

A CASE STUDY OF ANTIOCH COLLEGE: FROM PRESTIGE TO
CLOSURE

by

James Paul Miller, II

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DEDICATION

To my wife Krysten, and our sons: Tagg and Bennett.

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ABSTRACT

This is a case study of how old institutionalism tenets of values, and goals shaped Antioch College, the College's Board of Trustees, administrators, faculty and alumni influence the transformational expansion process that changed Antioch from a liberal arts college to a national university. The case study also examines how the pressures of new institutionalism forces of legitimacy and homogeneity directed and influenced Antioch's organizational structuring.

Institutional theory is the framework for this study. Selznick's (1949, 1957) old institutional theory, new institutionalism, beginning with Meyer (1977), and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) provide the theoretical lens through which the analysis of Antioch College's expansion is studied.

Contributions from this study include a better understanding of how institutional theory affects the decisions, and the outcomes, made by key institutional stakeholders in organizational expansion and restructuring. It also demonstrates the advantages of using old and new institutional theories jointly when analyzing organizational motives that include expansion. Finally, this study provides institutional leaders at colleges and universities who are considering organizational expansion items to consider prior to making the decision to expand their institution.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Context

Colleges and universities face increasingly difficult times. Enrollment numbers, while robust and growing between 2006 and 2011, are now in decline. Enrollment from fall 2011 to fall 2013 is down 2.4% at the nation's four-year colleges and universities (Statistics, 2014). The inverse relationship between slow economic growth (seen during the recent great recession) and enrollment increases are slowing down. As the national economy begins to show signs of life, enrollment at four-year colleges and universities are sluggish if not decreasing. However, the demand for skilled, college-educated employees is increasing. Knowledge is the driver of the 21st century economy much like coal propelled the 19th century and oil drove the 20th century economies (Scott, 1997). Knowledge "has become the wealth of nations" (Duderstadt, 2000, p. 4). The commodification of knowledge creates a "knowledge society" which further strengthens colleges/universities linkages and importance to society (Frank & Meyer, 2007). This increased linkage further ingrains the role of educating tomorrow's workforce that colleges and universities have within the communities they serve. A more knowledgeable society is believed to be imbued with greater economic potential (Murphy, 1993). Many colleges and universities are trying to attract more students. This is partly due to the perceived importance of a college education, in conjunction with a demand for a more skilled and knowledgeable workforce. More students equals more tuition dollars for colleges and universities. Enticing new students comes in many forms. One form is reaching out to individuals who are employed, but might be seeking better opportunities. While enrollment numbers are on the decline, an assumed increase in

demand for college education has burdened colleges and universities as they attempt to maintain, and/or increase enrollments for additional tuition monies, while attempting to educate and retrain the national workforce.

State appropriations to higher education institutions are shrinking. State support of higher education hovered around 45% of total university revenue during the 1980 fiscal year (McPherson & Schapiro, 1998). Support slid to 35% in the 1993 fiscal year (McPherson & Schapiro, 1998). The estimated percentage of a state's budget appropriated for higher education for fiscal year 2011 is only 10.1% (Pattison & Sigritz, 2011). This is compared to 12.7% in FY 1987 - a decline of 2.6% of state budgets dedicated to higher education while enrollment numbers and other costs have steadily grown. During 2006-2011 period of enrollment growth, state higher education institutions were able to leverage greater enrollment numbers with increased tuition revenue. This helped to bridge the gap between lowered state appropriations and financial responsibilities held by public colleges and universities. Private colleges and universities are not immune from the financial crisis. Any endowment gains made prior to 2007 were wiped out with the great recession that started that same year. The National Association of College and University Business Officers, (NACUBO) estimates that college and university endowments lost an average of 25% in the first quarter of 2008 alone (Field, 2008).

Within these difficult contexts colleges and universities are continuing their missions of educating students, researching new phenomenon and providing services to the communities where they are located. However, the challenges faced by higher education are causing some colleges and universities to alter how they approach and

deliver their goal of educating students. Some institutions of higher education are undergoing various levels of institutional change to address this concern and to meet the new demands of the 21st century (which include attracting more students). Expanding campus locations in various parts of the United States has happened in the past and is happening currently. Northeastern University, a private institution located in Boston, Massachusetts, has begun expanding their campus at locations across the country. Their first expansion campus was placed in Charlotte, North Carolina and opened in 2011. Northeastern, attempting to become more entrepreneurial by serving the needs of specialized workers, also opened a graduate campus in Seattle in 2013. Northeastern also has plans to develop campuses in the Silicon Valley of California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Austin, Texas (Eaton, 2011). Northeastern calls these campuses regional platforms for graduate education, and is implementing them to build collaboration between higher education and industry (University N, 2014). Northeastern's decision to partner with industry, shows their commitment to attracting individuals already employed, to help retrain or enhance the training of America's workforce.

Arizona State University (ASU), located in Phoenix, Arizona, is another institution of higher education that is expanding to meet the needs of students. In designing and implementing the "New American University" beginning in July, 2002, ASU President Michael Crow cites the need to be "... a university that is excellent and broadly inclusive..." (University A, 2010). In order to accomplish this task, ASU has increased its enrollment from 58,156 in fall of 2004 to 72,254 in fall of 2011 (Analysis, 2011). This reflects a 24% growth in student enrollment figures over a 7-year time frame. In order to accommodate the gains in student enrollments, ASU added nearly

2,500,000 square feet of classroom, lab and office space (University A, 2010). In 2002 at the beginning of Crow's campaign for the New American University, ASU had a physical campus that included their original Tempe campus, a West campus and a Polytechnic campus. Today, ASU consists of the three campuses mentioned previously plus a downtown Phoenix campus, a research park and an innovation center in Scottsdale referred to as Skysong (University A, 2010).

Problem

Advancements (educational delivery methods, curriculum changes, new students, etc.) in higher education are to be expected. Technology is moving forward at lightning speed, educational needs are changing and the traditional college experience is evolving. With a growing U.S. population and a changing economy, more prospective students are expecting a college education. However, that last three years have not seen increases in enrollment. As society changes so must colleges and universities (Duderstadt, 2000). What happens when institutions try to expand despite current data (decreasing enrollment numbers) indicating that institutional expansion would not be a wise course of action? What are the consequences of institutional change associated with expansion? Research has delved into college/university expansion and some of the causes of change associated with expansion. Studies have examined the role that the growth of the knowledge economy plays on university expansion. Researchers have investigated change strategies and the effect that institutional culture plays on those strategies. Sociologists and economists have reviewed market forces that impress upon organizational restructuring. (Gumport, 2000; Kezar & Eckel, 2002; Frank & Meyer 2007). Few researchers have studied the effects of organizational expansion on established institutions and the role of

those involved in the expansion. Missing is an examination of institutions that have adapted, expanded or undertaken the leap of organizational expansion and the role that key administrators, governing board members and faculty members played in the expansion along with their perceptions of what the expansion meant for the institution. Few studies have been done on institutional leaders who undertake institutional restructuring involving growth, expansion and an organizational redesign as a method to attract more students and to make the institution more relevant. Financial implications should be considered prior to a university's expansion. Colleges and universities should review their current governing and administrative functions prior to the proposed expansion. Would the current accreditation in place at the college or university considering expansion allow for an expansion? Little to no studies have looked at how institutions make the decision to begin the expansion process. While the two institutions previously mentioned are still in the process of their institutional expansions other examples of institutional expansion exist and have happened in the past. Antioch College is one such institution. Using Antioch as a case study, this study examines how the values of Antioch College influenced its decision to expand, how Antioch's values shaped the expansion and why Antioch's expansion did fail. This case study also identifies the outcomes (both expected and unexpected) that Antioch's national expansion had on the institution.

Conceptual Framework

For my research on how Antioch College's values affected their organizational expansion and the outcomes of Antioch's expansion, I apply the tenets of old institutionalism, new institutionalism, and the reconciliation of old and new

institutionalism to understand how the organization unfolded to aid in the development of my framework. Perceived educational uniqueness at Antioch, using Clark's (1972) institutional saga as a guide, plays a major role in how I interpret my data to explain the role that Antioch's values had in the institutional expansion. Second, new institutionalism's focus on legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) helps me frame how Antioch delegitimized itself during the expansion. Finally, in recognition of the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism, I articulate the role of Antioch's environment and the coercive pressures it encountered as an explanation of how Antioch College's organizational expansion ultimately failed the institution.

Organization of Research

This research study is comprised of five chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the study. The introduction includes the context for the study, the problem, purpose for this research, Antioch's history, the conceptual framework, and the summary and contributions.

Chapter two is the Literature Review. The Literature Review includes a description of the scholarly work down on historical trends in liberal arts colleges, and organizational theory which includes old institutionalism, new institutionalism, and the reconciliation of new & old institutionalism and the theoretical framework for this research study.

Chapter three provides an explanation of the methods used to answer the research questions. Justification is given as to why individuals were selected for interviews and why a case study method of data collection.

Chapter four details the findings from the research questions. Chapter five is a discussion of the findings and why these findings are important for institutional leaders who are considering expanding their colleges or universities.

Antioch College History

Antioch College was established in Yellow Springs, Ohio in 1852. Horace Mann, the first president of Antioch College famously implored students during the Antioch College commencement address of 1859 to “be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.” This statement has been repeated at each commencement ceremony and is an ingrained part of the organizational culture of Antioch.

Arthur Morgan became Antioch’s president in 1920 and developed an institutional saga (Clark, 1972) at Antioch that provided the loyalty and collective belief about Antioch’s unique educational offerings and shared governance amongst Antioch’s stakeholders that helped propel the expansion.

Antioch expanded from a small liberal arts college in Southwestern Ohio, to a national university with network campuses that numbered between 32-35 and stretched across the United States. The expansion crippled the once prestigious liberal arts college. The system that Antioch developed was renamed Antioch University. The Board of Governors of Antioch University voted in 2007 to close the College. In 2009, Antioch alumni purchased Antioch College, the campus and endowment, from Antioch University. Today, Antioch College and Antioch University are separate institutions.

Theoretical Framework

For the purposes of this research, institutional theory is the framework used to analyze and discuss Antioch College’s expansion that took place from 1964-1989. This

time period was chosen because Antioch opened (acquired) its first expansion campus in Putney, Vermont in 1964. Antioch closed its last expansion campus in 1989 with the closures of Antioch – San Francisco and Antioch – Philadelphia. This time period provided a boundary through which the principles of institutional theory was applied.

Institutionalism provides a sociological view of organizations (Perrow, 1986). Applying the tenets of old, new, and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism allowed me to answer why Antioch College would expand their liberal arts college to a national university.

New institutionalism, in the form of an institutional saga developed by Antioch (Clark, 1972), along with an institutional leadership who embraced expansion to gain a creative advantage (Selznick, 1957), provided the opportunity for the College to expand.

Legitimacy and the constraining processes of new institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), begin to assert pressures on Antioch that forced the College to examine how its expansion was affecting the institution and the standing of Antioch within its organizational sector.

The reconciliation of old and new is institutionalism allowed me to apply a component of old institutionalism – the how and why Antioch decided to expand, with new institutionalism – the issues Antioch faced following its expansion. The environmental focus of old institutionalism provides me with a lens to interpret Antioch's decision to expand regardless of the consequences. New institutionalism isomorphic pressures impacted Antioch expansion and forced Antioch to attempt to address the isomorphic pressures. This provided a more comprehensive study of the effects of institutionalization on an organization (Selznick, 1996).

Purpose of Research

This study researches how Antioch's institutional values influenced and shaped Antioch's expansion and why Antioch's expansion failed. These questions will be answered through the institutional theory lenses of old institutionalism (how the institution's environment, goals and values shape institutions; new institutionalism (the role of legitimacy, homogeneity, and isomorphic pressure) shape an institution; and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism (internal pressures and sector level interactions). The research questions are:

1. How did Antioch's values influence its decision to expand?
2. How did Antioch's values shape its expansion?
3. Why did Antioch's expansion fail?

A qualitative case study is the method used to answer these questions. This case study involves interviewing, document analysis, and site observations.

This study will inform institutional decision makers of how institutional values influence and shape organizational expansion. Neglecting to understand the values of one's institution can lead to the failure of the organizational expansion or even the organization itself.

Summary and Contribution

Some colleges and universities are seeking to expand their organizations in the face of shrinking enrollments. The expansion is partially attributed to institutional attempts to attract more students to meet the growing demand for skilled workers and generate tuition monies. At the same time colleges and universities are facing financial crises because of shrinking state support at public institutions and declining endowments

at privates. Colleges and universities are changing (partially through expansion) and adapting to these circumstances. Northeastern University in Boston and Arizona State University in Tempe are growing their institutions by expanding their campuses nationally and internationally to combat the challenges of growing enrollment and shrinking budgets. Northeastern has developed new graduate campuses away from their flagship institution in Boston in places like Charlotte, North Carolina, and Seattle, Washington. Arizona State has dramatically increased their offerings to students by opening new campuses throughout the Phoenix valley with plans to open centers in California and internationally. However, the literature is not clear on what happens to institutions that undertake these types of organizational expansion. Little research has been done on established institutions and the effect of organizational expansion.

Antioch College is an institution that undertook institutional expansion to try and meet some of the challenges highlighted earlier in this chapter. One of these was attracting more students (for the educational opportunities an Antioch education would afford the students and to attract new tuition dollars). This case study of Antioch College's expansion contributes to the scholarship of institutionalism's effect on organizations by exploring the effects of values, goals, legitimacy and external pressures on established institutions and the role of those involved in organizational responses to these factors. This study examines what happened at Antioch College and their attempt to expand during the tumultuous times for higher education of the late 1960s and 1970s. The examination of Antioch highlights the roles that key institutional players had on the organization's expansion and the financial implications that the expansion had on the liberal arts college.

The expansion that Antioch College initiated fifty years ago is important to explore today because of similar factors at play in higher education. Antioch's first expanded campus occurred at a time period expectations of higher education were changing. The first wave of baby boomers was beginning to enroll in colleges and universities across the country. Today, many people are going or returning to higher education amidst the economic downturn. Antioch College was a small, liberal arts college that tried to expand their institution by offering educational programs across the country. Today's institutions are likely to face pressures to change their focus to try to attract more students. By analyzing Antioch College's change and expansion process that ended over 20 years ago, and attempting to answer the research questions proposed for this work, we are positioned to identify warning signs about how some institutional changes taking place today in higher education could be disastrous for higher education institutions. These warning signs may help prevent another institutional downfall like that which occurred at Antioch.

This research is directed at current institutional leaders who are contemplating institutional expansion or other changes that would deviate significantly from the institution's mission. Antioch College stakeholders did not set out to bring down their flagship institution in Yellow Springs when they began their expansion. While this fate might not await all institutions who will attempt an organizational expansion, realizing how your organizational values may affect the success or failure of your expansion is important. Understanding the implications of organization expansion prior to altering the current institutional fabric is crucial to avoiding the pitfalls that doomed Antioch College.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Liberal arts colleges have endured periods of boom and bust period the past 70 years. Enrollments and finances were healthy following World War II. The good times were not to last as liberal arts colleges faced declining enrollments attributed to the end of the baby boom and financial pressures from greater competition and fewer federal dollars. In order to meet the challenges of the time, liberal arts colleges adapted their institutions to address the pressures they faced.

This literature review begins with an historical overview chronicling some of the major events and challenges in liberal arts colleges from post-World War II (1945) to the present. Following the historical section, I introduce my theoretical framework for this dissertation. The theoretical framework consists of organizational theory, specifically old institutionalism, new institutionalism, and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism. The theoretical framework begins with a discussion of “old” institutionalism and its tenets. Following old institutionalism, I provide a review of the major themes and authors from new institutionalism. The final section summarizes efforts of scholars to reconcile the differences between old and new institutionalism and the rationale for why reconciliation moves institutional analysis forward. The conceptual framework for my research on Antioch’s expansion is based on the components of my theoretical framework: old institutionalism, new institutionalism and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism. I describe how I apply these theories to my study of Antioch’s expansion.

Historical Trends in Liberal Arts Colleges

Liberal arts colleges have been an important part of the American higher education landscape. They have been indicator species of the higher education system as a whole acting as a bellwether of change, “signaling the health or fragility of the overall system” (Hartley, 2003, p. 77). Liberal arts colleges enjoyed increasing enrollments and financial success during the 1950s and 1960s as returning servicemen returned in droves to higher education (Freeland, 1992). Liberal arts colleges enjoyed increasing enrollments after World War II (Kimball, 2014). The G.I. bill helped finance the education of returning veterans and offered liberal arts colleges’ financial support through this transition. However, the good times were not to last.

Jenny and Wynn (1972) chronicled the economic crises of private four-year liberal arts colleges across the nation in the years following the impressive period of growth that occurred in the 1960s. Visible signs of these challenges began to appear in the deficits that liberal arts colleges reported in their audits (Jenny & Wynn, 1972). Several reasons were offered for the economic crisis. A primary challenge facing liberal arts colleges in the 1970s was declining public support for higher education (Jenny & Wynn, 1972). Prior to this period, support for higher education was high. Following World War II, thousands of returning veterans used the Serviceman’s Readjustment Act of 1944 (G.I. Bill) to finance their education. Having a college degree was the exception prior to World War II, following the war it was the norm (Kerr, 1991). Alongside the population explosion of students seeking higher education, a knowledge explosion was taking place as scientific advancements were rapidly occurring. The nuclear age was dawning and the United States needed scientists and other college educated individuals to

assist in the race (Kerr, 1991). As newly minted college graduates swelled, their support helped influence public support for financing higher education. The 1950s were a decade of economic growth and public financing for higher education was not threatened by other programs or needs. Even though the liberal arts colleges' dependence on public financing was not large, federal dollars to liberal arts colleges were an important addition to their budgets (Jenny & Wynn, 1972). Federal support came from federal financial aid for students and through modest research dollars that flowed to liberal arts colleges.

Jenny and Wynn (1972) noted that the 1970s marked a changing point in higher education as "post-secondary" education became the term used in place of higher education. This vocabulary change was due in part to the increased focus on education and training that varied from traditional colleges and universities and the concept of higher education as an industry (Peterson, 2007). Jenney and Wynn (1972) noted that vocational training emerged as an important alternative to college degrees and liberal arts colleges were ill prepared for this change.

Brown, Grant and Leslie (1979) studied patterns of enrollment in higher education from 1965-1977. High enrollment numbers were noted across the higher education system with one exception: small liberal arts colleges' experienced declining enrollment (Astin & Lee, 1971; Brown, Grant, & Leslie, 1979). Zammuto (1984) offered additional support for this finding through his study of changes in higher education subpopulations throughout the 1970s finding that college and university enrollments increased while liberal arts college enrollments decreased (Zammuto, 1984). However, Zammuto (1984) blamed the decreasing enrollment numbers on liberal arts colleges' attempts to change their focus to become more comprehensive (more open to vocational education and

training). This act made liberal arts colleges similar to other institutions. Becoming like other institutions increased the competition for students because liberal arts colleges began to compete for the same students that community colleges and vocational schools pursued (Zammuto, 1984). In spite of the attempt to change academic focus to become more comprehensive, through the 1970s and 1980s liberal arts colleges lost students (Kimball, 2014).

In documenting the challenge of decreased enrollments, Pfnister (1984) reviewed the history of liberal arts colleges in the United States calling them an heir to an ‘ancient tradition’ (p. 147). This tradition is based upon the creation of “arts” colleges (Pfnister, 1984, p. 147) for students to enroll prior to their admittance to the professional schools (theology, medicine and law). Declining enrollments and rising deficits at liberal arts colleges prompted some during the 1980s to wonder if they could survive (Pfnister, 1984). Increased spending by the federal government following World War II (G.I. Bill and research spending) was a huge boon to small liberal arts colleges. During the 1970s, a challenge to liberal arts colleges emerged, as previously mentioned, in the growth of vocational training (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). The growth of vocational training coupled with a push for traditional students to either enter four-year comprehensive college/university or a community college where vocational skills could be learned, added pressures to liberal arts colleges and their shrinking enrollments.

Breneman (1994) identified increased competition within public higher education for both money and students as a catalyst for the decline of liberal arts colleges. In order to compete with the challenge presented to them, Keeton and Hilberry (1969) advocated for liberal arts colleges to be less committed to traditional forms of liberal arts education.

Pfinster (1984) suggested that liberal arts colleges offer programs that they did not traditionally offer. This growing trend toward comprehensive educational models left the liberal arts colleges without a clear sense of purpose or direction (Pfinster, 1984).

Pfinster (1984) argued that this lack of clarity of purposes was really attributed to the shifting roles that liberal arts colleges played in a competitive economy. Liberal arts colleges were attempting to become more comprehensive in their course offerings to students, rather than focusing on a traditional liberal education that was the mark of small liberal arts colleges prior. Echoing Zammuto (1984), Pfinster (1984) argued that by attempting to be more like other institutions of higher education, liberal arts colleges made themselves less competitive. Pfinster (1984) questioned the ability of liberal arts colleges to survive and play an important role in higher education if they continued down this path.

All the gloom and doom predicted for liberal arts colleges during the 1970s and early 1980s did not come to pass (St. John, 1991). Experts in the field of higher education predicted financial and enrollment shortfalls that had the potential to devastate liberal arts colleges (Breneman, 1994). Kimball (2014) noted that while the absolute number of liberal arts colleges has declined, the “percentage of the total population enrolling in liberal arts colleges has been remarkably constant over time” (p. 256). St. John (1991) found that liberal arts colleges actually appeared stronger than they had for the previous 30 years. St. John’s (1991) prognosis was surprising to individuals who had followed the literature on liberal arts colleges for the prior two decades. He examined five liberal arts institutions to discover what contributed to this contradictory revelation of increasing success. The five institutions all strengthened their academic offerings and

added programs that would attract students. This was demonstrated by an increased emphasis on career-oriented education. The five institutions studied showed increased focus on improving their planning and management processes including improved efficiency in the admissions office and the adoption of enrollment management practices (St. John, 1991). In addition, finding alternative sources of revenue was important for each of the institutions in St. John's (1991) study. Four of the five liberal arts colleges that gained financial stability underwent successful development campaigns (the fifth college was already financially viable and financially stable). Finally, experienced leadership was critical for the liberal arts colleges studied (St. John, 1991). St. John (1991) found that four of the five institutions in the study had senior administrators who attended prestigious summer management institutes at Harvard or Carnegie-Mellon which he argued enhanced their leadership abilities

Theoretical Framework

For this study of Antioch's fall from prestigious liberal arts college to closure, I use the organizational theories of old institutionalism, new institutionalism and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism to help frame the my analysis of Antioch College's decline.

Organizations are "social structures created by individuals to support the collaborative pursuit of specified goals" (Scott, 1992, p. 10). The depth and breadth of organizational analysis has grown dramatically during the past three decades. Much of this growth has roots in sociology. Institutionalism is a sociological view of organizations (Perrow, 1986). The purpose of institutional analysis is to analyze the "whole organization" (Perrow, 1986, p. 157). This review of institutionalism looks at

three parts: the “old” institutionalism of Selznick (1949, 1957); the “new” institutionalism that began with Meyer and Rowan (1977); and the bringing together of the old and new as discussed by Greenwood and Hinings (1996).

Old Institutionalism

Old institutionalism focuses on the goals and values of the organization or the guts of the organization (Stinchcombe, 1997). Selznick conveyed how organizational goals and values are important to old institutionalism in both of his seminal pieces beginning with his 1949 treatise on the TVA and his 1957 essay on leadership.

Selznick (1949) hypothesized that organizations are molded by their structures and goals. Goals are influenced by institutional values. Values and the goals are building blocks of organizational structure. Informal structures are important to the design and control of the organization (Selznick, 1949). Emphasis in old institutionalism is placed on individuals and their abilities to “construct and enact their environment” towards the “dynamics of intraorganizational change” (Delmas & Toffel, 2008, p. 1029). The informal structures developed by organizations (subgroups of individuals, lines of communication and even command and control mechanisms) are important to leaders within the organization as they distribute ideas and communicate their vision for the organization (Selznick, 1949). The evolution of informal structures help to build alliances within organizations. Alliances develop in old institutionalism as a means of augmenting or enforcing internal power dynamics giving individuals control within the organization (Delmas & Toffel, 2008). The informal nature of the organizational structure allows for the organization to respond to needs deemed by the organization to be relevant or significant. This is important because the organization is not impeded in

their response to individual needs by formal organizational structures and rules. Specific needs may be organizational security, organizational stability, and the continuity of organizational policies (Selznick, 1949). The ability of the organization to be secure and stable were indicators for successful organizational performance. Organizational performance helped to create an equilibrium within the organization that allowed for continued organizational development.

The organization is embedded in the local community in old institutionalism (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). The organization's interaction and loyalties are tied with the community. The interaction between the organization and the local environment is important in the development of formal patterns and rules.

Selznick (1957) built upon the foundational base he laid for institutional analysis with his earlier works by exploring the roles organizational rules. Selznick (1957) theorized that organizational rules are built upon a formal system of rules and patterns that are developed through the history of the organization that is shaped by internal and external pressures. As organizations become more mature, the interaction of internal and external pressures become more visible. Selznick (1957) argued that an organization with precise goals and operations provides less opportunity for individuals and groups to help direct and mold the institutionalization of an organization. Internal and external pressures act like a refiner's fire within the organization. These refining pressures mold the rules and patterns of an organization. Rules and patterns influence organizational histories. Organizational sagas are influenced by history.

Clark (1972) elaborated on the ability of organizational histories (historical legacies, events and important personnel) to affect the saga that is built by the institution.

Clark (1972) argued that organizational sagas are “a collective understanding of unique accomplishment” (p. 178). Sagas develop from formally established groups (Clark, 1972). For Antioch College, the established group was stakeholders (students, faculty, and alumni) in the institution. Sagas are developed in two stages: initiation and fulfillment (Clark, 1972). Clark (1972) identified organizations in decay as a fertile period for the organizations to initiate a saga. The example Clark (1972) used for an organization in decay was Antioch College. Following its near collapse in 1919, Arthur Morgan was appointed president and created a work-study program combined with its general education program that began a feeling “of exciting history, unique practice, and exceptional performance” (Clark, 1972, p. 180).

While sagas are often slowly built, their durability is impressive. They develop into a form of devotion that individuals develop for an institution (Clark, 1972). Sagas are impressive because they help to build links across the organization and allow for a collective belief in the institution in which they are found (Clark, 1972). In addition to developing a collective belief, sagas help build loyalty to the institution which can be helpful to the institution in difficult times (Clark, 1971). The values (organizational loyalty, a connectedness to local communities) that help generate and influence sagas, are of primary importance to organizations (Selznick, 1957). When an organization becomes “infused with value” the organization becomes institutionalized (Selznick, 1957, p. 138).

Old institutionalism is an important part of institutional theory. It also played an important part in the development of “new institutionalism”. New institutionalism shares many traits with old institutionalism including its sociological flavor and the role that culture plays in “shaping organizational reality” (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, p. 12).

New Institutionalism

New institutionalism traces its roots to old institutionalism (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Powell and DiMaggio (1991) cite Meyer (1977) as the first published work developing new institutionalism. However, Parsons (1956) established a foundation for a new form of institutionalism during the peak of Selznick's work. While not an overt challenge to Selznick, Parsons (1956) argued that stability and conforming to external expectations are important in organizations. Parsons (1956) focused on the extraction of resources necessary for organizational survival (goal attainment) and structural harmony with other similar organizations. This is in contrast to old institutionalism's view of the organization as local and its intimacy with the local environment as the main organizational dynamic. Organizations are shaped by the social aspects of the environment (Parsons T., 1956), but not at the local level. New institutionalists assert that rather than being shaped on the local level, organizations are shaped by the sectors to which they belong (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

While the boundaries of the old institutionalism were the organizations and local environment, societal sectors form the boundaries for organizations in new institutionalism (Meyer & Scott, 1983). Using liberal arts colleges as examples, in old institutionalism the college and the local community the college was located in formed the boundaries for the organizational analysis. New institutionalism views other liberal arts colleges within the higher education system as the sector which provides the boundary for institutional analysis of the liberal arts college. Other liberal arts colleges, and society in a broader sense, influence the structure of the liberal arts college as an organization, through expectations that liberal arts colleges model their organizational

structure similar to how legitimate liberal arts colleges do within the liberal arts college sector (Meyer & Scott, 1983). New institutionalism posits that the rules and scripts that establish structures inside of organizations are borrowed from similar organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In new institutional theory, the structure of a particular liberal arts college would be similar to other liberal arts colleges within their sector due to mimetic, coercive, and normative pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

In new institutionalism organizations are not intertwined with the local community, rather organizations are loosely coupled to their local environments with a focus on institutional environments (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Institutional environments are much more important in new institutionalism (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). New institutionalism suggests that organizations incorporate elements that increase organizational legitimacy over efficiency (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This is a clear break from old institutionalism and its focus on organizational efficiencies. Meyer and Rowan (1977) argued that norms and values do not shape the organization as was previously advocated by Selznick and others; instead, rules and scripts institutionalize organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The rules and scripts come from other similar institutions outside the organization form the institutional environment.

While organizational performance was the driver for old institutionalism (Selznick, 1957); organizational legitimacy is the objective of new institutionalism (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Legitimacy may pertain to evaluations of those within the same organizational field and sector or society (Scott, 1991). Organizations incorporate procedures and practices that are deemed rational by society (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Further stated legitimacy can be the “degree of cultural support for an organization”

(Meyer & Scott, 1983, p. 201). Organizational legitimacy is influenced by other organizations in the same sector as well as external regulatory efforts. This influence is felt through coercive, mimetic and normative pressures identified as institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Isomorphism occurs when one organization models itself after another (Riesman, 1956). Institutionalism places a priority on conformity (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). Increasing organizational homogeneity drives organizations towards continual striving for legitimacy (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). Coercive, mimetic and normative mechanisms exert isomorphic pressures on an institution which encourage conformity in organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Coercive pressures stem from political or regulatory pressures. Mimetic pressures happen because of uncertainty. Normative pressures are applied through the professionalization of the employees of the institution (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Coercive pressures are both formal and informal pressures that are applied to an organization from outside the organization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). According to DiMaggio & Powell (1983), the accreditation process that colleges and universities are subject to is an example of a coercive mechanism. The accreditation process exerts coercive pressure through the campus visits that individuals of the accrediting committee make. These individuals are associated with other universities and exert pressure through the accrediting process through formal observations or suggestions. Coercive pressures for faculty members are exerted in similar ways. When faculty present their research at conferences or in research journals, the coercive forces are directed at them through panel discussions, and through the peer review process that occurs in manuscript reviews.

Mimetic pressures occur when goals are ambiguous or uncertainty exists. Uncertainty acts as a powerful force that pushes institutions to mimic other institutions within the same sector. Symbolic uncertainty within the environments in which organizations are found, such as a lack of financial resources or greater competition can cause mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The drive for organizational legitimacy impels organizations to mimic others (Selznick, 1996). Organizations “model themselves on other organizations” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 151) that they perceive to be successful. The accreditation process is a way for colleges and universities to highlight their successful processes that are modeled after other institutions. The desire to mimic institutions of higher prestige in higher education is described by Dey, Milem and Berger (1997) in their work that examines aggregated publication levels at different institutions along the Carnegie classification of higher education institutions. They argue that colleges and universities in the United States are highly competitive. In this competitive climate, institutions that were already advantaged or atop the Carnegie classification hierarchy enjoyed a high number of publications measured by articles and books that were published (Dey, Milem, & Berger, 1997). Their findings suggest isomorphic tendencies because of the increase of scholarly publications that occurred across the institutional spectrum regardless of the institution’s Carnegie classification (Dey, Milem, & Berger, 1997).

Liberal arts colleges experienced their own form of mimetic isomorphism. This is evidenced in the adoption of vocational programs in their course offerings (Breneman, 1994); and professional bachelors programs (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). The adoption of vocational programs and professional bachelors programs occurred during turbulent

times for liberal arts colleges. The uncertain economic environment spurred liberal arts colleges to incorporate these new programs into their traditional educational offerings.

Normative pressures are exerted on higher education organizations through the professionalization of the administration and staff, as well as the faculty (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). One reason for professionalization is to legitimate the work individuals are doing (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Professionalization exerts normative pressure when individuals attend conferences that reinforce and highlight best practices within their respective disciplines. An example of best practices could be management fads used in higher education budgeting. Management fads were originally designed for increased efficiency for businesses. They have been adopted and used by higher education institutions (Birnbaum, 2000). Currently, higher education leaders are touting Responsibility-Centered Management (or budgeting) in allocating scarce financial resources (Zierdt, 2009).

Further normative pressures occur during the hiring process. Individuals hired for employment within an organization can mirror the backgrounds, education and experience of those already at the organization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

New institutionalism and concerns about organizational legitimacy have been at the forefront of institutional analysis for the recent past. In the 1990s a movement amongst scholars was begun that worked to reconcile old and new institutionalism.

Reconciliation of New and Old Institutionalism

In old institutionalism there has been a renewed interest by a variety of scholars including Greenwood & Hinings (1996), Hirsch & Lounsbury (1997), Stinchcombe (1997) and Abrutyn & Turner (2011) in their focus on organizational values (Kraatz,

Ventresca, & Deng, 2010). During the early 1990s, Powell and DiMaggio (1991) discussed the commonalities (and differences) between the old and new institutionalism.

The two versions of institutionalism (old and new) are similar in regards to the importance they put on the relationship between organizations and their environment (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). The focus of old institutionalism is on the local community and the ties and loyalties that bind the organization to the community (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). New institutionalism places emphasis on the nonlocal environments through its focus on the sector or the field of the organization (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Environments can further be extended to include the marketplace where the organizations operate (Davis, 2005). Both theoretical frames consider the role of culture in shaping “organizational reality” (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, p. 12).

New institutionalism struggled to address change in organizations. External environments are big contributors to organizational change because organizations are dependent on inputs (labor, resources, and clientele) from the environment (Thompson, 1967). As discussed, liberal arts colleges struggled amidst a changing financial environment. New institutionalism resists organizational change that is contrary to legitimacy. Yet, liberal arts colleges (absent the elite) that did not change failed (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). Davis (2005) argued that environments (markets) might trump legitimacy. Davis (2005) suggested that success in the marketplace, in spite of operating in ways that are contrary to other organizations in the sector, would become a new form of organizational legitimacy. For instance, liberal arts colleges attempting to align themselves with market pressures, (the demand for vocational programs or graduate degrees), can be more successful than attempting to remain legitimate in the liberal arts

college sector with its focus on traditional liberal arts education. Old institutionalists explain the need or influence for change through the interaction of the organizations' personnel and how those interactions can influence the patterns and rules of informal groups and cliques within the organization (Selznick, 1949).

Old institutionalism differs from new institutionalism in several ways. First, old institutionalism proposes that conflicts of interest within and between organizations are central to the shaping and molding of institutional goals. New institutionalism theorizes that conflicts are not central to shaping the organization, but instead are more peripheral in nature (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Structurally, old institutionalists emphasize the informal structures such as coalitions, cliques, and influence patterns that exist within the organization (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). These informal structures form informal lines of communication and control structures within the organization (Selznick, 1949). New institutionalists emphasize the "symbolic" role of formal structures (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, p. 13). New institutionalism views the formal structure as symbolic because of the "powerful myths" of formal structures (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 340). Formal structures develop as a reflection of the organization's understanding of social reality (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). While both forms of institutionalism place value on the environments where organizations are located, the interaction with the organization and environment is viewed differently. Old institutionalism focuses heavily on the locally embedded environment where the organization is located (Selznick, 1957). Rather than focusing locally, new institutionalism emphasizes the organizational sector to which the organization belongs (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Both theories recognize that institutionalization constrains organizations (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Selznick (1996), the recognized authority on old institutionalism, questioned the need to draw a distinction between the two theories. He argued that dividing the two theories inhibits the contribution of institutional theory as a whole to the analysis of organizations because it does not allow for the theoretical framework of both theories to be explored and developed in institutional analysis (Selznick, 1996).

Recognizing that new institutionalism has provided novel insights into organizational studies, both forms of institutionalism provide value to institutional analysis (Selznick, 1996). Appreciating the value of both forms of institutionalism, I apply tenants from both old and new institutionalism in my analysis of Antioch. Old institutionalism provides a framework in this study for how and why Antioch chose to expand their educational organizations. New institutionalism helps to explain some of the problems encountered by Antioch following its expansion. The combination of both old and new allows for the integration of institutional and organizational dynamics in explaining the institutionalizing forces faced by organizations (Delmas & Toffel, 2008). Integrating both theories of institutionalism adds a fuller and more robust study of how organizations institutionalize and what this does to the organization (Selznick, 1996). Selznick (1996) argued that this can be accomplished by incorporating the theoretical underpinnings of both new and old institutionalism and avoiding a preoccupation with attempting to identify methodologically as old or new institutionalists. Rather, researchers should integrate both theories to a “problem-centered approach to the advancement of understanding” (Selznick, 1996, p. 276).

Greenwood and Hinings (1996) believed that institutionalism provides an ideal framework for studying change in organizations (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). Greenwood and Hinings (1996) attempted to bridge the gap between new and old by “explaining the response of the individual organization to pressure in the institutional field as a function of the organization’s internal dynamics” (p. 1032). Bridging the gap between old and new institutionalism is accomplished by focusing on an organization’s interests, values, power dependencies and action capacity during times of change in an organization (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). This is more in line with old institutionalism with its focus on values and power struggles, while keeping with the ideas of normative, coercive and mimetic pressures found in new institutionalism.

Focusing on organizational values, Kraatz, Ventresca and Deng (2010) studied enrollment management in liberal arts colleges. In studying the emergence of enrollment management, they explained why organizational values depend on administrative relationships (Kraatz, Ventresca, & Deng, 2010). They found that value realization was dependent on administrators who shared and believed in the organizational values in question. Similar to other institutional theorists, they highlighted that institutional environment matters because of the effect it has on organizational “value realization” (Kraatz, Ventresca, & Deng, 2010, p. 1538). Without an institutional environment that supported the emerging organizational values, the ability to institutionalize values would be greatly hampered. The researchers believed that attention on value-focused (the ability to recognize and reject innovations that are contrary to organizational values) and organization-centric (a focus on the organization) approaches aid the study of institutions and allow for reconciliation between new and old institutionalism (Kraatz, Ventresca, &

Deng, 2010). They were able to do this by identifying and rejecting “value-subverting” administrative actions while embracing institutional changes needed to improve the organizations (Kraatz, Ventresca, & Deng, 2010, p. 1540).

A new era of reconciliation of new and old institutionalism has been advocated. This is important because the study of institutions should not be bound by arbitrary definitions of environments, purpose or legitimacy. Instead, institutional analysis should involve a thorough and complex examination of organizational fields and structures. This is more likely to occur in institutional analysis if it includes both old and new institutionalism. Hirsch and Lounsberry (1997) believed that reconciliation between old and new institutionalism should take place. Rather than focus solely on an action perspective (old) versus a structural perspective (new), they argued that both should have a place at the analytical table. Developing a more complex and thorough theory mixing both old and new institutionalism better serves researchers in organizational analysis (Hirsch & Lounsberry, 1997). They suggested that Bourdieu’s (1988) theory on habitus helps to bridge the philosophical gaps between old and new institutionalism by being less tied to paradigms and more flexible in the construction of social theories (Hirsch & Lounsberry, 1997). Studying institutions should not be bound by arbitrary definitions of environments, but should involve a thorough and complex examination of organizational fields and structures. This is more likely to occur in institutional analysis if it includes both old and new institutionalism.

When looking at Antioch College’s expansion, three theories of institutionalism: old, new and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism help me to frame why and how Antioch expanded. For my first question of how did Antioch’s values influenced its

decisions, I believe that the strong institutional saga that was present at Antioch College created an environment that encouraged expansion regardless of the consequences. This caused Antioch College, a distinctive liberal arts college with a strong institutional saga during the 1950s, 60s and 70s to attempt a radical organizational change. During the time period of the study (beginning in the 1960s) no other liberal arts colleges were undertaking the kind of organizational expansion that Antioch attempted. I Further, I believe that the values that Antioch espoused helped to create an environment at Antioch College that was conducive to expansion.

The leadership at Antioch College during the expansion created a situation where the College was not concerned about the consequences that the radical organizational expansion might bring to the institution. I believe that Antioch's leadership looked at expansion as an opportunity for the College to gain a creative advantage and that Antioch's leadership had specific values that influenced Antioch's expansion decision.

For my second research question of how Antioch's values shaped its expansion, I again apply old institutionalism principles to answer my question of how Antioch's values influenced the expansion. The very values that encouraged Antioch's national expansion also provided a framework for how the expansion should move forward. How did the old institutional principles of informal structures, values and organizational goals influence the expansion? I propose that Antioch's expansion created an environment at Antioch that altered the long adhered to values of shared governance and cooperative education. I advance the theory that Antioch's organizational structure and values influenced how Antioch's expansion proceeded, while at the same time creating a

dynamic at the flagship campus in Yellow Springs, Ohio that precipitated the slow erosion of the very values and structures that allowed for the expansion to occur.

I apply both old and new institutional theories to my third research question of why Antioch College's expansion failed. How did the value and structure of Antioch College influence the failed expansion? Did the old values of cooperative education and shared governance lead to the failure of Antioch's expansion? How did the local environment, a prominent component of old institutional theory, contribute to the failure of the expansion?

Antioch College's expansion occurred at a time when new institutionalism was beginning to influence institutional theory. Isomorphic pressures and organizational legitimacy began to influence organizational behavior. I believe that new institutionalism influenced Antioch's expansion. I believe that the isomorphic pressures (coercive, and mimetic) contributed to the failure of Antioch expansion. Organizational legitimacy is a major tenant in new institutionalism. Organizational legitimacy is found within organizational sectors. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, Antioch's organizational sector was similar elite liberal arts colleges. The environment within which liberal arts colleges operated was difficult during Antioch's expansionary years. Many had to deal with unanticipated enrollment shortfalls, and organizational crises (Finklestein, Farrar, & Pfinster, 1984). Elite liberal arts colleges (Swarthmore, Oberlin, Haverford, a few examples) continued to offer a traditional liberal arts experience. They enjoyed stable enrollment numbers during this period (Zammuto, 1984) and they maintained their prestige and status. Did Antioch's decision to alter its offerings as a traditional liberal arts college lead to the expansion failure? Colleges that were not

considered “elite” altered their course to try and adapt to the difficult environment that was present for liberal arts colleges in the 1970s. These included colleges that were less affluent than their elite counterparts and had smaller endowments, charged less tuition, and were less selective in their admission policies (Finklestein, Farrar, & Pfinster, 1984). They suffered enrollment drops during the turbulent 1970s (Zammuto, 1984). These institutions altered their curriculum to become more comprehensive (Hartley, 2003). Curriculum changes and more comprehensive degree options were implemented in efforts to attract more students. However, Antioch was an elite liberal arts institution at the time of their expansion. I believe that Antioch’s decision alter its traditional liberal arts offerings provide additional support to the decline and failure of the expansion?

To better understand the unraveling that occurred at Antioch, I explore how the values and goals of Antioch could not mesh with the normative and regulative processes of the accrediting bodies and even with the institutional culture that developed at Antioch following its expansion.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides an explanation of the design of my research as well as an explanation of the methods employed to accomplish the purposes of the study. The research questions are restated first. Following the research questions, an overview of the research methods used and the rationale for using the chosen methods is provided. After the discussion of the methods, I explain how the data were gathered. A description of the analysis of the data ensues. I also illuminate the reasons why Antioch was chosen for this case study. A brief review of the limitations of the study and the positionality of the researcher conclude this chapter.

Research Questions

1. How did Antioch's values influence its decision to expand?
2. How did Antioch's values influence how it expanded?
3. Why did Antioch's expansion fail?

Overview

This dissertation is a qualitative research study of the effects of radical change in one higher education institution. The purpose of this dissertation is to better understand the phenomenon of radical change in the form of institutional expansion at Antioch College beginning in 1964 and ending in 1989. Antioch College had established and widely acknowledged institutional values when they began their expansion. How did Antioch's values interact and influence the expansion process? For the purposes of this research, expansion is understood as the growth of the college for the purposes of

allowing greater numbers of students to enroll either because of greater demand or for the perceived financial gain that added enrollment offered. Change, in this dissertation, alludes to deviations from former practices or policies at Antioch to accommodate the expansion or growth of the college. In referring to the institutional fabric, I am interested in the changes made to the governance structures, values and goals of the institution. The expansion of Antioch College was the case studied for this research.

Qualitative research is the most effective methodological instrument to answer my research questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Qualitative data are “rich in substance and full of possibilities” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 50). One of the primary strengths of qualitative research is the ability to explore and better understand the processes at play and the “contextual influences in particular settings or cases” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 90). This method of analysis allows me to study change and expansion of Antioch in depth and detail (Patton, 2002). Qualitative research grew from the fields of anthropology and sociology. Scholars in these fields were interested in people’s lives and the context within which they interpreted the worlds in which they lived (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Qualitative research is a venue that allows for “exploring and understanding” (Creswell, 2009, p. 4) meaning ascribed by individuals to problems. A qualitative design allows for better absorption of the experiences that lead to expansion/change while providing for the rich description that qualitative methods deliver.

By employing a case study methodology I can explore and develop a deeper understanding of the events that surrounded the expansion process employed by Antioch through the lens of old intuitionism. Case studies have successfully contributed to the knowledge and understanding of organizational phenomena (Yin, 2003). Case studies

are able to provide emphasis on meaning and perspectives (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). This makes a case study valuable to my research in applying institutionalism to the expansion of Antioch College. I am interested in understanding how expansion of a higher education institution transpired based on the values, goals, and structures that were in place at Antioch during the time period (1964-1989). Case studies explain the how and why of a contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 2003). Employing case studies as a method of research allows for “an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). Establishing boundaries in this case study allows me to study and research expansion at Antioch College. Boundaries are important because of the limits they place on what could be limitless examples from which I could cull data and information. Case studies are characterized as being particularistic, descriptive and heuristic (Merriam, 2009). I am interested in the characteristic of case studies being heuristic. Heuristic approaches illuminate our understanding of the phenomenon that are being studied (Merriam, 2009). The phenomena of expansion and change at Antioch are studied and highlighted to attempt to seek answers to my research questions focusing on Antioch as a case, I am trying to understand the expansion and change process of one higher education institution.

Site/Source

Antioch College was established in Yellow Springs, Ohio in 1852. President James P. Dixon presided over an expansion that eventually covered the United States. At the height of Antioch’s expansion 32 Antioch centers were found in 14 states. Because of this rapid expansion, Antioch changed its name from Antioch College to Antioch University in 1978. These events provide me with an ideal source of information to

compare and contrast principles of old institutionalism and new institutionalism in understanding/explaining the process of radical change at Antioch.

Data Collection

The data used for this dissertation are secondary data, used with permission from Antioch University.¹ While I was the researcher who collected the data for Antioch University originally, these data are considered secondary because this dissertation uses the dataset collected for Antioch University to answer different research question than those for which the data were initially gathered (Smith, 2008). The original intent of the collection of data for Antioch University was to better understand the expansion of Antioch College and to trace and detail the expansion for historic purposes. Prior to these original studies, Antioch University did not have an accurate account of the growth of their institution.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of The University of Arizona reviewed the semi-structured interview protocol as well as the access Antioch University granted me to use the data and my use of these data for this dissertation in November, 2012.

One method I used to gather data for the study was interviewing. Interviewing is “directed by one in order to get information from the other” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 103). Interviews allow individuals to articulate, through words, their lived experiences and behaviors (Seidman, 2006). Using interviewing as a method to answer my research questions allowed for a better understanding of the lived experience of individuals connected to the phenomenon of expansion at Antioch. Utilizing interviews allowed me to better understand and access the behavior and experiences of those I interviewed

¹ Please see appendix for site authorization letter from Antioch Chancellor

(Seidman, 2006). Individual experiences shaped and directed the phenomenon of the expansion at Antioch. Interest in past events led to the use of interviews as a method of data collection (Merriam, 2009). The expansion that is the focus of this dissertation took place many years ago. Interviewing was also necessary because it was impossible for me to observe the expansion/change process that took place at Antioch. This process started before I was born and concluded while I was still in elementary school.

I conducted the interviews for the project that I worked on for Antioch University. Interviewees agreed to be interviewed for the purposes of Antioch University's history project that chronicled their expansion from Antioch College to Antioch University. With their consent, their responses were used for this dissertation. Additional interviews were conducted with individuals who I did not speak with for Antioch University's history project.

A semi-structured interview protocol was used to help guide the interviews. The decision to use a semi-structured interview was necessary to help ensure the comparability of the data (Maxwell, 2005). Because individuals who held different positions with responsibilities within Antioch College were interviewed; the ability to compare the data gathered is made easier by following a semi-structured interview protocol and allows for ease of data analysis. Specific information is desired from each participant. A semi-structured format allowed me to adapt during the interview, while still following the general path towards answering the research questions (Merriam, 2009). Semi-structured interviews allow for more flexibility during the interview as opposed to a rigid, highly-structured protocol. Because of the decision to use a semi-structured interview protocol, it was important that I not "manipulate the participants"

(Seidman, 2006, p. 92) to respond to the questions on the protocol. Seidman (2006) warns researchers using interview protocols that protocols can impose on the interviewer's ability to pick up on what participants are saying because they are too focused on asking participants the next question on the protocol. While the questions posed in the interviews differed because of the nature of the roles of participants, the structures of the interviews were similar. I was interested in capturing meaning and process and understanding the values and goals of key stakeholders Antioch College during at the time of their nationwide expansion.

With the consent of the interview participants, the interviews were audio recorded on a digital recorder. Recording of the interview ensured that all that was discussed within the context of the interview was preserved for data analysis (Merriam, 2009). Recording of interviews enabled me to preserve the words of the interview participants (Seidman, 2006). Recording helped to assure participants that their words, thoughts and responses were understood and conveyed in the way that they intended (Seidman, 2006). Simultaneous to the audio recording, I took notes during the interview. The notes helped to capture my initial thoughts and reactions to the responses of the interview participant. Taking notes also provided a back-up plan in the event that the audio recording failed (Creswell, 2009). Following the completion of the interview, notes that I took were reviewed and typed into a word document. This is important for two reasons: first, reviewing the notes allowed me to further develop any thoughts or impressions that could not be developed while the interview was taking place. Second, transferring the notes, which were often times scribbled by me as the interview progressed, allowed for a more

concise and easily understood format for me to review the notes. Audio recorded interviews were transcribed.

Transcription was important for the analysis of the data. While transcribing each interview was a time intensive process, transcribing the interviews familiarized me with the data. The type of transcription for each interview was verbatim transcription. Merriam (2009) argues that “verbatim transcription of recorded interviews provides the best database for analysis” (p. 110). The use of transcribed interviews served two purposes. First, the transcribed interviews were used for data analysis and each interview participant was given the transcribed interview upon request. Also, by allowing participants to review the transcription from their interview, they could help clarify or further elucidate a point made during the interview. This helped to ensure the accuracy of the data.

I employed purposeful sampling to determine the individuals with whom I would interview. Purposeful sampling or selection helped to select a sample where the most understanding or insight could be learned regarding the expansion of Antioch (Merriam, 2009). Purposeful sampling has several goals (Creswell, 2009; Maxwell, 2005). Maxwell (2005) has developed four goals in purposeful sampling or selection. The first goal is “achieving representativeness or typicality of the settings, individuals or activities selected” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 89). The second is to capture the heterogeneity in the population (Maxwell, 2005). Third, is to examine cases that are critical for theories that are developed in one’s study (Maxwell, 2005). The last goal identified by Maxwell (2005) is to “establish particular comparisons to illuminate the reasons for differences between settings or individuals” (p. 90). While representativeness could be accomplished

with a large sample size, it would require vast amounts of time and resources to accomplish this goal in a qualitative study. By purposefully selecting individuals who are “known to be typical” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 89) within their organizational capacity, I was able to interview stakeholders who were able to answer the questions posed in the research. Additionally, Maxwell (2005) highlights that purposeful sampling/selection allows for the illumination “of differences between settings or individuals” (p. 90). This was particularly important in the people who were interviewed for the purposes of this research. The individuals who I interviewed varied along the employment spectrum at Antioch. These participants included Antioch board of trustee members, presidents and chancellors, administrators, faculty and staff members. All of these individuals worked at Antioch during the expansionary period.

Prior to selecting and contacting the individuals, I combed over board minutes and official university correspondence to identify individuals involved with the university more than 35 years ago. The former university chancellor, acting as a gate keeper, granted me access and contact information for the individuals with whom I was interested in speaking. The individuals who I interviewed held information that I was interested in exploring and developing. All interviews for Antioch’s history project were conducted face-to-face. The two interviews that I conducted that were not affiliated with my Antioch history project were done via Skype or over the phone.

Table 1 – List of individuals interviewed (their role at Antioch)

Interviewee	BoT	Administrator	Faculty	Staff/Other	Alumnus
#1		X			
#2			X		
#3				X	
#4	X				X
#5	X				X
#6		X			
#7		X			
#8		X			
#9			X		
#10		X			
#11		X			X
#12		X			
#13		X	X		X
#14	X				
#15			X		
#16			X		
#17				X	

As is evidenced by the table illustrating the role of the interviewees while they were at Antioch, three board of trustee members were chosen because of the role that they held during this expansion. These individuals include two former board chairs and a former board member. Board members provided insight into the decisions and reasons for expansion and what goals they felt expansion held for Antioch College. In the administrator category is a former Antioch president/chancellor and a former Antioch chancellor were interviewed.² Interviewing top leadership provides a dual perspective. The president/chancellor was not only the top official for the institution; s/he was also an ex-officio board member. These individuals were able to supply important insight into

² Antioch University's institutional leader was referred to as college president until 1994. At that time the president of the entire Antioch University system his title changed to chancellor. The position was split and the position of president of Antioch College was created separate of the chancellor of Antioch University.

the reasons that administrators argued for expansion as well as the discussion and defense of their decisions to board members and other Antioch constituencies. These leaders were able to explain their vision, goals and values for Antioch that they attempted to instill in the institution during their administrations. Six top administrators, (vice presidents, deans and directors) were selected based on the roles they played during this time.

Administrators were tasked with implementing the decisions of the president/chancellor and the directions given to them by the board. Their insights were important in establishing the climate and scene that the expansion/change had on the Antioch culture. Five faculty and two staff members provided additional perspectives through which the expansion of Antioch was viewed. Faculty members discussed the change that expansion brought to the academic goals of the institution. Staff members were the “street level” employees that Wilson (2000) referred to as those who are most often affected by decisions in an organization. Their ideas on the expansion/change of Antioch revealed a different perspective that enhanced our understanding of the phenomenon of expansion/change. A history professor at a southern university was also interviewed to provide academic insights about Antioch expansion who was not at Antioch. The history professor was chosen because of his prior scholarly work investigating Antioch’s expansion. This person helped to clarify and broaden ideas that I had developed about Antioch’s expansion.

The interviews conducted for Antioch’s history project were concluded once I had reached saturation regarding the information received from the interview participants. Saturation refers to the point at which the researcher does not learn anything new from interview participants (Seidman, 2006). After interviewing several individuals, all with

different roles at Antioch, I reached a point where the information I was collecting differed very little from prior interview participants. This same process was followed with individual interviews conducted for this dissertation. A total of 17 individuals were interviewed for this dissertation.

In addition to gathering data with interviews, I also conducted document analysis. Documents were important because they are “a ready-made source of data easily accessible...” (Merriam, 2009, p. 139). Documents provided descriptive information regarding the change that led to Antioch expansion. Additionally, documents allowed me to analyze the written statements of individuals involved in the expansion (Creswell, 2009). Documents are a form of artifacts that are “symbolic materials such as writing and signs...” (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 216). Documents analyzed in this study included official Antioch College communications, memos, board and faculty senate minutes, reports, correspondence and catalogues.

Documents can be categorized into different categories (Merriam, 2009). Public records are one category of documents and are the “official, ongoing records of a society’s activities” (Merriam, 2009, p. 140). Most of the documents located in Antioch’s archives would fall into this category. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) identify another form of document: the popular culture document. These documents are often intended to persuade the public of the virtues of an individual, product or an organization (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Old recruitment and admission catalogues that Antioch produced fall into this category as well as some memorandums issued by college leaders.

When I first began the project with Antioch University it was necessary for me to travel to Yellow Springs, Ohio to physically access their archives. After speaking with

university officials, it was determined that university personnel would scan and digitize the physical documents. Once digitized, they were stored on servers that I accessed from my home computer in Arizona.

Traveling to Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, provided another form of data collection through direct observations I conducted while I was there. When doing observations, the observer should be aware of the physical setting, the participants, the activities and interactions and the researcher's own behavior during the observation (Merriam, 2009). I travelled to Yellow Springs, Ohio, location of Antioch College and headquarters of Antioch University seven times. These visits occurred between April, 2010 and February 2012. Yin (2003) recognizes that direct observations, through informal site visits, allow for the researcher to observe the "condition of buildings or work spaces" (p. 92). During these informal, direct observations, I was able to visualize the conditions of Antioch's campus and understand the financial situation of the College (Yin, 2003). My observations of the Antioch College campus occurred primarily before Antioch reopened and admitted new classes of students.

Observations added a new dimension to help me understand the context of the financial situation that expansion placed on the College's resources (Yin, 2003). The physical condition of the College was a reflection of the financial pressures faced by the university system. Grounds and buildings in disrepair reflected the desperate financial problems faced by Antioch. I observed the Antioch College campus in disrepair. Campus building and grounds were badly in need of maintenance. The sidewalks were crumbling, buildings were deteriorated and the grounds desperately needed upkeep. The sidewalks were uneven from tree roots, and crumbling from rain and snow. The buildings

had bricks that popped out, and their roofs appeared in poor condition. The grounds had long grass that needed to be cut and leaves that had not been raked from the prior fall. All of the buildings were inaccessible. The doors were padlocked and chained closed. Peering through the windows of the buildings I saw the conditions of their interior. The images of the interior of buildings reflected their nonuse and need of maintenance. In addition, the campus was void of any kind of activity. I could feel the emptiness that existed without any students and faculty. It was hard to imagine the college during its prime. From the 1950s through the 1970s, Antioch was a prestigious liberal arts institution. At capacity, Antioch College had nearly 2,000 students. I accessed Antioch College records at the Olive Kettering Library (the college library). It was open from 10-3 each day. Occasionally some people from Yellow Springs would be in the library looking through books or magazines. The library was dated. The furniture appeared to be from the 1970s and the books that I looked through were from the same period. Ceiling tiles were stained and needed to be replaced. Flooring looked worn and shabby. The lack of technology at the library stood in stark contrast to the digital age we live in. The library and the campus appeared to be frozen in the time period of their national prestige as a liberal arts college.

My observations were digitally recorded. These recordings were reviewed and memos were developed based on the recordings (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The memos were reviewed and coded for relevance during my data analysis.

Interviews, observations and archival documents provided multiple sources of data for analysis. This helped me to develop a broader understanding of the different approaches that Antioch undertook during their change that led to expansion. By

triangulating my data and assessments, I was able to augment the internal validity of this research study (Maxwell, 2005). Triangulation is possible when information from a variety of sources and methods is collected (Maxwell, 2005).

Data Analysis

Once data have been collected they need to be given significance (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Assigning significance to data takes place when the researcher begins the interpretation of the data collected (Merriam, 2009). This is done through data analysis. Data analysis “involves making sense out of text...” (Creswell, 2009, p. 183). Making sense out of the text of data that has been compiled is a process that involves moving between the data and abstract concepts such as the theoretical framework or lens being used for the dissertation (Merriam, 2009). Data analysis requires the researcher to interpret the data. As such, the researcher must have an in-depth understanding of the events and the phenomenon being studied (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

After reviewing the transcribed interviews and looking at the notes collected during the interview, patterns started to emerge that helped answer the research questions. Interview participants’ responses were similar across the interviews. Patterns emerged in their answers to the interview questions. The patterns reflected themes in the responses which began to help answer the research questions. Furthermore, from these patterns and similarities in the interviews and documents I developed codes from the collected data (Creswell, 2009). Coding organizes materials into chunks of data that form meaning (Creswell, 2009). Developing codes does not involve counting how many times an interview participant or a document mentions a specific phenomenon. Rather, coding is intended to “fracture the data and rearrange them into categories...” (Maxwell, 2005, p.

96). Coding begins when transcribed interviews, documents or observation notes are read through by the researcher. While reading, the researcher begins to develop topics that are in the data being reviewed. Codes for this study developed through my reading and immersing myself in the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This can be arranging the data into categories. Arranging data into categories facilitates the analysis of the data and helps to identify the data that address the questions posed by the research questions. The research questions guided the development of codes and themes. Data from interviews, document analysis and observations were coded and grouped based on how the data provided evidence and support to answer the research questions posed in this study. The themes and codes developed corresponded to the research questions: values/norms/goals, change, expansion, external and internal pressures.

The interviews were transcribed in Word documents. Once transcribed, the interviews were imported into a qualitative computer software program, NVivo 10. NVivo assisted in qualitative data analysis by helping to manage data and ideas (Bazeley, 2010). NVivo facilitated the storage of the transcribed documents and the “fracturing” to which Maxwell (2005) referred. NVivo allowed for ease in coding the data as well as managing the coding and themes that were developed.

Document or content analysis (Merriam, 2009) proceeded similarly to how interview analysis took place. After finding materials relevant to the research questions posed, the documents were scanned, if they were not already digitized. The documents were imported to the NVivo software to better manage the data. Documents were reviewed and analyzed to develop categories (Maxwell, 2005). Categories were broad themes that emerged from the documents. The document categories further evolved into

themes and codes. The codes developed for document analysis mirrored those themes and codes that were developed for interviews. Documents that were copied or scanned to provide a digital copy were transferred into NVivo to help with document analysis and coding.

Validity

While validity in qualitative research is not the same as in quantitative research (Creswell, 2009), it is still important. Maxwell (2005) recognizes the difficulty in assessing validity of qualitative research. Quantitative researchers are able to design controls (planned comparisons, sampling strategies) that help to strengthen validity in their studies (Maxwell, 2005). Qualitative researchers do not have these controls. Instead, several options help to improve the validity of this research including adequate engagement with the data (Merriam, 2009), discussing research positionality and bias, triangulation, member checking and respondent validation.

One tool to help increase validity is to recognize the positionality or bias of the researcher (Merriam, 2009). By explaining these issues, the researcher is able to clarify how s/he arrived at the conclusions stated in the research project. I spent more than two years studying, reviewing, interviewing and analyzing the data that I collected. This has given me an in-depth and nuanced understanding of the data collected for this study.

I was contacted by the Chancellor of Antioch University to examine the historical underpinnings that lead to the Antioch College expansion during the 1960s and 1970s. Because of this role, I was given institutional access to the archives, contact information for former employees and alumni information that allowed me to contact former students. Prior to contacting these individuals, the Chancellor's office notified participants by

sending them a formal letter introducing me and explaining the project. My charge in preparing this historical account of the Antioch expansion was to present an unbiased account of the factors and motives involved in the highlighted event. At no time was I instructed, coached or encouraged by administrators at Antioch University to alter any findings relating to the historical perspective I was compiling.

My interest in educational expansion has encouraged me to better understand the pressures put on colleges and universities by various internal and external forces. I have witnessed and been a participant, as a student, in the institutional changes that have taken place at my own university (The University of Arizona) during the financial pressures passed on to the university because of shrinking state budgets. I have experienced, both positively and negatively, the outcomes of “transformative” change. These experiences have molded my interpretation of factors and events that are classified as institutional change for the purposes of this dissertation.

A central tenant to the validity of this dissertation is the use of triangulation. Triangulation involves different data sources to examine a phenomenon (Creswell, 2009). Using multiple sources of data “reduces the risk that your conclusions will reflect only the systematic biases of limitation of a specific source or method” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 93). This was accomplished by interviewing individuals involved with Antioch’s change that lead to radical expansion, reviewing documents found in Antioch’s archives, and visiting and observing Antioch College. The data collected from interviews were cross checked with data collected from document analysis and from observations to help ensure validity (Merriam, 2009).

Member checking, or peer examination or review (Merriam, 2009) occurred with this study. This was primarily done by Dr. Jeffrey Milem, my advisor and dissertation chair, as well as other members of the dissertation committee. This was also graciously done by my colleagues in the PhD program in the Center for the Study of Higher Education. My colleagues reviewed my interpretations and coding of data to help ensure that what I was interpreting from the data was correct. They offered their opinions and critiques of my interpretations.

Respondent validation occurs when the researcher allows the participants to review your preliminary findings and provides comments on your findings. All participants were provided with the transcribed interview and my interpretations or findings upon request.

Limitations

Utilizing a case study for the purposes of conducting research has limitations. First, questions can be raised about the ability to generalize the findings from this study to other colleges and universities. Each college or university is unique in its approach to expanding their institutions and the changes that result from the expansion. While the circumstances for change may be different from what happened at Antioch, the lessons learned can be applied in general terms to other contexts. It is also important to realize that this case study allows a deeper, more thorough perspective about innovation and culture at the institutional level because of the singular focus on an organization or institution which is being studied (Yin, 2003).

Second, the case study focused on actions and events that took place over 30 years ago. While the passage of time since this happened is increasing, the lessons that

can be learned from the influences of environment, culture and leadership on institutional change are applicable to situations that colleges and universities face today.

Interviewing is the primary method of data collection. Interviews conducted for Antioch's historical project were supplemented by additional interviews from two other sources who possessed information that helped to answer my research questions. The two supplemental interviews were necessary because of the information gleaned from the original interviews. The supplemental participants were chosen based on their knowledge of or involvement in Antioch College expansion. The structure of the interview questions, along with the interviewer, can affect the responses given. However, recognizing the interaction that takes place between interviewer and interviewee, as well being cognizant of the positionality that the researcher brought to this study, along with triangulation, helps to minimize this concern.

Interviewing is not without weaknesses. The presence of the researcher during the interview may bias the responses of the participants (Creswell, 2009). The individual conducting the interview can develop a rapport with the interview participant that can further bias the responses and the participant might say something that s/he thinks the interviewer wants to hear (Seidman, 2006). The use of interviews as an instrument to collect data for the dissertation can also be time consuming. It takes time to research individuals to interview. It takes time and money, (especially if the interview is done face to face), to complete the interview. Transcribing is a long and tedious process. However, when considering the purposes of this study, the positives of interviewing outweigh the negatives. Given the questions asked, this had to be the approach taken.

As with interviews, documents can be problematic. Documents were not developed for the purpose of data collection (Merriam, 2009). Where interviews are done with the sole purpose of collecting data, documents being analyzed were created for different purposes. For example, a memo was created to convey a message or direction from one person, individual or institution to another. The researcher must then make sense of the data to be found within the memo. In addition to the difficulty in deciphering documents, document analysis requires time and effort in searching out and investigating the documents that complement one's research. Using documents as an additional source of data helps to strengthen and corroborate what is being discovered during the interview Process. Data from documents might be incomplete and researchers might be unable find a way to complete the data collected from the documents (Merriam, 2009). This happens because the documents were not developed for research purposes. Documents might not offer a continuity of resources, (meaning that documents might not progress logically in the development of an idea or thought because of missing or incomplete data) (Merriam, 2009). Documents may require an increase in time and resources to collect the data that might be gleaned from them (Creswell, 2009). This occurs when the researcher has to search through archives and locate relevant documents to what s/he is studying. However, due to the passage of time, documents can be one of the better sources of data for the case study of Antioch. Key individuals associated with Antioch's expansion were not able to be interviewed due to death or advanced age. Data gathered from documents such as official memorandums or correspondence provided insight regarding stakeholders' roles and beliefs about the expansion (Merriam, 2009). Additionally, using documents as a data collection method removes the researcher. The

presence of the researcher may affect the data being collected during interviews and observations. This is not the case with document analysis because the documents being analyzed do not respond, or participate differently with the presence of the researcher. By removing the researcher, one is able to remove the potential bias that the researcher might have in collecting and receiving the data (Merriam, 2009). However, researcher bias can be introduced during the interpreting of the data collected from document analysis.

Observations also possess limitations. The observer can be seen as intrusive to what s/he is attempting to observe. This was not an issue in the observations I made at Antioch because I was primarily observing the physical setting, not individuals or their interactions with one another.

Summary

Antioch College changed and expanded their small liberal arts campus beginning in the 1960s. Antioch College was suspended by the Antioch University Board of Trustees in 2007. This was the end of a tumultuous relationship between the university and the college. This situation is best studied using qualitative research because qualitative research allows for an understanding of social problems (Creswell, 2009).

This case study of Antioch College provides an in-depth review and analysis of Antioch's radical change through institutional expansion. This analysis helped to answer the research questions focusing on how Antioch's values, contributed to institutional expansion and the influence of Antioch's values on the outcome of expansion. Analyses of data from interviews with individuals involved with the radical change through institutional expansion, document analysis, and observations of Antioch College helped to answer the research questions.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

This chapter begins with a brief history of Antioch College. This is to provide readers with a working knowledge of Antioch College's progression as an institution, with particular emphasis on Arthur Morgan's time as college president to the present day. Today Antioch is two institutions: Antioch College and Antioch University. Following the organizational history, the presentation of the qualitative findings based on the 18 interviews conducted with individuals connected to Antioch College/University. In addition, the chapter highlights the findings of document analysis of the archives of Antioch College and Antioch University and findings of the observational analysis that I completed during my seven visits to Yellow Springs. I present these findings to answer the research questions posed in chapter three.

Antioch College History

Antioch College was established in Yellow Springs, Ohio in 1852. Horace Mann, the first president of Antioch College famously implored students during the Antioch College commencement address of 1859 to "be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity." This statement has been repeated at each commencement ceremony and is an ingrained part of the organizational culture of Antioch. Following the death of Mann the college fell into disarray until Arthur E. Morgan assumed its presidency in 1920. Morgan was an educational reformer who instituted cooperative education at Antioch (Hotaling & Scott, 1995). Cooperative education, co-op for short, allowed students to use their work/internship experiences as credit towards earning their degree. Students would spend half the year in classes at the Yellow Springs campus and the other half of the year working in various places throughout the country. Antioch

eventually became regarded on the level of Reed and Swarthmore in distinction and regard among liberal arts colleges (Clark, 1972).

Because of their increased notoriety, Antioch's student population swelled and a rigorous expansion of the college took place beginning in 1964. President James P. Dixon presided over an expansion that eventually covered the United States. However, Antioch President Douglas McGregor (president from 1948-1954) was the first president to entertain the idea of growing Antioch (Hotaling & Scott, 1995). While the idea of creating satellite campuses was discussed no action was taken until Dixon directed Dean of Students J.D. Dawson to explore the possibility of establishing an Antioch presence on the west coast in 1959 (Hotaling & Scott, 1995).

With Dixon's blessing, Dawson travelled to California to investigate several possible sites where Antioch College might locate an expansion campus. The Napa Valley of California appeared the most promising as an alumnus of Antioch College was a land developer there and believed that he could locate land owners willing to donate the land to the College for a campus. Dawson even approached the Napa town council to inquire about their ability to help finance the development of a new campus. While the town council was excited about having an Antioch campus within their boundaries, they were unable to offer any monetary assistance. Antioch's Board of Trustees, as well as Dixon, were surprisingly reluctant to commit the financial capital necessary to develop a satellite campus at that time (Hotaling & Scott, 1995). Even though the Board of Trustees decided against expansion at that time, Dixon was concerned about the Yellow Springs Township and Antioch College Campus and their ability to handle many more students (Dixon, 1991). Perhaps he had read the 1955 report penned by the American

Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers entitled “The Impending of Wave of Students” or was able to comprehend that between 1952 and 1960 enrollment of students in American colleges and universities increased from 2.1 million to 3.6 million (Freeland, 1992)? This increase in enrollment numbers pales in comparison to growth that was experienced in the 1960s. The “tidal wave” did come, but it appeared more like a tsunami. Enrollments exploded from 3.6 million in 1960 to 7.9 million in 1970 (Freeland, 1992).

Adding to this growing surge of potential students, Dixon recognized that Antioch “had more energy than it could use; the energy was either going to leave, be used or the place was going to blow up” (Dixon, 1991, p. 204). Several faculty members left Yellow Springs to conduct research in far flung places like Hawaii (Mickey McLeery) and San Francisco (Joe McFarland) (Interviewee #3, 2011). An administrator reflected “I believe is that were a number of individuals on the Antioch College campus who were growing restless” (Interviewee #1, 2010 p. 2) The restlessness that Weaver speaks to may have been the major impetus for Joe McFarland’s decision to start what grew into Antioch West in San Francisco, California (Interviewee #11, 2011).

Dixon was an unconventional president, one who prided himself in establishing “anti-Establishment” practices (Grant, 1972). A medical doctor by profession, James Dixon came to view the Antioch network as a system (Grant, 1972). The Antioch system under Dixon was one that was interdependent on the varying parts of the established network system. In Dixon’s new system, Antioch College was no longer the sole focus of the administration or Board of Trustees. The focus shifted to govern and manage the Antioch Network. The education that Antioch College students were receiving in the

mid-part of the 20th century was nearly unrivaled at other liberal arts institutions (Clark, 1972). Alumni developed zeal and a belief that Antioch should be experienced by more than just those who attended the venerable institution in Yellow Springs. A former Antioch administrator, reflected on having an alumnus as president of the university “he (Dixon) acted like a student, not a president” (Interviewee #7, 2010).

There is some discussion as to whether or not Dixon was actually the strongest champion for the expansion of Antioch. Following Dixon’s installation as president, one of his first major personnel moves was to replace Boyd Alexander who was retiring as the Dean of Faculty at Antioch College. Morris Keeton, an associate professor in philosophy as well as the College Pastor, was hired as Dean of Faculty to replace Alexander in 1963 (Dixon, 1991). A former Antioch administrator for several decades, speaking on Antioch’s network growth opined, “I think, at least as I understand it, the idea was principally Morris Keeton’s. Antioch should expand beyond the borders and operate wherever there were people who would benefit from the Antioch experience” (Interviewee # 1, 2010). Antioch College staff member referring to Keeton, said “He was at the forefront of that idea that Antioch education, which by then was at its height, didn’t have to happen at Antioch College” (Interviewee #3, 2010). Keeton himself advanced the idea that Liberal Arts Colleges “as a group should diversify their ‘products’ and their services...” (Keeton & Hilberry, 1968, p. 369). Advocating that students should experience first-hand educational experiences (Keeton & Hilberry, 1968), Keeton might be referring to the need to establish network centers in Philadelphia, Baltimore or Huntington, West Virginia. Regardless of who was the primary believer or driver of Antioch College’s expansion, both Dixon and Keeton were contributors to the growth

and development of the Antioch College Network. Developing an extensive network as Antioch did during the 1960s and 1970s needed the support of the top administrators at the College. Dixon and Keeton provided that support. Additionally, the Board of Trustees as well as AdCil, the College's faculty governing body, supported the idea of Antioch growing outside of Yellow Springs.

At the height of Antioch's expansion 32 Antioch centers were found in 14 states. Because of this rapid expansion, Antioch changed its name from Antioch College to Antioch University in 1978. This unparalleled expansion, which led to overstretched finances and lacked administrative governance and oversight, nearly collapsed Antioch (Hoffman, 1971). In the midst of Antioch's expansion, the College suffered from a devastating student strike that crippled the campus in Yellow Springs for more than six-months. Because the administration of Antioch was reluctant to break the strike (Dixon, 1991), an Antioch student petitioned the court to end the standoff. The courts agreed with the student and sent the Greene County Sheriff's Department to Yellow Springs to break the strike. Following the strike, enrollments plummeted at the Yellow Springs campus, dealing a disastrous financial blow to a liberal arts college that depended heavily on tuition dollars to finance the institution (Warren, 1984). Believing that the "satellite campuses" (as the expanded campuses were called), were a financial drain on the Antioch system, many of the 32 Antioch campuses were closed in the late 1970s and 1980s. The Antioch University of today is a five-campus system located in four states. It is a stable university system that serves primarily the "new traditional" student. Flexible class schedules allow students to continue their education without quitting their jobs.

However, the relative calm that can be found across the Antioch system is something that has only been found in the last 10-15 years.

The current “stability” of the Antioch University system can be deceiving. Following a tumultuous 35 years that included a debilitating student strike in 1973, near financial disaster in 1979 when Antioch could not make its payroll, along with declining enrollment and lack of alumni support, the Antioch University Board of Trustees voted to shutter the college campus in 2007 and not open for the 2008-2009 academic year (Fain, 2008). Antioch College Alumni formed a 501c3 and, after “purchasing” the campus, a nearby nature preserve donated to the College and the roughly \$20 million endowment, for \$6.2 million paid to the university, they took possession of the college. They recently surpassed their goal to open the college to 25 students in the fall semester of 2011 when they matriculated 35 students.

RQ #1 How did Antioch’s values influence its decision to expand?

I answer this questions in three parts. I begin with discussing how the values of the Board of Trustees of Antioch College influenced the decision to expand. Following Board of Trustees I discuss how the values of the administration and faculty of Antioch College influenced Antioch’s decision to expand

The first group is the Antioch Board of Trustees. Using interviews from members of Antioch’s Board of Trustees, along with archival document analysis, I interpreted the values of Antioch’s Board of Trustees. When the expansion process began, the Antioch College Board of Trustees (BoT) was rather large and included alumni of Antioch College and influential local Yellow Springs residents who shared Antioch’s devotion to experiential education. Serving on the Antioch BoT during the beginning of the

expansion in 1963 were 26 board members. Of the 26, eight were graduates of Antioch College: Leon Alshuler, Waldemar Argow, Morris Bean, Edward Booher, Jack Lang, Theodore Newcomb and Milton Wasby (College, 1963). An additional board member was a resident of Yellow Springs. Hence, one third of the board of trustees had a close connection to the institution. Since each of these board members has since passed away, it is impossible to ask them their feelings regarding the expansion of Antioch College. Selznick's (1949, 1957) old institutionalism posits that institutions are molded by their structures and goals. The structure of Antioch, like other higher education institutions, was governed by the BoT. Therefore, if the BoT shared the values and goals that were predominant to Antioch College students and alumni, then they would have been eager to spread Antioch education across the country. With the support of the Administrative Council (AdCil), which was made up of Antioch faculty, students and administrators, the BoT voted to begin the expansion of Antioch.

One trustee member who was not a trustee in 1964, but became a trustee during the expansion and is an Antioch alum, was interviewed prior to the successful reopening of Antioch College. This interviewee was proud of the institution that he graduated from and later served on the BoT for Antioch and spoke with an almost reverential respect when discussing Antioch College. This former board member was chosen to serve on Antioch's BoT because of his service on Antioch's alumni board. He reflected on the impact that one board of trustee member had on Antioch's expansion during this time period. The interviewee stated that this board member was a Civil Rights attorney in Washington D.C. and was a strong proponent of creating the Antioch School of Law in Washington D.C. (Interviewee #4). The Antioch School of Law accepted a different type

of law student. Rather than focusing on the traditional GPA and placement testing scores, Antioch School of Law focused on the clinical abilities of their students (Interviewee #15) and admitted many underprivileged and underrepresented students. The law school trained students through clinical programs rather than scholarly, classroom experiences. The Civil Rights attorney influenced the board to approve the Antioch School of Law because he valued providing educational opportunities to minority students and his goal of developing a law school that could serve underprivileged and underrepresented students.

When another board member was asked what made her accept her position on the Antioch BoT, she reflected on her time as a student at the College in the 1940s (Interviewee # 5). The former board member remembered that “Antioch had something special” (p. 2). The specialness of Antioch was the focus on educational excellence, student-centered education, social activism and preparing students for their careers. The reasons listed by the former board member, were all reasons why Antioch chose to expand. Antioch leaders felt that they had an excellent educational product that was student-centered. Social activism played a reason why students at Antioch-Putney felt that Antioch centers should be established in bigger cities where their (Antioch students’) social activism could be explored and developed (Interviewee #2). The same values that the former board of trustee member felt as a student were a catalyst for the former board member’s decision to serve on the Antioch Board.

The former members of Antioch College’s BoT that I interviewed all discussed the Antioch experience as a reference when asked why the expansion occurred. BoT members interviewed all felt that Antioch had a unique educational quality and that it

should not be kept locked up in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Antioch's new focus on social activism was also mentioned as a reason for the expansion, Antioch's law school as an example.

The next sub group that I identified to help answer the question of how Antioch's values influenced its decision to expand was Antioch's administration. The biggest source of influence on Antioch's expansion was through the top administrators at the college - President James Dixon and Academic Vice President Morris Keeton. Dixon was president of Antioch from 1959-1975. Keeton began as a faculty member in the philosophy department in 1947 at Antioch. He moved through the academic ranks serving as Associate Dean of Faculty, Dean of Faculty and was appointed Academic Vice President in 1967. Keeton served as Antioch's chief academic officer until 1977, having served briefly as Antioch's president following Dixon's dismissal. Both men shared similar values regarding education including the belief that educational opportunities should be provided to everyone who desired them regardless of where.

After Dixon graduated from Antioch College in 1939, he enrolled in medical school at Harvard University. Following his medical education, Dixon went on to roles in public health serving as the Public Health Commissioner for both Denver, Colorado and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. While Dixon presided over the expansion of Antioch College, Antioch President Douglas McGregor (1948-1954) was actually the first college president to entertain the idea of growing Antioch (Hotaling & Scott, 1995). Even though McGregor discussed the idea of creating satellite campuses, the administration took no action until Dixon became president and directed dean of students J.D. Dawson to explore the possibility of establishing an Antioch presence on the west coast in 1959

(Hotaling & Scott, 1995). Dawson, with Dixon's blessing, travelled to California in 1959, investigating several possible sites where Antioch might build an expansion campus. The Napa Valley of California appeared to be the most promising, as an alumnus of Antioch College was a land developer there and believed that he could locate land owners willing to donate the land to the College. Dawson even approached the Napa town council to inquire about their ability to help finance the development of a new campus. While the town council was excited about having an Antioch campus within their boundaries, they were unable to offer any monetary assistance. Antioch's board of trustees, as well as Dixon, were reluctant to commit the financial capital necessary to develop a satellite campus at that time (Hotaling & Scott, 1995). Dixon's reluctance was surprising because of his support for Antioch's nationwide expansion only a few years later.

Even though the board of trustees decided against expansion at that time, Dixon was still concerned about the ability of the Yellow Springs Township and the Antioch College campus to handle many more students (Dixon E. M., 1991). One of Dixon's concerns was Yellow Spring's aging sewage system and the strain that more students at the College would place on the dilapidated infrastructure (Dixon E.M., 1991).

Dixon was an unconventional president, one who prided himself in establishing "anti-Establishment" practices (Grant, 1972). Dixon embraced chaos and crises, believing that Antioch should be in continual state of revolution (Grant, 1972). Because of his medical training, James Dixon viewed the Antioch network as a system (Grant, 1972), which was interdependent on its parts much like a human body depends on the health of its biological system as a whole. Dixon himself came to the conclusion that

“social systems could be seen as analogous to biological systems” (Dixon E. M., 1991, p. 52). This realization provided Dixon with the belief that the growth of Antioch was a logical and necessary evolution in the College’s development (Dixon E. M., 1991). The Antioch system under Dixon was interdependent on the varying parts of the established network system. Part of the dependency that developed in the system was a financial dependency that is addressed later. In Dixon’s new system, Antioch College was no longer the sole focus of the administration or Antioch’s BoT. The focus shifted to the governance and management of the Antioch network. Dixon has been the only alumnus to serve as president of Antioch College. Some fault Dixon’s missionary zeal for spreading the gospel of Antioch throughout the country on the fact that he was an alumnus of Antioch College. The education Antioch College students received in the mid-part of the 20th century was nearly unrivaled at other liberal arts institutions (Clark, 1972). Alumni developed a zeal for the belief that Antioch should be experienced by more than just those who attended the venerable institution in Yellow Springs. A former high-level Antioch administrator reflected on having an alumnus as president of the university: “He (Dixon) acted like a student, not a president” (Interviewee #7).

There is some discussion as to whether or not Dixon was actually the strongest champion for the expansion of Antioch. Following Dixon’s installation as president, one of his first major personnel moves occurred in 1963 when he replaced Boyd Alexander, the retiring dean of faculty at Antioch College, with Morris Keeton, an associate professor in philosophy as well as the college pastor (Dixon E. M., 1991). Several individuals who were interviewed for this project commented on the key roles Keeton played in Antioch’s growth. In reference to Antioch’s network growth, a former top

administrator at Antioch for several decades opined, “I think, at least as I understand it, the idea was principally Morris Keeton’s. Antioch should expand beyond the borders and operate wherever there were people who would benefit from the Antioch experience” (Interviewee #1). Antioch College’s archivist, referring to Keeton, said, “He was at the forefront of that idea that Antioch education, which by then was at its height, didn’t have to happen at Antioch College” (Interviewee #3).

Keeton himself advanced the idea that liberal arts colleges “as a group should diversify their ‘products’ and their services...” (Keeton & Hilberry, 1968, p. 369). Advocating that students should encounter first-hand educational experiences (Keeton & Hilberry, 1968), Keeton might have been referring to the need to establish network centers in Philadelphia, Baltimore or Huntington, West Virginia where students could experience the educational realities of the inner-cities or the rural Appalachian region of the United States. Regardless of who was the primary driver of Antioch College’s expansion, it is clear that Dixon and Keeton were significant contributors to the growth and development of the Antioch College network. Developing an extensive network, as Antioch did during the 1960s and 1970s, required the support of the top administrators at the College and Dixon and Keeton provided that support. Additionally, the board of trustees as well as the Administrative Council (AdCil), the College’s faculty governing body, supported the idea of Antioch growing outside of Yellow Springs.

Why was a small, prestigious liberal arts college in Yellow Springs, Ohio, interested in drastically altering its structure? While attempting to answer this question, one must consider the time period involved. Antioch first opened a “satellite campus” in 1964 in the hills of Putney, Vermont. Baby boomers were coming of age. In 1964 the

first wave of children born to returning World War II veterans were graduating from high school, and many were preparing to attend college, resulting in an unprecedented increase in enrollment. As College president, Dixon embraced risks: “It seems to me that our social institutions may need to accept risks as normative...” (Grant, 1972, p. 47). While other small liberal arts colleges were content to continue without much change, Antioch was inclined to do something different.

The demographics of students were evolving; no longer were white males the primary face of college students. The 1960s were a time when the traditional role of women was changing, which Interviewee #10 (2011), former director and provost at Antioch Seattle and Antioch San Francisco, suggested might be the reason for expansion. “The market was changing towards returning GIs; women were entering the market place. Housewives were getting liberated. There was a whole new market and need and opportunity” (Interviewee #10, p. 15). For all of Dixon’s faults (faculty faulted his lack of an academic background and College supporters cited his refusal to recognize the strains that a nationwide university system had on the Yellow Springs Campus) some considered him a visionary who understood that the tidal wave of incoming students would overwhelm the Antioch College campus and the village of Yellow Springs (Dixon E. M., 1991). He also envisioned taking education to the places it was most needed. Antioch was buoyed by a 1950s Carnegie Corporation study on the effectiveness of liberal arts institutions. The study, in essence, declared that Antioch “was such a positive report that there were notions that (it) was too bad that it was contained on this campus in Yellow Springs. Could it be bottled and exported?” (Interviewee #3, p. 2). Antioch used the Carnegie study to apply for and be awarded a Ford Foundation Grant in 1962. The Ford

Foundation Grant provided financial capital for their expansion. Faced with growing student demands, a growing national reputation, and the glowing Carnegie liberal arts study, the stage was set for the Antioch administration to begin planning Antioch's expansion. Higher education sociologist Burton Clark would later author three papers that focused on Antioch's success during this time (Clark, 1970, 1971, 1972). In the *Distinctive College* Clark (1970) looked at what contributed to great liberal arts institutions. Antioch College was identified as one of the great liberal arts colleges, Clark (1970) identified Antioch's unique co-op educational program in which students left Antioch College for part of their education to gain work/internship experience that would count towards credits for graduation. Clark (1971, 1972) developed and expanded the importance of organizational sagas. Antioch's organizational saga was important because it built links across the organization, while developing a collective belief in Antioch's educational abilities (Clark, 1972).

In 1967 Antioch College was approached about the possibility of establishing an Antioch campus or field center in Columbia, Maryland (Administrative Council, 1968). Faculty members were supportive of the opening of the Columbia, Maryland Antioch center. The "first field study center" at Antioch was proposed to be established in the newly planned city of Columbia, Maryland. Antioch was interested in opening field study centers to experiment with the different delivery methods of education. Columbia was developed by James Rouse, president of the Rouse Corporation, who is credited with opening the first enclosed shopping mall in the United States and who developed and managed other shopping malls across the country. Rouse was interested in community planning, specifically through creating a sense of a community within the areas he

developed. In the mid-1960s the Rouse Corporation purchased 14,000 acres in Howard County, Maryland, and established the city of Columbia. Antioch was approached by Rouse in 1967 to open an Antioch branch campus there (Administrative Council, 1968). Both Dixon and Keeton visited Columbia, Maryland and then returned to Yellow Springs and established a task force to study the possibility of an Antioch presence there. Chaired by faculty member Joe McFarland, the task force recommended to AdCil in December 1968 that they approve the plans for a “branch program” in Columbia to start in the fall of 1969 with fifty to 150 students (Administrative Council, 1968). The proposal also included a request to borrow \$100,000 from the College for startup costs and a request that the task force (faculty and administrators appointed by AdCil to research the possibility of Antioch establishing a campus in Columbia, MD), which included notable members Judson Jerome and Morris Keeton, operate the center (Administrative Council, 1968).

The supporting arguments for the Antioch Columbia center that the task force made to AdCil were fascinating because they provide context to better understand why Antioch would expand from Yellow Springs, OH. One argument was that this experiment would allow Antioch to test new means of financing liberal arts colleges while also allowing individuals from a lower socioeconomic status the opportunity to attend a liberal arts college. Additionally, this new campus would allow for a symbiotic relationship between students, faculty and the community (Administrative Council, 1968). The relationship between students and their interaction with the environment (the developing social aspects of a planned city) was a central tenant to Antioch-Columbia.

The environment was to be the major learning source for Antioch's networked system (Jerome, 1970).

Top administrators at Antioch College during the time of the College's expansion were supportive of the institutional expansion that made Antioch a nation-wide university. Dixon was the only alumnus to serve as president of Antioch. Some fault him for acting more like a student than a president when making decisions regarding Antioch's future (Interviewee # 7). The top academic officer at Antioch, Morris Keeton, was a staunch supporter of testing the limits of Antioch's educational uniqueness. Similar to Antioch's BoT, the administration of Antioch was an active and crucial supporter of Antioch College's decision to expand.

Lastly, to help answer the question of how Antioch's values influenced its decision to expand, I address the values of the faculty. Adding to this growing surge of potential students, Dixon felt that Antioch "had more energy than it could use; the energy was either going to leave, be used, or the place was going to blow up" (Dixon E. M., 1991, p. 204). Several faculty members left Yellow Springs to conduct research in places like Hawaii (Mickey McLeery) and San Francisco (Joe McFarland) (Interviewee #3, 2011). One interviewee reflected, "I believe that [there] were a number of individuals on the Antioch College campus who were growing restless" (Interviewee #1, 2010, p. 2). Part of the restlessness was a desire to be more involved with the societal changes of the 1960s (Interviewee #1, 2010). Another component of the restlessness that was felt by faculty were the demographic changes that were taking place coupled with an interest in applying Antioch's shared governance philosophy and principles with the new demographics (Interviewee # 10, 2011). The restlessness that the interviewee speaks to

seems to have been the major impetus for faculty to leave Yellow Springs. One faculty member's restlessness led to the decision to start Antioch's primary western network campus - Joe McFarland's decision to start what grew into Antioch West in San Francisco, California (Interviewee #11, 2011).

In 1970 Joe McFarland, a psychology professor at Antioch College, received grant money from the Ford Foundation through the University Without Walls (UWW) and the Department of Education (Interviewee #11, 2011). The UWW was a program that grew out of Antioch's association with Sam Baskin and the Union for Research and Experimentation in Higher Education (UREHE) and Project Changeover. Project Changeover was funded by a 1967 Kettering grant that focused on assisting faculty members who were developing new methods of teaching (Hendra & Harris, 2002). Building upon the ideas and goals of Project Changeover, Baskin at the UREHE implemented UWW. Some basic goals of UWW were the inclusion of a broad range of persons beyond the usual college-going age; students, staff and faculty collaborating in the development of the local UWW unit; flexible time units to earn degree credits; the use of adjunct faculty and community persons for teaching; and, the recognition that students learn from their own firsthand experiences (Hendra & Harris, 2002).

In February 1971 McFarland and Antioch President James Dixon pitched their idea to AdCil. Dixon believed that establishing an Antioch center in San Francisco would strengthen Antioch in four ways. First, the new center would add educational opportunities for Antioch students. Second, San Francisco allowed Antioch to study the advantages of institutional growth. Third, the addition of an Antioch center in San Francisco increased the College's liquidity by providing access to new students and their

tuition dollars. Fourth, the center assisted in determining less costly educational opportunities for individuals interested in attending Antioch College (Administrative Council, 1971). AdCil supported McFarland and Dixon's proposal to begin an Antioch center in San Francisco on a 5-2-2 vote (Administrative Council, 1971). The AdCil vote to approve the San Francisco campus showed the beginnings of the doubt and unease felt by the faculty on the Yellow Springs campus regarding Antioch's burgeoning network of satellite campuses.

While most faculty members did not share the same levels of expansionary zeal or ambitions for something more than Yellow Springs like McLeery and McFarland did, evidence suggests that faculty were supportive of Antioch's original expansion. Faculty were members of the quasi governing body known as Administrative Council (AdCil). AdCil first discussed the possibility of Antioch College acquiring The Putney Graduate School in April 1963. A study committee was established by AdCil members composed of Fred Klein, Ben Thompson and Polly Weaver (all Antioch faculty members) to research the acquisition proposal and report back to the administration and governing body. Their report was submitted to AdCil in September 1963. The report recommended that Antioch accept the offer from Putney's board of trustees, based upon Antioch's education department's support for such an endeavor and Antioch's faculty support for granting Masters Degrees (Klein & Thompson, 1963). The faculty members reported to AdCil that the "Education Department of Antioch indicates wholehearted support of this experiment" (Thompson & Klein, 1963, p. 1). The faculty members who authored the report believed that this would allow Antioch College to be on the cutting edge of educational programs and become a pioneer in graduate education (Thompson & Klein,

1963). AdCil voted to accept the acquisition of the Putney Graduate School in October, 1963 and begin Antioch College's expansion.

Faculty members on AdCil also voted to support the Antioch-Columbia center four years after the acquisition of Putney (1967). They were intrigued and supported the argument of the experimental financing of private liberal arts colleges which Rouse was proposing to donate (the land for the campus and the infrastructure to the proposed campus) to help create Antioch-Columbia. This new Antioch campus would not replicate building a private liberal arts campus that is isolated (like it is in Yellow Springs), but by creating a campus close to urban and suburban cities. Antioch faculty wanted to be on the forefront of educational experimentation and Antioch-Columbia allowed them to be out front. Faculty wanted to study and experience the symbiotic relationship between the Antioch-Columbia campus and the Columbia community to be experienced and understand how the relationships between the community and the College could develop (Administrative Council, 1968). A branch campus in Columbia would permit an examination of Antioch's ideas, instructional delivery, and governance structure that could not be accomplished in Yellow Springs. Proponents of Antioch-Columbia on AdCil (faculty members) believed that the risk of \$100,000 was entirely worth taking because of these perceived benefits.

Antioch College's faculty, at the beginning of the institutional expansion, supportive of the growth of the College. Some faculty on the Antioch campus in Yellow Springs had begun to experience the shift from old institutionalism principles of being rooted in the local environment and whose primary affiliation was with the institution, to new institutionalism principles of becoming more affiliated with their disciplines. This

acted as a catalyst for their support of expansion. As with Antioch's BoT and administration, the faculty of Antioch believed in the education uniqueness of Antioch. This belief in the institutional saga that was developed, cultivated and maintained at the institution provided faculty with the desire to support and participate in Antioch's expansion.

As is evidenced by the findings, Antioch's values heavily influenced their decision to expand the College. Antioch's institutional saga and its belief in its own educational uniqueness contributed to Antioch's expansion. At each level of Antioch College's organizational hierarchy were individuals who advocated for expansion because of the perceived values of the College when the decisions to expand were being made.

RQ#2 How did Antioch's values influence how it expanded?

The size, scope, and speed of Antioch's expansion shocked many Antioch stakeholders (Interviewee # 4). University of Michigan organizational researchers, hired by Antioch's BoT to study the governance of Antioch's growing network of campus centers, were surprised to see that Antioch had no clear direction of where it was going and no concrete idea from whence it came (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971).

The values of Antioch's BoT changed from having expansionary institutional goals, to concern for institutional finance and governance because of the expansion. AdCil, the primary institutionalized means of shared governance, suffered because of the expansion. The legitimacy of their claim to being the shared governance body of Antioch College was questioned and new governing bodies were established to better reflect the changing status of Antioch College: GradCil and Antioch College Council.

Following the acquisition of the Putney Graduate School of Education, the proliferation of graduate education centers began. The expansion caused considerable strain on the governing structure of AdCil. Faculty and students on the Yellow Springs campus were eligible to serve as members of AdCil when replacements were needed. As the expansion of campuses grew and developed, so did the desires and wishes of those who found themselves in the graduate and undergraduate centers to be represented on AdCil. Because AdCil was the academic governing body for the whole system, but with representatives solely selected from the Yellow Springs campus, there was a growing chorus of individuals calling for a more equitable solution. To this end, GradCil was established in September, 1968. According to Roy Fairfield, the first director of Antioch-Putney, GradCil was a mixture of legislative, executive and judicial authority for the Antioch Graduate School of Education (Fairfield, 1970). GradCil appears to have been an advisory body to the BoT that discussed and helped develop policy on curriculum, finances and student judicial matters (Fairfield, 1970). The composition of GradCil was two faculty members and two students from each center within the AGSE (Fairfield, 1970). At that time there were five AGSE centers located in Putney, Washington DC, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Yellow Springs.

Early on in the tenure of GradCil, meetings were infrequent, possibly due to the geographic dispersion of the AGSE centers. GradCil had difficulties with governing the AGSE because each independent center had its own governance structure in place. Interestingly, GradCil continued operating as a governing body for the AGSE following the adoption of the Antioch College Council in 1972, which was to replace GradCil and is discussed later in this paper. Jim Clark, director of Antioch-Putney, in a memo to his

fellow AGSE center directors, lamented the limited decision-making ability granted to GradCil (Clark J. , 1974). Clark's memo to fellow AGSE center directors was dated in January 1974, two years following the amended College charter. GradCil was dissolved with the closing of the AGSE in 1976 and its assigned centers were realigned with Antioch East and Antioch West.

In 1971 the BoT was well aware of the difficulty in governing the growing Antioch system. The board asked University of Michigan faculty members Robert Kahn and Marvin Peterson, along with Ph.D. student David Dill, to study the governance problems of Antioch College and submit a report to the board of trustees. These consultants submitted their report to the BoT at its annual meeting in May, 1971. The consultants noted that the Antioch system "as now constituted is undoubtedly one of the most complex small organizations we have ever seen" (Warren W. H., 1971, p. 52). One problem of Antioch, as they saw it, was that it was now a system, and strong and divergent feelings about the system existed (Warren W. H., 1971). They noted four specific issues within the Antioch system that should be addressed: academic coordination problems, governance problems, lack of a formal recognition and process for system-wide growth, and financial concerns. Based on my data, Antioch College did not have these problems prior to expansion.

The consultants indicated that academic coordination problems related to process and personalities had arisen. Academic faculty in Yellow Springs felt like they were not being consulted on the development of curriculum and course design taking place at the centers within the network (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971). This concern was augmented when faculty complained that, without their input and academic oversight, the Antioch

degree was being cheapened and their prestige as a liberal arts institution was weakening (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971). Personnel issues involving tenure, salary equity and competition for students among the centers existed (Warren W. H., 1971). Faculty in Yellow Springs were growing increasingly uncomfortable that some newly hired faculty members in the Washington-Baltimore campus were earning higher salaries than were long-time tenured faculty in Yellow Springs (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971).

The University of Michigan consultants further admonished Antioch's BoT for permitting the expansion to develop in such a manner that did not provide for formal recognition and processes for system-wide growth (Kahn, Peterson & Dill, 1971). Antioch had not anticipated, nor planned for, how the network campuses would participate in the shared governance body (AdCil). The expanded Antioch system did not allow for the community governance model that was prevalent at the flagship campus in Yellow Springs. Antioch prized itself on the value of shared governance. Shared governance was evidenced by the participation that AdCil had in governing the institution. The network campuses begin to clamor for their ability to participate in AdCil. However, AdCil members did not want to allow membership from outside of Antioch College in Yellow Springs. One reason why AdCil did not want to allow members from outside of Yellow Springs, was their belief that the educational quality and the adherence to community governance of the network campuses was not on par with the flagship campus in Yellow Springs (Interviewee #14). AdCil still wanted to function as the governing/advisory body to the Antioch BoT for the entire institution, with membership only from Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. This left many Antioch stakeholders uneasy and desiring a new direction.

Recognizing the evolving complexity of the institution, Antioch BoT authorized an amendment to the College charter in May, 1972 that allowed for a system-wide governance strategy. The amended College charter appeared to reflect the goals and operations of the “Federal Model” presented by University of Michigan researchers Kahn, Peterson and Dill (1971). The BoT was concerned that all campuses and affiliated units within the Antioch system were not properly represented, so they created the Antioch College Council (ACC). The ACC replaced AdCil, which was functioning solely on the College campus. The responsibilities of AdCil, namely to select members to the Antioch BoT and advise the president, were transferred to the newly created College Council. The amended Antioch College charter mandated that a smaller body and executive committee be established with members chosen from and by the ACC. The purpose of the executive committee was to function in the interim between regular meetings of the Antioch College Council as an ongoing advise and consent body to the president of Antioch (Dixon J. P., 1972).

ACC would also be larger than AdCil. Each campus within the Antioch system was to elect representatives to the ACC from amongst its faculty, students and administration (Dixon J. P., 1972). The College was allotted twelve representatives to the ACC. The centers of Washington-Baltimore, the Law School and the Graduate School of Education were each allotted six representative members. All other affiliated units, as a combined group, were allowed six members. This formula allowed for 36 members on the ACC, 33% of whom came from the College. The executive committee of the ACC was made up of four representatives from the College and two each from the Washington-Baltimore center, the Law School, and the Graduate School of Education.

All other affiliated units as a group had two seats on the executive committee (Dixon J. P., 1972). The BoT also established that each campus would have an elected Campus Council, constituted by the faculty, students and staff of the campus or unit they represented (Dixon J. P., 1972). Each Campus Council would be responsible for electing the ACC representatives from its respective campuses or units.

The amended Antioch College Charter stipulated that the administration and governance of each campus within the system would be the responsibility of the individual campuses and network centers. An administrator for each campus, appointed by the president of Antioch College, would be responsible for the general management of that campus. The Campus Council, however would need to concur with the president's selection of that campus dean/director (Dixon J. P., 1972). The Campus Council would advise the administrator of the campus similar to the function of AdCil prior to the newly amended charter.

Antioch College Council functioned for only four years, from 1972-1976. The network campus leaders had advocated for a "one unit one vote" representative system for the entire Antioch network (Newman, 1976, p. 7). While the newly amended College Charter stipulated the prescribed number of votes and who possessed them, many within the network felt this was not a representative system. Proponents for "one unit one vote" felt that the College should have one vote, Antioch West should have one vote, and Antioch-Philadelphia should have one vote and so on. Appealing to the governance committee for help, this group comprised of campus and center deans and directors convinced the committee of the need to change the course/intent of the Antioch College

Charter of 1972. The proponents felt that the College had too large of a voting bloc and wanted equal representation.

One interviewee believed the change was initiated because the College had such a large proportion of the representatives on the Council that they developed an “unbeatable voting block” in decision-making power and authority (Interviewee #3, p. 10). On the other hand, BoT members felt that ACC was impeding the ability of the BoT to deal with Antioch as a whole unit. ACC forced the BoT to deal with each unit separately rather than as part of the Antioch system (Tulis, 1976). As a result, the BoT agreed to the removal of the ACC from the Antioch College Charter at their May meeting in Washington, D.C. in 1976 and, hence, AdCil remained responsible only for the College campus governance (Tulis, 1976). Following Dixon’s dismissal and William Birenbaum’s (Dixon’s successor), closing of network centers, the impetus for a more representative College Council waned but did not disappear.

Early in his administration, Birenbaum outlined in a December 6, 1976 memo³ to College trustees, administrators and faculty that he was establishing three special system-wide Presidential Commissions: Commission I was to focus on development issues;⁴ Commission II was tasked with the evaluation and consolidation of the network campuses; and, Commission III was responsible for investigating the coordination and cooperation among units. Commission II was headed by a distinguished political scientist from the University of Minnesota system, G. Theodore Mitau. The Mitau Commission, as it came to be known, provided critical evaluations of Antioch-Los Angeles, Antioch-

³ The researcher has been unable to locate this memo; however, it is referenced in several of the Commission reports and in official Board of Trustee minutes

⁴ No information was found on Commission I

Maryland, Antioch-Philadelphia, and Antioch-Juarez-Lincoln. The Mitau Commission reported to Birenbaum that the perceived uniqueness of each of the centers within the network was not as real as they thought. The commission warned Birenbaum that, unless steps were taken to better regulate and govern these campuses, serious academic and institutional credibility issues could arise. The commission suggested that the president and the BoT strengthen the administrative management of the campuses within the network.

Commission III was charged to investigate network governance and was headed by Antioch alumnus and renowned Yale political science professor David Apter, also known as the Apter Commission. The Apter Commission proposed to the BoT four models of system governance to accomplish the goal of turning the Antioch network into a more effective national college/university (Apter, 1977). This commission appears to have rehashed the same issues and provided nearly identical input and suggestion as the University of Michigan consultants hired earlier.

The first model, termed the Oxbridge-Ivy League model, emphasized individual scholars. Faculty would not be affiliated with a department. Students would pick a faculty member with whom to study rather than a major with which to graduate. While this model had the highest degree of academic freedom, it was an elitist model of education replicated in Oxford and Cambridge (Apter, 1977). The second model was similar to the University of California and State University of New York systems, the architects of which - Clark Kerr and Algo Henderson - were closely tied to Antioch College. These two models provided a hierarchical university structure that allowed for an education to all who desired. Critics at that time argued that these two structures were

too bureaucratic and hierarchical to allow for the needed flexibility of a large national college/university (Apter, 1977).

The third model is based upon the “Old Antioch” model of a utopian intellectual community. Under this proposal, participatory democracy was crucial in the decision-making and administration of Antioch. Too many complexities, which included a national university, distance between campuses, and difficulty communicating between stakeholders, would not allow for Antioch’s community governance system to be implemented outside of Yellow Springs (Apter, 1977).

The Apter Commission proposed a fourth model that would be a combination of the three previously mentioned. The commission accepted the principles of academic freedom, recognized a multi-campus system of Antioch, and respected the autonomy of the network centers (Apter, 1977). The commission determined this pluralistic model, which incorporated the College, Antioch School of Law, Antioch East and Antioch West, along with the Antioch Graduate School of Education was best suited to serve Antioch in Yellow Springs and throughout the United States. In addition to this model, Apter suggested that more student and faculty exchanges should take place between the network campuses and the College to help bring a sense of unity and cooperation between all stakeholders within Antioch (Apter, 1977). The changes to Antioch’s governance were not the only changes. Antioch’s expansion also stressed Antioch’s finances by placing additional administrative burdens and lax tuition collecting on the small endowment. Each year Antioch was precariously perched on the precipice of financial disaster.

While Antioch College was never on sound financial footing, the College declared bankruptcy several times (Birenbaum, 1979), and the nationwide expansion exacerbated the financial difficulties the College faced. One constant challenge faced by Antioch was the difficulty that the College had about fundraising and collecting tuition dollars from students (Interviewee # 12). For example, in FY 1969-70 the AGSE had to write off \$25,385 in student accounts at Antioch Putney that were judged by College personnel to be uncollectible from students (Antioch Putney Financial Results, 1963). In addition to the unease with which Antioch approached fundraising, Antioch's reputation was to live beyond its means in almost all aspects. "Antioch never lived in its clothes" (Interviewee #11, p. 10). Birenbaum believed that the "pursuit of high ideals with inadequate resources frames one of the persistent moral issues attending liberal behavior in our country. Such behavior remains a moral issue at Antioch" (Birenbaum, 1979, p. 1). The reckless abandonment Birenbaum refers to is part of the behavior with which the College and its leaders approached expansion.

When Antioch began its network expansion in the mid-1960s, its exceptionally small endowment was valued at \$5.5 million (Birenbaum, 1979), nothing compared to the large endowments of prestigious and influential liberal arts schools like Oberlin and Swarthmore (Interviewee #4). While Antioch's endowment was small, questions have arisen as to why more of a concentrated effort was not given to secure more endowment. Additionally, Antioch simply did not like "badgering people for money" (Interviewee #5, p. 4). Antioch did not place a priority on collecting and raising money during this time period (demonstrated by lack of fundraising and collection of unpaid student tuition

money). Providing an education for all, regardless of their ability to pay proved to be problematic and unrealistic for the College (Interviewee #5, 2011).

Because of their small endowment, Antioch was largely dependent on student tuition revenues to finance the operation of the College. Nearly eighty percent of the College's revenues were raised through tuition money (Birenbaum, 1979). Antioch's dependence on tuition dollars placed it dangerously close to a financial cliff if any enrollment declines were experienced. The College reached and fell over the proverbial cliff in 1972-73 when the devastating student strikes crippled the Yellow Springs campus. Antioch College developed a program in the late 1960s/early 1970s called the Antioch Program for Interracial Education, later changed to New Directions (Dixon, 1991). The goal of New Directions was to increase the enrollment of minority and low-income students at Antioch. These students were heavily dependent on federal financial aid programs (Interviewee #3). President Richard Nixon wanted to reduce funding for financial aid which affected the New Directions program. The students affiliated with the New Directions program were heavily dependent on federal financial aid. Without the federal aid, the majority would not be able to continue to attend Antioch. The students in New Directions wanted Antioch to guarantee their financial aid for the duration of their education and Antioch could not make that guarantee (Dixon, 1991). When Antioch could not guarantee their funds, New Direction students and other students at Antioch paddle locked campus buildings and picketed at Antioch College campus entrances effectively closing down the campus for (Interviewee #3). Students vandalized and held the campus hostage for six-weeks. Dixon was unwilling to end the strike because he felt that administrators should not negotiate with students (Dixon, 1991). Antioch students

petitioned the courts to end the strike. The Greene County Sheriff's Office broke the strike in May, 1973 (Dixon, 1991). The strike reduced enrollment numbers by fifty percent in a few short months (Birenbaum, 1979). "While the network expansion was certainly ill-timed, the strikes comprised the single most devastating blow to the fiscal life of the College in its history" (Birenbaum, 1979, p. 1). Following the strikes, in order to meet the obligations of the College and University system, Antioch liquidated nearly 25% of their modest endowment and mortgaged the balance of the endowment for bank loans (Birenbaum, 1979). Antioch relied heavily on short-term and long-term borrowing as needed (Duffy, 1977). The borrowing continued throughout the next ten years. Antioch would borrow money to repay loans taken out the prior year; when the new loans were due, Antioch would borrow to pay them. This cycle continued to spiral out of control until several lending institutions refused to loan any more money to Antioch until it developed a debt repayment plan (Parsons, 1979). In order to keep the banks at bay when the mortgage was due, Antioch turned to one generous benefactor, Leo Drey.

Drey, a wealthy landowner in Missouri, was on Antioch's BoT during the Birenbaum administration. He was also an Antioch alumnus and had a daughter attending Antioch during the difficult times following Dixon's dismissal. The story is told that Drey and his wife were visiting the College campus during Bob Levin's time as interim administrator. Sitting down for lunch in the cafeteria, the Dreys happened to sit next to Levin who seemed detached as Drey's wife lamented the poor physical state of the campus. After returning to Missouri, Drey called Levin to see if he was all right. Levin made an offhand remark that all would be well if he only had an extra million dollars.

After a brief silence, Drey responded that he could get a couple hundred thousand dollars together after the weekend (Guskin, 1998).

This example highlights the challenges faced by Antioch. First, Drey was an alumnus of the College, and not one person at the institution was aware of the wealth that one of their former students had accumulated. Second, because of the ineptitude of Antioch's development department, Drey was not asked prior to this if he would be interested in donating and developing some method of planned giving. Another example occurred during an intense trustee meeting in 1979 when a lively discussion about the possibility of Antioch declaring bankruptcy took place. Drey asked the board chair for the amount of money it would take to keep Antioch out of bankruptcy. The board chair replied that \$750,000 would be required to keep the bank from foreclosing on Antioch's endowment and to prevent Antioch from declaring bankruptcy. Without much thought, Drey agreed to donate \$750,000 (Interviewee #15). Drey continued to support Antioch financially throughout the 1980s. Without his generous support, Antioch would have succumbed to the financial realities it faced following the debilitating strikes of 1973. Antioch President Emeritus Alan Guskin estimates that Leo Drey contributed over twenty million dollars to Antioch (Guskin, 1998).

Costs were difficult to control at the College in Yellow Springs. Staff and faculty reflected the high enrollment numbers before the strikes. Nearly 78% of faculty were tenured and could not be let go without declaring financial exigency at the College. The BoT finance committee estimated that in 1977 it would take eight to ten years to reflect the necessary decrease in faculty to mirror current enrollment numbers (Duffy, 1977). Four years later, Birenbaum reported to the BoT that the faculty-student ratio at Antioch

College was 1:6 (Rosenfeld, 1981). During this time period the national norm for faculty-student ratio was 1:12. Antioch's BoT met in executive session in San Francisco in October 1983 to discuss a plan to reorganize the faculty and curriculum at the College. One goal of this committee was to reduce the faculty members at the College from 63 to 45 (Parsons, Executive Session, Antioch Board of Trustees, 1983). This goal was partially realized and reported later to the BoT educational affairs committee that through voluntary retirements and departures, the faculty of the College now stood at fifty (Parsons, Educational Affairs Committee Minutes, 1983). However, fixed costs, including faculty and staff salaries and the physical plant, continued to cause considerable strain on the College in Yellow Springs (Interviewee #12). One interview questioned whether the lack of financing available for College maintenance was because of the expenses that additional campuses, created by the expansion, placed on Antioch as an institution (Interviewee #3).

The first expansion campus in Antioch's network was Putney. The acquisition of the Putney Graduate School included a \$25,000 donation from the Putney BoT to help mitigate any financial risk that Antioch College might incur. Following Putney's first year under the umbrella of Antioch, AdCil received a report showing a \$28,075 debt for the graduate school; however, Keeton informed AdCil that Antioch-Putney broke even after three years of deficits (Administrative Council, 1966).

During the early years of the expansion, the network centers were difficult for the College financially. Newly approved centers were often underwritten by central administration for the first two-years (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971). During these years new centers often had difficulty balancing their budgets, and Antioch's central

administration would have to cover the deficit. Central administration was able to cover these costs because each established center in Antioch's network, minus the College, would pay a certain percent of their tuition-derived income to Antioch's central administration as overhead. This percentage could be as high as 20% (Bernay, 1972). The University of Michigan consultants advised the College that, while adding more centers had the potential to bring in greater revenues, the potential for financial collapse also increased.

AdCil approved the establishment of the centers, requiring that they operate financially independent of the College depending solely on the tuition dollars generated at their institution. The centers believed that since they paid a large portion of their tuition-generated income to the College for overhead and administration, they should have access to Antioch's endowment if they came up short (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971). The centers also reasoned that because they were sanctioned by AdCil and approved by Antioch's BoT, they were very much a part of Antioch as the College was, and had as much legal claim to the endowment as the College did. The College believed that only it had the sole ability to draw upon the endowment if needed (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971).

In addition to the question of who had access to endowment funds, questions regarding fundraising were paramount. If San Francisco received unrestricted funds through gifts or donations, did San Francisco keep the money or did it become centralized within Antioch's system and dispersed to whatever unit of the system was in need? Was the money raised by the College in Yellow Springs, with its vast alumni network, allowed to stay specifically with the College, or did it become part of the pooled

of money that was fundraised? These questions illustrate the problems mentioned earlier about the lack of clear understanding and delineation of the responsibilities and relationships within Antioch's system (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971).

It was noted in interviews with individuals associated with Antioch during their expansion (Interviewee #7, 2010, Interviewee# 13, 2010; Interviewee #12, 2011,) that several of Antioch's centers were not diligent in collecting tuition dollars from their students. This lack of diligence jeopardized their ability to balance their individual budgets, requiring the centers to ask Antioch's central administration for help (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971). It should be noted that this was not the case with every network center. Some centers accumulated huge financial reserves that were turned over to the Antioch network in addition to their required financial commitments (Kahn, Peterson, & Dill, 1971).

Antioch College struggled to collect tuition dollars from students who enrolled. Antioch had difficulties with fundraising, not realizing the wealth that their alumni had accumulated during their lifetimes. Both of these examples illustrate the unease which Antioch dealt with their finances. One could argue that the values that Antioch espoused were altruistic, focusing on providing educational opportunities to all, regardless of their ability to pay. One could also argue that Antioch did not focus on building relationships with their alumni for fundraising purposes, they were interested in developing relationships with new students and on increasing Antioch's reach across the country. Because of this, Antioch was not focused as they should on developing relationships with alumni who could provide financial support.

Before the Antioch expansion, the shared governance of Antioch College was legendary. The desire to maintain shared governance, which worked so well for one location (Yellow Springs, Ohio) was not sustainable for a nationwide university system.

The values Antioch College affected how the institution viewed the Antioch belief of education for all. The value of education for all, regardless of ability to pay, was brought into stark relief against the realities of financing a growing university system that required additional administrators and greater infrastructure. Antioch's lack of a formal system of rules (Selznick, 1957) exacerbated the problems of a nation-wide university system. The historical saga (Clark, 1972) of community governance was evaluated and changed several times to accommodate the growth of Antioch. The financial problems of Antioch grew because of their expansionary growth. The expansion of Antioch adversely affected more than the institution. It affected the organizational structure, the informal rules and the historical saga that were built prior the 1963 and the start of the expansion.

RQ#3 Why did Antioch's expansion fail?

Antioch stakeholders' (for the purposes of this dissertation are identified as BoT members, Antioch administrators, Antioch faculty, Antioch staff, Antioch students, Antioch Alumni and residents living in Yellow Springs, Ohio) struggled with Antioch's expansion. Once the expansion was completed, and the individual administrators who oversaw the expansion had left Antioch, a concerted effort was expended to pare down the institution to make it more manageable and aligned with new institutionalism principles (stability and conformity).

The history of the expansion of Antioch College was led primarily by four campuses, or network centers outside of Yellow Springs: Antioch-Putney; San Francisco;

Philadelphia; and, Columbia, Maryland. These four centers were important because of their role in the expansion. Additionally, these campuses were the outlying core centers from which other network centers evolved. Also included is a brief discussion of the Antioch School of Law in Washington, D.C. Antioch-Putney became the headquarters for the Antioch Graduate School of Education (AGSE). San Francisco was the genesis for Antioch West. Columbia evolved into the Washington-Baltimore campus and Antioch East.⁵

From these centers the proliferation of Antioch-affiliated units would cover the country.⁶ Antioch administration struggled with how to credential these “sub-units” (Warren W. H., *Credentialing of Subunits*, 1971). Faculty, students and alumni began to pressure College BoT and administrators to stop the expansion (Interviewee #3). Bill Warren, an academic administrator at Antioch, suggested that the College could credential its sub-units to offer Antioch credit three ways. First, Antioch credit could be extended to the network campuses if Antioch had institutional control of the faculty appointments in the centers within the network. Second, the center directors within the network could secure from the College faculty in Yellow Springs certification of the students’ work in the centers. Third, Antioch could vest in the center directors the power held by the dean of faculty at the College in Yellow Springs, meaning the authority to assign faculty to one-year appointments that could be ratified by AdCil (Warren W. H., *Credentialing of Subunits*, 1971). This highlights the concern that Antioch administrators had in the augmentation of the centers within the Antioch system and their ability to govern and manage these centers. While some administrative work was done to better

⁵ Morris Keeton, the academic mind behind the expansion, relocated to Columbia to head that center

⁶ See timeline of network centers in the Appendix G

regulate and provide governance to the growing number of Antioch centers, no consistent effort to oversee these centers took place until after Dixon's dismissal as president.

Some regulatory governing bodies began to scrutinize Antioch's educational centers. Texas took the most decisive action against Antioch. The four Antioch education graduate programs in Texas known as Juarez-Lincoln (Austin, Mission, Corpus Christi and San Antonio) ran into trouble in 1979 when the Texas Education Commissioner, Alton Bowen, decided not to credential Antioch graduates to teach in Texas because of accreditation concerns about the primary location of Antioch University. The Texas centers closed in October 1979. Antioch University filed a lawsuit over the education commissioner's decision and was awarded \$65,000 by the courts for damages done to the institution. By then, however, the damage was done. The Birenbaum administration decided against trying to reopen the centers. Bowen had done Birenbaum's administration a favor by allowing Birenbaum to blame the education commission for the closure of the graduate centers in Texas, instead of acknowledging the need to rein-in the growth and address the ungovernable institution that Antioch had become (Miller, 2012).

The Denver center continued with the Juarez-Lincoln focus of educating Mexican-American teachers while operating under the auspices of Antioch West. Antioch administrators, however, decided to close the Denver center in 1983 because of low enrollment numbers and a budget deficit. Linda Dunne, provost of Antioch West, argued that closing Denver was in the best interest of the university because of academic and fiscal pressures, the geographic isolation of Denver, and the inability of Antioch West and the University to continue to support the Denver center (Dunne, 1982). At the

time, Antioch West was comprised of centers along the Pacific coast of the United States. Denver was geographically distant from these centers which made oversight and governance difficult. Furthermore, the Denver center's focus on serving Mexican-American students was unique in Antioch West. The problems in the Denver center were symptomatic of Antioch's inability to deal with the majority of their newly created campuses. Their geographic isolation and cultural differences made it difficult not only to govern, but also to understand the cultural fabric of the individual campuses and centers.

With the dissolution of both Antioch West and Antioch East, the networks that reported to both entities began reporting directly to Antioch administrators in Yellow Springs. San Francisco was one of the final network campuses to be closed, which it did in 1989 due to its lack of substantial financial resources. Antioch then entered into an articulation agreement with the New College of California for students to be admitted, enrolled and advised by New College faculty and staff. Although it closed more than three decades ago, remnants of Antioch West still remain in the current Antioch University system, as three of the five Antioch University campuses originated within Antioch West: Los Angeles, Seattle and Santa Barbara.

Antioch-Philadelphia was originally designed to be separate and independent of the Antioch Graduate School of Education that was operating in Philadelphia (Dixon E. M., 1991). However, the graduate and undergraduate operations of Antioch-Philadelphia merged to save money in 1976. Antioch-Philadelphia served an important role in the Philadelphia community educating primarily poor, urban African-Americans (Interviewee #7). Several individuals interviewed raised issues of educational quality at

the Philadelphia center (Interviewee #7, Interviewee #10). The Antioch BoT voted to close Antioch-Philadelphia, along with Antioch-San Francisco, at its June 1988 board meeting. Antioch attempted to affiliate the Philadelphia center with Cheyney State College located in Philadelphia. Cheyney State ran into accrediting issues and Antioch was unable to enter into an articulation agreement with Cheyney. As it became apparent that Antioch-Philadelphia was going to shut down completely, former long-time Antioch-Philadelphia center dean, Dr. David Frisby, led a group to save Antioch-Philadelphia (Interviewee #8). The Frisby group formed the Philadelphia College of Human Services from the former Antioch-Philadelphia. This group attempted unsuccessfully to affiliate the former Antioch-Philadelphia with several institutions. Finally, in 1990 it became affiliated with the Combs College of Music and the new institution was renamed Combs College. The institution fell on hard economic times and closed shortly after the merger between the two institutions.

BoT members were aware that the costs of financing a law school in Washington, D.C. would run from eight to ten million dollars, and the ability to accurately collect and record revenues was an issue at Antioch School of Law. The School of Law was a primary concern of the BoT and its finance committee. In 1977 the BoT finance committee was alarmed at the fiscal management of the law school (Duffy, 1977). During this meeting it was revealed that the School of Law had not collected over \$300,000 of anticipated revenue, but it was recording these dollars as revenue for FY 75-76. Because of commitments to social change and personal values, many of the law school administrators were overlooking their fiduciary responsibility to collect tuition revenues from their students (Taylor, 1987).

The Antioch School of Law was problematic for more than just the financial problems they imposed on the system. The Cahns had initiated new degree programs at Antioch School of Law without the consent of Antioch's BoT (Warren D. L., 1984). Edgar and Jean Cahn were the founders of the Urban Law Institute which was originally affiliated with George Washington University (GWU). They were a politically and socially connected couple in Washington D.C. (Interviewee #15). The Cahns approached Antioch about acquiring their law institute when GWU no longer provided affiliation for the school. Then, following Antioch's payless payday in May 1979, the Cahns believed that Antioch was destined for bankruptcy. This caused the Cahns to attempt to secede from the University. (Antioch did not have enough financial liquidity to pay employees or creditors in May, 1979. It was known as Black Friday and sent shock waves throughout the institution. Birenbaum negotiated a repayment plan with employees where Antioch paid them their missed wages over a fifteen-month time span at three percent interest (Warren D.L., 1984).) The Cahns withheld \$1.5 million in tuition from the University to help support their anticipated new institution (Warren D. L., 1984). Following several directives from Antioch administrators to release the \$1.5 million in tuition dollars, University officials notified banks in Washington, D.C. to freeze all Antioch School of Law accounts. The banks complied with Antioch's directives (Warren D. L., 1984), and the Cahns petitioned the courts to allow the law school to secede from the Antioch system.

The court decision would set precedence for other units within Antioch that were contemplating separating from the network. A former faculty member at Antioch-Putney (AGSE) related that center directors and administrators throughout the Antioch system

had thought about the possibility of seceding from the Antioch network because of perceived mismanagement and financial problems (Interviewee #2). After more than two-months of testimony, the district court ruled that the trustees of Antioch University “were the proper fiduciaries and final governors of the affairs of the law school” (Warren D. L., 1984, p. 98). With this ruling the district court stamped out any hope that other units within Antioch’s system would have the ability to declare their independence from the College and the network system. While some within the network believed that a positive ruling for the Cahns would be a signal that they too could separate from the network, the affirmation of the powers by the district court of Antioch’s president and BoT effectively ended any further discussion about severing ties with Antioch College. Furthermore, the ruling cemented the need to dismiss the Cahns from the law school they helped to found.

Following the Cahns’ dismissal in early 1980, the Antioch School of Law went through a protracted legal fight with the American Bar Association (ABA) over accreditation. The coercive pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) to improve facilities, applied by the ABA on Antioch were a decisive factor in closing the law school. The ABA had concerns about the law school’s focus on clinical training for prospective lawyers, low LSAT scores, and inadequate classroom and library space (Interviewee #11). The entering class at the law school in 1985 had the lowest admission test scores in the school’s history, compounding Antioch School of Law problems with the ABA (Taylor, 1987). An Antioch Administrator estimated the costs to bring the law school into compliance with ABA demands alone would cost Antioch over eight million dollars (Guskin, 1998). For FY 1984-85, the school again overspent its budget by \$300,000

(Taylor, 1987). In 1985, shortly after Guskin assumed the presidency of Antioch, he recommended to the BoT that they close the Antioch School of Law. This was met with widespread disagreement by Antioch School of Law students, faculty and alumni, along with several members of the BoT. Many questioned the need to close down what was considered by many the “crown jewel” of Antioch’s expansive system (Guskin, 1998). BoT members and law school alumni pledged to help raise the estimated \$35 million needed to bring the law school into compliance and help establish it on a stronger financial foundation (Interviewee #7). During the prescribed eight months for raising money, however, only \$35,000 was pledged or raised and the BoT voted in May 1986 to shutter the Antioch School of Law (Interviewee #7).

The Antioch School of Law officially closed in June 1988 after graduating 81 members of its final class. In 1988 Antioch School of Law alumni numbered more than 1,500. Following Antioch’s decision to close the law school in 1986, the Council of District of Columbia passed legislation that created the District of Columbia School of Law (DCSL) from the remains of Antioch School of Law. This legislation mandated that the new law school continue with the mission, curriculum and personnel from Antioch School of Law as much as possible (Columbia, 2012). Ten years after the creation of the DCSL, the Council of District of Columbia proposed that the DCSL be merged with the University of the District of Columbia, and the law school was renamed the David A. Clarke School of Law.

The ambiguity regarding the governance of Antioch University continued long after the recommendations of the Apter Commission and became the impetus for a BoT discussion and proposal of creating a new vision for Antioch’s leadership. At the BoT’s

October 1992 meeting in Seaside, Florida, the board established an ad hoc committee to examine the possibility of bifurcating the role of university president into two positions, University chancellor and College president (Craiglow, 2004). The committee was charged to help initiate the discussion of this plan with the various Antioch constituencies. Committee members traveled to each of the adult campuses and the College to hear the concerns and suggestions from Antioch University stakeholders regarding the proposed restructuring of the University and College leadership. This proposal was twofold: first, the newly created University chancellor would be responsible for the operations of the entire Antioch University system; and second, the College president would be solely responsible for the College. The ad hoc committee recognized it was necessary to split the responsibilities of the University president because of the separate and significant leadership requirements that each position demanded. (Krinsky, 1993)

Also included in the leadership reorganization was the decentralization of University administrative operations. Rather than have a centralized administrative process for all university-wide issues, Guskin and the BoT decided to assign the day-to-day administrative issues to the individual campuses, resulting in a decrease in central administration employees from thirty to eleven (Guskin, 1998). Antioch's goals in the restructuring were to reduce the overhead costs associated with supporting a large central administration and to transition from a hierarchical administrative structure to a more collaborative culture (Guskin, 1998). The campus CEOs would work together as a formal body, the precursor of today's University Leadership Council (ULC), "which was responsible for fulfilling the mission of the University, meeting the policies and

supporting procedures established by the board of trustees, managing the resources of the campuses and the University and upholding and representing the shared values and purposes for which Antioch University stood” (June 2009 HLC/NCA Focused Self-Study, p. 21). The title of Dean at the external campuses was changed to Provost/CEO and Guskin declared this new governance structure as a “federation.”

Antioch continued in its quest to improve the governance of the Antioch University system following the decentralization efforts of the Guskin administration. Under Chancellor Jim Hall in 1998, the title of the campus CEOs was changed to president and each campus was mandated to establish a board of visitors fund-raising body, except the College where the BoT would continue to serve that purpose. As early as 2000, concerns about the effectiveness of the federation model surfaced and the BoT appointed an ad hoc committee of trustees and consultants to examine the concerns and priority issues associated with finance, strategy and leadership. Numerous recommendations came out of the 2001 ad hoc committee deliberations. The Chancellor position in relation to all campuses was strengthened by requiring all campus presidents to report to the chancellor rather than the BoT and the chancellor’s ability to hire and fire campus presidents. The reporting relationship of all campus presidents, including the College, was changed from presidents reporting directly to the BoT to presidents reporting to the BoT through the chancellor. Since the College continued its deficit spending, driving the University toward financial instability, the committee called for a short-term financial stabilization plan while reaffirming the ULC as the University’s administrative team and the need for campus boards of visitors (June 2009 Focused Self-Study).

By the 21st Century, regional accreditation agencies began to assert themselves more into the operations of higher education institutions, applying coercive pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) for Antioch to change. In 2002, Jim Craiglow took the reins as chancellor of Antioch University. That same year, a Higher Learning Commission/North Central Association (HLC/NCA) review team targeted the governance structure of Antioch as problematic and recommended greater clarification of the formal and informal relationships between the University, the College, and the external campuses. In addition, an external review of the College by the Mellon Foundation in October 2004 described the relationships among the University, the College, and the external campuses as ambiguous and the confusion around administrative and board authority to be detrimental to the College's well-being. Organizational legitimacy (Meyer & Scott, 1983) was questioned because of the decline that the flagship (Antioch College) was facing. The board of trustees' response to the NCA and Mellon reports was to form another ad hoc committee in February 2005 known as the Structure Work Group (SWG) composed of trustees and consultants. At the June 2005 BoT meeting, the SWG shared its findings that the governance structure was not the core problem but rather the core challenge in the near term was the success of the plan to renew the College (June 2009 Focused Self-Study).

With Craiglow's departure from the chancellorship in October 2005 and Murdock's appointment as permanent chancellor in May 2006, Murdock identified governance as a continued problem and one that needed to be addressed. This needed attention was validated by a follow-up visit from HLC/NCA, which called for greater clarification in the governance structure as well as the demand that deficit spending cease

at the College. Murdock engaged the services of R. Tom Ingram, president emeritus of the Association of Governing Boards and over a two-year period worked with the BoT and ULC to study the areas of accountability, delegation of authority, roles and responsibilities of the campus boards of visitors, and communication between the board, board chair, and chancellor. A governance task force composed of trustees, the board chair, the chancellor, campus presidents, and the vice chancellor for academic affairs was charged with considering the advantages and disadvantages of the current University system of structure and governance. In the midst of the task force deliberations, circumstances required the closure of the College (declining student enrollment and rising debt) and took the College and its independent minded alumni out of the mix for the consideration of a new governance model. Closure of the College fundamentally changed the University system and changed what was originally envisioned by the task force as a potential governance model (June 2009 Focused Self-Study).

The final task force recommendations called for a significant restructuring of the governance system with the development of individual campus boards of trustees and the establishment of an oversight board of governors (BoG). In November 2008, Antioch's chancellor and board of trustees amended the bylaws of Antioch University. Antioch's board of trustees, which had ultimate authority in the bylaws up to this point, was renamed Antioch Board of Governors (Johnson, 2008). The board of governors was vested with ultimate fiduciary responsibility for the Antioch University Corporation including approval of tuition rates, fees and budgets at the individual campuses (Johnson, 2008). Additionally, among other responsibilities, the BoG was responsible for hiring the university chancellor, other university officers, campus presidents and creating new

degree programs (Johnson, 2008). The academic mission of Antioch University as a whole rested solely with the BoG as well as establishing the strategic mission and priorities of the university. The amended Antioch bylaws (2008) provided for the establishment of separate boards of trustees for the individual campuses within the Antioch University System.

By 2010, all five campuses had functional boards of trustees. Today, the role of the campus boards of trustees is to provide “governance, management, oversight and philanthropic advancement” for the campuses that they serve (Johnson, 2009, p. 4). Ultimate responsibility and governance of the institution rests with the BoG, which delegates authority to the campus boards of trustees. The campus boards of trustees are also integrally involved with the university chancellor and the BoG in the search for and selection of the campus president where the board of trustee serves. Trustees are tasked with the periodic review of the president and the direction of the campus they oversee. All campus budgets, academic changes, physical plant changes and maintenance are to be approved by the campus board of trustees prior to their presentation for consideration by Antioch’s chancellor and BoG.

Faculty voice in the system-wide governance structure was addressed when Chancellor Murdock appointed a task force charged to design and recommend an academic council with campus faculty representation. In February 2012, the BoG approved the formation of the University Academic Council (UAC), a unique system-wide academic body calling for membership composed of campus faculty representatives and the chief academic officers from each campus to be co-chaired by a faculty member

and the vice-chancellor of academic affairs. The purview of the UAC is to review and recommend to the chancellor and BoG system-wide academic policies and procedures.

In summary, governance during and after the expansion period reflects changes in structure that were more reactive to the institutional pressures of a large, multi-campus system than proactive to accommodate the rather chaotic growth of the system. The lack of clarity in the roles and responsibilities within the administrative structure were compounded by a historical commitment and presence of a “community governance” model. Initially, AdCil’s involvement in the College decision-making process was well established at the time of its review and approval of the adoption of Antioch-Putney in 1964. However, the unexpected proliferation of numerous Antioch-Putney satellite centers’, eventually evolving into the Antioch Graduate School of Education (AGSE), and their demand for representation required the board of trustees to resolve the conflict by creating GradCil in 1968. GradCil operated as an advisory body to the BoT while AdCil continued to function. Further expansion of the centers beyond AGSE increased the complexity of community voice and representation, compelling the BoT in 1971 to commission a study of the entire governance structure by a group of consultants from the University of Michigan. The consultants sent a strong message that for the Antioch network to be sustainable changes in the governance structure were essential. Dixon responded to the oversight issues by adopting components of the consultants’ concept of a “Federal Model” and consolidating the various centers into Antioch East, Antioch West, Antioch College, and the AGSE. He addressed the community governance issue by replacing AdCil’s purview over the system with a more representative Antioch College Council (ACC) in 1972. Although ACC functioned until 1976, adding to the

complexity of the situation during this period was the advent of the Antioch School of Law and its own board of trustees, the continued operation of GradCil, the 1973 College strike, and the addition of new centers. Dissatisfaction by both the BoT and the educational centers with the ACC functionality allowed for its dissolution by the BoT in 1976 and AdCil's sole responsibility for the College campus.

By 1976, the system was composed of anywhere from 32-35 campuses and centers and with the entering of Birenbaum as the new president came his awareness that order needed to be restored. Questions surrounding the administration, oversight, and academic integrity of the centers were abundant. He immediately established three commissions to study Antioch from which came the Apter and Mitau reports. The Mitau report argued for stronger administrative management of the centers and the Apter report supported Dixon's consolidation efforts and reaffirmed Antioch as a multi-campus system. Although there is ambiguity around the implementation of any specific recommendations from the Apter report, the Mitau report was most likely the impetus for the move to close the majority of the centers over the next nine years.

Guskin's arrival to Antioch in 1985 confirmed the ambiguity present as he declared the system to be in "chaos" and on the brink of collapse. Besides focusing on the deferred maintenance of the College, he faced the closing of the Antioch School of Law and the closure of Antioch-Philadelphia and Antioch-San Francisco, leaving the Seattle, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and New England campuses as functional entities. The Apter Commission report surfaced again at the October 1992 BoT meeting, resulting in an ad hoc committee that examined the bifurcation of the president and chancellor role along with greater decentralization of the University administrative operations. The

federal model did not solve the ills of the College as deficit spending and enrollment declines continued over the years. In turn, the financial stress placed on the other campuses by the College challenged the functionality of the federal model. Outside pressures such as the Mellon report and the NCA/HLC accreditation visits forced the board to strive for a solution to the ongoing governance challenges that plagued the system. More ad hoc committees, studies and recommended changes occurred in 2001, 2005 and finally in 2006-2008⁷. The new governance structure implemented by 2010, with its board of governors and campus boards of trustees, is recognized by all as an experiment because of its uniqueness in higher education system structures and only time will determine its success and sustainability. While the governance of Antioch University evolved and changed to deal with the expansion, College upkeep and maintenance did not.

A visible sign of Antioch's struggle with expansion was apparent in the deferred maintenance of its flagship campus (Miller, 2011). One aspect of new institutionalism is the structural harmony an organization has with other similar organizations (Parsons, 1956). At one time, Antioch was considered to be on par with Reed and Swarthmore (Clark, 1970). While Clark (1970) referred to the distinctive legacies and sagas at the three liberal arts institutions, their collective grouping allowed Antioch a certain level of prestige. Because of the expansion, Antioch was not able to maintain the structural harmony (Parsons, 1956) with similar liberal arts institutions. Sidewalks and grounds on Antioch's Yellow Springs campus were in need of repair. Buildings' roofs were leaking and the condition of the library was outdated (old furniture, lack of modern computers for

⁷ Board of Trustees Ad Hoc Committee (2001); Structure Work Group (2005); Governance Task Force (2006-2008)

usage, all housed in a small, old building needing updating) (Miller, 2011). The old Antioch gym (which has since been updated by Antioch College) was shuttered with visible signs of varmint infestation (Miller, 2011). While colleges and universities were spending millions of dollars to renovate and build new buildings on their campuses to better attract students and faculty (Marcus, 2012), Antioch College was not. The lack of an impressive physical plant led to declining student matriculation numbers (Guskin, 1998). This led to further delegitimizing of Antioch College.

Antioch College, (later changed to Antioch University because of Ohio Board of Regents' mandate [Interviewee #1]) struggled under the pressure placed on it by its stakeholders and coercive pressures by accrediting agencies. Legitimacy issues arose because of its lack of congruence with the liberal arts sector to which Antioch belonged. It addressed these pressures by reducing the number of satellite campuses, by tweaking its governance structure and by shuttering its flagship campus. Antioch was not behaving organizationally like any other liberal arts colleges thereby decreasing their legitimacy (through their expansion and allowing their campus to fall into disrepair). In the end, all of Antioch's maneuvering could not save the flagship campus and Antioch College was closed in 2008.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses key findings from chapter four as well as a description of how the findings are integrated into the conceptual framework patterned after institutional theory concepts of old institutionalism, new institutionalism and the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism. Also included in this chapter is a summary of this work, and implications for future research.

Research Summary

This dissertation was a qualitative research study of the effects of radical change in one higher education institution using institutional theory as the framework for understanding and interpreting the research findings. The research questions for this dissertation were:

1. How did Antioch's values influence its decision to expand?
2. How did Antioch's values influence how it expanded?
3. Why did Antioch's expansion fail?

To answer these questions, data were collected by various methods that included interviewing, document analysis of archival documents and observations at the Antioch College campus in Yellow Springs, Ohio. The interviews consisted of current and former Antioch College Board of Trustee members, Antioch administrators and staff, and Antioch faculty members. Interviews occurred face-to-face and via Skype. Document analysis was accomplished two ways. The first was by visiting and reviewing the documents housed in Antioch's institutional archives. The second was through online access using ImageNow software. Observational data were collected by traveling to Yellow Springs, Ohio and visiting the campus of Antioch College.

Highlights from Findings and Discussion

The influence and role that Antioch's saga (Clark, 1972) played during the College's expansion was evident throughout the interviews and archival document analysis. The individuals interviewed, who were either alumni, former trustees, or former faculty and staff of Antioch, all referred to the Antioch experience. When asked for clarification on the "Antioch experience" the majority referred to the time they spent at Antioch as a transformational time. The transformation that was experienced varied from individuals broadening their horizons, to a paradigm shift in their respective beliefs and values. The "Antioch experience" became part of the institutional saga (Clark, 1972) at Antioch. One interesting aspect of this was the revelation that one did not need to be a student at, or graduated from, Antioch to have an Antioch experience. This was evidenced in the responses from individuals who were not alumni of Antioch. Former administrators, faculty and staff who had not attended, nor graduated from Antioch, still alluded to the experience that they received by being affiliated with an Antioch education.

Institutions that expand because of their perceived unique institutional sagas or educational experiences should proceed towards expansion with caution. Antioch College believed that their educational uniqueness and the experience that students, faculty and staff would have at their network sites were not easily replicated. The saga that Antioch College created was unique to Antioch College in Yellow Springs. The saga did not transfer to Antioch – San Francisco, for example, or other network campuses. Without the loyalty and durability that comes with institutional sagas as referred to by Clark (1972), Antioch expansion campuses worked harder to continue to justify their existence

to Antioch College stakeholders who were questioning their affiliation with Antioch. Without the institutional saga at the network campuses, faculty and staff at the expansion campuses did not have the same loyalty and commitment to Antioch College like the faculty in Yellow Springs had. The institutional saga that was built at Antioch was sufficient to act as a catalyst for expansion, but it was not enough to sustain, and maintain the expansion. The lesson learned here is that institutions should consider the financial and the intangible costs of sustaining and maintaining institutional expansion.

Antioch also fundamentally changed their educational offerings with the expansion. Prior to the beginning of the expansion in 1964 with the acquisition of the Putney School, Antioch was solely focused on granting bachelor degrees. No graduate degrees were offered at Antioch College. When Putney merged with Antioch, Antioch began to offer graduate education and granted master degrees. Expanding into graduate education deviated from the saga that Antioch had developed. By altering the saga in this way, Antioch signaled their shift away from their traditional goals and values. This course deviation put them at odds with the new institutionalism tenet of legitimacy. Other elite liberal arts institutions (the sector to which Antioch belonged) were not granting graduate degrees at that time. This illegitimate change (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996), threatened Antioch's legitimacy within their sector (other liberal arts colleges).

Experiencing an Antioch education (through attending or working at the institution and becoming socialized to Antioch's educational offerings and values) was a catalyst for trustees, administrators, faculty, staff, and students, when considering and approving new educational centers. Stakeholders prided themselves on the unique educational experiences (co-op education, community governance) Antioch provided

students (Interviewee #3, 2011). During Antioch's expansionary era, the educational experiences were enlarged to include educational opportunities for individuals who would not normally experience them (Interviewee # 10, 2011). The interviewee was alluding to the students who would not traditionally attend Antioch College in Yellow Springs. These were identified as inner-city, minority and lower SES students as opposed to the traditional, white, upper-class students that populated Antioch College. This was evidenced in Antioch's decision to acquire the Urban Law Institute from George Washington University that was renamed Antioch School of Law. Antioch School of Law admitted many underprivileged and underrepresented students. This is also expressed by Antioch network campuses opening in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Huntington, West Virginia. By addressing social justice issues (admitting underprivileged and underrepresented students), Antioch began a slow pivot in their institutionalized values from prestigious liberal arts institution towards an institution dedicated to social activism.

Organizations are shaped by their values and goals (Selznick, 1957) and Antioch began to be shaped by the new value of social activism. Social activism can be seen in Antioch's New Directions Program (Dixon, 1991) and network campuses in large cities. Student demographics were changing. More women and minority students sought educational opportunities (Interviewee # 10, 2011). A new group of consumers were in the market for higher education and Antioch was ready to provide them the opportunity for an education. Prior to Antioch's expansion, the goals and values of the College were focused on co-op education and community governance (Clark, 1972). These goals allowed for the College to build a durable and impressive loyalty with alumni and

villagers in Yellow Springs, Ohio. This loyalty was catalyst for the desire to share these educational opportunities with others, especially those whose circumstances did not allow them to attend Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. However, the new goals and values of Antioch did not mesh cleanly with the old, established goals and values.

Correspondingly, the new values and goals did not align with systemic pressures of new institutionalism (legitimacy, persistence, sector alignment, etc.). This created problems that Antioch would confront for the next 45 years. Attempting to alter established values to assist in the expansion of an institution should be avoided. Current institutions that have established values, like Antioch College did when it began its expansion, should be wary of attempting to create, alter and or embrace new values that would aid in expansion efforts. This could lead to organizational destabilization that could ultimately lead to organizational failure like what occurred at Antioch College. Antioch's efforts to create new values that were used to help justify the expansion lead to failure for the institution.

Antioch's administrators shared in the social activism view of taking educational opportunities to those who desired them. Antioch's president during this time was alumnus James Dixon. Dixon was shaped by his experiences at Antioch as a student and these experiences allowed Dixon to consider, and eventually support, the expansion of Antioch College (Dixon, 1991). Dixon embraced chaos and crises, believing that Antioch should be in a continual state of revolution (Grant, 1972). Old institutionalism suggests that change be a constant in the organizational dynamics of an institution (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Dixon exemplified this in his belief that Antioch challenge the status quo of higher education. This internalized view of how institutions should progress was reflected in how Dixon managed the Antioch expansion and his belief that

growth of Antioch was a logical and necessary evolution of the College's development (Dixon E.M., 1991).

Morris Keeton, Academic Vice President of Antioch College, was another administrator who strongly supported Antioch's expansion. Many believe Keeton to be the primary proponent of Antioch's expansion (Interviewee #1, 2010). Keeton believed that liberal arts colleges should diversify and expand their services to students (Keeton & Hilberry, 1968). Keeton's values of students encountering first-hand educational experiences (Keeton & Hilberry, 1968) were projected onto the educational expansion of Antioch. The values for which Keeton advocated, created a structure and rationale for expansion. Selznick believed that organizations are molded by their structures and goals (1949). For Keeton, first-hand educational experiences (students having the opportunity to be on a college campus) were an important part of Antioch's expansion. The goals and vision of Dixon and Keeton changed the structure of Antioch which helped lead to the expansion movement.

While Antioch College administrators, and a majority of the faculty, were supportive of Antioch's expansion, they remained in Yellow Springs. With the exception of Morris Keeton (Antioch-Columbia) and Joe McFarland (Antioch- San Francisco) the major proponents of institutional expansion did not leave the flagship campus. I believe this created problems for Antioch as the institution expanded. First, without individuals who created the framework for expansion, the network campuses of Antioch developed and matured in a way that was not conducive to the goals that were established when the expansion began. Supporters of expansion argued that network campuses would allow Antioch to test new methods for growth in liberal arts colleges by attracting new tuition

monies and to experiment with relationships that would develop in the environment where the new network campus was located. Leadership of the new Antioch network campuses often times ignored these tenets and moved their campuses in different directions. Current institutions that are considering expanding should ensure that individuals who are actively involved with, and have an understanding of why the institution is expanding, should be placed in positions at their expanded sites that allow them to influence how their new locations develop. This could help to ensure that the goals and objectives of the expansion are being carried out. Second, while the proponents of expansion remained at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, these individuals could not share and attempt to replicate the institutional saga that had grown and developed in Yellow Springs at the expanded network campuses. Institutions that desire to be innovative and experimental with their plans for organizational expansion, should be aware of the need to place individuals at their expanded campuses who can embrace and advocate for the values of the flagship campus.

Antioch's desire to experiment and be innovative in the development and growth of the Antioch system is evidenced in the arguments that were made when the Antioch-Columbia center in Maryland was proposed. Because liberal arts institutions are so dependent on endowment and tuition monies, Antioch believed that partnering with a developer (the Rouse Corporation) would provide a new means of financing liberal arts education, while still allowing students from lower socioeconomic levels to attend a liberal arts college. Antioch attempted to further their revolutionary educational experiment with the town-gown relationship that was proposed with the Antioch-Columbia center. It was intended that the relationship between the city and the new

college center would be symbiotic. This was expected to provide a new dynamic regarding community governance at Antioch. Not only would faculty and students be intimately connected to Antioch, at Antioch-Columbia the community would also play a role. This was a nod to the old institutionalism of Selznick (1949, 1957) and the boundary of the institution based in the local environment. The local environment was to be the major learning source for Antioch's networked system (Jerome, 1970). While not explicitly stated in interviews, nor in the documents that were analyzed for this dissertation, there was a feeling that the communities where Antioch expanded would embrace Antioch similar to how Yellow Springs had embraced Antioch College. This did not happen and the discussion about why will take place later in this chapter.

Antioch faculty supported expansion because of their established values and goals of providing Antioch educational opportunities to all who desired. Additionally, faculty members were interested in being physically located in the cities where social change was being promoted. Faculty member Joe McFarland was one of the faculty members on Antioch's Yellow Springs campus who was growing restless (Interviewee #1, 2010). Some of this restlessness was incorporated into the new social activism that Antioch was engaging in during the mid-1960s and into the 1970s. Other faculty members became involved in the social activism and moved away from the traditional aspects of community governance and co-op education at Antioch that had been core institutionalized Antioch values.

As faculty members on the Yellow Springs campus began to look outside of Yellow Springs for professional development and advancement, the shift from old institutionalism to new institutionalism started. Old institutionalism was embedded in the

local community, whereas new institutionalism was embedded in the field or sector (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Previous to the expansion, Antioch was deeply embedded in its local environment. Yellow Springs and the College enjoyed a true town-gown symbiotic relationship. Yellow Springs' residents were active participants with Antioch College in the social activism that was beginning. New opportunities (newly opened network centers) allowed faculty to remain affiliated with Antioch, but also allowed them to leave Yellow Springs and move to larger, metropolitan areas. This helped to shift the focus away from the local environment (campus based) to the sector or field of study (new institutionalism). Faculty members became more and more involved in their professional disciplines and less engaged with Antioch College which is an important aspect of new institutionalism.

In "Cosmopolitans and Locals II", Gouldner (1958) built upon his original work (1957), and provided additional variables for the two roles of cosmopolitans (more loosely attached to the organization) and locals (closely connected to the organization). Gouldner (1958) identified *The Dedicated* (locals) as individuals who are "identified with and affirm the distinctive ideology of their organization" (p. 446). This is evident in the long-time Antioch faculty prior to the College's expansion, who were overwhelmingly loyal to Yellow Springs, Antioch College and the values of Antioch prior to 1964. They were the faculty who were concerned about the changes taking place at Antioch and began to voice their concerns and frustrations. Because of Antioch's prior successes (shared governance, co-op educational experiences, prestige etc.) Antioch did not have difficulty attracting top-level faculty talent. These new faculty members were more cosmopolitans than locals (Gouldner, 1958). *Cosmopolitans* (Gouldner, 1958), were

faculty members more dedicated to their specific field of study and were willing to teach for Antioch in Yellow Springs or outside of Yellow Springs. They were more focused on their specialties rather than Antioch or Yellow Springs. As faculty focus shifted from the local community (old institutionalism) to their discipline or field, the pendulum swing from old institutionalism to new institutionalism began.

Antioch was an important part of the Yellow Springs community. The support that the College received from Yellow Springs was an important component of Antioch's success. Antioch believed that the support they received in Yellow Springs would be replicated across the nation at their network sites. While the communities that Antioch began to place their network campuses were welcoming, Antioch did not enjoy the same relationship with the communities where their network campuses were located like the College did in Yellow Springs. Institutions that are considering expansion would be wise to consider the level of interaction and support they would receive in the communities where they are considering expanding their institution. Antioch College was the only institution of higher education in Yellow Springs. When Antioch opened up their network campus in San Francisco, they were not the only higher education institution in the community. The level of support and interaction with the community in Yellow Springs was much greater than the level of support and interaction they received in San Francisco. This is not to suggest that colleges or universities should only expand in areas where there are no other higher education institutions. However, the organization should consider local factors (community support for higher education, other competitors, demographics) when contemplating an expansion campus. Sites for Antioch's expansion campuses were often chosen because of their geographic location (see McLeery's

choice for Hawaii; the choice of San Francisco because of the perceived scholarship and educational offerings in psychology).

The values and goals associated with shared governance at Antioch College changed because of the institution's expansion. The governing body of Antioch, AdCil, which was the institutionalized representation of shared governance on Antioch College's campus in Yellow Springs, was unable to handle the governing duties that came with the proliferation of all the network centers. Representation on AdCil was limited to students/faculty/administrators from the Yellow Springs Campus. However, an institution that prided itself on shared governance had difficulties in only permitting one campus constituency to serve on its governing board. One reason for this was that Yellow Springs' stakeholders did not believe that the educational quality and adherence to community governance were as strong in the Antioch network as they were at the flagship campus (Interviewee #14). This caused some consternation among the Antioch network faculty because most had the same academic credentials of their peers in Yellow Springs and believed the academic rigor was equal to Yellow Springs (Interviewee #14, 2010).

Because of the expansion, the institutional structures at Antioch at that time were unable to hand the additional stress that network campuses placed on the organization. The values of shared governance bowed under the weight of the additional network campuses. Higher education institutions that are considering expanding their organization should consider what additional campuses would do to their governance and administrative structure. Antioch did not consider how additional network campuses would affect the governance structure that was already in place. Tumultuous years

followed at Antioch as their BoT, administration and faculty struggled to deal with governance issues. Current governing bodies of higher education institutions should consider the implications of organizational expansion and how that would affect their organizational structures. If governing bodies are considering expansion, they should ensure that their current governing structures, (both formal and informal) have the ability to adapt to potential future needs.

The unspoken practice at Antioch of not stressing the importance of collecting tuition dollars was spread effectively from Antioch College to the network campuses (Interviewees # 5, 12, 2011). The College and the centers struggled with collecting tuition dollars from students. One contributor to this was the belief that all should experience Antioch's educational offerings regardless of ability to pay (Interviewee # 13, 2010). To help accomplish the goal of broadening Antioch's student demographic base, the New Directions program was instituted.

The New Direction's program goal was to increase the number of minority and low-income students who studied at Antioch. This program was only instituted at Antioch College in Yellow Springs. These students were heavily dependent on federal financial aid. Unlike prior students who were attracted to Antioch because of the Antioch experience they would gain, these students attended Antioch because of the Antioch prestige and the financial aid they received to attend an elite liberal arts institution. They did not share the values and norms that the traditional Antioch students did (Dixon E.M., 1991). One, they were from low-income families. Two, they were primarily African-Americans. Prior to the New Directions program, Antioch students were overwhelmingly white, and upper middle-class. When the Nixon administration

threatened to reduce the amount of funds for federal financial aid, New Directions' students decided to strike which helped to damage the Antioch institutional brand. The strike lasted for six weeks. The effects of the paralyzing strike reduced enrollment numbers by 50% in a few short months (Birenbaum, 1979). Because Antioch was so dependent on tuition dollars, this proved devastating. The strike plummeted enrollment numbers. Lower enrollment numbers created a financial disaster because of Antioch's dependence on tuition. While the striking students did not share the values of Antioch (strong commitment to the institution, belief in the saga, etc.), alumni from the golden age of Antioch did. This proved important to the institution as they depended heavily on alumni financial support to mitigate the effects of lower enrollment numbers had on Antioch's overall budget (Guskin, 1998).

In today's era of higher education where students are more like consumers, and institutions of higher education are providing products for these consumers, there is a lesson that can be learned from Antioch's attempt to attract a new type of consumer. Each college or university tends to attract a certain type of consumer. Institutions are able to attract this consumer because they have specialized their product. Similar institutions attract similar students. According to the tenants of new institutionalism, this places these institutions within a similar organizational sector. Organizational legitimacy is of primary concern in new institutionalism. Higher education institutions that are attempting to attract a new type of consumer should be cautious in their approach. While the virtues of education should be available to all, established institutions should carefully consider the implications of efforts to attract new consumers. For example, Northeastern University opened new graduate centers in Charlotte, North Carolina and

elsewhere to attract working individuals who want to earn a graduate degree. This is similar to Antioch's opening of network campuses to reach working individuals who wanted to finish their degree or earn a graduate degree. The consideration for expansion and attracting a new type of consumer for colleges and universities should include how this affects their organizational legitimacy within their field or sector. Antioch proceeded with expansion and reaching out to new consumers while others within its organization sector did not. This lack of organizational mimicry further delegitimized Antioch's expansionary efforts. Colleges and universities should contemplate how their expansion efforts may affect their standings within their sector. If their legitimacy declines, how would the institution move forward?

As mentioned previously, Antioch's enrollment numbers dropped. Because of the enrollment drop, Antioch leaders turned to lending institutions for financial support and finally to their alumni to help make up the difference in the loss of tuition dollars. Because Antioch overextended themselves, lending institutions refused to loan them anymore money (Parsons, 1979). Antioch turned to a wealthy landowner and alumnus of the College, Leo Drey, to help finance the institution during the lean economic times. Drey personified the wealthy Antioch alumnus who continued to believe and respect Antioch's institutional saga. Drey was an atypical alumni for the time period, because he continued to financially support Antioch despite the organizational expansion that kept many alumni from donating. Drey provides important examples of alumni involvement for colleges and universities considering expansion. One, institutions considering expansion must consider the impact of their expansion on their alumni. Are the institution's alumni supportive of expansion? While I am not suggesting that the

organization's governing board and administration clear their decision to expand with their alumni prior to moving forward, I am suggesting that they should put feelers out to key alumni to test their reaction to an expansion. Antioch did not include their active alumni in their bid to expand. While alumni representatives sat on AdCil and approved the expansion, Antioch did not reach out to a larger group of alumni and test their reaction to a proposed expansion. A corollary to the first point, the second suggestion is that a college or university should ensure that several key alumni who are financial backers are supportive of any expansion efforts. As Drey exemplified at Antioch, an institution might be required to count on their alumni for financial support during an expansion.

The values held by many Antioch alumni of educational innovation and shared governance that were forged on Antioch's Yellow Springs' campus did not transfer to the network campuses as the College grew. While the network campuses were clamoring for a greater voice in the governance of the institution, the shared governance on Antioch's Yellow Springs campus involved the whole campus community, and was often referred to as community governance (Interviewee # 3, 2011). Faculty at the network campuses wanted a voice in the process, but the students at the centers were not as interested in shared governance as the students at the Yellow Springs campus were (Interviewee # 13, 2010). The students at the network campuses were non-traditional students, many of whom had full-time jobs, families and other commitments that did not allow them to participate in College governance like the students on the Yellow Springs' campus did. Organizationally, Antioch was in constant flux as evidenced by the amendment to the College charter which allowed for more network participation in system-wide

governance. Financially, Antioch was teetering near the proverbial financial cliff. Antioch mortgaged their endowment several times and asked their alumni for help. The expansion acted as a catalyst for challenges to Antioch's established norms and values when the new network centers' faculty and students became part of the Antioch system. This required a reconciliation of values for Antioch's stakeholders. Prior to the expansion, Antioch enjoyed a strong shared governance system at the flagship campus in Yellow Springs, Ohio. While not ideal, finances were of little concern to Antioch prior to expansion because the tuition charged to students in Yellow Springs was enough to cover the expense associated with the College. Following the expansion, Antioch struggled with shared governance, altering the College charter to incorporate the network systems into a shared governance network, and then altered the charter back to the original. Finances became an issue that brought concern because of the network centers increasing financial dependence on the College, and the strike at the College which caused a massive enrollment drop in Yellow Springs.

It is understandable that colleges and universities are constantly looking for additional sources of revenue to provide their educational goods and services to all who desire. However, if the sole purpose of their institutional expansion is to produce more revenue, than the institution faces serious challenges if the expansion does not succeed. Antioch's expansion was not successful. Granted, one could argue that Antioch College's expansion succeeded because five of the expansion campuses today make up Antioch University. The other side of that argument is that the five expansion campus Antioch University system lead to the downfall of Antioch College. Regardless, Antioch College ultimately closed in 2008, after closing somewhere between 28 -30 of their

network campuses. Institutions should be financially secure, with plenty of financial reserves prior to beginning any expansion. Financial security helps ease nervous faculty and alumni who are concerned that an expansion will create a dangerous situation for the institution. Also, institutions that are financially secure are not as likely to pursue institutional expansion to improve the financial health of their institution.

The Ohio Board of Regents requested that Antioch College formerly change their name to Antioch University in 1978 because Antioch was awarding both graduate and undergraduate degrees (Interviewee #1, 2010). This coercive pressure (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) from the Ohio Board of Regents on Antioch indicated the shift towards new institutional pressures that Antioch was feeling in the late 1970s. Another point of coercive pressure was from the American Bar Association (ABA) which engaged in a lengthy disagreement over accreditation issues for the Antioch School of Law. The ABA was concerned about the high focus on clinical training for prospective lawyers. This was coupled with low LSAT scores and inadequate classroom and library space (Interviewee #11, 2010). The demands that the ABA was placing on Antioch would require a minimum of \$8 million dollars for the law school to comply (Guskin, 1998). The pressures that Antioch faced from regulatory bodies forced them to face and address the challenges of their expansion. Antioch had a choice to reform their law school curriculum and upgrade their law school facilities, or lose their ABA accreditation. This choice provided an example of the external regulatory pressures that Antioch faced. Other components of new institutionalism, including organizational legitimacy, began to affect Antioch.

Prior to this time period (late 1970s), Antioch mainly faced pressures from within the organization and from the local community in Yellow Springs, all which could be understood through ideas from old institutionalism. But, as Meyer & Rowan (1977) argued, organizational legitimacy emerged as an important concept in organizational theory. In 1979, the Texas Department of Education decided not to grant teaching certificates to Antioch graduates because of accreditation concerns affiliated with the location of Antioch's headquarters in Ohio. Concerns about organizational legitimacy inserted themselves into the discussion about Antioch's expansion. This time period (the mid-1970s) placed a large burden on Antioch as it struggled to define itself as an organization and respond to the legitimacy threats placed upon it. Organizational legitimacy is increased by incorporating institutional structures from similar organizations (Meyer & Scott, 1977). Other liberal arts institutions were not building a national network of education centers like Antioch, which further decreased Antioch's organizational legitimacy. Antioch's organization legitimacy was challenged from all sides and created problems for Antioch's leaders.

Ambiguity regarding Antioch's ability to govern its growing network remained a concern as Antioch's network shrank. Antioch undertook a major reorganization of its leadership with the intent to decentralize decision making powers to the network centers. New institutionalism posits that an organization will mimic the institutional structures of similar organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Antioch was not mimicking other similar institutions because other liberal arts institutions did not have a national network like Antioch did. As stated, the restructuring was intended to reduce costs and develop a more collaborative culture amongst Antioch campuses (Guskin, 1998). During the early

2000s, The Higher Learning Commission review team pressed Antioch for greater clarification of the relationships between the University system, the College and the external campuses. The governance structure was detrimental to the College's well-being (Miller, 2012). A task force was assembled to address the concerns of the HLC review team, but in the middle of the task force deliberations, the decision was made to close the Antioch College campus, which ended the concerns about how Antioch College could exist and thrive within the Antioch University system.

Colleges and universities considering expansion should start a conversation with their accrediting body prior to expanding to understand the implications organizational expansion would have on their accreditation status. Antioch embarked on organizational expansion during a period prior to the increased scrutiny that colleges and universities now face from accrediting bodies. That is not to say that Antioch did not have problems with accreditors as it expanded to parts of the country that were not within the jurisdiction of its accrediting body (HLC). However, a current institution should understand how the accrediting agency would view a campus that falls outside its jurisdiction.

Structural harmony with similar organizations within a social system (Parsons, 1956), a component of new institutionalism, was absent at Antioch. First, Antioch's expansion created an organization that did not align with the structural harmony of similar organizations to which Parsons (1956) referred. The College, once considered on par with Reed and Swarthmore, fell into despair and closed its doors. While the prestigious Reed and Swarthmore liberal arts colleges maintained their campuses, Antioch suffered from deferred maintenance because of the financial issues facing the

institutions. This further delegitimized Antioch amongst its peer institutions and moved Antioch out of structural harmony within its societal system.

Antioch stakeholders were unable to meet the pressures placed on the institution by expansion and the push for legitimacy and homogeneity of new institutionalism. Their failure to reconcile these pressures is evidenced by the decision of Antioch University to close their flagship campus. What seemed at the time (institutional expansion) as a fairly benign decision to reach out to new students, while improving the organization's financial footing, proved to be a crucial misstep for the storied liberal arts college.

Potential for Future Research

There are several areas for future research on this topic. First, Antioch College closed in 2008. It reopened in 2009 completely separate from Antioch University. Does the new Antioch College incorporate and follow the old institutional norms, values and structures? Do the old institutionalism values of being embedded in the local community, while building on the structures that were in place when Antioch College was one considered one of the prestigious liberal arts colleges in the United States, allow Antioch College to retake its position as a revered liberal arts institution? Clark (1972) used Antioch as an example in his research on organizational sagas, stating that Antioch created a saga of "unique practice, and exceptional performance" (p. 180) after emerging from a period of institutional decay. Does the Antioch of today use the Antioch saga of the past to help build and sustain organizational loyalties following their closure and reopening? These same questions could be posed to Antioch University. How does Antioch University reconcile their past association with Antioch College while moving

forward as a separate institution? What values, norms and goals does the university hold to, and how do they differ from the values, norms and goals that were followed when Antioch was one institution? What role does organizational legitimacy (tenet of new institutionalism) play in both institutions' attempts to move forward?

There is a push for a reconciliation between old and new institutionalism. Selznick (1996) questioned the reasons between distinguishing old and new institutionalism because it inhibits understanding the contributions of institutional theory when analyzing an organization. Greenwood and Hinings (1996) bridged the gap between the two in their research on organizational change. How do normative, coercive and mimetic pressures interact with organizational interest, values and power dependencies at the two Antioch institutions? While the focus of this research was Antioch, similar studies could investigate this phenomenon at other institutions of higher education which experienced pressures of structural and value change.

Why do some higher education institutions succeed at expansion while others fail? Why is New York University able to succeed in expanding its organizations across the globe, while others, most notably Antioch College, did not succeed in expanding across the country? Do universities stand a better chance of institutional expansion compared to liberal arts colleges?

The value of using both old and new institutionalism as frameworks to approach this study is because both theories allow for a richer discussion of organizational change and the limits that institutionalism places on the organization (Selznick, 1996). Old institutionalism provided an ideal frame to analyze how and why Antioch College would attempt a massive organizational change with their national expansion. New

institutionalism provided the context to be able to deconstruct the issues and challenges that expansion brought to Antioch. Using both old and new institutionalism allowed for a more complex examination of the events surrounding Antioch's expansion and ultimately its failure.

Conclusion

It is apparent from my research on Antioch College's expansion that because of old institutionalism values, new institutionalism pressures and the internal power dynamics coupled with external legitimacy concerns of the reconciliation of old and new institutionalism, Antioch College's expansion was doomed to fail. I believe that today's college and university leaders can avoid Antioch College's expansionary fate by abiding by learning from the mistakes Antioch made during their expansion. First, colleges and universities should not believe too much in their institutional saga, especially if that saga suggests their uniqueness or educational innovation is unrivaled. In other words, don't believe in your institution's own hype. A cautious, thoughtful decision to expand, based on a thorough examination of all possibilities, provides a better chance at success for institutional expansion, than does relying on institutional saga to carry the expansion forward. Second, higher education institutions that drastically change their educational offerings to legitimize their expansion are flirting with disaster. Institutions should stick with what has worked for them as an institution and replicate that. Third, changing one's organizational values to accommodate expansion threatens to disrupt the current institutional saga that an organization has developed. An organization that is shifting its values to support expansion is creating a dangerous situation where the organizational saga might be damaged which can alienate its key stakeholders. Fourth, it is important to

place individuals from the home campus who support and understand the expansion in key leadership positions at expansion campuses. I suggest this because by doing so, institutions can help to ensure that the expansion campuses follow the “script” that was established on the home campus when deciding on organizational expansion. Fifth, colleges and universities should not expect the same level of support from the communities where they place their expansion campuses as they do in the community where their flagship is located. By understanding this, they can adequately prepare for the amount of time and outreach they will need to expend to build relationships within the communities where their expansion campuses are located. Sixth, institutions of higher education that are preparing for, or contemplating expanding their organization, should be cautious about attracting a new type of consumer. New students who are dramatically different from their current students, can create a culture that divides the institution. Antioch attempted to attract a new type of consumer at their flagship and in their network campuses, and struggled to support both sets of students. Seventh, alumni support make or break expansionary efforts at college and universities. Early outreach to key alumni and to alumni who financially back the institution, can provide the support an institution might need if the expansion does not advance as planned. If the expansion takes longer to realize its goals and objectives, the support of alumni is crucial in acting as a bulwark to the increasing criticism the institution is likely to face. Finally, the eighth suggestion I offer is that institutions be financially stable prior to considering or undertaking expansion. While this may seem like an obvious suggestion, I was surprised that Antioch College attempted an expansion at a time when its financial house was not in order. Institutions that are contemplating expansion for purely financial reasons are

starting down a dangerous path. Too often, institutions might only see the financial incentives of expansion, while neglecting to see the potential land mines that lay ahead.

Antioch College lived a storied history from its inception in 1852 until its closure in 2008. The contemporary Antioch history began in 1920 when Arthur Morgan was selected as Antioch's president. Morgan, and his successors, created a legacy and saga at Antioch College that made it a renowned liberal arts college. The charismatic Morgan instituted a cooperative education program that required all students to complete a co-op assignment (similar to a modern day internship program) that provided students with real-world experience outside of the Yellow Springs' campus. Morgan's successor Algo Henderson developed a strong community governance program on the Antioch campus that became institutionalized amongst the faculty, students and alumni of Antioch. These values and norms produced a structure at Antioch College that engendered strong feelings of loyalty in faculty, staff, students, alumni and community members of Yellow Springs, Ohio. This loyalty became part of an enduring institutional saga at Antioch (Clark, 1972).

Antioch's saga instilled in institutional members a desire to share the Antioch experience with others. Yellow Springs, Ohio is a rural setting in the Midwest. This location did not provide much opportunity for individuals across the socio-economic spectrum to participate and help develop the Antioch saga. This was one of the reasons why Antioch decided to expand its educational offerings across the country beginning with its acquisition of the Putney School in Putney, Vermont. By the time Antioch's expansion was done nearly a dozen years later, Antioch had spawned somewhere between 32-35 network centers across the United States, including centers in Alaska and

Hawaii beginning in 1964 and the final closure of network centers in 1989, spanning a 25 year period. This expansion marked a decided shift in the institutional values and norms that brought educational notoriety to Antioch. The cooperative educational program, strong community governance, and close ties with the Yellow Springs community, could not be replicated at the network centers. The network centers outside of Yellow Springs began to adopt and grow their own values, norms and goals (serving non-traditional students, different models of educational delivery, etc.), many of which were in direct conflict with the established values at the flagship in Yellow Springs. The Antioch system (network centers and flagship campus in Yellow Springs) was in crisis and in decline. The conflicting values, norms and goals of the network centers, and the changes taking place in Yellow Springs which included a more focused approach and concern for social justice issues prevalent during the time (1960s-1970s), created at Antioch a perfect storm of value conflict that would eventually knock Antioch off the pedestal of educational notoriety.

New institutionalism, with its focus on organizational legitimacy and on institutional environments rather than local environments, demonstrated how the approach taken by Antioch was out of sync with accepted organizational practices. Coercive pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) were influencing Antioch's decisions at its varied campuses. The accrediting body for the Antioch School of Law, the ABA, was pressuring Antioch to alter its curriculum, improve its Library and increase the admissions requirements of its students. This proved to be too much for Antioch and it decided to end its affiliation with the law school. Financial and governance problems at

Antioch persisted and regularly drew ire from the College's accrediting body, the Higher Learning Commission.

In the end Antioch was not able to respond to the pressures placed upon it that resulted from its expansion. Old institutional principles of values, goals and local environments were in sharp contrast to the organizational expansion Antioch undertook during the mid-1960s. Organizational legitimacy and coercive pressures from accrediting bodies plagued Antioch following the expansion. These pressures proved too much for the institution and Antioch decided to close most of its network centers (five remained) and eventually forced the closure of the flagship campus in Yellow Springs. Today Antioch is two separate institutions. The Antioch University system continues with five of the network campuses. Antioch College has reopened and is distinct from Antioch University. Former alumni of Antioch helped to purchase the Yellow Springs campus from the university system in 2009. Their commitment to Antioch values was one reason for their desire to reclaim the Antioch College that they loved. Yellow Springs' residents were thrilled to have "their" college back. The tenets of old institutionalism (the organization embedded and vested in the local environment), is at the heart of Antioch's resurgence in the small, southwestern Ohio town. Much animosity and distrust is leveled at both Antioch College and Antioch University by their respective supporters. It is naïve to think that the two institutions could come together as one or that they should. In 2013 Antioch University and Antioch College agreed to remove the reverter clause in their separation agreement that would have required the College and its assets to revert back to Antioch University if the College failed to win accreditation by 2016 (College, 2014). What remains to be seen is if both Antiochs can learn from their past mistakes and

establish two strong higher educational organizations that can embody and benefit from the Antioch of the past.

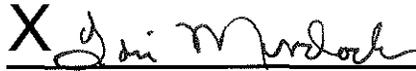
The detractors of both the College and University should realize that both institutions owe their existence to the other. Antioch University and Antioch College are functioning institutions today because of the support that each gave to the other. Antioch University would not exist if it were not for the 1964 decision of the College president, trustees and faculty to acquire The Putney Graduate School of Education, thus, launching the expansion movement. The 1973 strike that took place at Antioch College happened regardless of the network campuses and expansion that took place. The strike caused enrollment numbers to plummet and College enrollment numbers never regained their pre-strike levels. The College relied on the financial contributions of the network campuses to balance their budget. The College would not have lasted until 2008 and, therefore, theoretically would not have reopened in 2011 if it had not been for the financial support of the University system. Both institutions showcase the innovative but distinct educational approaches embraced by Antioch. Whether it was providing educational opportunities to women and students of color, cooperative education, or reaching out to nontraditional students, Antioch has played an important role in higher education since 1852.

APPENDIX A: ANTIOCH UNIVERSITY DATA USE CONSENT

Authorization to use data

June 29, 2012

Antioch University permits James Miller, for the purposes of his dissertation, to use the data that he acquired during the course of his study of Antioch University's expansion. This data includes digitally recorded interviews and historical and archival documents. He will access the digitally recorded interviews through files stored on a jump drive. Historical and archival documents are accessible to Mr. Miller through remote desktop connection to Antioch's servers in Yellow Springs, Ohio and Antioch University archives in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

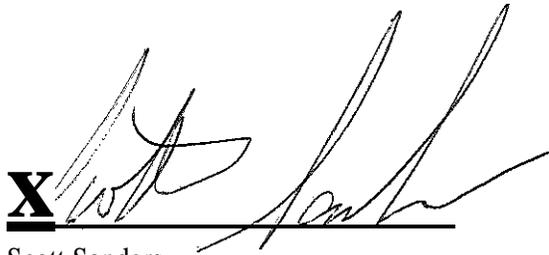
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Toni Murdock", with a large "X" at the beginning of the first word. The signature is written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Tullisse (Toni) Murdock
Chancellor, Antioch University

APPENDIX B: ANTIOCH VOLLEGE SITE USE**Site Authorization for Antioch College**

November 19, 2012

Antioch College authorizes James Miller, for the purposes of his dissertation, access to Antioch College archives to collect data pertinent to Antioch University expansion from 1960-1990. This data includes photographs of Administrative Council meeting minutes, and other archival data referring to Antioch expansion. The data collected will be stored on jump drives in Miller's possession.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Scott Sanders", is written over a horizontal line. To the left of the signature, a large, bold, black letter "X" is printed.

Scott Sanders
Antioch College Archivist

APPENDIX C: CONSENT TO USE INTERVIEW

The University of Arizona Consent to Participate in Research

Study Title: A Case Study of Antioch College Expansion: Proceed with Caution

Principal Investigator: James Miller

This is a consent form for research participation. You had previously consented to an interview with James Miller about your experience at Antioch College when representatives from Antioch University asked Mr. Miller to conduct a study of expansion at Antioch. The purpose of that interview was to collect data to compile a history about Antioch College's expansion. James Miller would like to use the data that he collected from you for the purpose of researching Antioch's history for the purposes of his dissertation on Antioch College expansion. This is a retroactive consent form. It contains important information about this study and what to expect if you decide to allow your interview for Antioch's history to be used in James Miller's dissertation. Please consider the information carefully. Feel free to discuss the study with your friends and family and to ask questions before making your decision whether or not to participate.

You may or may not benefit as a result of participating in this study. Also, as explained below, your participation may result in unintended or harmful effects for you that may be minor or may be serious, depending on the nature of the research.

1. Why is this study being done?

The purpose of this study is to explore and better understand the process involved in Antioch College's expansion to a university system that began in 1964 and ended in 1989. Using Antioch College as a case study, a better understanding the change/expansion of can help other institutions of higher education that are changing/expanding and the role that administrators, board of trustee members, faculty and staff have on the change/expansion process.

2. How many people will take part in this study?

Approximately 15-25 former Antioch administrators, faculty, staff and board of trustee members will be invited to participate in this case study.

3. What will happen if I take part in this study?

If you consent, the interview that James Miller conducted with you about your time at Antioch College/University will be used for the purposes of a case study of Antioch expansion for James Miller's dissertation. The interview will be electronically recorded. However, the recorded interviews and transcripts will be kept in a secure, locked location. No participant identifiers will be shared with anyone.

4. How long will I be in the study?

Your previous interview will be used for the purposes of this dissertation.

5. Can I stop being in the study?

Your participation is voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to take part in the study, you may request that your prior interview not be used for this dissertation at any time. No matter what decision you make, there will be no penalty to you and you will not lose any of your usual benefits. Your decision will not affect your future relationship with The University of Arizona. If you are a student or employee at the University of Arizona, your decision will not affect your grades or employment status.

6. *What risks, side effects or discomforts can I expect from being in the study?*

This is a minimal risk study.

7. What benefits can I expect from being in the study?

You will not be offered time reimbursement or any other kind of compensation for participating in this study. The benefit you can expect is the opportunity to reflect on your experience with Antioch College's change/expansion. You are also contributing to scientific knowledge that might help future higher education institutions that are considering change/expansion.

8. What other choices do I have if I do not take part in the study?

You may choose not to participate without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

9. Will my study-related information be kept confidential?

All data generated from this study will be treated as confidential. Only the Principal Investigator, James Miller, will have access to your identity and this will not be shared

with anyone. Also, participants will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. No confidential information will be exchanged by e-mail. All information will be kept in a non-networked computer protected by a password.

Efforts will be made to keep your study-related information confidential. However, there may be circumstances where this information must be released. For example, personal information regarding your participation in this study may be disclosed if required by state law.

Also, your records may be reviewed by the following groups (as applicable to the research):

- Office for Human Research Protections or other federal, state, or international regulatory agencies
- The University of Arizona Institutional Review Board or Office of Responsible Research Practices

10. What are the costs of taking part in this study?

There are no costs associated with this study.

11. Will I be paid for taking part in this study?

No. You will not receive payment to participate in this study.

12. What happens if I am injured because I took part in this study?

If you suffer an injury from participating in this study, you should seek treatment. The University of Arizona has no funds set aside for the payment of treatment expenses for this study.

13. What are my rights if I take part in this study?

If you choose to participate in the study, you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. By signing this form, you do not give up any personal legal rights you may have as a participant in this study.

You will be provided with any new information that develops during the course of the research that may affect your decision whether or not to continue participation in the study.

You may refuse to participate in this study without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

An Institutional Review Board responsible for human subjects research at The University of Arizona reviewed this research project and found it to be acceptable, according to applicable state and federal regulations and University policies designed to protect the rights and welfare of participants in research.

14. Who can answer my questions about the study?

For questions, concerns, or complaints about the study you may contact **James Miller** at miller2@email.arizona.edu or 520-575-7051.

For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact the Human Subjects Protection Program at 520-626-6721 or online at <http://orcr.vpr.arizona.edu/irb>.

If you are injured as a result of participating in this study or for questions about a study-related injury, you may contact **James Miller** at miller2@email.arizona.edu or 520-575-7051.

Signing the consent form

I have read (or someone has read to me) this form, and I am aware that I am being asked to participate in a research study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. I will be given a copy of this form.

Printed name of subject

Signature of subject

AM/PM

Date and time

Printed name of person authorized to consent for subject
(when applicable)

Signature of person authorized to consent for subject
(when applicable)

AM/PM

Relationship to the subject

Date and time

Investigator/Research Staff

I have explained the research to the participant or the participant's representative before requesting the signature(s) above. There are no blanks in this document. A copy of this form has been given to the participant or to the participant's representative.

Printed name of person obtaining consent

Signature of person obtaining consent

AM/PM

Date and time

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

Dear (Name of Participant)

My name is James Miller and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Arizona's Center for the Study of Higher Education. I am writing to ask you to participate in a research study that examines Antioch College's expansion that took place from 1964-1989. You have been chosen to participate because of your association and responsibilities with Antioch during the time period mentioned.

You are under no obligation to participate in this research study. If you are not interested in participating in this research study, you may ignore this request.

If you choose to participate, an interview with me will take place at your convenience. This interview may be face to face, via Skype or over the phone. It is anticipated that this interview will require 1-1.5 hours of your time. You will receive no time reimbursement or compensation of any kind by participating. However, you may benefit from the opportunity to reflect upon your experience with Antioch during their expansionary period. The findings of this research study will be made available to you at your request upon the termination of the research study.

You may withdraw your voluntary participation of this research study at any time without any consequences.

There are no costs associated with participating in this research study.

If you are interested in participating in this research study examining Antioch College's history from 1964-1989, please contact me via, email, phone or mail.

Thank you,

James Miller

Miller2@email.arizona.edu

435-757-6724

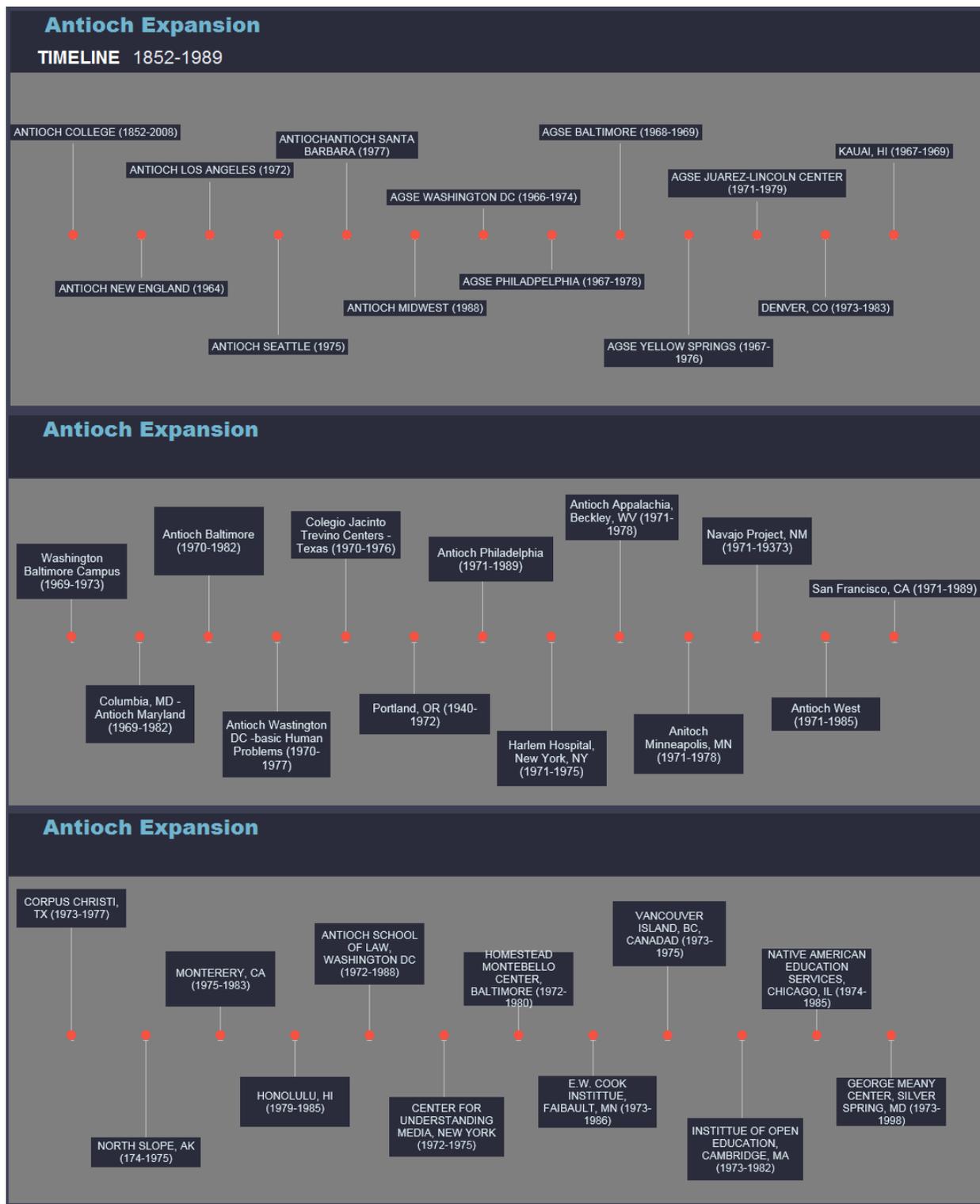
3045 W Country Meadow Dr

Tucson, AZ 85742

APPENDIX E: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- 1.) What attracted you to Antioch?
 - a. Describe the values of Antioch, in your opinion?
- 2.) Who were the leaders of Antioch when you started
 - a. What were their values (educationally and organizationally), in your opinion?
- 3.) Tell me about Antioch's faculty?
 - a. Were they long-time or newly hired
- 4.) What was your understanding of the expansion?
 - a. Reasons?
 - b. Support amongst Antioch Stakeholders?
- 5.) Did you notice changes at Antioch College following the expansion?
 - a. If so, what kind?
 - b. How did faculty and administration react to the expansion?
- 6.) Talk about Antioch's governance?
 - a. What was governance like prior to expansion?
 - b. How was Antioch's governance structure affected by expansion?
- 7.) Did Antioch's values change because of expansion?
- 8.) Talk to me about the network centers?
 - a. What were the students like at the centers?
 - b. What was the centers' connection to Yellow Springs
- 9.) What, if any, challenges did Antioch face because of expansion.

APPENDIX G: ANTIOCH EXPANSION TIMELINE



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Interviewee #2. (2010, November 17). Faculty. (J Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee #3. (2011, June 29). Staff. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee #4. (2010, September 22). Trustee. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee #5. (2011, June 13). Trustee. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee #6. (2010, November 19). Faculty & Administrator. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee #7 (2010, August 6). Administrator. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee # 10 (2011, January 18). Administrator. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee #11 (2011, January 17). Administrator. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

Interviewee #12 (2011, September 1). Administrator. (J. Miller, Interviewer)

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