ñCleave to no faith when faith brings blood.ò
! ! ! ! ! ! "!#$%&'$!( )**+$,!!"#$%&'()*+#

Considerable research over the past two decades focuses on the inþuence of organizational culture in a variety of institutional settings (Ashkanasy, Wilderom, & Peterson, 2000; Schein, 1985; Trice & Beyer, 1993), including higher education (Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Tierney, 1988, ./ /012·!3&+!45*'%5$6!+77+8%4!97!4&5$+:!;+*)+74!5<:!=5*'+4!)<!5<!9$>5<)-zation, such as greater institutional alignment and efýciency (Kotter & Heskett, 1992; Trice & Beyer, 1993) and increased satisfaction in work and commitment to the organization and its expressed purposes (Deal & ?+<<+:6,!./@0A!?5<%+$,!./B0A!?+%4!:+!C$)+4,!0DD.1!&5=+!$+8+)=+:!E5$-%)8'*5$!+FE&54)4!)<!%&+!*)%+$5%'$+2!G9H+=+$,!89**+8%)=+!;+*)+74!5<:!;+&5=-)9$4!%&5%!895*+48+!)<%9!5!4&5$+:!H9$*:=)+H,!%&5%!)4,!5<!):+9*9>6!I#;$5-vanel, 1983; Geertz, 1964), can cast a dark shadow on institutional life. J<!%&+!9<+!&5<:,!5!4%$9<>!):+9*9>6!85<!>'):+!5<:!$+>'*5%+!)<4%)%'%)9<5*!;+&5=)9$!5<:!)<4%)**!)<!E+9E*+!5!4+<4+!97!;+*9<>)<>!I?5<%+$,!./B0A!K$5%%,!2000). Ideology can provide the impetus for productive change among

a group of adherents (H

5! >$+5%+$! 4+<4+! 97! 89 F F)% F +<%1! 5< : ! 89<=+64! 5! 4+<4+! 97! F +5<)<>! 5< : ! ; +*9<>)<>2

Competing perspectives of organizational culture highlight the role of 4 ' ; 8 ' *% ' $+4! H&)8&! 85<! &5=+! R ')%+! :)=+$>+<%! =5* ' +4! 5< : !)<%+$+4%4! I (5$-%)<,! 0DD0A! M58L F 5<<,! . / / 0122! M ' ; 8 ' *% ' $+4! F 56! 79$ F ! 5$9 ' < : ! &)+$5$8&)-cal rank or occupational position. In universities, the disparate histories 5< : !+E)4%+ F 9*9>)85*! 544 ' F E%)9<4! 97! =5$)9 ' 4! 585 : + F)8! :)48)E*)<+4! 85 ' 4+! %&+ F !%9!9E+$5%+!54!)< : +E+< : +<%!S%$) ; +4T!IU+8&+$,! . / @ / 122!Q58&!)<4%)% ' %)9<!)4!%&+$+79$+!89 F E$)4+ : !97! F 5<6!89 F F ' <)%)+4!97!E$58%)8+,!+58&!97!H&9 F !

694$ $! "#$, - '&. /+$-0$1)2"#&$34 '(/5)- .

%&+ F !5!&94%!97!4%$+<>%&4!5<: !H+5L<+44+4,!544+%4!5<: ! : 647 ' <8%)9<5*!%$5)%42!

[$9 ' E4! F 56! 5%%+ F E%! %9! :)489=+$! H&)8&! E+$49<! I9$! E+$49<41! 5$+! 89-=+$%*6! +<>5>)<>!)<! E948) ; + : ! ; +&5=)9$!)<! 5<! +779$%! %9! F)%)>5%+! 7 ' $%&+$! : 5<>+$! %9! %&+! 89 F F ' <)%62! N &+<! 5! 8 ' *E$)%!)4! 4 ' 4E+8%+ : ,! %&94+! 4++L)<>! %9! assign blame often do so in a manner calculated to inþuence communal 89<4+<4 ' 4!$+>5$:)<>! %&+! 8&5$58%+$! 9$! F 9$5*)%6! 97! %&+! 4 ' 4E+8%+ : ! 977+< : +$2! Innuendo and suspicion drive such events. In witch hunts, the consensus)%4+*7 P %&+! 89**+8%)=+! F +5<)<>! F 5L)<>! 5 ; 9 ' %! +=+<%4 P ; +89 F +4! %&+! +=)-: +<8+! %&5%! 89<=)8%42! 3&9 ' >&!)< :)=) : ' 5*!)<8) : +<%4! 97! %&)4! 49$%! F 56! *99L! 49 F +H&5%! :)77+$+<%! 5%! =5$)9 ' 4! F 9 F +<%4!)<! &)4%9$6,! %&+! ; 54)8! %+<+%4! 97! %&+! behavior are strikingly similar. As Lutz pointedly notes, witch-hunting +0)4%! %9 : 56!)<! F ' 8&! %&+! 45 F +! 79$ F ! 54! F 9$+- :)4%5<%! &)4%9$)85*! +05 F E*+4! such as McCarthyism or the Salem trials.

%& ' ()+#$< .)=#&:)5>

The case presented here describes a witch hunt at Crucible Univer-4)%6,! 5! 4 F 5**,! E$)=5%+! 75)%&- ; 54+ : ! 89**+>+2! 3&+! 8$)4)4! 85 F +! %9! 5! &+5 : ! 57%+$! it was learned that Crucibleôs president agreed to an alteration in the >$5 : +! E9)<%! 5=+$5>+! 97! 5! 4%5$! 5%&*+%+,! H&)8&! 5**9H+ : ! &) F ! %9! 89<%)<' +! %9! E*562! 3&)4! 58%)9<! 4E ' $$+ : ! 5! 4 ' ; 4+R ' +<%! 89<7$9<%5%)9<! ; 6! 5! >$9 ' E! 97!)<-þuential senior faculty members who were deeply concerned about this E$+8+ : +<%! 5< : !)%4! +77+8%! 9<! 585 : + F)8!)<%+>$)%62

#! : ++E+$! +05 F)<5%)9<! 97! +=+<%4,! &9H+=+$,! $+=+5*4! %&5%! %&+!)<8) : +<%! +0E94+ : ! *9<>-4%5< :)<>! %+<4)9<4! %&5%! &5 : ! : +=+*9E+ : ! 5%! %&+!)<4%)%' %)9<! $+->5$:)<>!)%4! 7 ' %' $+! :)$+8%)9<2! 3&+! 854+! : +48$) ; +4! %&+! 79$ F 5%)9<! 5< : ! : +%5)*4! the responses of two inþuential ideological camps, both of which sought to root out the cause of the institutionôs ill fortune by demonizing and neutralizing the other. Each group was inþuenced by a larger organiza-%)9<5*! 8 ' *% ' $+,! 9<+! %&5%! =5* ' + : ! %&+! 75)%&- ; 54+ : ! F)44)9<! 97! %&+!)<4%)%' %)9<!

+=+$,!%&5%!H+!&5:!'<89=+$+:!H&5%!K5%%9<!I./ /D1!:+48$);+4!54!5<!S)<79$-mation-richò case (p. 169). The following three questions informed our inquiry at Crucible University:

.2! How did various members of the Crucible community (e.g., ad-F)<)4%$5%9$4,!4%577,!5<:!758'*%6! F+F;+$41! F5L+!4+<4+!97!%&+!89<-%+<%)9'4!+=+<%4!%&5%!'<79*:+:\

02! G9H! H+$+!%&+!%H9!:9F)<5<%!4';>$9'E4! 8$+5%+:!5<:!H&5%! H+$+!%&+)$!:)4E5$5%+!8&5$58%+$)4%)84!5<:!;+*)+74!%&5%!79$F+:!%&+!;54)4!97!%&+)$!>')):)<>!):+9*9>)+4\!

Z2! In what way did the emergence of two distinct belief systems inþuence the universityôs response to this crisis?

7#5"-4:

As Edgar Schein (1996) has noted, the literature on organizational 8'*%'$+!<++:4! F9$+!$)8&*6!:+%5)*+:!854+!4%':)+4!%&5%!$+=+5*!&9H!<9$F4! and values inþuence the workings of organizations. Given the complex-)%6!97!%&)4!E&+<9F+<9<,!5<:!5;4+<8+!97!+FE)$)85*!H9$L!9<!%&+!<+>5%)=+! implications of organizational ideology, we employed qualitative methods. Data gathering began by identifying an initial subset of individu-5*4!%&5%!89'*:!E$9=):+!5!$5<>+!97!E+$4E+8%)=+4!9<!%&+!+=+<%4!%&5%!H+$+!'<79*:)<>!>)=+<!%&+)$!:)4E5$5%+!$9*+4!9<!85FE'4!I)2+2,!5:F)<)4%$5%9$4,!4%577,!5<:!758'*%6!F+F;+$421!#7%+$!:+=+*9E)<>!5!H9$L)<>!'<:+$4%5<:)<>!97!H&5%!H54!988'$$)<>,!H+!:+=+*9E+:!9'$!)<%+$=)+H!E$9%989*42!J<+!97!'4!IG5$$)41!=)4)%+:!85FE'4!5<:!89<:'8%+:!%&+!0.!)<%+$=)+H4!79$!%&)4!4%':6,!H&)8&!)<8*':+:!+)>&%!758'*%6!F+F;+$4!I]'<)9$!5<:!4+<)9$1,!4+=+<!5:-F)<)4%$5%9$4,!%&$++!4%':+<%4,!5<:!%&$++!89FF'<)%6!*+5:+$42!3&+!*+<>%&!97!4+$=)8+!5%!%&+!)<4%)%')%9<!$5<>+:!7$9F!%H9!6+5$4!%9!<+5$*6!ZD!6+5$4!H)%&!most having worked there approximately 15 years. We sought to iden-%)76!)<:)=):'5*4!H)%&!5!$5<>+!97!E+$4E+8%)=+4!$+>5$:)<>!%&+!+=+<%4!;54+:!on their various roles on campus. Crucible relies on the surrounding 89FF'<)%6!79$!4'EE9$%!5<:!4%':+<%4!*+5:)<>!'4!%9!)<%+$=)+H!%&+!%&$++!89FF'<)%6!F+F;+$42!N)%&!%&+!+O8+E%)9<!97!%&+!;95$:!97!%$'4%++4!IH&)8&!

8&+8L+ : ! : ' $)<>! 4 ' ; 4+R ' +<%!)<%+$=)+H4,! 5<! +05 F E*+! 97! %&+! S9=+$*5E! methodò (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In essence, the intent of the protocol H54!%9! ' < : +$4%5< : !%&+! +=+<%4! 5< : !E+$8+E%)9<4! 97! =5$)9 ' 4! E5$%)8)E5<%4!)<! order for us to understand the efýcacy of the witch-hunting framework. # : :)%)9<5*! <5 F +4! H+$+! 49*)8)%+ : ! 7$9 F ! +58&! E5$%)8)E5<%,! 5! =5$)5%)9<! 97! the snowballing or chain technique (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992; Patton, . / / D12!

J <+! 97! %&+! 8&5**+<>+4! 97! 89< : ' 8%)<>! %&)4! L)< : ! 97! 4% ' : 6!)4! %&+! $+%)-8+<8+! 97! E9%+<%)5*! E5$%)8)E5<%42! 3&+! 89<%+<%)9 ' 4! <5% ' $+! 97! %&+! +=+<%4! made many participants concerned about conýdentiality. A number of)< :)=) : ' 5*4!)<4)4%+ : ! %&5%! %&+!)<4)% ' %)9<! ; +! :)4> ')4+ : ! 54! 5! 89< :)%)9<! 79$! their participation, which we agreed to do. Despite the fact that only 9<+! 5 : F)<)4%$5%9$! H54! +=+<% ' 5**6! $+*)+=+ : ! 97! : ' %6,! 4+=+$5*! E5$%)8)E5<%4! +0E$+44+ : !7+5$4!97!$+E$)45*!)7!%&+)$!9E)<)9<4,!H&)8&!H+$+!89<%$5$6!%9!%&+)$! E+$8+E%)9<!97!%&+!5 : F)<)4%$5%)9<W4! SE5$%6!*)<+,T! H+$+!%9! ; +89 F +!L<9H<2! G5$$)4!544 ' $+ : !E5$%)8)E5<%4! I49 F +%) F +4!$+E+5%+ : *61!%&5%!<9!R ' 9%+4!H9 ' * : !

H+$+!E5$%)8 ' *5$*6!89<8+$<+ : !H)%&!8*+5$*6! ' < : +$4%5< :)<>!&9H!E5$%)8)E5<%4! 7+**!)<%9! %&+! %H9! 85 F E4! 5< : ! &9H! %&)4! E$98+44! 988 ' $$+ : 2! # *%&9 ' >&! E5$- %)8)E5<%4! F 5 : +! 4+<4+! 97! %&+! +=+<%4!)<! 4%$)L)<>! :)77+$+<%! H564,! %&+$+! H54! 4 ' ; 4%5<%)5*!5>$++ F +<%!5 ; 9 ' %! H&5%!58% ' 5**6!988 ' $$+ : 2! 3&)4!)4!E+$&5E4!<9%! surprising since Crucible is of the size that most of the key players (administrators, staff, and faculty) know each other well. It is not a large, 89 F E*+O! ' <)=+$4)%62!

! "#$%& ' ()*+#$< .)=#&:)5>$%/:#

Crucible University is a private, faith-based institution located in a $ ' $5*!5$+5!)<!%&+! ( ) : -# %*5<%)8!$+>)9<2! 3&+!)<4%) ' %)9<!+<$9**4!7+H+$!%&5<! Z,DDD!4% ' : +<%4!5< : !&54!5!4 F 5**!>$5 : ' 5%+!E9E ' *5%)9<2! (5<6!97!%&+! ' <)=+$- 4)%6W4!4% ' : +<%4!89 F +!7$9 F !%&+!$+>)9<!5< : !5!4 ' ; 4%5<%)5*!E$9E9$%)9<!89 F +! from the local area. Crucibleôs mission aims to shape both the minds and values of its students by upholding ñJudeo-Christianò values, es- E+8)5**6! +%&)85*! 89< : ' 8%! 97! %&+! &)>&+4%! 9$: +$2! 3&+! + : ' 85%)9<5*! F)44)9<!)4! + F ; $58+ : ! ; 6! %&+! ' <)=+$4)%6W4!758 ' *%6!5< : !5 : F)<)4%$5%9$4,!5< : !)4!5!L+6! draw for many students. (Indeed, the notion of ñupholdingò or ñhonoringò Judeo-Christian values proved a constant refrain when speaking with members of the Crucible community.) As one staff member put it, ñI feel like itôs important that, as a Christian university, we can have an

staff, business ofýce folks, and the faculty. The faculty did not get sabbaticals and we did not offer what I would call a university education. He did 5!;)>!]9; P 5!>$+5%!]9;,!$+5**6 P)<!%$5<479$F)<>!%&+!85FE'42

M9F+!97!K$+4):+<%!K5$$)4W!+5$*6!)<)%)5%)=+4!)<8*':+:!%&+!4'88+447'*!:+=+*-opment of a range of proýtable masters degree programs, the expansion of the development ofýce and a growth in fundraising, and renovations to Crucibleôs business school. Such efforts over time helped the institution regain its ýnancial footing. As the dean of academic affairs point-+:*6!<9%+:,!S9'$!4)%'5%)9<!)FE$9=+:!$5%&+$!:$5F5%)85**62T!

Parris then began to give greater attention to Crucibleôs academic mission. During this time a number of people on campus came to view %&+!K$+4):+<%!54!5!S=)4)9<5$6!F)8$9-F5<5>+$2T!K5$$)4!<9%!9<*6!;+*)+=+:!

5*)L+!&5 : !$+5 :)*6!+ F ; $58+ : !5!=)4)9<!97!$+<+H+ : !+08+**+<8+,!49 F +! ; +>5<! to question the sort of ñexcellenceò Crucible ought to seek. After all, &5 : <W%!%&+! ' <)=+$4)%6!4+$=+ : !5!H9$%&6!E ' $E94+!79$!6+5$4!977+$)<>!5!85$)<>! +<=)$9< F +<%!5< : !5!H+**-$9 ' < : + : !5< : !4E)$)% ' 5**6!5<8&9$+ : !+ : ' 85%)9<!79$!)%4!4% ' : +<%4\! N &5%!H+$+!%&+!$)>&%7 ' *! F 5$L+$4!97!E$9>$+44\

F)5("(&/052$* K$+4) : +<%! K5$$)4! ; +>5<! %9! 4+%! &)4! 4)>&%4! 9<! 5! >95! %&5%! he felt would serve as the very pinnacle of Crucibleôs rise: becoming an NCAA Division I institution. As one supporter of the president ex- E*5)<+ : ,! S&+!7+*%!*)L+!%&5%! H54!%&+! <+0%! E$9>$+44)=+! F 9=+!79$!%&+!)<4%)- tutionò because the move would set Crucible apart from many of its regional peers. Becoming Division I would be the jewel in universityôs 8$9H<,! 5! 49 ' $8+! 97! :)4%)<8%)9<! 5< : ! E$) : +2! K5$$)4! H54! $+*+<%*+44!)<! &)4! 89 F E+%)%)9<! H)%&! 9%&+$!)<4%% ' %)9<42! G+! H5<%+ : ! <9%! 9<*6!%9! H)<! 5%&*+%)- 85**6,! ; ' %!5*49!%9! ; +4%!%&+ F !)<!%+$ F 4!97!%&+!< ' F ; +$!5< : ! ; $+5 : %&!97!>$5 : ' - 5%+!E$9>$5 F 4!977+$+ : !5< : !)<!758 ' *%6!5< : !4%577!45*5$)+42!#!4+<)9$!5 : F)<)4- %$5%9$!+0E*5)<+ : !&9H!K5$$)4!45H!%&+4+!=5$)9 ' 4!>95*4!54!*)<L+ : `!

G+!H9 ' *: !*99L!5%!&9H!9 ' $!45*5$)+4!H+$+!5%!%&+! ; 9%%9 F ,!5< : !&+!H9 ' *: !4+%!5! goal to move those salaries up. é Now what we would be forced to do is) F E$9=+!%&94+!45*5$)+4!49!%&5%!H+!89 ' *: !>+%!%&94+!758 ' *%6! F + F ; +$4!%&5%!<9%! 9<*6!H5<%+ : !%9!%+58&!5%!5! F 9$+!$+>)9<5*! ; 54+ : !)<4%)% ' %)9<,! ; ' %!9<+!%&5%W4!5! Division 1 school. I honestly think he saw that as being an institution-wide F 9=+!%9! ; +! F 5 : +2

M9 F +! 758 ' *%6! F + F ; +$4! ; +>5<! %9! E$)=5%+*6! R ' +4%)9<! K5$$)4W! : $+5 F 2! N54!%&)4! 5! 4&$+H : ! ;)%! 97! 4%$5%+>)8! E94)%)9<)<>! 9$! F +$+*6! 5<! +0E$+44)9<! 97!E+$49<5*!=5<)%6\!3&+6!H+$+!E5$%)8 ' *5$*6!89<8+$<+ : !5 ; 9 ' %!%&+!+0E+<4+! 97!%&+!%$5<4)%)9<2! 3&+! 758 ' *%6!H54!5*49!*+7%!9 ' %! 97!5<6! F 5]9$! :)48 ' 44)9<4! $+>5$:)<>!%&+! : +8)4)9<2!M9 F +! 758 ' *%6! F + F ; +$4! 588+E%+ : !%&+!4)% ' 5%)9<!5%! face value. As one explained, ñI donôt really know about the funding. J 7! 89 ' $4+,! H+W$+! <+=+$!)<=9*=+ : !)<! %&5% P ! %&5%W4! 89<4) : +$+ : ! 5! %$ ' 4%++! matter.ò Another professor, however, reþecting a sentiment held by oth- +$4,!R ')EE+ : !%&5%!K5$$)4W4!8&)+7! : +4)$+!H54!%9!S4++!%&+! ' <)=+$4)%6W4!<5 F +! scroll through the sports ticker at the bottom of ESPN.ò University ý- nance ofýcers estimated that a move to Division I would require an in- 8$+54+!)<!5<< ' 5*!5%&*+%)8!+0E+< :)% ' $+4!97! ; +%H++<!%&$++!5< : !79 ' $! F)**)9<! dollars to meet NCAA requirements.

b$9 F !%&+! =)+HE9)<%!97!9%&+$!758 ' *%6! F + F ; +$4,!K5$$)4! F 5 : +!%&+! : +8)- 4)9<!%9! F 9=+!79$H5$: ! H)%&! *)%%*+! +=) : +<%!5<5*64)4! 5< : ! <9! :)48 ' 44)9<!9$! : + ; 5%+2! Q=+<!&)4! 4 ' EE9$%+$4! 58L<9H*+ : >+ : !K5$$)4W! 58%)9<4! H+$+! ' <)*5%- eral. As an administrator clariýed, ñI donôt want to sit here and mislead and say that there was a lot of input from other people. I donôt think

BDO$ $!"#$,-'&./+$-0$1)2"#&$34'(/5)-.

ties policies were clariýed and that they reþected a commitment to aca-
:+F)8!)<%+>$)%62

K$98%9$!;+>5<!;6!>5%&+$)<>!%9>+%&+$!S5!>$9'E!97!%&+!F94%!$+4E+8%+:!585:+F)8)5<4!9<!%&+!85FE'42T!G)4!>95*!79$!%&+!>$9'E!H54!%9!S:+5*! with this before the NCAA comes.ò Some members of the group had a *9<>4%5<:)<>!5<:!=+$6!>99:!H9$L)<>!$+*5%)9<4&)E!H)%&!%&+!E$+4):+<%2!#!<'F;+$!97!%&+F!&5:!4'EE9$%+:!5<:!5EE*5':+:!&)4!+779$%4!%9!+0E5<:!%&+!>$5:'5%+!E$9>$5F42!N&+<!%&+!>$9'E!F+%,!K$98%9$!%9*:!%&+F!5;9'%!%&+!E$+4):+<%%4!:+8)4)9<!%9!8&5<>+!%&+!4%5$!5%&*+%+%4![K#2!G+!5$>'+:!%&5%! Crucible was in a ñdire situationò ð materially because of the impending NCAA investigation and morally because Parris had wantonly violated core institutional values by sacriýcing integrity on the altar of athletic 4'88+442!#4!9<+!758'*%6!F+F;+$!$+85**+:,!5%!%&+!+<:!97!%&+!F++%)<>,!SN+!H+$+!5**!'<5<)F9'4!%&5%!H+!&5:!%9!5::$+44!%&+!4)%'5%)9<!)F F+:)5%+*62T! J<+!4'>>+4%+:!%&5%!%&+6!%5L+!5!48$)E%'$5*!5EE$958&!%9!$+49*=)<>!%&+!4)%'-5%)9<!;6!F++%)<>!H)%&!%&+!E$+4):+<%,!*56)<>!9'%!%&+)$!89<8+$<4,!4++L)<>! his repentance and reconciliation. Quoting the New Testament he ex-E*5)<+:,

> If your brother sins against you, go and show him his fault, just between the two of you. é If he will not listen, take one or two others along, so %&5%!+=+$6!F5%%+$!F56!;+!+4%5;*)4&+:!;6!%&+!%+4%)F9<6!97!%H9!9$!%&$++!H)%-nesses. If he refuses to listen to them, tell it to the church; and if he refuses %9!*)4%+<!+=+<!%9!%&+!8&'$8&,!%$+5%!&)F!54!69'!H9'*:!5!E5>5<!9$!%50!89**+8%9$2

M'8&!5!F++%)<>!H9'*:!E$9=):+!5<!9EE9$%'<)%6!%9!<9%!9<*6!5::$+44!%&5%!

%9'4!H54!5%!&5<:!;+>5<!%9!4E$+5:2!U6!%&+!%)F+!%&+! F++%)<>!89<=+<+:!
that afternoon, the auditorium was ýlled to near capacity. The meeting opened with some confusion regarding the speciýcs of the athletic de-
E5$%F+<%!)44'+42!#!E$97+449$!7$9F!%&+!>$9'E!H&9!5EE$958&+:!%&+!E$+4)-
:+<%!H&9!5%%+<:+:!%&+!F++%)<>!:+48$);+:!%&+!48+<+`

> It was very difýcult. There were several faculty members there that knew nothing of what was going on. They had not even read the paper. I think we could have done a better job of giving them some background. I really canôt estimate how many knew. The rumor mill had been þying. Most

ulty were uncertain how best to proceed. One later said to Proctor, ñIôm behind you 100 percent, but I understand the presidentôs side too. Itôs $+5**6!&5$:2T! ('8&!97!%&+!:)48'44)9<!8+<%+$+:!9<!$+=)+H)<>!%&+!:+%5)*4!97!H&5%!&5:!988'$$+:!5<:!:+;5%)<>!%&+!E$+4):+<%W4!5'%&9$)%6!9$!*58L!97!5'%&9$)%6!%9!F5L+!4'8&!5!8&5<>+2!

b)<5**6,!5!=9%+!H54!%5L+<2!#!758'*%6!E5$%)8)E5<%!:+48$);+:!%&+!:6<5F-ics of the meeting: ñIt was not a unanimous vote, by any means. We H+$+!%&+$+!79$!R')%+!5!H&)*+2!3&+$+!H54!5!>$+5%!:+5*!97!>)=+!5<:!%5L+2!3&+$+!H54!5<!5<>+$!9<!%&+!E5$%!97!"!49F+!7+*%!%&+6!&5:!<9%!;++<!>)=+<!enough notice.ò The ýnal vote supported a resolution expressing no conýdence in the presidentôs leadership by a margin of 89-47. Some of %&+!758'*%6!F+F;+$4!=9%)<>!5>5)<4%!%&+!F9%)9<!H+$+!<9%!'<46FE5%&+%)8!%9!%&+!89<8+$<4!;+)<>!$5)4+:,!&9H+=+$!%&+6!H+$+!:)4%$+44+:!%&5%!%&+$+!was insufýcient time for reþection. Given the eminence and inþuence of the senior faculty members arguing in favor of a vote of no conýdence, 49F+!758'*%6!79'<:!%&+F4+*=+4!'<H)**)<>!%9!4E+5L!'E!)<!4'EE9$%!97!%&+!E$+4):+<%!9$!+=+<!)<!75=9$!97!:+*56)<>!%&+!=9%+!)<!75=9$!97!F9$+!:+*);-+$5%)9<2!U+$5%)<>!%&94+!H&9!H+$+!4%)**!'<:+8):+:!9<+!758'*%6!F+F;+$!544+$%+:,!SY9'!85<!5:F)$+!49F+;9:6!H&9!4%5<:4!'E!79$!H&5%!&+!9$!4&+!;+*)+=+4!)4!$)>&%,!;'%!9!4)%!9<!%&+!7+<8+!9<!5<)44'+!*)L+!%&)4\T!

Proctor later maintained that the c ľ ŋ ^ 0; ‘ T

$+7+$+<8)<>!5!E ' ;*)8!4%5%+ F +<%!H$)%%+<! ; 6!%&+! ; 95$: !8&5)$2!#*%&9 ' >&!%&+!
board expressed its full conýdence in the presidentôs leadership, they
)< :)85%+ : !)<!5!E$+44!$+*+54+!%&5%!S%&+6!H9 ' *: ! ;+>)<!5!7 ' **!5< : !%&9$9 ' >&!
)<=+4%)>5%)9<!97!5**!5**+>5%)9<4!5< : !%&+!58%)9<4!%&5%!&5 : ! ; ++<!%5L+<!)<!%&+!
faculty meeting.ò The board also apologized to the athlete and his fam-
)*6!79$!5<6!+ F ; 5$$544 F +<%!85 ' 4+ : !&) F ! ; 6!%&+!$+8+<%!5**+>5%)9<42!3&+!79*-
lowing day the trustees hired a law ýrm to begin an investigation.

3&+!4+<)9$!758 ' *%6!H&9!&5 : !$5)4+ : !%&+!89<8+$<4!5< : !*5%+$!8&5 F E)9<+ : !
the no conýdence vote was incredulous when they heard of the trusteesô
5EE5$+<%! ' <+R ')=985*!4 ' EE9$%!79$!K5$$)42! 3&+6!H+$+!5*49!4&5L+<!H&+<!
a team of lawyers descended on campus conducting dozens of inter-
=)+H4!)<!9$: +$!%9!E$+E5$+!5!$+E9$%!79$!%&+!$+> ' *5$*6!48&+ : ' *+ : !%$ ' 4%++!
F ++%)<>,!H&)8&!H54!988 ' $$)<>!%&+!79**9H)<>!H++L2!3&+!*+>5*!%+5 F !+0-
5 F)<+ : !+ F 5)*!5889 ' <%4!97!%&+!4+<)9$!758 ' *%6,!)<79$ F)<>!%&+ F !9<*6!57%+$!
%&+!758%2!3&+!*5H6+$4!798 ' 4+ : !E5$%)8 ' *5$!5%%+<%)9<!9<!%&+!4+<)9$!758 ' *%6!
H&9!&5 : ! F +%!H)%&!%&+!E$+4) : +<%2!3&+6!5*49!4++ F + : !+4E+8)5**6!)<%+$+4%+ : !

nity leader explained, ñIôve known John Proctor for a long time. His integrity is beyond reproach.ò If Crucibleôs students had in the past been $+*5%)=+*6!:98)*+,!%&+6!<9H!;+>5<!E$9%+4%)<>!$)>&%!9'%4):+!97!%&+!E$+4)-dentôs ofýce. Television crews þocked to the small town, drawn by the 4E+8%58*+2!N)%&!E$+44'$+!F9'<%)<>!7$9F!%&+!758'*%6!5<:!E5$+<%4,!5*'F<)! and local citizens, the trustees called a special meeting for Friday, pre-8)4+*6!%H9!H++L4!57%+$!%&+!F++%)<>!H&+$+!%&+6!&5:!:+F9%+:!K$98%9$2!

3&+!%$'4%++4!F+%!79$!&9'$4!)<!5!8*94+:-:99$!4+44)9<2!#*%&9'>&!5!<'F-ber of inþuential trustees continued to support the president, the rank and ýle board members were deeply distraught by the turn of events. c*%)F5%+*6!)%!H54!%&+)$!:)489<%+<%!5<:!:)489F79$%!5%!K5$$)4₩4!58%)9<4!%&5%!89<=)<8+:!%&+!8&5)$!%&5%!%&+!E$+4):+<%!<9!*9<>+$!+<]96+:!%&+!4'EE9$%!97! the board. During a break he had a private word with President Parris. #%!%&+!89<8*'4)9<!97!%&+!4E+8)5*!F++%)<>,!%&+!%$'4%++4!5<<9'<8+:!%&5%! K5$$)4!&5:!$+4)><+:2!G)4!$+4)><5%)9<!*+%%+$!4%5%+:`

> I am sorry that what I did out of fairness to a student has led to such controversy. But I am more sorry that the harm inþicted on Crucible University the past few weeks has been self-inþicted by men and women of the Cru-8);*+!89FF'<)%6!%9!%&+!:+%$)F+<%!97!9'$!4%':+<%4!H&9!H+!5$+!&+$+!%9!4&9H!

%&5%!%&+!):+9*9>)+4,!H&)*+!'E&+*:!;6!8+$%5)<!S758%4,T!5$+!89<4%$'8%+:!;6!%&+!)<%+$E$+%5%)9<!97!%&+!+=):+<8+2!3&'4,!4'EE9$%+$4!97!%&+!E$+4):+<%!E9)<%+:!%9!>5)<4!)<!5:F)44)9<4!4%5%)4%)84,!F9$+!7'<:$5)4)<>,!5<:!%&+!8$+-ation of a viable Division I program as evidence for his efýcacious leadership. Detractors used the same set of facts as evidence of narcissistic S4%$)=)<>2T!#<!):+9*9>6,!%&+$+79$+,!)4!5!&)>&*6!)<%+$E$+%)=+!H9$*:=)+H2

Ideologies produce highly affective responses among their adherents. 3&+6!%&+$+;6!+0+$%!E$979'<:!<9$F5%)=+!E$+44'$+42!#%!4+=+$5*!E9)<%4!)<! the case individuals felt signiýcant pressured to get ñoff the fenceò and]9)<!9<+!97!%&+!%H9!):+9*9>)85*!85FE4!;+85'4+!97!%&+!4+*7-+=):+<%!S%$'%&T!9$!F9$5*)%6!97!)%4!4%5<8+2!U9%&!):+9*9>)85*!85FE4!8$+5%)=+*6!F5:+!'4+!97!%&+!+485*5%)9<!97!+=+<%4!%9!;$)<>!F9$+!:+=9%++4!%9!%&+)$!$+4E+8%)=+!E94)-%)9<42!K+$&5E4!%&+!;+4%!+05FE*+4!97!%&)4!5$+!%&+!758'*%6!F++%)<>!%&5%!*+:!to the vote of no conýdence and the trustee meeting that led to the deposing of Dean Proctor. The supporters of each camp sought to coerce <9<-89FF)%%+:!F+F;+$4!97!%&+!85FE'4!%9!F5L+!5!:+8)4)9<2!3&+!>$9H-)<>!E$+44'$+!7$9F!%&+!85FE4!%9!>5)<!4'EE9$%+$4!*+:!%9!%&+!'4+!97!)<8$+54-ingly public venues where organizational members were put on the spot 5<:!F5:+!%9!7++*!%&5%!%&+6!&5:!%9!F5L+!5!8&9)8+2!U9%&!85FE4!5%!%)F+4!*)F)%+:!:+;5%+!)<!E'$4')%!97!5<!9'%89F+!%&5%!5EE+5$+:!79$>9<+!7$9F!%&+)$!):+9*9>)85*!E+$4E+8%)=+42!

The Crucible case demonstrates the potentially destructive power that):+9*9>)85**6!:)=)4)=+!89<7$9<%5%)9<!85<!&5=+!9<!5<!)<4%)%')%)9<,!E5$%)8'-*5$*6!H&+<!E9H+$7'*!+<%)%)+4!4'8&!54!%&+!E$+4):+<%,!8&5)$!97!%&+!;95$:!of trustees, or senior faculty are involved. Ideologically driven debates *+5=+!*)%%*+!$99F!79$!F9:+$5%+4!9$!7+<8+-4)%%+$4!H&9!F)>&%!9%&+$H)4+!;+!the source of conciliatory decisions. In this way they push community F+F;+$4!%9!9EE94)%+!+<:4!97!%&+!):+9*9>)85*!4E+8%$'F!H&)8&!)<%+<4)=+4!an ever-widening spiral of divisiveness fueled by zealotry. What is par-%)8'*5$*6!<9%+H9$%&6!)4!%&5%!:+4E)%+!%&+)$!'<:+$*6)<>!:)77+$+<8+4!)<!%&+!)<%+$E$+%5%)9<!97!+=+<%4!5<:!F9%)=+4,!;9%&!85FE4!;+&5=+:!R')%+!4)F)-larly. In addition to the broad similarities listed below, Table 1 further :+%5)*4!%&+!E5$5**+*4!)<!%&+!=)+H4!97!+58&!):+9*9>)85*!85FE2

- *M-5"$(/@;:$A#&#$(-.(#&.#4$/*-'5$5"#$#N5#&./+$;#&(#;5)-.:$-0$5"#$).G :5)5'5)-.K$Q58&!>$9'E!;+*)+=+:!%&5%!%&+!58%)9<4!97!%&+!9%&+$!<+>5%)=+*6!)FE58%+:!%&+!$+E'%5%)9<!97!%&+!)<4%)%')9<!54!5<!+0+FE*5$!97!75)%&-;54+:!%&)>&+$!+:'85%)9<2
- *?$:"/&#4$A-&+4=)#A$-&$)4#-+-2>$4&-=#$#/("$(/@;$/.4$;&-=)4#4$0':5)G ýcation for actions on moral grounds:*!39!%&+!4+<)9$!758'*%6!F+F;+$4,!%&+!E$+4):+<%!+<>5>+:!)<!)FF9$5*!;+&5=)9$,!H&)8&!$+R')$+:!&)F!%9!S89F+!79$H5$:!%9!$+E+<%2T!b$9F!%&+!E+$4E+8%)=+!97!%&+!E$+4):+<%!5<:!

4+<)9$!5:F)<)4%$5%9$4,!%&+!758'*%6!;+&5=+:!)<!5<!S'<8&$)4%)5<T!F5<<+$!;6!75)*)<>!%9!79$>)=+!%&+!E$+4):+<%!79$!%&+!)<:)48$+%)9<!97!8&5<>)<>!%&+!5%&*+%+%4!>$5:+2!N&)*+!%&+!E$+4):+<%%4!4'EE9$%+$4!<9!:9';%!45H!&)4!5:-F)44)9<!97!&'F5<!7$5)*%6!54!)<:)85%)=+!97!&)4!&)>&!F9$5*!8&5$58%+$,!%&+!group of senior faculty felt that his unwillingness to directly apologize H54!+=):+<8+!97!&)4!$+85*8)%$5<8+!5<:!75)*'$+!%9!%5L+!$+4E9<4);)*)%62

Å *3/("$(/@;$:-'2"5$5-$#&/4)(/5#$5"#$:-'&(#$-0$5"#$;&-*+#@$).$-&4#&$5-$&#:-+=#$5"#$(&):):K!#889$:)<>!%9!4+<)9$!758'*%6!H&9!8&5**+<>+:!%&+!president and orchestrated the subsequent no conýdence vote, the fac-'*%6!H+$+!$+%5L)<>!%&+)$!E$9E+$!E*58+!)<!%&+!)<4%)'%)9<2!3&+!E$+4):+<%,!;95$:!8&5)$,!5<:!4+=+$5*!4'EE9$%)=+!%$'4%++4!F9=+:!%9!:+F9%+!%&+!*+5:+$!97!%&+!4+<)9$!758'*%6!7$9F!&)4!5:F)<)4%$5%)=+!E94%!5<:!;$9'>&%!)<!5<!9'%4):+!*+>5*!%+5F!%9!)<=+4%)>5%+!%&+!4+<)9$!758'*%6%4!58%)9<4!79*-*9H)<>!%&+!E';*)85%)9<!97!%&+!>$5:+!8&5<>+2!

3&+!89<=)8%+:!)<:)=):'5*4!H+$+!7'$%&+$!]':>+:!;6!%&+!89FF'<)%6!I)<-cluding the demotion of Dean Proctor by the trustees and the no con-ýdence vote by the faculty and ultimately the presidentôs resignation). After the community judgment, the convicted members of the organiza-

B . 0$ $! "#$, - '& . /+-0 1)2 "#&$34 ' (/5)- .

=+$4)%62!K$98%9$!5<:!%&+!4+<)9$!758 ' *%6! F 5 : +! ' 4+!97!%&+)$!9H<!89<%$9*!97!)<4%)% ' %)9<5*!4%$ ' 8% ' $+4!%9!4 ' EE9$%!%&+)$!+779$%42!b9$!+05 F E*+,!%&+6!4+%!%&+!5>+<:5!97!%&+!758 ' *%6! F ++%)<>!)<!%&+!79$ F !97!5!%$)5*! : ' $)<>!H)%&!K$98%9$!4+$=)<>!54!E$94+8 ' %9$!5<:!] ' : >+2!3&+!4+<)9$!758 ' *%6!4 ' EE9$%)<>!%&+!=9%+! F 5 : +!)%! ' <89 F 79$%5 ; *+!79$!%&94+!H)%&! :)44+<%)<>!) : +54!%9!$5)4+!%&+ F 2!3&+!push to have a no conýdence vote that afternoon, even though some col-*+5> ' +4!&5 : !>$+5%! F)4>)=)<>4!5 ; 9 ' %! F 5L)<>!%&5%! : +8)4)9<!H)%&9 ' %!%) F +!%9!: +*) ; +$5%+,! H54! 85*8 ' *5%+ : !%9! 4+<:!5! F +445>+!%&5%!%&+! E$+4) : +<%! <++ : + : !%9!*+5=+! E$+8)4+*6! H&+<!%$ ' 4%++4! H+$+!5 ; 9 ' %!%9!5$$)=+!9<!85 F E ' 42!Q58&!

remarkable aspects of the witch hunt at Crucible was the presence of two diviners. Proctor galvanized the faculty and metaphorically lit the %9$8&+4!79$!%&+!9EE94)%)9<A!&+!H$5EE+:!&)F4+*7!)<!%&+!+4E9'4+:!F9$5*! =5*'+4!97!%&+!)<4%)%'%)9<,!5<:!E$+44+:!%&+!854+!5>5)<4%!%&+!E$+4):+<%2! K$98%9$%4!:+8)4)9<4!5<:!58%)9<4!8$+5%+:!5!4)%'5%)9<!H&+$+!89<7$9<%5%)9<!)<+=)%5;*6!89'8&+:!&)4!9H<!):+9*9>)85*!5$>'F+<%!9<!%&+!E+:+4%5*!97! honor and integrity. This conþict set up a dichotomous scenario within the organization in which ñcitizensò could be in favor of integrity -&$%&+! president, but not both. Organizational members were forced to choose sides in the conþict. Ironically, the same thing happened to Proctor. The ;95$:!8&5)$!)<!E5$%)8'*5$!49'>&%!%9!854%!K$98%9$!54!5!=)9*5%9$!97!8&+$)4&+:! <9$F4!5<:!*+:!+779$%4!;6!%&+!%$'4%++4!%9!$+F9=+!&)F!7$9F!&)4!5:F)<)4-

devotees as ñquasi-mythical heroesò (Meyer, 1982, p. 60; Clark, 1972). The irony, as in the case of Crucible, becomes the perception of oppos-)<>!>$9'E4!9$!<9<-;+*)+=+$4!H&9!89<4):+$!%&+!*+5:+$4W!58%)9<4!54!)89<-oclastic and detrimental to organizational goals. The resulting conþict 9=+$!%&+!*+5:+$4!7'$%&+$!+058+$;5%+4!%&+!:)77+$+<8+4!;+%H++<!%&+!89FE+%-ing views. Lutz (1988) describes a witch as ñusually marginal or weak E+$49<4!H)%&9'%!4%$9<>!E$9%+8%9$4T!IE2!ZZV12!G9H+=+$,!%&+!+05FE*+!97! Crucible shows this is not a necessary requirement and indeed may not hold the signiýcance Lutz contends. More inþuential, particularly as the conþict grows, is that each side becomes increasingly entrenched to the point that past institutional or individual success proves insufýcient to ;$):>+!%&+!>'*7!;+%H++<!%&+!:)4E5$5%+!):+9*9>'+42!3&+!9<*6!$+49*'%)9<! to the conþict is for the community to eliminate the witch to reestablish order. In the end, both Parris and Proctor had to be removed from power %9!5EE+54+!;9%&!):+9*9>)85*!85FE42!3&$9'>&9'%!%&+!8$)4)4,!+58&!97!%&+! men had been so demonized and become so controversial that the only way to reduce the conþict was the ouster of both. This action enabled ;9%&!85FE4!%9!E*58+!;*5F+!54!<++:+:,!8*5)F!%&+!F9$5*!&)>&!>$9'<:,!5<:!;+>)<!5!E$98+44!97!$+89<8)*)5%)9<2!J<8+!):+9*9>)85*!%58%)84!5$+!'4+:,!5<! ongoing danger exists that they may be utilized in future conþicts. The 49'$8+!97!%&+!)FF+:)5%+!E$9;*+F!5<:!8$)4)4!&54!;++<!+*)F)<5%+:,!;'%! F5<6!97!%&+!'<:+$*6)<>!%+<4)9<4!F56!4%)**!$+F5)<2

#*%&9'>&!%&+!854+!&+$+!E$+4+<%4!5!4++F)<>*6!4%+$+9%6E)85*!5<:!%)F+-worn conþict between a president and faculty, the bitterness of the

%-.(+':)-.

The events at Crucible University illuminate the potential danger to an organization of using ideology as a political weapon. Although in-

Q-5#:

· A great deal of debate exists about the deýnition of ñorganizational cultureò (e.g., do organizations have cultures or are they cultures?) For an excellent overview of these :+;5%+4!4++!%&+!)<%$9:'8%)9<!97!#4&L5<546,!N)*:+$9F,!5<:!K+%+$49<,!I0DDD12!b9$!%&+!E'$-E94+4!97!%&)4!E5E+$,!H+!:$5H!9<!%&+!H9$L!97!3)+$<+6!I./@@1,!?'&!5<:!N&)%%!I./@@1,!5<:!M8&+)<!I.//01!H&9!&9*:!%&5%!8'*'$+!89<4)4%4!97!4&5$+:!544'FE%)9<4!5<:!=5*'+4!%&5%!;)<:!a group together and guide organizational behavior.

[0]!#!E4+':9<6F!:+$)=+:!7$9F!#$%&'$!()**+$%4!)<4)>&%7'*!E*56!9<!H)%8&-&'<%)<>,!!"#$%&'()*+#2

[2] We are using the term ñwitchò as an anthropological term. It is not a reference %9!5:&+$+<%4!97!%&+!N)885<!$+*)>)9<!H&9!F56!'4+!%&)4!%+$F2!#::)%)9<5**6,!H)%8&!)4!7$+-quently used in a gendered context, but this is not necessarily the case in an organiza-%)9<5*!H)%8&!&'<%2

E#0#&#.(#:

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