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ABSTRACT

The results of analyzing institutional change profiles for 17 four-year undergraduate colleges are discussed. Using critical event cycles as a unit of analysis, attention was focused on distinctive patterns of institutional adaptation. Based on site visits, a list of 33 critical events at the 17 campuses was developed, from which 13 critical event cycles were identified. The most pre-emptive pattern associated with organizational change (in 6 of the 17 colleges) was the prominence of the enrollment shortfall followed by the presidential shake-up cycle. All of the colleges experienced a financial crisis in the early 1970s, precipitated largely by unanticipated enrollment shortfalls. All appointed new presidents between 1971-1975, who were granted broad powers for restabilizing the institution. Patterns associated with persistence and stability were also identified. The picture that emerged was generally one of institutions driven primarily by external forces/actors and student consumers, and only sometimes by powerful presidents. Changes in Carnegie classification in 1970, 1976, and 1978, as well as substantive changes in curriculum and student and faculty composition during the 1970s, were also analyzed. Lists of the critical events and cycles are appended. (SW)

The Adaptation of Four Year Undergraduate Colleges to Current Fiscal and Enrollment Pressures: An Exploration of Critical Event Cycles at Seventeen Campuses

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The Adaptation of Four Year Undergraduate Colleges to Current Fiscal and Enrollment Pressures: An Exploration of Critical Event Cycles at Seventeen Campuses

BACKGROUND

Among American institutions of higher education, four year undergraduate colleges have proved most vulnerable to the impact of declining enrollments, inflation and fiscal austerity (Stadtman, 1980). Between 1969 and 1976, a disproportionate number of these institutions closed their doors; and among those that have remained open, a significant minority appeared to have made significant adaptations in their overall mission and program. The extent of this adaptation is confirmed by the results of the 1978 Carnegie Council Survey of Institutional Adaptations to the 1970s as well as by a significant shift of institutions out of the Liberal Arts I and II Carnegie Classifications (1970) into the Comprehensive College and University I and II Carnegie Categories (by 1976). Under a two year grant from the Exxon Education Foundation, Pfnister, Finkelstein, and Farrar are examining the adaptive processes of a sample of institutions that were all classified in 1970 as Liberal Arts I or II--approximately half of these institutions have since been reclassified as comprehensives and approximately half as persisted in their original liberal arts classification. The larger Exxon study includes a secondary analysis of available data bases (the 1978 Carnegie Council Survey, chronicling changes between 1969 and the late 1970s; the 1969 and 1976 HEGIS data files on opening fall enrollments, finance, and faculty; the 1969 and 1976 American Council on Education and Student Surveys; and the 1969 American Council on Education Faculty Survey) as well as field visits to twenty-three such institutions. Its purpose is severalfold: (1) To empirically categorize the types of adaptations that have occurred and to

explore the meaning of those apparent changes/adaptations for these organizations (How do changes reflected in survey responses correspond to perceptions of change in the campus community?); (2) To describe and explain the processes by which these institutions have adapted to changing conditions; and (3) to attempt to link the species of adaptive process to the current status of the institution (Are institutions now better or worse off than they were in 1969?).

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Last year, at the annual meeting of the American Association of Higher Education, the investigators presented the results of a cluster analysis of institutional change profiles based on a sample of eighty-six liberal arts colleges responding to the 1978 Carnegie Council Survey. That cluster analysis yielded five types or patterns of institutional adaptation to the pressures of the 1970s, constituting something of a continuum ranging from basic stability in curriculum, student and faculty characteristics, to high change in all three areas.

The current study is a preliminary effort to extend the analysis to the data we have collected from seventeen of the site visits conducted thus far. In approaching these visits, the investigators were guided by their perception that previous research on the nature of organization life and change in American higher education, generally, and in the liberal arts college, in particular, had tended to have either an idiographic/individual or nomothetic/group focus, i.e. tended to focus either via the case study on the peculiarities of experience of one or more individual organizations (e.g., Clark, 1960; Baldridge, 1969; Hodgkinson, 1971; Riesman and Stadtman, 1973) or alternatively on the commonalities of group experience

(principally Stadtman, 1980; and to a lesser extent, Anderson, 1977). Within this context, we were struck by the host of common elements that characterize the adaptive process at these institutions--reflected principally in a large array of common "critical events" whose occurrence and even timing are widely replicated across very different sorts of institutions. Virtually all of these critical events appear to be packed into four-five year time frame during the first half of the decade of the 1970s. They include, for example, a change of president; a reformulation of faculty governance structures (allowing for a significantly larger share of faculty influence of institutional governance); a change in the role of and/or composition of the Board of Trustees; a fiscal or normative organizational crisis that threatens to tear the organization apart and sets the context and/or agenda for developments in the latter half of the decade of the seventies. At the same time, we were struck by how these apparently common events had very different interrelationships and organizational meanings across institutions and indeed, though elementally, similar, were part of fundamentally different organizational adaptive responses.

In light of these operations, we sought to examine the common elements (employing "critical events" as the unit of analysis) as a means for identifying modal event configuration patterns over time which would reflect the types of adaptive responses taking place among our sample institutions--a kind of harkening back to Allport's "event-structure" theory (Allport, 1955) in such a way as to preserve the peculiarities of individual organizational experience as well as the common interrelationships among those individual experiences. We hoped then to be in a position to explain those modal event sequences or even structures in terms of their relationship to general organizational characteristics (e.g. Carnegie classification) in

1970 and 1976 as well as to the results of our earlier cluster analysis of institutional change profiles.

METHOD

Procedures

The current study began with the generation of a comprehensive "laundry list" of some 100 "critical events"[1] at the seventeen campuses based on a thorough review of site visit summaries. In the interest of manageability, a reduction of the "laundry list" to some thirty-three critical events was undertaken via a modified Delphi technique.[2] These thirty-three critical events were then arrayed against a time line for each of the seventeen sample campuses.

An examination of these critical event x time arrays, however, revealed about as many modal sequences as there were sample institutions. The central problem appeared to reside with the unit of analysis. By isolating discrete critical events, we were ignoring the very particularized interrelationship among events that give them their organization specific meaning on a given campus. Most simply put, in some cases, a given event functions more as a "primary cause"; while, in other cases, it clearly constituted a consequence of some other "primary cause." A given critical event was associated with a particular constellation of simultaneous events on one campus, but not on another. In an effort to at once maintain a common unit of analysis across sample institutions and recognize the interrelationship among critical events that defines their meaning, a new unit of analysis was developed: the event cycle. The event cycle defines a unit of more than one of the thirty-three critical events that tend to co-occur, usually based on some assumption about

cause and effect among the events. While such assumptions often appear rather simplistic or primitive, they are lent considerable credibility when tested against the actual site visit data and have proved quite heuristic in making sense of that very complex data base. The results that follow describe the thirteen critical event cycles we have identified which are then arrayed over time in an effort to abstract modal squences that define distinctive patterns of institutional adaptation.

The Sample

Before presenting the results, a word must be said about the selection of the seventeen campuses upon which this analysis is based. Initially, we identified a convenience sample of eighty-six institutions that had been classified by the Carnegie Council as Liberal Arts I or II in 1970 and responded to the Carnegie Council's 1978 Survey of Institutional Adaptations to the 1970s (approximately 1/8-1/9 of the population of liberal arts colleges in 1970). Approximately one-half of these eighty-six institutions had retained their liberal arts classification by 1976 while the other half had been reclassified as Comprehensive I or II. Using the Carnegie 1978 survey data, two cluster analyses were performed on this group: One cluster of analysis of change profiles, 1969-1978 (based on those survey items eliciting data on changes between 1969-1978 in curriculum, student and faculty composition) that yielded five clusters or patterns of change, ranging from relative stability to high change; a second cluster analysis of institutional status profiles in 1978 (based on those survey items eliciting data on curriculum, faculty and student composition at the time of the survey), yielding five clusters or types of institutions as they appeared in 1978. Based on these results, the eighty-six sample institutions were arrayed on a 5 x 5 matrix (change pattern x current status). After

eliminating all cells where N = 0 or 1, we selected an approximately one-half sample of about thirty-five institutions stratified by cell. Twenty-three of these institutions that agreed to participate and that could be conveniently visited given travel budget constraints formed the site visit sample--a sample that is hardly random, but appears to be fairly representative of the types of liberal arts colleges and the major patterns of change during the 1970s. The group of seventeen forming the basis for this analysis merely constitute the first seventeen campuses visited.

THE RESULTS

A. The Thirteen Event Cycles

The thirty-three critical events which formed the proximate basis for this analysis are presented in Appendix I. On the basis of these critical events and the site visit summaries, thirteen event cycles were identified (v. Appendix II). The first three cycles relate specifically to institutional enrollments. The first two are driven by unanticipated enrollment fluctuations: (1) The enrollment shortfall cycle is associated within a very short time with one or more of the following consequences/events--increased curricular change activity, most notably a "loosening" of general education requirements and the adding of new programs; the institution of new budgeting/planning procedures; faculty layoffs; exiting of the president; reorganization of the board; changing the nature of an institution's church affiliation; (2) The enrollment increase cycle is generally associated with a tightening of curricular requirements (especially in general education) and a general decrement in overall change activity. The third enrollment related cycle is driven by a planned increase in institutional size, often in conjunction with a move into coeducation. Empirically,

such planned expansion tends to be associated with financial difficulties, enrollment shortfalls, layoffs, administrative reorganization and changes in institutional governance structures (as faculty and department size increases, old governance mechanisms tend to be strained to the breaking point).

The fourth and fifth event cycles are driven directly by students. The student protest cycle drives curricular change (especially the loosening of degree requirements), changes in governance (primarily involving an increased student role), a loosening of regulations of student life, and, in some cases, the exit of the president. The decline in student quality cycle drives a gradual tightening of curricular requirements and the development of new programs focusing on writing and remediation in basic skills.

The sixth event cycle is driven by the institutional president. What we refer to as the presidential shake-up cycle, usually involves a newly arrived president, and is associated with the establishment of new kinds of relationships with the local community, changes in enrollment and financial stability, changes in governance, including reorganization of the Board of Trustees, major examination of institutional goals and mission, new curricular initiatives, and general housecleaning (including administrative reorganization and belt tightening measures).

The next six event cycles are driven by conditions/ actors external to the institution itself. They include: (7) the merger cycle, usually precipitated itself by the enrollment shortfall/deficit cycle, tends to fulminate a major campus controversy and to be associated with enrollment shortfalls, financial difficulty, heightened curricular change; (8) the change in institutional competition cycle is usually precipitated by either the founding of a new institution in the local community (often a community

college) or the change in status of an already extant local institution (e.g. going coeducational or being absorbed into the state system). These events tend to be associated most notably with a flurry of curricular activity at the focal institution (usually the development of new majors and degree programs) and, sometimes, with the precipitation of the enrollment shortfall cycle; (9) the regional accreditation cycle, precipitated usually by the ten year formal reaccreditation visit, tends to drive a variety of changes, including major examinations of institutional goals/mission, changes in curriculum, organization, administration and faculty governance as well as conditions of faculty service;[3] (10) the state level pressure cycle relates either to the bringing to bear on the focal institution of pressure to provide services where existing needs cannot be met or met as cheaply by a public institution or the embroilment with state courts over the issue of channeling public funds to church affiliated institutions. In the former case, public pressure tends to be associated with new program developments and/or the service of new types of students. In the latter case, it precipitates financial difficulties (the threat or actual withholding of public funds) and even the changing of institutional church affiliation; (11) the broad social movement cycle involves the influence of broad social movements, e.g. the woman's movement, on the redefinition of institutional mission and goals, and ultimately programming. The most obvious examples are to be found among women's colleges who during the early and mid-1970s began to more self-consciously increase their emphasis on serving the particular educational needs of older, reentry women; (12) the external grants cycle, the last of the externally drive cycles, is not infrequently used by central administrators as a mechanism for "forcing" decisions. Receipt of an external grant will often be

associated with curricular change (especially new programs).

Finally, we arrive at what we have referred to as the anniversary cycle. By that we mean to refer to those events planned in observance of an institution's centennial or sesquicentennial. These tend to involve expansion of the student body size (thus making it a special case of the planned increase in institutional size cycle) or the introduction of a new curricular departure.

B. Patterns of Event Cycle Sequences

Appendix III presents the sequence of event cycles over time for each sample institution. An examination of those sequences suggested six distinctive patterns of institutional adaptive response: Two patterns that are associated with significant organizational change and four patterns that are associated with varying degrees of persistence and stability.[4]

Patterns Associated with Significant Organizational Change. The most preemptive pattern, characterizing six of the seventeen sample institutions can be distinguished by the prominence of the enrollment shortfall or deficit cycle followed by the presidential shake-up cycle. All of these institutions experienced a significant financial crisis in the early 1970s precipitated for the most part by unanticipated enrollment shortfalls. All appointed new presidents between 1971-1975, in the midst of their difficulties, who were granted broad powers for restabilizing the institution. These presidential "movers and shakers" were instrumental in re-focusing the institutions, most often via broad-based changes in curricular programming (in 4/6 cases involving the development of successful off-campus programs; in 2/6 involving the development of successful graduate and professional programs), reorganization of the central administration and the

board, strong public relations/marketing efforts combined with various retrenchment measures (including layoffs and the tightening of budgetary controls). By the late 1970s, all of these institutions had begun to restabilize financially around a reformulated mission (often harkening back to a pre-1960s mission element that had been lost) and to be in the process of "fine tuning" characteristic of the enrollment increase cycle.

A second distinctive pattern--characteristic of the highest change--is characterized by two waves of the presidential shake-up cycle. Both of the two very different institutions reflecting this pattern (one that began as a small, private, western teacher training institution; the other as a selective eastern women's college) can be characterized as in a state of "drift" in the late 1960s--in the last years of a long term, paternalistic presidency. Both institutions turned in the early 1970s to the appointment of a new president with a mandate to serve as a "mover and shaker." Both new presidents, true to their mandate, initiated a frantic, largely unplanned flurry of curricular/programmatic change during the first half of the 1970s. By 1975, both institutions found themselves having moved from drift to programmatic chaos, and began to experience some financial problems. Both "movers and shakers" resigned and were succeeded by another kind of "mover and shaker": The consolidator. Both consolidating presidents, while continuing to experiment with curricular and programmatic change, have tended to focus more on the planning function, the fine tuning and consolidation of the initiatives of the early seventies, and the financial restabilization of the institution. In both cases, the institutions ended the 1970s on the enrollment increase cycle.

Patterns Associated with Persistence and Stability. The first distinctive pattern reflecting basic continuity/stability is evidence by two church related institutions. Both of these institutions experienced important changes in institutional competition during the 1970s: In one case, as a result first of the parent church shrinking the college's recruitment territory and second of the accreditation of a new, local community college; in the second case, a woman's college, as a result of its sister men's college decision to go coeducational. Both institutions responded to the new competition with a flurry of curricular/programmatic activity designed either to directly challenge the competition (e.g. developing several new associate degree programs to compete with the community college) or to offset the competition by developing new student markets (e.g., new continuing education programs). Both institutions managed to maintain and even increase enrollments in the face of this new competition and did so within the framework of a broad reassertion of their traditional mission.

The remaining three patterns of relative stability are evidenced by a group of seven highly selective liberal arts colleges. The first such pattern (N = 2) is distinguished by the prominence of the student protest cycle in the late sixties and the early 1970s. At both institutions, the loosening of degree requirements in the late sixties and early seventies and the increased role of students in institutional governance were driven by such protest; and presidencies begun in the late sixties were embroiled throughout the first half of the seventies in protest-related campus controversy. The mid-1970s saw the resignation of both presidents and the appointment of a "healer" president to bring the campus community back together. While neither institution experienced serious financial difficulty in the early

seventies, both have consolidated their financial position under the "healer" president.

The second such pattern (N = 2) is distinguished by the prominence of the planned increase in institutional size cycle followed by the enrollment shortfall cycle. Both institutions planned for expanding their student body in the late sixties via the introduction of coeducation. Both experienced small, but significant enrollment shortfalls in the early seventies and ran operating deficits for 2-4 years. While developing some new student markets via modest continuing education programs, both approached their deficits with a basic strategy of "narrowing their base," i.e. focusing rather than expanding programs, and slightly reducing faculty size. Both were led by a single president throughout the seventies who tended to guide the institution via the appointment of a series of ad hoc planning groups.

The last such pattern (N = 3) is distinguished by the prominence of the enrollment increase cycle. Beginning in the mid-sixties, enrollments steadily grew over the next fifteen years. While not immune from general developments in American higher education, what changes occurred at these three campuses tended to be internally generated--in two cases a result of the anniversary sequence (what can we do by way of observing our sesquicentennial). The one exception to this generalization is provided by a formerly church-affiliated campus that became embroiled for two years during the early seventies in a court case concerning their eligibility to receive state capitation grants. In response, that institution formally severed its already loose relationship with the church. It should be emphasized, however, that once the matter was settled, the institution

began where it had left off; and one senses that the matter was more a brief, annoying interruption in the continued pursuit of a constant course.

C. The Correlates of Adaptive Patterns

Tables 1-3 below present the results of cross-tabulating patterns of adaptive response (pattern of event cycle sequence) with three organizational characteristics: (1) Change in Carnegie classification between 1970 and 1976; (2) degree of substantive change in curriculum, student and faculty composition during the 1970s, as revealed in the cluster analysis of institutional change profiles; and (3) institutional status in 1978 as revealed in the second cluster analysis of the 1978 Carnegie survey data.

An examination of Table 1 suggest that in the first place institutions classified as Liberal Arts II in 1970 (seven of these nine had formal church affiliations in 1970 of varying strength) were more likely to have shown adaptive patterns characterized by high change (especially pattern 1, the enrollment shortfall cycle followed by the presidential shake-up cycle) than institutions classified as Liberal Arts I in 1970. Hardly surprising, to be sure. At the same time, however, Table 1 suggests that the correspondence between adaptive patterns and Carnegie classification is hardly perfect. At least two church related institutions classified as Liberal Arts II in 1970 showed a very different pattern of adaptive response than their counterparts characterized by relative persistence in mission and goals despite changes in curricular programming. Moreover, among those institutions classified as Liberal Arts I in 1970, one finds three rather different patterns of institutional adaptation during the 1970s.

Similarly, an examination of Table 2 reveals a less than perfect correspondence between patterns of adaptive response and degree of substantive

change over the decade of the 1970s in curriculum, student and faculty characteristics. While the four institutions characterized by adaptive patterns 3 and 4 (persistence amid changing institutional competition and student protest) appear to share common levels of substantive change during the 1970s (moderate and low, respectively), the remaining four adaptive patterns show quite varying levels of substantive change during the seventies among their institutional membership.

Finally, an examination of Table 3 reveals much the same lack of correspondence between pattern of adaptive response and the clustering of institutions by their curricular and student-faculty configuration as it had developed by the end of the 1970s.

SOME SUGGESTIVE INFERENCES

It would be obviously quite rash to attempt to draw any solid generalizations from so small and non-random a sample and so "loose" a set of data analytic procedures. What inferences can be drawn are, at best, suggestive and should most properly be viewed as hypotheses for further testing.

As regards the event cycles themselves, it is of more than passing interest to note that virtually half of them even at these private institutions are "externally" driven. The second largest group is driven directly or indirectly by students and their enrollment patterns. While institutional presidents certainly emerge as a driving force at least at some institutions, the faculty does not. Indeed the picture that emerges is generally one of institutions that are driven primarily by external forces/actors and student consumers and only sometimes by powerful presidents.

The nature of these external forces/actors and student consumers vary, however, as do the organization responses they elicit. Examining those

adaptive responses, the first hypothesis one might hazard is that the patterns of events characterizing institutional adaptation to the pressures of the 1970s may be relatively independent of the level of substantive change undertaken. In one sense, it appears to be closely related to the amount of substantive change actually occurring at these institutions, i.e. one set of patterns clearly characterized those institutions that undertook substantial change in program and mission while quite another set characterized those institutions that remained relatively stable during the 1970s in their program and mission. At the same time, however, in another sense, adaptive patterns may be viewed as quite independent of the amount of substantive change actually occurring at these institutions, i.e. institutions chartered different paths in maintaining relative stability or undertaking broad based change. While the particular path taken bears some relationship to institutional type as reflected at least in the Carnegie classifications of 1970 and 1976 (less selective Liberal Arts II institutions were much more likely to have experienced presidential shake-ups and to have changed over the course of the 1970s than more selective Liberal Arts I institutions), it appears at the same time to be quite independent of institutional type (some church related Liberal Arts II institutions in 1970 took a very different path from their counterparts; and there is considerable differentiation in the courses charted by Liberal Arts I institutions). Within the context of these observations, the clear patterning of adaptive responses suggest that they cannot be attributable to mere organizational idicyncracies. It would appear, then, that some more basic organizational similarities that are largely hidden by most classification schemes are at work here. At present, we are in the process of exploring the concept of sociological set (an adaptation of Haas and

Drabeck's concept of organizational set--Haas and Drabeck, 19) as such a potentially useful explanatory variable. The concept of sociological set proceeds from an open systems view of colleges and universities as organizations and focuses on the interaction of the organization with its own particularized environment. It assumes that an organization's environmental niche as reflected in its mission and goals, the nature of composition of its membership, their backgrounds, orientations, and interactions, sets certain parameters within which the organization can operate. And it is indeed similarity and variation in these organization's parameters that guide adaptive responses to the pressures of the 1970s.

One final critical question remains: What are the consequences of the different paths taken for these organizations? And to what extent are the various consequences associated more with the amount of substantive adaptation or the particular paths taken to these substantive adaptations? By the end of the 1970s, all seventeen of these institutions found themselves in a more stable financial condition than when the decade began. That stability may, however, be rather short-lived. Some institutions had managed to stabilize by focusing on a single student market (e.g. nursing degree completion program); and they may be exceedingly vulnerable to shifts in the student market in the 1980s. Others, recognize that demographic shifts are likely to hit them harder in the early eighties during the course of the seventies. The consequences of the road taken and not taken will be brought into clearer focus, then, in the 1980s. And we will be seeking to explore those consequences, at least initially, in the near future.

Table 1

Pattern of Adaptive Response by

Change in Carnegie Classification, 1970-76

Pattern of Adaptive Response	N	Change in Carnegie Classification					
		LII → CII	LII → CI	LII → LI	LI → CII	LI → CI	LI → LI
(1) Presidential Shake-up	6	4	1	1	-	-	-
(2) Shake-up & Consolidation	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
(3) Resistance Amid Changing Competition	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
(4) Student Protest	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
(5) Coeducation	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
(6) Enrollment Increase	3	-	-	-	-	1	2

Table 2

Pattern of Adaptive Response by

Institutional Change Profile, 1969-77*

Pattern of Adaptive Response	N	Institutional Change Profile, 1969-77		
		Relative Stability	Moderate Change	High Change
(1) Presidential Shake-up	5	3	1	1
(2) Shake-up & Consolidation	2	1	-	1
(3) Persistence Amid Changing Conditions	2	-	-	2
(4) Student Protest	2	2	-	-
(5) Coeducation	2	1	1	-
(6) Enrollment Increase	2	1	-	1

* Reflecting substantive change in curriculum (adding/dropping programs; enrollment shifts), student composition (% non-traditional; f/t vs. p/t), faculty size and personnel policies.

Table 3

Pattern of Adaptive Response by

Institutional Status in 1978[a]

Pattern of Adaptive Response	N	Institutional Status in 1978[b]				
		Pure Traditional	Professionally-Oriented Traditional	Multi-Purpose	"Limited" Multipurpose I	"Limited Multipurpose II
(1) Presidential Shake-up	5					
(2) Shake-up & Consolidation	2					
(3) Persistence Amid Changing Competition	2					
(4) Student Protest	2					
(5) Coeducation	2					
(6) Enrollment Increase	2					

[a] Reflecting curricular programs (traditional arts and sciences vs. professional/vocational), student composition (% non-traditional; f/t resident vs. p/t), selectivity, and the role of faculty in governance.

[b] v. attached

Footnote

[b] The "Pure Traditional" represents the classic, elite liberal arts college, with little emphasis on vocational preparation, no professional (baccalaureate level) or occupational (non-baccalaureate) course offerings, and a basically traditional, resident student body drawn from across the nation. They have relatively small, stable enrollments.

At the opposite extreme, are the Multi-Purpose Institutions. These show a relatively high emphasis on vocational preparation, and a high level of professional and occupational course offerings (at least one-half of all baccalaureate degrees are in professional areas rather than traditional arts and sciences), boast a relatively high percentage of part-time students (33 percent), a low proportion of resident on-campus students, and a significant minority offer off-campus, external degree programs. They tend to be urban, church-related institutions that have grown considerably in enrollment over the past decade.

In between these two extremes, there are three groups of institutions. Two of these are relatively closer to the "Pure Traditionals." The first of these we have labelled the Professionally Oriented Traditionals. These are, for the most part, non-urban institutions with a relatively low emphasis on vocational preparation, together with limited offerings in the baccalaureate level, professional area. They represent a professional, as opposed to vocational, version of the liberal arts. They retain a predominantly resident student body, drawn to a considerable extent from out of state. While they have adapted to some development of the late 1960s and early 1970s (e.g., instructional technology, remedial education programs), the new developments are of relatively minor importance. The second of these we have labelled the Limited Multi-Purpose I Institutions. These institutions are more self-consciously oriented to career preparation than the Professionally Oriented Traditionals: about one-third to 40 percent of the baccalaureate degrees they award are in professional fields as opposed to the traditional arts and sciences. While they offer baccalaureate-level professional course work of similar scope to the Professionally Oriented Traditionals, they are less likely to have adopted terminal vocational programs. They have tended, like the "Pure Traditionals," to maintain their selectivity and a relatively traditional, resident student body.

Finally, closer to the Multi-Purpose Institutions, are the Limited Multi-Purpose II Institutions. These share with the Limited Multi-Purpose I a more self-conscious orientation to vocational preparation. They differ primarily in two respects; (1) they tend to offer a fuller range or professional BA-level studies and a fuller, albeit still limited range, of terminal vocational programs; (2) they resemble the Multi-Purpose Institutions in their tendency to be less selective (indeed, 20 percent admit all high school graduates), to have a less clearly resident, traditional student body, and to be actively engaged in the recruitment of non-traditional students (including the offering on non-campus-based degree programs).

APPENDIX I

List of Thirty-three Critical Events

Curricular	1. B.A. requirements (add/drop) 2. New B.A. and majors 3. Graduate programs 4. External programs
Students	1. Going co-educational 2. Protests 3. Change in size 4. Change in competition 5. Quality
Faculty	1. Lay-offs 2. Freeze promotion/tenure 3. Exodus of faculty 4. New governance 5. Faculty grievance to Board of Trustees
Organization and Administration	1. Change in president 2. Professional business officer 3. Community relations 4. Board reorganization 5. New budget procedures 6. Consultant's recommendations 7. Enrollment shift 8. Operating deficit 9. Balance or surplus/operating funds 10. Major change in endowment/gifts 11. Major study of mission/goals (including planning) 12. Major change in statement of mission/goals
External	1. Religious affiliation 2. Accreditation report 3. Merger 4. Change in institutional competition 5. State legislation/legal problems 6. External grants

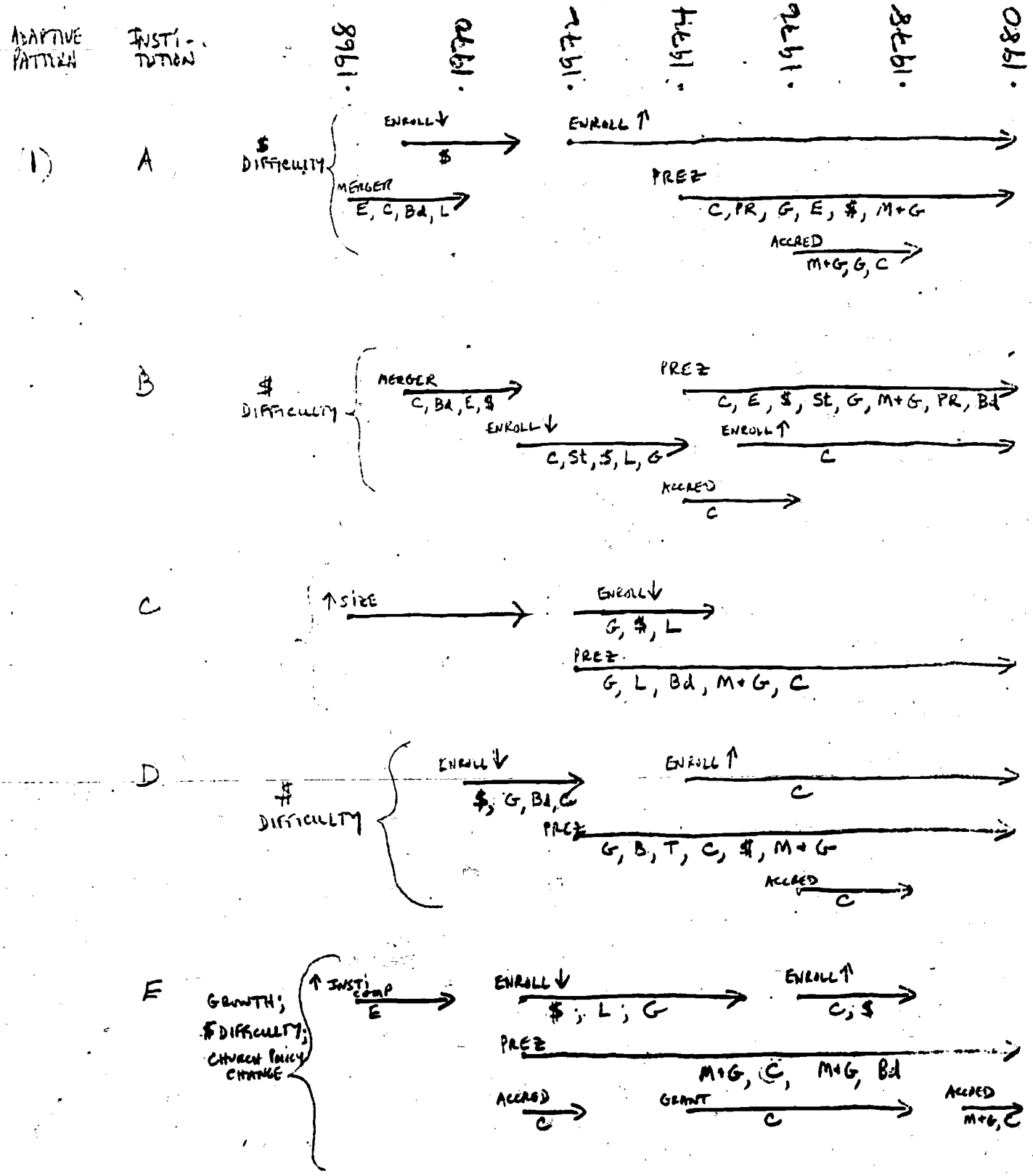
APPENDIX II

The 13 Event Cycles

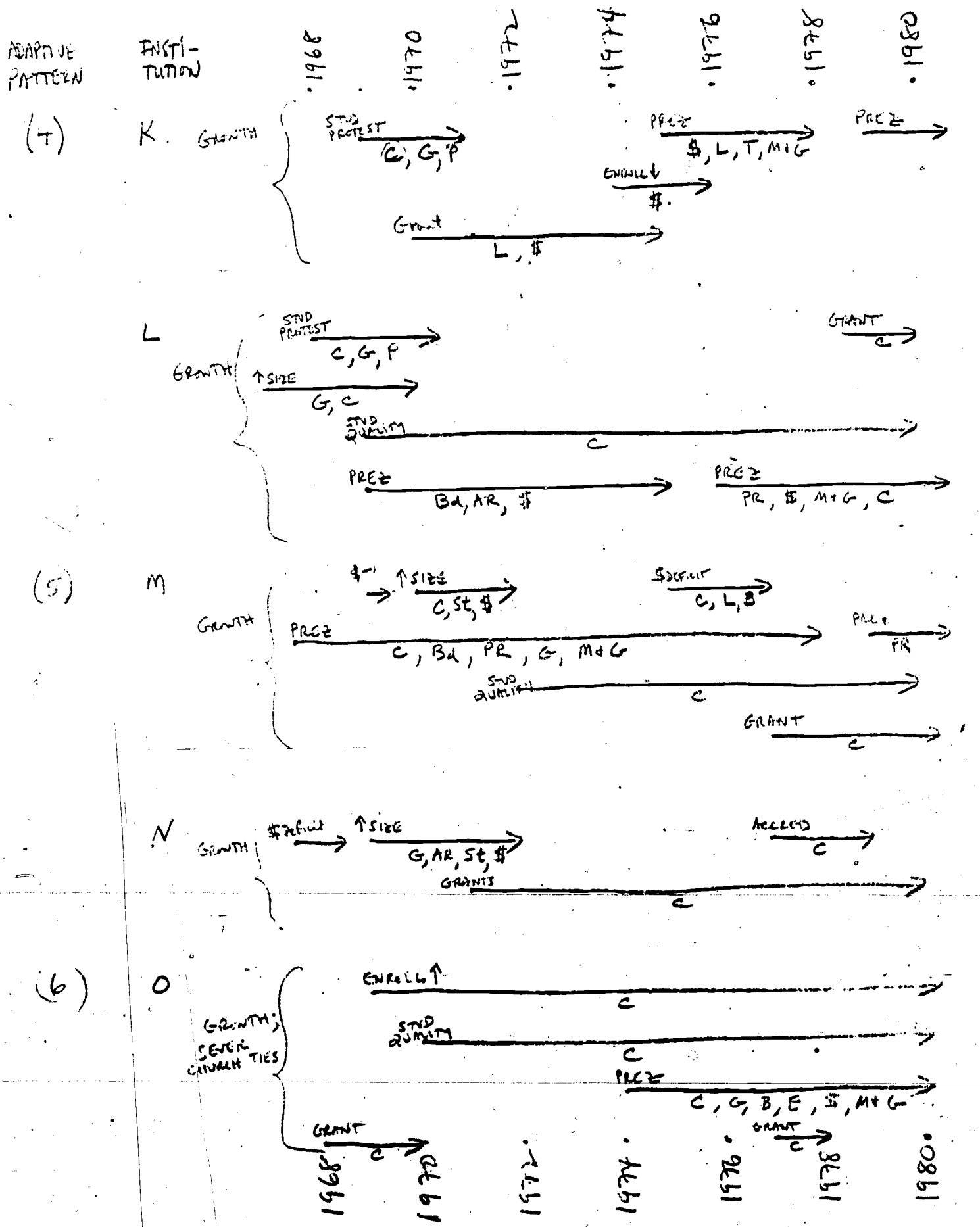
Event Cycle	Associated Events/Consequences
Enrollment Shortfall	Curricular change (loosening and adding)
	New governance structure
	New budget procedures
	Reorganization of Board
	Change in church affiliation
	Resignation of president
	Faculty layoffs
Enrollment Increase	Curricular change (tightening and dropping)
Student Size Increase (coeducation)	Enrollment shortfall
	Operating deficit
	New governance structure
	Administrative reorganization
	Faculty layoffs
Student Protest	Curricular change (loosening and adding)
	New governance structure
	Resignation of president
	Change in student life policies

Event Cycle	Associated Events/Consequences
Decline in Student Quality	Curricular change (remediation and tightening)
	Coeducation
Presidential Shake-up	Reorganization of Board
	Mission and goals examination
	New governance structure
	Curricular change (loosening and adding)
	Emphasis on community relations (public)
	Enrollment shortfall or increase
	Operating deficit or surplus
Merger	Operating deficit
	Faculty layoffs
	Enrollment shortfall
	Curricular change (loosening and adding)
	Internal controversy
Change in Institutional Competition	Curricular change (adding)
	Enrollment shortfall
State Level Pressure	Operating deficit
	Curricular change (adding)

Event Cycle	Associated Events/Consequences
Regional Accreditation Visit	Mission and goods examination
	Curricular change
	New governance structure
	Change in conditions of faculty employment
	Administrative reorganization
External Grant	Curricular change (tightening and adding)
Broad Social Movement (e.g. Women's Movement)	Mission and goals examination Curricular change (adding)
Anniversary	Student size increase
	Curricular change


ADAPTIVE PATTERN
INSTITUTION
1961
1963
1965
1967
1969
1971
1973
1975
1977
1979
1981
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
1968
1970
1972
1974
1976
1978
1980
1) A
$ DIFFICULTY
ENROLL ↓
$
ENROLL ↑
MERGER
E, C, Bd, L
PREZ
C, PR, G, E, $, M+G
ACCRED
M+G, G, C
B
$ DIFFICULTY
MERGER
C, Bd, E, $
PREZ
C, E, $, St, G, M+G, PR, Bd
ENROLL ↓
C, St, $, L, G
ENROLL ↑
C
ACCRED
C
C
↑ SIZE
ENROLL ↓
G, $, L
PREZ
G, L, Bd, M+G, C
D
DIFFICULTY
ENROLL ↓
$, G, Bd, C
ENROLL ↑
C
PREZ
G, B, T, C, $, M+G
ACCRED
C
E
GROWTH; $ DIFFICULTY; CHURCH POLICY CHANGE
↑ INSTI COMP
E
ENROLL ↓
$; L; G
ENROLL ↑
C; $
PREZ
M+G, C, M+G, Bd
ACCRED
C
GRANT
C
ACCRED
M+G, C

ADAPTIVE PATTERN
INSTITUTION
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
1991
(1)
F
GROWTH, $ DIFFICULTY
ENROLL↓
$, L, C, G
ENROLL↑
C
PREZ
C, $
PREZ
C, M+G
ACCRED
C
(2)
G
GROWTH; DRIFT
ACCRED
$, C
PREZ
M+G, E, St, C
PREZ
M+G, C, B, BL, G, $
ENROLL↑
C
ENROLL↓
$
ACCRED
G
ACCRED
C
H
DRIFT; ↓ MOMTUM
ENROLL↓
C, Coed, $
↑SIZE
E, St, $
PREZ
C, AR, B, BL, M+G
PREZ
C, St, M+G, $, B
STATE PRESSURE
C, Coed
ACCRED
C
GRANT
B
(3)
I
GROWTH
INSTI COMP
C
INSTI COMP
C, E
STATE PRESSURE
$
PREZ
M+G, C, B, $
STUD QUALITY
C
J
GROWTH
ENROLL↓
ENROLL↑
SOCIAL MOVEMENT
M+G, C
INSTI COMP
C
PREZ


ADAPTIVE PATTERN
INSTITUTION
1968
1970
1972
1974
1976
1978
1980
(4)
K.
GROWTH
STUD PROTEST
C, G, P
PREZ
$, L, T, M+G
PREZ
ENROLL↓
$.
GRANT
L, $
L
STUD PROTEST
C, G, P
GRANT
GROWTH
↑SIZE
G, C
STUD QUALITY
C
PREZ
Bd, AR, $
PREZ
PR, $, M+G, C
(5)
M
$-
↑SIZE
C, St, $
$DEFICIT
C, L, B
GROWTH
PREZ
C, Bd, PR, G, M+G
PREZ
PR
STUD QUALITY
C
GRANT
C
N
GROWTH
$Deficit
↑SIZE
G, AR, St, $
ACCRED
C
GRANTS
C
(6)
O
GROWTH; SEVER CHURCH TIES
ENROLL↑
C
STUD QUALITY
C
PREZ
C, G, B, E, $, M+G
GRANT
C
GRANT
C

1968
1970
1972
1974
1976
1978
1980

Footnotes

[1] Critical events were operationally defined as those events/incidents identified by organizational members themselves during field interviews as significant developments at their own institution during the 1970s.

[2] The researchers undertook several iterations, attempting to achieve consensus on the two or three dozen most critical events, i.e. those events that were both (1) most common, i.e. evident on the largest number of campuses; and (2) had the greatest impact on those campuses at which they were manifested. The second criterion superceded the first so that highly significant events that took place at only one or two campuses made their way to the final list of thirty-three.

[3] It should be noted that the influence of regional accrediting agencies may be no greater than at the four year liberal arts college--even the most selective of them.

[4] We conceptualize that types of adaptive responses here much the same way John Holland (19) conceptualized personality types, i.e. as ideal types which individual institutions tend to approximate to varying degrees. We assume as Holland does for individuals that each institution is predominantly of one type, while also reflecting, to varying degrees, other types or patterns. The focus, here, however, is on the single dominant type/pattern represented by each individual institution.

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