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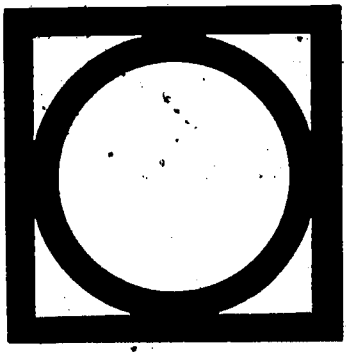
ABSTRACT

Five issues of mutual interest to faculty and administrators were chosen as the focus of this comparison of existing distributions of authority at three public state colleges and three public community colleges in Pennsylvania. Issues selected include: appointment, promotion, tenure, merit (salary increments), and curriculum. For the purpose of this study, the decision-making process was sequenced into six stages: initiation, consultation, recommendation, review, choice, and veto. At least 10 faculty and 10 administrators from each institution were interviewed and asked to describe their participation in the six stages of the decision-making process in regard to the five issues under investigation, and to relate their observations of the involvement of other personnel. Respondents based their evaluations on a five point continuum: administrative dominance, administrative primacy, shared authority, faculty primacy, and faculty dominance. The community colleges in the sample generally were characterized by adminstrative dominance or administrative primacy, although there was evidence of increasing consultation with the faculty. On the other hand, the state colleges were likely to be characterized by shared authority or faculty primacy. Faculty involvement was high on the curriculum issue for both types of institutions, followed by promotion, and low on merit. (Author/NHM)

Distributions of Authority and Patterns of Governance

Manuel G. Gunne and Kenneth P. Mortimer



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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps one most crucial issue in the reform of campus governance in the 1970s is the proper distribution of power and authority among administrators, faculty, students, and others who want access to decision making. To date, only a few professional organizations have examined the phenomenon of shifting internal decision-making authority and have made certain broad recommendations for redistributing that authority. Generally, it seems, the redistribution of internal decision-making authority is expected to take the form of shared participation among institutional constituencies. The faculty and administrators, particularly, have sought to have decision-making authority shared either proportionately or separately, or at least to have such authority more equitably and representationally divided between them.

In most of the published prescriptions for redistributing decision-making authority between these two institutional constituencies, the obvious areas (e.g., fund raising by administrators and grade giving by faculty members) are clearly defined and assigned; but in matters of crucial and mutual interest to both constituencies (e.g., tenure, promotions, curriculum), the participation share is not at all clear for either group. Since the decision-making authority between constituencies is so unclear and possibly may not be distributed at all uniformly across issues or institutions, a better assessment of the existing distributions and their variations is necessary before any moderately defensible recommendations on their redistribution can be offered, especially if they are to serve as a bastion against attacks on institutional autonomy from external sources.

Because issues of primary interest to both faculty and administrators are central to the redistribution of decision-making authority in colleges and universities, five salient issues were chosen as the focus of this study in assessing existing distributions of authority between faculty and administrators at six Pennsylvania institutions of higher education.

The purpose of this paper is to describe institutional decision-making on those five *issues* of mutual interest to administrators and faculty members. The paper then compares decision making on these issues both *within* and *between* a sample of three public state and three public community colleges in Pennsylvania. Finally an attempt is made to identify a corresponding *pattern* of governance at and between the two *types* of colleges.

A final section discusses some of the implications of the findings which are based on answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the distribution of authority between faculty and administrators on five issues at six institutions of higher education?
2. What are the differences in the distribution of authority between faculty and administrators according to issues?
3. What are the differences in the distribution of authority between faculty and administrators at different institutions?
4. What are the differences in the distribution of authority between faculty and administrators according to type of institution?
5. What are the patterns of governance which emerge among the six institutions that are associated with the distributions of authority between faculty and administrators according to issue, individual institution, and type of institution?

The answers to these questions evolved from an investigation of the faculty-administration participation process as examined through the framework of a six-stage decision-making concept designed particularly to assess distributions of authority and patterns of governance within higher education.

THE CONCEPT OF SHARED AUTHORITY

Administering an educational institution is known as academic governance, which according to Corson is "the process or art with which scholars, students, teachers, administrators, and trustees associated together in a college or university establish and carry out the rules and regulations that minimize conflict, facilitate their constituency collaboration, and preserve individual freedom" (1960, p. 12).

Unlike many other organizations, however, academic institutions do not have much direct hierarchy of authority wherein command flows smoothly from upper to lower levels of the organization.

> In academia, there is little line hierarchy of authority of command from president to deans to chairmen through full professors, associates, assistants and finally to instructors. Each faculty member has his domain of teaching and research authority over which there is little or no control by other faculty members, the administration, trustees, alumni, and so on (Platt & Parsons 1970, p. 134).

Dressel, Johnson, and Marcus suggest that this distribution of authority varies from institution to institution as a result of distinctive governance patterns (1970, p. 212). Such authority is exercised through endemic institutional structures and individual functions which constitute the decision-making process (Caplow and McGee 1958, p. 178). It is hypothesized that the variety with which the constituencies interrelate creates distinct distributions of authority at different institutions.

In 1966, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), long concerned with the distribution of institutional authority, issued a "Statement of Government of Colleges and Universities" because, as the statement put it, "the colleges and universities of the United States have reached a stage calling for appropriately shared responsibility and cooperative action among the components of the academic institution" (p. 375). The intent of this call for mutual understanding about academic governance was to foster joint thought and action. The statement was endorsed as "a significant step forward in the clarification of the respective roles of faculties and administrators" (p. 375).

Still, there remains some question about the clarity of constituent roles in academic governance and the distribution of institutional authority. The AAUP statement makes a number of imprecise comments about the faculty, who have "primary responsibilities," and the administration, who have "special obligations" and "duties," and about both constituencies, who should have "some participation" in what is described as "appropriately shared responsibility and cooperative action."

Apparently, the structures and procedures for faculty and administration participation in governance remain to be "designed, approved, and established" by the joint efforts of each institution's constituencies. This joint effort could obviously vary considerably according to issues and institutions. The AAUP statement does not define structures or describe procedures generally applicable, but it does draw two essential conclusions regarding joint effort:

> (1) Important areas of action involve at one time or another the initiating capacity and decision-making participation of all the institutional components and (2) differences in the weight of each voice, from one point to the next, should be determined by reference to the responsibility of each component for the particular matter at hand (p. 376).

Therefore, authority could be shared equally or proportionately on some issues and be jurisdictionally separate on some others. In brief, the AAUP supports shared authority between the faculty and administration but is not specific about how that sharing should be accomplished.

One year after the AAUP statement was published, the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE), which at that time was affiliated with the National Education Association (NEA), issued a report by its Task Force on Faculty Representation and Academic Negotiations entitled, *Faculty Participation in Academic Governance* (1967). Like the AAUP statement of the previous year, this AAHE report stressed that "the concept of shared authority should underlie an effective system of academic governance" (p. 23). The task for institutions of higher education was not to question "the faculty's ability to participate in decision making but to develop procedures that will promote the most constructive exercise of this influence" (p. 23). The report also recommends that the faculty should be allowed to choose the appropriate means of formulating and presenting their views on all issues which require a sharing of authority between the faculty and the administration. Collective bargaining is included as an appropriate means of sharing authority between faculty and administrators.

Similarly, this task force recognized that the functions performed by the constituencies, i.e., the administration and the faculty, determined the amount of authority they would exercise. A fundamental point of significance in this AAHE report (which is similar to that of the AAUP statement), is the belief that "authority should not be shared equally between the faculty and the administration on all issues" (p. 24). The AAHE report also stressed that on certain issues the faculty voice is dominant while on others the administration should exercise the decision-making authority.

> On a wide range of educational and economic questions decision-making should be a joint process. Shared authority is thus a model concept which established the right of faculty participation while recognizing that in some substantive areas one party or the other may assume the major burden of decision-making (p. 24).

The AAHE report, much like the earlier AAUP statement, supports the idea of shared authority generally and describes just two basic options for institutional decision-making—even with the inclusion of collective bargaining. The two options are the distribu-

tion of authority proportionately on some issues and separately on others, i.e., joint participation (shared authority) or separate jurisdiction (dominant authority).

The third statement on shared authority, a survey on academic governance at nineteen campuses, is Morris Keeton's *Shared Authority* (1972). He makes five recommendations about the criteria for a governance system that are likely to be effective (p. 147). First, the authority structure should reflect a genuine commitment to enfranchise constituencies previously unrepresented or underrepresented. Second, the process and prerogatives in governing should be designed to foster the cooperation of each constituency. Third, the system should provide effective means for constituencies to be heard and heeded at the levels and loci where final decisions are made. Fourth, the system should provide mechanisms of accommodation short of coercion and violence. And fifth, the process should be more flexible than in the past. But out of all this, he concludes simply, "Sharing authority can take two basic forms: deciding some things jointly and dividing the labor on others" (p. 148). In accordance with the two earlier statements, then, authority would be proportionately shared or jurisdictionally separate.

Although these three statements contain certain imprecise or inconsistent terminology, they share some common recommendations about the distribution of authority. On the whole, they all support the idea of institutional constituencies sharing decision-making authority. Faculty involvement is not the question; the question is how, how much, when, and about what issues the involvement should occur. Constituencies must participate cooperatively, effectively, early, often, and at the meaningful decision-making levels. And finally, since constituent concern and issue interest vary, all three statements come down to the fact that authority should be shared flexibly through one of two basic forms: joint participation or separate jurisdiction.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Context of the Study

Most surveys into institutional decision-making processes (Caplow and McGee 1958; Jencks and Riesman 1968; Dressel, Johnson, and Marcus 1970; and Dill 1971) usually

emphasize the well-established universities. They give much less attention to community and state colleges and almost none to their particular comparative differences. This oversight is particularly egregious in view of the fact that a task force of the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE) identified the community and state colleges as the loci of the more intense discontent among faculty regarding existing governance practices (AAHE 1967, p. 1). Coincidentally, these two types of institutions have been the most likely to unionize.

In recent years, many works covering academic governance or institutional decision-making obviously have not focused on the particular participation of the faculty vis-à-vis the administration on certain issues; but, perhaps more importantly, such studies have usually neglected the possible differences in governance attributable to different types of institutions. By overlooking these potential typological differences, the studies have offered an incomplete, if not inaccurate, impression of the governance practices for some large segments of higher education. To fill this gap, this study concentrates on public state and community colleges. (See Gunne 1974 for a more complete discussion of this and research methods.)

Issues

It should be remembered that the AAUP statement emphasized that issue would effectively determine the form of shared authority among various participants: "Difference in weight of each voice should be determined by reference to the responsibility of each component (constituent) for the particular matter (issue) at hand" (AAUP 1966, p. 375).

For this study, the issues chosen were not those that obviously fall under either constituent's total control, such as grading procedures for faculty or business management for the administration. Five highly salient issues of potential importance to *both* constituencies were selected as matters over which authority should be shared. These issues are:

1. Appointment: the hiring of new faculty members to fill vacated or newly created teaching positions within the institution
2. Promotion: the advancement of faculty members to higher ranks on the academic scale
3. Tenure: the awarding of the safeguard of academic freedom and permanent employment to faculty members completing successful periods of probationary service

4. Merit: special salary increments for faculty members recognized as performing their duties and obligations in a superior manner
5. Curriculum: the modification of course offerings, including description changes in existing courses as well as the introduction of entirely new programs.

Most scholars agree that procedures involving these five issues, particularly, are serious interests of both the faculty and the administration (AAHE 1967, Platt and Parsons 1970, Hobbs and Anderson 1971).

Stages of Decision Making

An accurate assessment of the distribution of authority requires some recognition that participant effectiveness is often related to the stage of the decision wherein such participation occurs. The involvement of governing boards in tenure decisions may occur only at the final stages and take the form of acceptance or rejection of administrative and/or faculty recommendation.

The research reported here divided the decision-making process into various stages and attempted to ascertain constituency involvement at each stage.

In their sociological study of faculty mobility in higher education, Caplow and McGee (1958) took a similar approach when they "divided the academic recruiting process into a number of stages and showed the proportion of active participation at each stage by officials in the several levels of the academic hierarchy" (p. 156). Recently, Keeton (1971) also noted the important significance of constituency participation at the appropriate stages or levels when he recommended that "The system should provide effective means for constituencies to be heard and heeded at the level and locus where their particular concerns receive final disposition" (p. 147). Dahl (1963), a political scientist, recognized the significance and capriciousness of the process from the initiation stage to the choice stage as well as the possibility of a crucially subsequent veto stage, when he attempted to "determine which individuals or agencies most often initiated the proposals that were finally adopted or most often successfully vetoed the proposals of others" (p. 124).

For the purposes of this study the decision-making process has been sequenced into six stages: initiation, consultation, recommendation, review, choice, and veto.

Stage One: Initiation. Who sets the process in motion? Where does the impetus originate?

Stage Two: Consultation. Once the process has been started, who is consulted? Does the initiator function as a separate entity or do others share in the process? Does the process go no further until a particularly persuasive individual or effective committee is consulted and, thereafter, the decision is a *fait accompli*?

Stage Three: Recommendation. Beyond being consulted, who can make formal recommendations? An individual? A whole constituency? Combined constituencies? What happens to these recommendations? To whom are they made? What is their value? How are they handled? What is the quality of recommendations? Does any one person's or committee's recommendation automatically decide the issue with all that goes before and after merely routine? Are informal recommendations possible—and effective?

Stage Four: Review. Does anyone review the recommendations and for what purpose? What effect does a review function have on the recommendations already made? Can the recommendations be modified as a result of the review procedures? In what way? Here again, control can be exercised and the decision made at this particular stage if significant authority is possessed.

Stage Five: Choice. Who does make the decisive choice on the issue? How? Do the prior four stages logically delimit the choice made or can an arbitrary selection be made that disregards all that preceded in the earlier phases of the process?

Stage Six: Veto. Finally, when the choice has been made, can some controlling source negate all that has gone before by vetoing the selection? Does such an action occur never or only rarely—under the most unusual and justifiable conditions?

Effective control of any stage, but particularly the beginning and end of the process, could neutralize all other stages. Balanced involvement would constitute some form of shared authority.

The composite results of our examination of issue and stage of decision making provide a framework for analyzing the data and making judgments about the distribution of authority (Figure 1).

The results of the analysis permitted a composite view of the distribution of authority by issue and institution, according to the continuum described in the AAHE Task Force Report (1967).

Issues	Initiation		Consultation		Recommendation		Review		Choice		Veto	
	Fac.	Adm.	Fac.	Adm.	Fac.	Adm.	Fac.	Adm.	Fac.	Adm.	Fac.	Adm.
Appointment												
Promotion												
Tenure												
Merit												
Curriculum												

FIGURE 1

A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITY AT AN INDIVIDUAL INSTITUTION

Six Stages of Decision Making

The AAHE classification scheme was used to categorize governance conditions at the institutions in this study. "The model can be used to evaluate the allocation of authority with respect to specific issues or to describe the general state of faculty-administration relations on a campus" (AAHE 1967, p. 14). In order to measure that distribution, the task force designed a five-zone continuum composed of administrative dominance, administrative primacy, shared authority, faculty primacy, and faculty dominance.

Administrative Dominance	Administrative Primacy	Shared Authority	Faculty Primacy	Faculty Dominance

Specifically, the continuum permits only two major distinctions in authority: divided separately (separate jurisdiction) or shared proportionately (joint participation). Divided exclusively between either the faculty or the administration, governance patterns fit either extreme of the continuum. Authority is exclusively divided when the separate constituents, in this case faculty and administrators, wholly control certain areas described as their jurisdictions, managed without any mutual collaboration or negotiation with the other constituent (Foote and Mayer 1968, p. 2). When authority is shared jointly by the two constituents, it falls somewhere between the ends of the AAHE continuum into one of the three interior zones, depending upon the proportion allotted each constituency. In the center zone it would be almost equally shared authority.

Therefore, prior to allocating an issue or institution to any zone of the AAHE distribution of authority continuum, the constituency participation of each of six procedural stages was evaluated since, theoretically, any one of the six stages could be the decisive one. It was assumed that reconstruction of the participation of each constituency revealed at which stage the decisive authority was exercised and by whom.

Interview Instrument

Based upon this assumption, a series of inquiries was designed for each stage to elicit factual responses from any individual on his or her participation in the decision-making process on the five issues (appointment, promotion, tenure, merit increase, and curriculum change) under investigation. The quantity and quality of participation in the decision stages determined the process of governance at the institutions. Lutz and Iannaccone (1969) and

Lindquist and Blackburn (1974) have publicized the significance of this assumption (1969). The interview method was used to collect the data.

Interviewees were asked to describe sequentially their participation in the six stages of each issue as well as to relate their observations of the involvement of other personnel. Responses of faculty members and administrators were reported on a chart to establish the reliability of the data and determine the distribution of authority. Control by the administration would suggest the administrative dominance end of the AAHE continuum; faculty control would indicate the faculty dominance extreme. Somewhat equal control would be categorized in the center zone of shared authority. Varying modifications would fall between these three areas into the intermediate zones of administrative primacy in one direction and faculty primacy in the other. A categorization was made for the group of respondents on each of the issues to correspond to the five separate points on the continuum for the six institutions.

At least 10 faculty and 10 administrators from each institution were interviewed. It was recognized that the two constituencies were difficult to define unequivocally because at times their responsibilities could overlap. Individuals were classified into one of the two groups substantially on the basis of their primary (65 percent) responsibilities in either teaching or administration. In all cases, department chairmen were included as part of the administration. A total of 127 usable interviews were conducted.

The sample of knowledgeable interviewees was selected from institutional organization charts and committee lists. Criteria for selection included holding an office that served as a link in the hierarchical chain along which the decisional issue passed or having membership on any committee which dealt with any of the issues being investigated.

As a matter of course, the president, vice president or dean of academic affairs, and the vice president or dean of liberal arts or applied arts were automatically included, as well as six department or division chairmen, three in the education-applied area and three from the transfer-liberal arts area. Faculty members who served as chairmen of pertinent committees were priority interviewees; committee members made up the remaining list of faculty interview respondents.

An institutional coordinator arranged the interview appointments, but no manipulation was evident since all suggested substitutes were readily incorporated into the sample. As an adaption of the reputational method of studying decision-making, all interviewees

were asked to identify anyone on campus who was especially knowledgeable on any of the issues. All persons so identified by two or more interviewees were then considered essential for inclusion in the interview sample, if by some chance they had been overlooked in the original selection process. In this way no one of significance was likely to be excluded, regardless of his viewpoint. With the relatively small group of persons ultimately and intimately involved in academic decision-making at the institutions studied, a high proportion, if not all, of the probable participants were interviewed and we believe an accurate description of the governance process was obtained.

Not too surprisingly, a few respondents dissented with the majority of descriptions of issues or governance relationships, but, with the help of the supplementary documentary analysis and subsequent cross-checking, an accurate and reliable delineation was produced. In most issue instances, participation and control were clearly determined. In some few others, the situations were not easily allocated to a particular zone.

Limitations of the Study

The primary limitations of the study concern the constituents, the sample, the participants, timing, and the ability to generalize. Practical restrictions of travel and finance limited the study to Pennsylvania and 6 of 28 institutions (14 of each type).

1. The important influence of students and trustees in academic governance is acknowledged. The exclusion of these constituent groups should not be interpreted as a derogation of their significance. It is hoped that a clarification of faculty-administration relationships will be beneficial to future studies on the effects of the involvement of other constituent groups in the governance practices.
2. Institutions were chosen on the basis of a willingness to cooperate. It is recognized that an element of bias is introduced through such selection procedures.
3. Although individuals actively involved in the governance practices were interviewed, their selection was made by the institutional coordinator at each college from a suggested list prepared by the interviewers. Here again, the possibility of some slight bias is appreciated.
4. The hazards of attempting to generalize to a population of 14 from a sample of 3 is recognized. Mainly, the study can reveal the situation only at the institutions studied.
5. The variable of size is a limitation. Institutions in this study fell within the small to intermediate range of 2,000 to 7,000 full-time students at all levels.
6. Finally, the selected issues are a justifiable limitation. Conclusions can be drawn only on the five issues investigated in the study. These particular issues were chosen purposely on the basis of high salience to both the faculty and administration. Other issues might produce differing results.

FINDINGS

Since the specific purpose of the study was to identify and describe the institutional decision-making procedures employed on five selected salient issues of interest to both administrators and faculty members, these procedures were analyzed to compare their similarities and/or differences within and between a sample of public state and community colleges in Pennsylvania. Attention was focused on the variance of the distribution of authority between faculty members and administrators according to three variables: the issue, the individual institution, and the distinctive type of institution. First, each issue was classified, then each institution, and, finally, the two types of institutions. The zonal classification using the AAHE's distribution of authority continuum is reported in Figure 2.

Assignment to any of the five zones of the continuum was based upon the quantity and quality of constituency participation at each institution as determined by the interview data collected from the responses of the participants. Maximum control by either constituency was categorized as dominance at the extreme zones of the continuum; primary control was noted somewhere in the interior zones. Mutual control or responsibility was categorized as shared authority in the middle zone of the continuum. All classifications were made according to the "general tendencies" of the constituencies' participation. These classifications reveal variations of the two options for distributing authority as reflected in the literature. Assignment to either extreme represents the respondent's reports of total or near-total control of decision making by a particular constituency, i.e., separate jurisdiction. Assignment to any of the three interior zones represents the respondents' reports of dual participation by both constituencies, i.e., some form of shared authority.

The six-stage decision-making approach identified the location of constituency control and led to the zonal classifications which indicated a variety of differences according to issue, institution, and type of institution. Out of these various categorizations the particular patterns of governance emerged. The major findings are discussed below.

1. Institutions in this study were likely to be classified as either administratively dominant or administratively prime in their distribution of authority as defined by the AAHE criteria (Figure 2).

For the community colleges, the findings of this study coincide closely with the 1967 AAHE Task Force Report:

Administrative Dominance	Administrative Primacy	Shared Authority	Faculty Primacy	Faculty Dominance

Issue	State Colleges			General Tendency	Issue	Community Colleges			General Tendency
	Foothills	Scenic	Suburban			Urban	Valley	Technical	
Appointment	AP	AP	AP	AP	Appointment	AP	AP	AD	AP
Promotion	SA	AP	AP	AP	Promotion	AD	AP	AP	AP
Tenure	SA	AP	AP	AP	Tenure	AD	AD	AD	AD
Merit	AD	AP	AP	AP	Merit	AD	AP	AD	AD
Curriculum	AP	FD	FP	FP	Curriculum	SA	FP	SA	SA
Zonal Classifications	AP	AP	AP	AP	Zonal Classifications	AD	AP	AD	AD

FIGURE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITY AT SIX PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGES ACCORDING TO ISSUE

> The junior colleges in the sample generally were characterized by administrative dominance or administrative primacy, although there was evidence of increasing consultation with the faculty. On the other hand, the older state colleges . . . were likely to be characterized by shared authority or faculty primacy (p. 17).

Four of the six institutions in this study, the three state colleges and one of the community colleges, were classified into the administrative primacy zone. Again, as with the state colleges in the AAHE study, two of the state colleges in this study tended very much toward shared authority. The remaining two community colleges were classified as administratively dominant although each had different patterns (discussed under the patterns of governance finding).

2. According to the issue considered, the distribution of authority between the faculty and administration differed moderately to markedly.

No one zone of the AAHE continuum could have been used to describe the distribution of authority for all five issues at any of the six institutions. There was no single model of decision making, distribution of authority, or pattern of governance which served for every issue; and, although each and every issue was not decided entirely differently, many were. Four of the institutions in the study needed as many as three zones to adequately classify the separate issues investigated; the other two colleges needed at least two zones. There was, in addition, a wide variation of classifications within each of the zones, indicating in many instances that the categorizations were not unequivocally precise.

The one issue coming closest to being identically classified at all institutions or, at least, classified somewhere within the same zone at all institutions was the appointment of new faculty. Five of the six institutions fell into the administrative primacy zone but closer inspection revealed only one clear administrative primacy classification. Two of the institutions had administrative primacy classifications on this issue that were very close to shared authority; the two others, although minimally meeting the administrative primacy classification, tended in the opposite direction closer to administrative dominance. The sixth institution, a community college, was an obvious, as well as the only, case of administrative dominance on the appointment issue.

There was little doubt that discernible differences existed among the issues at each institution. Although no quantitative or statistical measures were employed to analyze the

data, the cumulative responses of the interviewees clearly delineated a wide range of differences among the institutions in the way AAHE-defined authority was actually distributed between the faculty and the administrators over the five issues investigated.

3. According to each individual institution, the distribution of authority between faculty and administration differed variously. Two institutions were similarly classified as administrative dominance, four others as administrative primacy; but two of these administrative primacy classifications were very close to shared authority.

This third point is a principal finding in this study. For although some evidence of certain similarities in the institutions' zonal classifications emerged, particularly for two of the state colleges, the distribution of authority between faculty and administrators differed appreciably from institution to institution. Faculty participation ranged from, in Corson's words in an earlier study, "a strong influence to perfunctory approval of administrative decisions" (1960, p. 209). For the distributions of authority among institutions, the zonal classification differences were somewhat greater for the community than for the state colleges. All three community colleges required at least three (and often differing) zones to characterize their authority distributions, and no institution of this type had more than two zonal classifications specifically in common with any one other community college in the study.

4. According to type of institution, the distribution of authority between faculty and administration differed markedly. The state colleges were usually characterized by administrative primacy with moderate variability within the type; the community colleges were likely to be classified as administrative dominance with marked within-type variability.

The data revealed distinct differences according to type of institution in the distribution of authority between faculty and administration. The finding on this question was that the state colleges were classified similarly as administrative primacy with increasing instances of shared authority. The community colleges as a type differed markedly from the state colleges, but they also differed among themselves, although they were more likely to be classified as administratively dominant. So, the community college governance differences were greater not only between the two types of institutions but within the two-year type itself.

As types, the community colleges in the present study were characterized by administrative dominance (two of them) or administrative primacy (one) with evidence of

administrative dominance still strongly in effect. Of the five issues investigated at these three community colleges, resulting in 15 instances of governance examined, seven or almost half were classified as administrative dominance, five were moderately classified as administrative primacy, two others as shared authority, and only one as faculty primacy.

As a type, the state colleges were characterized by administrative primacy or shared authority. Of the 15 instances of governance examined at the state colleges, only 1 was classified as administrative dominance, 10 were administrative primacy, 2 were examples of shared authority, and there was 1 issue instance each of faculty primacy and faculty dominance.

5. The patterns of governance revealed that the state colleges were administratively prime while the community colleges were administratively dominant. The faculty at both types of institutions participated most on curriculum, less on merit and tenure, and varied between these two extremes on promotion and appointment.

On the whole, the faculty at the state colleges were more actively involved in governance than the faculty at the community colleges. The issue eliciting most faculty involvement was curriculum, followed by promotion and tenure equally. Promotion and tenure evoked a moderately meaningful response, ranking second and third among the state colleges. Appointment ranked a low fourth, and merit increases rated fifth.

For the less involved faculty at the community colleges, the curriculum issue, nonetheless, also ranked first, followed distantly by promotion and appointment which, for the community colleges, ranked similarly second and third. Merit was the fourth-ranked issue and tenure uniquely ranked last according to the zonal descriptions of the AAHE continuum.

Looking at the governance patterns for the two types of institutions, faculty involvement was likely to be high on the curriculum issue for both types of institutions (ranked first) followed by promotion (ranked second, also for both) and low on merit (ranked last for state colleges and fourth for community colleges). The distributions of authority between faculty and administrators suggested some general similarities; for example, faculty participation was greatest on curriculum matters and least on merit increase decisions. Still, the patterns by issue, institution, and type of institution disclosed some rather distinct differences.

DISCUSSION

The results of the interview data and the documentary analysis justify certain comments on the distribution of authority and the patterns of governance within this sample of state and community colleges.

First, although there are only the two options of either joint participation or separate jurisdiction for sharing authority, there are a great many differences in the way authority is actually distributed through these alternatives between administrators and faculty members on a variety of issues among institutions.

Second and quite significantly, most generalized statements about decision-making authority in colleges tend to ignore the crucial element of issue in academic governance. This finding of a difference among issues supports the speculations of earlier investigators studying governance (Presthus 1960, Dahl 1963, Platt and Parsons 1970, Hobbs and Anderson 1971, and Leslie 1971) who suggested that authority quite likely would be distributed unevenly when different issues were examined. The data from this investigation revealed that those who took part in the study reported distinct differences in the way decision-making authority was distributed over the five issues studied.

Essentially, it was discovered that no two institutions distributed their authority to decide issues in exactly the same way or controlled them through precisely the same persons or positions. The variation in personnel within a constituency controlling an issue was especially marked among the administrators since any one of four levels of administration (chairman, dean, vice-president, or president) could have determined the dominance or primacy of any classification. This heterogeneous situation is what Caplow and McGee described as a system which works by "distributing power in such a way that anyone who is able to exercise it may do so if he chooses" (1958, p. 174).

The tentative conclusion to be drawn from the findings about institutional differences is that the degree of variation among individual institutions is distinctive enough to suggest that the distribution of authority between faculty and administrators does indeed differ from institution to institution. Certainly this was the case at four of the six institutions studied here. This conclusion lends tentative support to a similar one by Leslie (1971) who, in a companion study on legitimacy of governance, found a modest institutional effect among state colleges and a marked institutional effect among community colleges.

Many variables obviously contribute to the institutional differences in the distribution of authority at these colleges but four of the most prominent factors seem to be the varying responses to established governance traditions, especially at the older state colleges; the particular incidents and/or individuals involved at any one time; the differing reactions to contemporary national trends impinging on local interests; and the singular administrative leadership style of the president and other top level administrators.

The distinctions that emerged by type of institution were particularly attributable to the history and tradition of these older institutions. Governance at the state colleges was characterized more often as administrative primacy with faculty participation increasing more readily towards shared authority for all issues except perhaps merit increases. In fact, the faculty already dominated curriculum matters. Characteristic of the early evolution stages of the younger community colleges, faculty participation was increasing intermittently and less rapidly—with many difficulties and dissimilarities among their governance procedures—especially on the issues of merit, promotion, and tenure. On these latter two issues, particularly, the state and community colleges emerged as truly distinct types. On the five issues, two of the state colleges conformed quite closely to a typical administrative primacy classification while the third was not too dissimilar. For the community colleges, however, within-type differences were much greater. The within-type variation finding indicated a marked difference by institution for the two-year colleges.

Still, what possibly accounts for the dissimilarities in the distribution of authority by type of institution can only be hypothesized. For example, in that companion study which included but was not limited to the same institutions and two of the same issues, Leslie (1971) examined faculty perceptions of the legitimacy of governance which is—roughly—a measure of authority, since that concept, authority, is based in definition on socially "legitimated" status. In his study, Leslie also found differences obtained according to type of institution, and he hypothesized that those differences, partially at least, were related "to expressed dissatisfaction with external controls on some kinds of decision-making at the state colleges" and "faculty satisfaction with their role in influencing decision-making in the community colleges" (p. 128). Leslie further suggested that the kind of control under which the institutions operated and the particular role in governance which the faculties accommodated accounted for some of the variations in their faculties' perceptions of legitimacy. This role accommodation is particularly pertinent since the state college faculty

as a type had a larger role than the community college faculty. And at one of the community colleges where they did not play a large role, one faculty still had a significant opportunity for such a role, a perception that made a difference not discernible through the zonal classifications.

It is also possible that the conceptual lens and classification scheme are important variables in the distribution of authority by type of institution. For example, Pace (1975) has shown that two different institutional classification schemes, the College and University Environment Scale and the Carnegie Commission classifications, can blur "real" distinctions.

> However one classifies institutions initially, differences between them on other dimensions can be blurred. . . . The case for diversity and distinctiveness within the system of higher education is stronger if one uses the CUES typology than it would be if one used the Carnegie Commission's classification system. At a time when institutional diversity and distinctiveness appear to be eroding toward some common denominator, the way in which one looks at the system may be especially important (p. 10).

Two possible conclusions may be drawn from this analysis. The first is that participation in governance and perceptions of legitimacy are not always positively correlated. This point appears to contradict the many recommended solutions to institutional governance problems that call for increased participation and shared authority. In some cases, participation may not only be unnecessary but unproductive or counterproductive. The mere opportunity to participate or the perception of that opportunity may be all that is required.

The second item of ultimate significance in these findings is related to and lends credence to Keeton's recommendation that governance structures and procedures be tailored to *individual institutions* rather than to types of institutions. In point of fact, a finer analysis of the participation practices at the six colleges in this study revealed that the similarities in their distributions of authority were accompanied by distinctions in their modes of decision-making, in their particular patterns of governance; and therein lies the crux of this whole governance matter, i.e., the way, method, or style in which decisions actually are reached.

How authority is likely to be distributed in the future will depend, to a large extent, on whether the opportunity to participate in institutional decision making is readily available to or contentiously withheld from either constituency. For although participation varied from issue to issue, most of the evidence pointed to an increased interest on the part of the faculty for more active involvement in decision making or at least the perception of the

opportunity to become involved. The attitudes and perceptions of the internal constituencies towards each other could have a great deal to do with how the faculty and administrators cope with external agencies.

The significant data to emerge from the analysis of the results of this study are that academic governance according to the AAHE classification for the distribution of authority between faculty and administrators varied distinctively among the three variables of issue, institution, and type of institution. Therefore, any assessment of governance among colleges and universities must not ignore these variables when examining institutional decision making in higher education.

Although the evidence indicated some similarities in governance among institutions of a particular type, there were enough individual differences within each type to warrant the conclusion that governance practices differed according to institution. A variety of elements apparently have very strong impact on any institution's decision-making practices. Such things as history, tradition, custom, and age of institution as well as the personnel, their perceptions, values, and attitudes, and any peculiarly contemporary institutional conditions may all have a determining effect on the colleges' overall governance patterns.

Significantly, it seems that the critical implication of the study has to do directly with an institution's style of administration. For, as the data strongly suggest, particularly in the example of two of the community colleges, institutions of the same type are classified similarly in their distributions of authority but are administered quite differently and with rather divergent consequences. The administrative style or the mode of decision making which is practiced at an institution substantially contributes to the pattern of governance between the faculty and administration. That pattern could be a cooperative enterprise characterized by trust and satisfaction or an adversary relationship full of harmful conflict and dissension (accepting the thesis that a certain amount of conflict is healthy). The key human variable in determining what the administrative style and concomitant pattern of governance will be at a given institution is the president of the institution. The manner in which he is able to legitimate his formal position and thereby guide the institution's governance procedures is of critical importance. A combination of Peabody's (1962) formal and functional authority socially legitimated by the faculty constituency through Selznick's (1957) theory of value infusion appears to result in less conflict and a successful administrative style. In universities, conflict is often resolved through a kind of lawlessness, consisting

of vague and incomplete rules characterized by ambiguous and uncodified procedures. In the words of Cohen and March (1974), universities belong "to a class of organizations that can be called organized anarchies" (p. 2). A moderate amount of procedural codification is of utmost importance, then, since "in the long run, the sources of injustice and organizational chaos are probably to be found more often in the lack of definite procedures" (Caplow and McGee 1958, p. 215). Such codification is essential to the communication system of an organization which permits authority to be exercised and legitimated more effectively. Without established channels of communication and participation between constituencies, confusion, conflict, and dissension are almost inevitable. A codified system to facilitate involvement must be provided or at least permitted by the chief executive.

Issue, institution, and type must all be considered in any exercise of academic governance, but administrative style and constituency perceptions cannot be overlooked if effective governance is a goal of the parties involved. Structures and processes designed to increase participation and assure shared authority are not the complete answer to governance problems for all institutions. People and perceptions are at least as important as procedures and participation.

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