is made to the interviews which were conducted with the principal actors, e.g. Keller, 5, p.6. These references contain the number of the transcript of the taped interview, and the page number within that transcript.

Pseudonyms were used throughout the study to protect the identity of all participants.

John Keller . . ex-chairman of the mathematics department at
The Rushmore Academy.

Robert Clark. . member of the mathematics department, friend
of Keller, father of former pupils.

Susan Fisher. . departmental head, mother of former pupils.

Bruce Hawkins . present chairman of mathematics department,
father of pupils.

Mary Patrick. . principal of Upper School.

Roger Stevenson chairman of board of trustees, father of pupils.

David Williams. headmaster of The Rushmore Academy.

- - - - -

Details of Interviews

The interviews which were carried out were designed to address the topics in "The Case Study Outline" above.

The emphasis of the document designed for each interview was a little different because of the areas of knowledge available to each subject. Nor were they expected to be adhered to completely because unexpected information was likely to emerge and it was important to follow this through.

The guide which was prepared for the interview with Bruce Hawkins is provided as an example.

A. Explanation of the request for an interview with respect to the study.

Brief background of interviewer.

B. Request to tape interview.

C. May we begin by talking about your background? I know that you were at (local private school) before you joined Rushmore, and that you were the head of department there. I also know that John Keller hired you.

1. When did you join Rushmore?

2. What knowledge do you have of the merger of the Girls' and Boys' Schools?

What were the major events, difficulties, successes of the merger?

3. What are your recollections of the department at Rushmore when you joined - staff, syllabus, ability of students?

4. In what ways did these impressions change as you settled in?

5. How did the school develop after the merger?

D. I would like to move on to talk about John Keller.

1. What do you see as the reason John resigned?
2. I'd like you to tell me what you see as the major events leading up to John's resignation?
(check: accreditation visit, date, events
parental complaints, who, when
decision about visiting committee, when, why, how)
3. What happened after John resigned?
4. How did the rest of the department feel about a change in the syllabus?
5. Have similar problems arisen in other departments in school? In what ways have these been different?
6. What has happened in the last two years in the department?
(check: membership of department
syllabus
John Keller)

E. In this discussion, you've implied a lot about John, and I wonder if we could be more specific.

1. Please tell me how he is regarded by you, the staff, the head, the pupils
as a) a mathematician?
b) a teacher?
c) a person?
2. Please describe his relationship with Mr. Williams to me?
3. Where does he get his support from.

Is there anything else which I should have asked you about, which you think is relevant to a study of John's resignation?

Who else would you recommend that I interview?

THANK YOU.

Appendix B

NOTES RE MATHEMATICS VISITING COMMITTEE

January 17, 1983

- (1) There has been considerable dissatisfaction expressed by parents, trustees and some other faculty members about the relationship between the rigor of our Upper School (grades 7-12) mathematics program and the resulting sense of accomplishment and enthusiasm expressed by many of our students.
- (2) When pursued, the criticism seems to break in several ways:
 - (a) Appropriateness of emphasis and materials - our approach is characterized as emphasizing a 'formal' or 'foundations' approach as opposed to a 'problem solving' or 'applications' approach. We have retained some of the original Illinois math material.
 - (b) Receptivity of the math department, represented by a older long time chairman, to respond to issues raised. (He is not present chairman.)
 - (c) Reputation that math preparation takes more (twice three times) preparation of other subjects and results aren't worth it.
 - (d) Tracking system leaves students sometimes dissatisfied on both ends - lower group sometimes feel they are programmed to fail, honor group sometimes feel they are pushed too hard and graded lower than they would be if they were in middle section.
 - (e) Some teachers have reputation of making math difficult - of not making concepts clear - in order to challenge students.

All of these 'complaints' are rather nebulous and controversial. Some may be a kind of mythology that is hard to dispel.

(3) The correlation between our Lower School (K-6) math program and our Upper School math program is also of interest. Some people feel the Lower School program does not prepare students for the rigors of our Upper School program. There has been, until recently, little communication between the programs.

As a result of the continued expressions of dissatisfaction I met with the math department last spring and informed them that I was going to form a visiting committee to review our program and provide them with some recommendations. After the initial shock they have responded well. A new chairman has been very active and open in reviewing issues and talking with concerned parents. The old chairman, who voluntarily resigned his chairmanship and returned to fulltime teaching, has been most cooperative and supportive.

In many ways, I look at our math department as one of our strongest departments. It is characterized by intelligent, experienced and capable teachers. If we can make adjustments, I think the program will be a strong program without the negative overtones.

David Williams

Appendix C

INTERNAL NOTE ABOUT VISITING COMMITTEE REPORT

May 23, 1983

TO: The Mathematics Department

FROM: David Williams

My general response is to accept the Visiting Committee's report and put its major recommendations into action as soon as possible.

Specifically I suggest that we do the following:

- I. Drop the Illinois mathematics materials as the major focus of our mathematics program. In this regard, I suggest that:
 - A. We make the changes already outlined by Bruce Hawkins for the fall of 1983; adopt a text at 7th grade; find new materials and text for Math 8 and, where possible and needed, for the third track, 9-11 grades.
 - B. Through the 1983-84 school year we search for new text and materials to replace the Illinois materials throughout the whole math program, including the honors track, reserving the Illinois materials as supplementary if and when appropriate.
 - C. The Theorem Project be modified in next year's 8th grade curriculum to meet the Visiting Committee's major objections. For the future, consider at what other grade level it might be placed, if the project should be continued at all.
- II. Continue the communication already begun by:

- A. the present mathematics department meetings
 - B. scheduling meetings between the department and the administration
 - C. scheduling meetings between L.S. and U.S. representatives to work out a coordinated curriculum between the campuses.
 - D. clarifying, where necessary, the method of communication between parent, administration, department chairperson and faculty when problems arise.
- III. Address the following special topics in future discussions:
- A. Grades, particularly as they relate to the tracking system
 - B. Allotment of time for class meetings
 - C. Text books and supplementary materials
 - D. Teaching styles and effective class activities
 - E. Extra help and its relationship to the understanding of the mathematics program.