DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 437 869 HE 032 701

AUTHOR Gonzalez, Kenneth P.; Padilla, Raymond V.

TITLE Faculty Commitment and Engagement in Organizational Reform.

ASHE Annual Meeting Paper.

PUB DATE 1999-11-19

NOTE 46p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the

Association for the Study of Higher Education (24th, San

Antonio, TX, November 18-21, 1999).

PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Change Strategies; College Environment; *College Faculty;

Collegiality; Curriculum Development; Diversity (Faculty); Diversity (Institutional); *Faculty College Relationship;

Higher Education; Interdisciplinary Approach;

*Organizational Change; Organizational Development; Organizations (Groups); Outcome Based Education;

*Participative Decision Making; Policy Formation; Service

Learning; State Universities; Teamwork

IDENTIFIERS *ASHE Annual Meeting; *California State University Monterey

Bay

ABSTRACT

A quantitative research design was employed to investigate how faculty members become engaged and remain committed to organizational reform. Data collection included interviews with 17 faculty members at California State University in Monterey Bay during the academic year 1995-96, as well as several site visits. This new university was part of a federal military base conversion program; its unique vision statement included an interdisciplinary lower and upper division curriculum, an outcomes-based learning environment, innovative technology integrated into the curriculum, a service-learning environment, and a pluralistic, multicultural, multilingual academic community. The major finding was a grounded conceptualization of faculty commitment to institutional change defined as willingness to engage in the process of achieving institutional change. Two components determined the extent of faculty engagement: goal congruence and perceived viability of achieving change. When faculty and institutional goals were congruent and faculty had high expectations that the proposed innovations were feasible, faculty were willing to engage in the process of creating change. When either of these components was weak (usually as a result of institutional dynamics), faculty willingness to engage in change declined, or they disengaged entirely. (Contains 21 references.) (CH)



Faculty Commitment and Engagement in Organizational Reform

Kenneth P. González, San Jose State University

and

Raymond V. Padilla, Arizona State University

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, November 19, 1999, San Antonio, Texas.

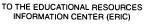
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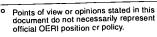
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This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held in San Antonio, Texas, November 18-21, 1999. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.



Abstract

This study investigated how faculty members became and remained committed to organizational reform. A qualitative research design was employed using a concept modeling analytical approach. The research site was a new public university with a distinctive vision, California State University at Monterey Bay. The research participants were seventeen faculty members. Individual interviews were the primary source of data, which were collected over an eighteen month period. In addition, seven visits to the research site were made.

The major finding was a grounded conceptualization of faculty commitment to institutional change. Faculty commitment was defined as willingness to engage in the process of achieving institutional change. Two components determined the extent of faculty engagement: Goal congruence and perceived viability of achieving institutional change. When faculty and institutional goals were congruent, and when the faculty had high expectations that the proposed innovations were feasible, then they were willing to engage in the process of creating institutional change. Conversely, when either of these components weakened (usually as a result of institutional dynamics), faculty commitment faltered, they questioned their willingness to continue to be engaged, or they disengaged altogether.



Faculty Commitment and Engagement in Organizational Reform

For most of the past decade, advocates for higher education reform have been beating on the doors of American postsecondary institutions. They have strengthen their argument for reform by highlighting qualitative changes external to the academy, as well as the internal critiques within it. Externally, reform advocates note the major changes that have taken place involving public finance, technology, and student demographics. Internally, they spotlight critiques crafted by scholars such as Derek Bok (1990), Ernest Boyer (1985), and Frank Newmann (1985) which point to problems such as indifferent undergraduate teaching, narrow, esoteric research, and a failure to promote moral character and civic consciousness. Unlike previous attempts at reform, the resistance that reform advocates experience does not take the form of failure to reach consensus. Instead, there is resistance to the process of moving from consensus to action (Zemsky, 1997). What many believe to be the primary obstacle in moving from consensus to action is the inability to acquire and maintain the commitment of faculty members to a reform effort (Guskin, 1996; Kennedy, 1995; Zemsky, 1997). It is precisely this obstacle that provided the motivation for this study.

The primary goal of this study was to understand the process of faculty members becoming and remaining committed to an organization's reform efforts. The study focused on the experiences of founding faculty members in the first year of a new university with a distinctive vision, California State University at Monterey Bay (CSUMB). The study was guided by the following research questions:

- a. How do founding faculty members become committed to a new university's distinctive vision?
- b. How do they sustain their commitment?
- c. How do they lose their commitment?

A brief overview of the literature on faculty commitment follows.

Faculty Commitment in Colleges and Universities

Although the research on faculty commitment is limited, two noteworthy studies provide important insights concerning faculty commitment to colleges and universities. Utilizing survey research methods and open-ended questions with a sample of 496 faculty members from four doctoral granting universities, Harshbarger (1989) identified factors that differentiated highly committed from less



committed faculty members. Harshbarger found that associate professors had significantly lower levels of institutional commitment than did their colleagues at the assistant and full professor rank. He surmised that the promise of advancement and opportunity could bolster a faculty's commitment at the assistant level, and that full professors could find commitment in the realization of that promise.

Faculty perception of autonomy also appeared to be a key factor differentiating more or less committed faculty. Faculty who felt they had more autonomy to pursue their own academic priorities reported higher levels of commitment, while faculty who felt constrained by their institution reported lower levels of commitment. Harshbarger also noted that an impersonal university environment is a key factor that reduces the commitment of faculty.

In addition to autonomy and an impersonal university environment, congruence or incongruence of personal values and perceived institutional values is another factor differentiating more or less committed faculty. Faculty who felt congruence between their personal values and the perceived institutional values reported higher levels of commitment, while faculty who felt incongruence between their values and the values of their institution reported lower levels of commitment. Finally, equity was identified as a key factor affecting the level of faculty commitment. Faculty who perceived that equity existed within their institution related to pay, resources, opportunity, and overall treatment reported higher levels of commitment. Harshbarger argued that key issues such as autonomy, impersonality, value congruence, and equity are promising starting points for understanding faculty commitment to their institutions.

Proclaimed as a pioneering attempt at studying faculty commitment, Neumann and Neumann (1990) argued that the concepts of reward and support, derived from an exchange framework, were important determinants of faculty commitment. The authors stated "that faculty members enter work situations making various investments and contributions to the university. The university, in return, is expected to provide a supportive environment that facilitates the realization of these investments and a work compensation system that is equitable in rewarding these contributions. To the extent that the institution is perceived to provide a supportive environment and an equitable reward system, faculty commitment is likely to increase and vice versa." (p.78)



Utilizing the concepts of reward and support, the authors found that the level of predictability of the reward-support model was different for the hard sciences and the soft sciences. For Neumann and Neumann, hard sciences refer to such fields as physics and electrical engineering, while soft sciences refer to such fields as sociology and education. The authors found that the relative power of rewards in explaining faculty commitment is stronger in the hard sciences and weaker in the soft sciences, whereas support indicators are relatively more powerful in predicting commitment in the soft sciences and less powerful in the hard sciences.

The authors argued that differences in the state of development of their knowledge base explains the differences in the predictability of the reward-support model for the hard and soft sciences. Soft sciences tend to provide the faculty member with few guidelines in regards to procedures. They also lack verified predictions against which new discoveries can be critiqued. Hard sciences, they argued, exhibit an opposite environment. Hard sciences face a more certain environment whereas soft sciences face an environment characterized by a high level of uncertainty. Faced with an environment of uncertainty, support indicators tend to be more important in predicting commitment in the soft sciences. On the other hand, in an environment of certainty within the hard sciences, reward indicators tend to be more salient in predicting commitment.

Although the above mentioned studies do offer insights, more work needs to be done to more fully understand the phenomenon of faculty commitment. In particular, for those interested in organizational change, more studies are needed to investigate faculty commitment in the context of organizational reform. The following section describes the research methods used in the study.

Research Methods

To understand the process of faculty members becoming and remaining committed to organizational reform, an interpretive research design utilizing a concept modeling analytical approach was employed. Concept modeling, as defined by Padilla (1991), is a method of describing and understanding social situations. The process of faculty becoming and remaining committed to a new university's distinctive vision was the social situation to be described and understood in this study. The concept modeling approach begins by gathering relevant data about the situation. This may be done by



directly observing the situation and recording field notes, by acquiring and reading documents relevant to the situation, and by interviewing actors who are part of the situation. Once relevant data are collected, the next step toward understanding the situation is to identify the various assertions contained in the field data and to organize them into a coherent whole.

In the concept modeling approach, assertions by participants in the situation under study are used to identify specific concepts. Once concepts are identified and labeled, an examination of the relationships between concepts is conducted to construct a concept model of the social situation of interest. This method is discussed in greater detail in the data analysis section.

Research Site

The research site, California State University at Monterey Bay (CSUMB), is a public university that was part of a federal military base conversion program. The purpose of this program was to convert previously closed military bases into educational or other non-military institutions. CSUMB was touted as a national model for the federal conversion program. CSUMB is also part of the California State University (CSU) system. This campus is the twenty-first in the CSU system of comprehensive postsecondary institutions.

Adding to the unique context of this new university was its distinctive vision. The origins of this vision are found both at the state and the university system level. Although the state identified a clear need for an additional campus based on increases in the state's high school graduates, they also indicated a need to provide the state's higher education community with a model of innovation in the curriculum, governance, and delivery of educational services. At the system level, a new chancellor was named who wanted to experiment with the mission and organizational processes of higher education institutions. Consequently, both the state and the system viewed CSUMB as an opportunity to experiment with higher education.

To focus these aspirations to innovate, a unique vision statement was constructed by CSUMB's founding provost in conjunction with community members inside and outside of the university. There are at least five focal areas that represent the aspirations of the university's vision statement: (a) an interdisciplinary lower and upper division curriculum; (b) an outcomes-based learning environment; (c)



innovative technology integrated into the curriculum; (d) a service learning environment; and (e) a pluralistic, multicultural, multilingual academic community.

Thirteen planning (founding) faculty members arrived on campus in January of 1995 to plan and develop the academic philosophy, structure, and overall curriculum. An additional 22 faculty members arrived in July of 1995, just one month prior to the opening of the campus, to assist in the teaching of the fall courses as well as to participate in the on-going development of CSUMB. With classes scheduled to begin in August of 1995, the original 13 founding faculty had only eight months to transform the words of the vision statement into a functioning university. CSUMB officially opened in the fall of 1995 with just over 600 students and 35 faculty members.

Faculty Interviews

A total of 17 faculty members were interviewed for this study. Seven of the faculty members were part of the original founding faculty who arrived in January of 1995. The remaining faculty interviewees were part of the second group of faculty who arrived just a month before the first academic year began. Although not officially "founding" faculty, this second group of faculty was included in the study because their role on campus was comparable to the role of the founding faculty. Like the founding faculty, they were responsible for developing and teaching the academic philosophy, structure, and curriculum for CSUMB.

Faculty members were purposely selected to attain a balance related to racial and ethnic background, gender, and discipline. Ten of the faculty interviewees were male. Two of the interviewees were African American, three were Asian American, six were Caucasian, five were Hispanic, and one was American Indian. Six of the faculty members were from education, five were from the humanities and fine arts, three were from the sciences and technology, and three were from the social sciences.

Data Collection

The data collected for this study focused on a period of over 18 months beginning from the moment the founding faculty walked on CSUMB's campus in January of 1995 through the end of their first academic year in June of 1996. Seven site visits were conducted, six lasting approximately a week. The first site visit covered a period of ten weeks.



Individual interviews were the primary source of data collection. Participant observation, observations without participation, and document acquisition also were utilized as methods of data collection to complete the data set. Each method and source of data collection will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Interviews. Beginning in September of 1995, and continuing during each subsequent site visit, individual interviews were conducted with nine of the original thirteen founding faculty members. Interviews also were conducted with the second group of faculty who arrived just a month before the first academic year began in July of 1995. Eight faculty members in this group were interviewed throughout the first academic year for a total of seventeen interviews.

For each interviewee, three to five interviews were conducted throughout the 1995-96 academic year. Thus, a total of sixty-five interviews were conducted. The purpose of the interviews was to learn how faculty members became and remained committed to CSUMB and it's goal of achieving a distinctive vision. An oral history format (Martin, 1995) was used for the individual interviews focusing on the salient experiences of faculty members reported from January of 1995 through May of 1996.

Observations Without Participation. In the role of an observer without participation, direct observations were conducted of meetings involving senior faculty members. These meetings covered topics such as governance, curricular planning and implementation, and strategic planning.

Approximately five of these types of meetings were observed during each site visit at the university for a total of 32 observation sessions. In addition to observing faculty meetings, observations were conducted focusing on the more informal day-to-day interactions of faculty, as well as the interactions between faculty members and administrators.

<u>Document Acquisition.</u> To supplement the methods of individual interviews and observation, documents were collected during each site visit, including minutes of weekly faculty meetings, curricular planning documents which were distributed monthly, and e-mail messages sent out daily to the general university list-serve.

Data Analysis



A concept model is a visual representation of the research findings (Padilla, 1991). The concept modeling approach involves two stages: data analysis and synthesis.

Analysis. Analysis involves the process of examining the data set and breaking it down into meaningful parts. This is accomplished through the identification of relevant assertions contained in the data. Assertions refer to statements made by research participants that are logically and semantically complete. For instance, "I came to this new university because of the vision" is an example of an assertion in the field data. Padilla (1991) notes that assertions can be either simple or complex. He states that simple assertions make only one statement, while complex assertions "may include more than one semantic expression or logical relationship" (p. 265). The mechanics of data analysis involved coding each relevant assertion, which is similar to Glaser and Strauss' (1967) process of open coding. A qualitative data analysis software program, HyperQual2 (Padilla, 1992), was used to code the assertions. HyperQual2 permits the entering, accessing, and linking of data. This program also proved useful in data synthesis.

Synthesis. The synthesis stage involved discovering relationships between concepts. Discovering concepts through analysis is a process of data reduction in which similar assertions are grouped together under a labeled concept. At this point, specific assertions are considered exemplars of discovered concepts. The process of discovering concepts is accomplished by utilizing the constant-comparative method of Glaser and Strauss (1967). During the data analysis stage, testing the validity of the proposed concepts is done by seeking confirming and disconfirming evidence (Erickson, 1986).

Once all relevant concepts are identified and validated, synthesis is achieved through an examination of the relationships between the concepts developed. A comparative approach is used for this process. Specifically, all grounded concepts are compared with each other for the purpose of understanding how they related to one another. The identification of the relationships between concepts results in the concept model. The concept model visually represents the relationships between the concepts and the social situation of the study.



1.7

Findings

The concept model for the situation under study is shown in Figure 1. In this model, faculty commitment was defined as the willingness to become engaged and to expend energy in pursuit of a common goal. Faculty engagement was influenced by goal congruence and the perceived viability of achieving the stated goals. When there is goal congruence between individual faculty goals and the stated institutional goals, in addition to a faculty perception of the viability of the goals, the faculty become engaged.

Insert Figure 1 About Here.

Key Events and Faculty Assessment of Goal Congruence and Viability

There were two key events that led prospective faculty members to assess positive goal congruence and viability with respect to CSUMB's vision: (a) reading about CSUMB's vision in a job announcement, and (b) the faculty job interviews. The following sections describe these key events and their implications for faculty assessment of goal congruence and viability.

Reading About CSUMB's Vision in a Job Vacancy Announcement. The advertisement for faculty positions appeared in <u>The Chronicle of Higher Education</u>. A faculty member who read this announcement had this to say:

When I read the ad, I was truly astonished. I actually had a visceral reaction. Because the ad sought people who were committed to the development of a pluralistic, academic environment which had a commitment to innovation, diversity, pluralism, interdisciplinary studies, applied scholarship, and serving the community's needs. I was just completely stunned that there could be such a place. I was absolutely moved, almost to tears, frankly. The vision of this place sang the philosophy that I have been trying to live for 20 years, and have struggled

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so hard within other institutions to find. I made a decision that day that I would do whatever I could to get me here.

Thus, the interaction between prospective faculty and the vision espoused in the job advertisement provided the first opportunity for faculty to make an assessment of goal congruence. The goals that were particularly resonant with faculty included innovation, diversity, pluralism, interdisciplinary studies, applied scholarship, and serving the community's needs.

Although some faculty felt goal congruence with all of the goals mentioned above, some felt especially strong congruence with only one or two of them. For example, a faculty member described her assessment this way:

What I got from the ad was that this place was not only going to value multiculturalism, but put it at the center of the institution. This is what I see as the paradigm shift going on here. Moving the margins to the center is how I see it. Everything that has been marginalized, particularly Latinos and other people of color, are now at the center of this institution. And that is a shift in paradigm.

"A shift in paradigm" was a statement often made by the founding faculty at CSUMB. For many, this statement meant a shift in what is valued in an institution of higher education. For this faculty member, like others, the shift in values centered on multiculturalism.

Another group of faculty felt congruence primarily with CSUMB's goals for technology. For example, a faculty member described her reaction to the ad as follows:

After I read the ad, I knew that this was going to be a great place for technology -- to move technology to the next level in higher education. I really believe that this is where the most significant innovation is going to be. I'm also excited about a multicultural environment and an interdisciplinary curriculum, but I'm really excited about the possibilities for technology here.



While not everyone was as excited about technology as this faculty member, a significant number of the faculty believed technology to be a central part of CSUMB, and consequently committed themselves to the idea of a technologically advanced university.

Another goal favored by a significant number of faculty was interdisciplinary studies. A faculty member described his reaction to the ad as follows:

When I saw the advertisement for the founding faculty, I was struck by the interdisciplinary emphasis in the vision statement. That is my dream for this place. I have a strong commitment to interdisciplinary studies, and that is what I want to create here -- that kind of curriculum, that kind of community, based on those values. The advertisement was a signal to me that someone else valued what I did.

The last sentence shows clearly how goal congruence can be a powerful force to induce faculty engagement.

Although the determination of goal congruence was a key element in faculty members becoming committed to organizational reform, most faculty also needed to believe that achievement of the institutional goals was viable. Their assessment of goal viability also began as a result of reading the job announcement. A faculty member put it this way:

I was hesitant when I first read the ad. I read it over a couple of times to make sure I wasn't missing anything. What made me optimistic was reading that this was a new institution. Trying to accomplish this vision in an existing institution would be impossible. And if this was an existing institution, I wouldn't have applied. If there is any hope for us at all, it's because this place is new.

Thus, for this faculty member the stated goals were not viable for an existing institution. The fact that a new institution was going to be created gave viability to the goals. In a similar vein, another faculty member described the hope inspired by a new institution:



When I read that we would be able to begin from scratch, that gave me hope. We won't have all of the barriers that would exist in an existing university. No policies to rewrite, no students to reorient. We have the best opportunity you could imagine. The only thing that will keep us from attaining the vision statement is us. It's in our hands to create a new model of higher education.

The theme of "starting from scratch" was common to many of the faculty at CSUMB. Hence, goal viability in this case is related to the idea of starting over. Conversely, the CSUMB goals would not necessarily be seen as viable for an existing institution.

Faculty Job Interviews. Job interviews during the selection of the founding faculty was another key event that led faculty members to determine goal congruence and viability with respect to CSUMB's vision. A faculty member described how her professed goal of multiculturalism was consistent with institutional goals:

When I walked in the room and saw the ethnic diversity of the faculty search committee, that signaled to me that this place was serious about diversity and multiculturalism. But even more than that, it was the questions they asked. They really wanted to know how committed I was to multiculturalism, in addition to interdisciplinary studies and service to the community. What was even more surprising was that the provost was Chicano. Now I know there aren't too many Chicano provosts around, so I thought they must be serious about diversity.

Similarly, another faculty member found the goal of promoting interdisciplinary studies congruent with university goals. She reported:

I was actually surprised by the many questions they asked regarding interdisciplinary studies, and my previous interdisciplinary work. I haven't met many people that are so passionate about interdisciplinary studies. I could tell they were serious about it, as well as my potential to



contribute to the achievement of such a curriculum. That was it for me. I knew I wanted to be here.

Technology was an additional goal with which some faculty found congruence during the job interviews. As shown by these exemplars, clear confirmation by the faculty member regarding goal congruence with the institution was a determinative factor in the decision to join the CSUMB faculty and become committed to the university's vision. One faculty member described his reaction to the interview this way:

I was skeptical when the interview started because there weren't many people there that knew a lot about technology and how to infuse it into the curriculum. I guess that is why they were interviewing me. What was helpful to me was that they were asking the right questions about technology. Although there weren't too many "techies" in the room, I could tell that they were serious about technology and had really thought things through. That was reassuring for me.

In addition to contributing to the determination of goal congruence, the faculty job interviews also were instrumental in helping faculty to assess the viability of CSUMB's goals. For example, a faculty member described the following job interview experience:

In the interview I was able to meet the provost and some of the deans. They were all people of color. I couldn't believe it. The Provost was Chicano and the two deans I met were African American and Native American. I heard the president was white, and I didn't know where he stood on things. But with a Chicano provost and two deans of color, that really gave me a lot of hope for the multicultural vision of this place. To know that people of color would be in positions of influence to advocate for multiculturalism, that is what made me feel good about coming here.

Similarly, regarding technology, another faculty member recalled her experience this way:



Although I was concerned about how much technology would be valued here, my concerns were put to sleep when I found out how much money they were going to invest in technology over the years. I know how much technology costs for a campus. Our budget wasn't great, but it was definitely doable with those funds.

Along the same lines, some faculty members also were able to assess the viability of developing an interdisciplinary curriculum. A faculty member described her experience this way:

What really gave me hope for this place was finding out in the interview that every faculty member being interviewed has had some exposure to interdisciplinary studies. Knowing that I wouldn't have to educate [others] so much gave me hope that we could have an interdisciplinary curriculum up and running by August.

As shown by these examples, the determination of goal viability by the faculty was very important to engage them in the university's vision. Thus, the job interviews provided an important opportunity for faculty to assess both goal congruence and viability. Once goal congruence and viability were determined in a positive manner, faculty were eager to join the university in a committed and engaged fashion.

The determination of goal congruence and viability by a faculty applicant vis a vis the university was necessary in order to recruit the applicant to the university faculty. Goal congruence insured that new faculty members would arrive on campus committed to the institutional goals and ready to become actively engaged in all of the activities required to launch a new institution. But it can not be assumed that the assessment of goal congruence and viability is a one shot deal. Changes in either personal or institutional goals or in the assessment of goal feasibility can lead a faculty member to arrive at a new assessment of goal congruence and viability and thus to a different expression of commitment and engagement in institutional activities. This potential fluctuation in goal congruence and viability gives faculty commitment and engagement a dynamic quality that can be discerned as faculty engage the institution over time. Under dynamic conditions, it is just as important to maintain faculty goal



congruence and viability as it is to determine these factors during the interview and hiring process. The following section describes the dynamics of faculty commitment to organizational reform.

The Dynamics of Faculty Commitment

This section describes the dynamics of faculty commitment after the founding faculty arrived at CSUMB. As mentioned earlier, faculty commitment is defined here as the faculty's willingness to engage in the institutional reform effort. Changes in the extent of faculty commitment and engagement resulted from key institutional events beginning with the moment that faculty arrived at CSUMB and continuing throughout the first academic year. Changes in faculty commitment and engagement can be linked to faculty reassessment of goal congruence and viability. Events on campus played a role by reinforcing, casting doubt, or reversing the faculty member's initial assessment of goal congruence and viability during the hiring process.

Key events on campus are organized temporally into three groups: (a) campus events from January through August of 1995, (b) campus events in the fall semester (from September through December of 1995), and (c) campus events in the spring semester (from January through May of 1996). A discussion of the key events from January through August of 1995 follows.

Campus Events From January Through August of 1995

After the founding faculty arrived at CSUMB, campus events over time affected the extent of their commitment and engagement in the efforts to achieve CSUMB's distinctive vision. The key campus events from January through August of 1995 are shown in Figure 2. The following section describes the first faculty retreat and how that event reinforced the initial positive faculty assessment of goal congruence and viability.

Insert Figure 2 About Here.

The First Faculty Retreat. The experience at the first faculty retreat was powerful for many faculty members because it reinforced their initial positive assessment of goal congruence and viability. One faculty member described her experience at the retreat as follows:



The San Juan Bautista faculty retreat was powerful. This was where our dreams began for CSUMB. It was great. We were just left to be open, with no constraints, dreaming about what this place might be. One of the most beautiful things about that experience for me was to be in a room, there must have been about 14 of us, 14 people who seemed to genuinely share this dream of a pluralistic, multicultural, interdisciplinary, and community service oriented university for the 21st century. If I try to explain this kind of dream to other people, they wouldn't be able to even grasp it, let alone share it. So it was quite extraordinary.

The goal of multiculturalism was particularly salient at the retreat. A faculty member had this to say:

The retreat was powerful from the very beginning. We started with introductions. The first person to introduce himself was Native American; and he introduced himself in his native tongue, Cherokee. That was extremely powerful, and sent a strong message to all of us. Other faculty picked up on that and had similar introductions. It was very different but reassuring for me to be in a place where multiculturalism was so central.

In addition to reinforcing goal congruence, the retreat also maintained and enhanced the assessment of goal viability. One faculty reported:

The first faculty retreat was incredible. This was where we shared our dreams and hopes with each other. It was beautiful. The place was beautiful. The vibes were incredible. Just the way the session began gave me a lot of hope. We were free-flowing. The dynamics were perfect for what we wanted to achieve. I never had as much hope for this place as I did when we were at that retreat.

Thus, hope, commitment, and commonality of purpose as displayed at the faculty retreat provided powerful reinforcement for a positive faculty assessment of goal congruence and viability.

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Realizing the Depth and Amount of Responsibilities. As the faculty entered their third month at CSUMB, the excitement and hope for the institutional vision began to falter. Faculty began to question the viability of achieving CSUMB's vision. One of the first events that led to such questioning was when faculty realized the amount of work and responsibility that had been placed on their shoulders. With only 13 faculty members at the time, it was not uncommon for one faculty member to handle the responsibilities that normally would have been assigned to two, three, or four different people. A faculty member described the faculty workload as follows:

All of us who were founding faculty had unbelievable amounts of responsibilities. I chaired search committees [and] academic planning meetings. I contributed to the development of the academic organizational structure. I developed, because I was the only one here, the Human Communication major. I also developed, with the help of many colleagues, the Proseminar program. One of these areas alone is a lot to be responsible for. I can't believe that I was doing all of these, and I'm still doing most of these things in addition to all the new stuff that comes up. In this context, some things are getting sacrificed and that worries me. We don't have much choice either; all of us were and continue to juggle many things at once.

As the months went by, even more responsibilities were heaped on the beleaguered faculty. As a result, they began to question the viability of the goals. Something had to give.

Realizing That There Was Not Enough Time to Accomplish the Many Tasks. Steeped in a multitude of assigned tasks, the faculty began to realize that there was not enough time to accomplish all of them. Major tasks included the development of an innovative, outcomes-based, interdisciplinary, general education curriculum; development of 12 innovative, new majors; the establishment of pathways to graduation for learners at all four levels of entry; review of 5,000 applications to hire an additional 20 to 35 new faculty for arrival in July of 1995; and the creation of a governance structure. One faculty



member described how the lack of time led her to question the viability of achieving CSUMB's distinctive vision:

I remember one day in March. I was telling a colleague, "I can't believe it's almost April, and we still have so much to do. I don't know how I am going to be able to get everything done." We both shared how tired we were. It was only our third month here. We had so much energy when we got here. All of the work was taking its toll on us. Some people were starting to question just how innovative we could be in such a short time frame. I was starting to question that, too.

Another faculty member vividly described the excessive workload that faculty experienced:

I think the best way to describe our workload is to give you an analogy. There's an episode from the TV show "I Love Lucy" where Lucy and Ethel are working in this chocolate factory and the conveyer belt is bringing them the chocolates. They are boxing the chocolates and they're doing fine. All of a sudden the conveyer belt starts going faster and faster; and they get one or two chocolates and put them in their mouths and think they'll eat them and they'll fill up the box. Then more [chocolates] come in, and then they start putting them in their blouses and they're throwing them out and they're stuffing their mouths and things are going so fast it's like, they can't keep up with it. That's sort of what describes the amount of work we have here in a day or a week.

Recognizing that they were "not able to keep up" with their many assigned tasks led the founding faculty to question, within three months of their arrival, the goal viability of the university's vision.

<u>Discovering the Organizational Constraints of a University System</u>. One of the significant events that negatively affected the faculty's assessment of goal viability was discovering the constraints of working within a state system of universities. One faculty member described the situation as follows:



We have a [university] system that says, "Explode the boundaries, but by the way, all of your money is tied to seat-time, every dime. Your workload is tied to seat-time, your evaluations for promotion and tenure are tied to seat-time, but by the way, crash the boundaries and do your thing." These are not compatible messages. So, to what degree are we really free to explore? Working within the CSU system makes it very challenging to remain hopeful about this campus.

Such contradictory messages, plus the excessive workloads and short timelines, put enormous pressure on the faculty and the administration.

<u>Seeing Faculty Fall Back to Traditional Practices</u>. Goal viability was further threatened as faculty began to fall back on the traditional practices of higher education. This disturbing trend was described by one faculty member as follows:

Some of us were very disturbed by around May to discover that when pushed on deadlines, people retreated to disciplinary boundaries -- very little interdisciplinary conversation, almost no focus on what we said was our center piece, which was learning outcomes. There was a real resistance to even having a conversation about learning outcomes. Despite the fact that we are built as a learning outcomes institution, almost every conversation was about majors and course offerings. Do I understand why? Oh, absolutely! It's so much easier to talk about a course and seat-time than it is to talk about learning outcomes and crashing boundaries.

The practical need to create a functioning campus led some faculty to practices that ran counter to the stated goals and vision of the university. Such behavior was bound to lead to negative assessment of goal viability by other members of the faculty.

<u>Conflicts Between Faculty and the Administration</u>. Another key event which threatened goal congruence and viability was conflict between the faculty and the university administration. At the root



of the emergent conflict were decisions made by the administration without faculty input or consultation.

One faculty member recounted:

It begins for me at a meeting during which we had just arrived. We, meaning the faculty, were asked or were given a presentation on facilities, rather. And we said, wouldn't you like to have some input from faculty on facilities? Many of us believe that the space in which you teach profoundly affects what and how you teach; and if this is a revolutionary educational institution, we might really care about, for example, not wanting to have structures that reinforce the dominant paradigm by their space and their configuration. Well, we were told that all those decisions have already been made; and there's no room for faculty input. One of the key constraints is the question of how much input the faculty will have in decision-making and consequently, how much room will we really have to be innovative.

So goal congruence and viability were weakened by the lack of a well defined faculty governance system that was consistent with the university's vision of itself.

The Arrival of the Second Group of Faculty. The arrival of the second group of faculty had mixed effects on goal congruence and viability. For the new incoming faculty, their assessment of goal congruence and viability was reinforced by the presence of the founding faculty. The latter, however, were concerned that the new faculty would complicate matters. Their concern was rooted in the reality that there was not enough time to adequately orient the new group of faculty to the recent history of CSUMB and to the institution's distinctive vision. A faculty member put it this way:

It's great that the second group of faculty are here. We can really use the help. But, I am concerned that we don't have any time to orient them to the university. They don't know our history. Although we've only been here six months, a lot has happened in that time, and they need to know about it. They all have their own ideas of the place, and if we don't



have the time to get everyone on the same page, then how are we all going to achieve the same vision? That is my concern.

Clearly, at least some of the founding faculty feared for the loss of goal congruence if new faculty were not socialized properly.

A number of campus events that occurred between January and August of 1995 led faculty members to question goal congruence and viability. Although no faculty member disengaged from active participation, the signs of trouble were "in the air." Only three of the ten key events during this period reinforced the initial positive faculty assessment of goal congruence and viability. As the fall semester began, new events added further stress to the faculty, thus further diminishing their assessment of goal congruence and viability.

Campus Events During the Fall Semester

After the fall semester began, a number of campus events continued to affect faculty commitment and engagement with CSUMB's goals and vision. These events are shown in Figure 3.

Insert Figure 3 About Here.

As detailed in the following section, faculty members began to realize that the heavy work demands they had experienced during the summer months would persist throughout the fall semester. This realization had a negative impact on faculty assessment of goal congruence and viability.

Realizing that the Heavy Workload Would Persist. Although some of the faculty were relieved that classes finally had started and the first academic year was under way, many were frustrated that the heavy workload they endured during the summer months was persisting throughout the fall semester. A faculty member described the situation as follows:

What we experienced in the summer was overwhelming. Many of us were looking forward to the fall, especially with the arrival of the phase two faculty. We thought the workload would lighten up a bit. But that didn't happen. I keep telling people that if you have a workload for 70



people but you only have 50 people, those 50 people, whoever they are, have to do all of the work. And when you cut it, that's pretty much what it looks like for this fall semester.

Another faculty member described her concerns about faculty workloads as follows:

Everybody is just really overworked. I feel when more people are trying to do too much at one time, what you end up doing is falling back on what you already know. And what you end up doing is recreating what you already know. If we're supposed to be trying to plan something innovative, it would sure be nice if we had more time with less pressure so that we could actually figure out how to build the structures and processes that support what we're trying to do.

Lack of time and too much to do, with little hope for relief, stressed the faculty and threatened their positive assessment of goal viability.

The Proseminar Experience. As the summer months concluded and the fall semester got under way, the development of the university's proseminar was one of the events that promoted the goal of interdisciplinary studies. The proseminar was slated as "the universal learning experience where students experience every value, skill, and concept characteristic of CSUMB's vision." (CSU Self Study Report, 1997; p. 163.) Involving faculty from every discipline, the proseminar was one of the curriculum components that the faculty designed to facilitate interdisciplinary collaboration on campus. A faculty member spoke of her experience in working with other faculty in the proseminar as follows:

If there was one thing that I could look back on and feel good about, it's the proseminar. It was incredible being in a room with faculty from every discipline talking about what kind of learning experiences we wanted for our students. This was truly collaborative and interdisciplinary work. It was fascinating to see how the scientists mixed with artists, and how the technology people fit in. This is what I came here for, and this is one of the reasons why I am staying.



Establishing the proseminar thus helped a number of faculty members to maintain goal congruence and viability and to sustain their engagement with CSUMB and its distinctive vision.

Experiencing Faculty Exhaustion. As a result of the enormous workload and multiple deadlines, in October of 1995 some of the faculty at CSUMB began to experience exhaustion. While the vision of CSUMB was still important to the faculty, and thus goal congruence was maintained, some faculty questioned whether they could still achieve such a vision because of their exhaustion. A faculty member put it this way:

We have extremely exhausted people, who are asked to do two to three different jobs. Many of them believe in the vision of this place, and are really committed to it. Somehow that sustains their energy. But some of us are worried about whether the dream is getting realized. And, when you have those kinds of thoughts, you lose energy. It's very exhausting just to be here. If you have to fight your own in trying to fulfill the dream, then it's even that much more challenging.

Another faculty member further elaborated on the same theme with the following words:

Just yesterday, three respected colleagues of mine, independent of each other and not having any thing to do with me, cried in my presence. That was stunning to me. At different times and different situations, each person asked if we could just talk. And it wasn't anything negative or accusatory, just exhaustion and frustration, fighting obstacles that are not necessary.

Overwork, exhaustion, and frustration had begun to affect goal viability as faculty struggled to implement the CSUMB vision.

The Decision to Remove the Provost as Chief Academic Officer. In the midst of widespread faculty exhaustion, one of the most dramatic events of the fall semester occurred. A decision was made by the president of the university to remove the provost as chief academic officer (CAO). This decision was dramatic since the removal of the provost as CAO meant that he would no longer have the power to

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influence such key decisions as faculty hiring. While some faculty members in the university perceived this decision to be a result of "different leadership styles," or that "he was not consulting with the faculty," the changes in the provost's role worried other faculty members who believed that the vision of multiculturalism would be threatened. One faculty member put it this way:

Whether we agreed with the decision or not is irrelevant. The fact of the matter is that the provost was a walking symbol of the vision, especially as it relates to multiculturalism. And without the provost, how are we to interpret this institution's commitment to multiculturalism, because that is certainly not a strength of the president. I came here because of that vision, primarily constructed and articulated by the provost. I'm at a loss on what to do now.

Another faculty member spoke of the significance of the president's decision to remove the provost as CAO in the following terms:

I compare the provost to a powerful radio station on this campus. And that radio station played multiculturalism loudly and with clarity. With the change in the provost's role on this campus it's as if the radio station of multiculturalism has been turned off. You just can't hear it anymore, and that is scary.

While faculty overwork and exhaustion negatively affected goal viability, the removal of the provost as CAO threatened goal congruence and its attendant loss of faculty commitment to the university, as well as faculty engagement in implementing activities.

Campus Events During the Spring Semester

As the spring semester began, the dynamics of faculty commitment and engagement at CSUMB continued. It was during the spring semester that some of the faculty chose to disengage from CSUMB and leave the institution. Disengagement from the institution resulted from a lack of goal congruence and viability as perceived by the faculty. The key events during the spring semester (from January through May of 1996) are shown in Figure 4. The following section describes the president's state of the



university address and how that event led faculty to question the goal congruence between themselves and the university.

Insert Figure 4 About Here.

The President's State of the University Address. The first key event of the spring semester was the president's state of the university address. The purpose of this address was to review the accomplishments of CSUMB as well as provide direction for the future. What was problematic for many faculty members was a statement made by the president that the mission of CSUMB included being "more, better, and faster." This was the first time that the faculty had heard such language. A faculty member described her reaction to the president's address this way:

We were all shocked when we heard the words, "more, better, and faster." Where did that come from, we thought. Those words have nothing to do with what is written in our vision statement. It seems like the vision of this place is up for grabs. And, if the faculty doesn't do anything to support the [original] vision, I'll be a little apprehensive about staying here.

Clearly, the president's message threatened goal congruence in the minds of some faculty members. Yet, faculty members also saw this event as an opportunity to reinforce CSUMB's original vision statement. Concretely, they proposed that the original university vision statement be officially declared the vision of the university.

The Faculty Vote Endorsing CSUMB's Original Vision Statement. This event substantively reinforced the faculty's assessment of goal congruence and viability in an otherwise threatening environment. One faculty member described the positive reinforcement as follows:

I couldn't believe what I was hearing in his state of the university address. And none of my fellow colleagues could believe it either.

"More, better, faster?" That's not what this university is about. We



already know what this university is about. It's written in the vision statement. I was so relieved when the faculty voted to make it our official vision. This is our vision, and this is what keeps us here.

This event clearly demonstrates how maintaining goal congruence between the faculty and the institution is a key factor in keeping faculty committed and engaged in the institution.

The Establishment of an Academic Senate. Another important event that helped to maintain a positive faculty assessment of goal congruence and viability was the establishment of an academic senate. The "Academic Senate Organizing Committee (ASOC)," was the official name of the group of faculty representatives responsible for establishing an academic senate. A faculty member described how this effort helped to reinforce her assessment of positive viability for CSUMB's vision:

One of the reasons why I committed myself to what we are tying to do here is believing that there would be a strong sense of shared governance here, that faculty would be a part of the decision-making. That wasn't happening for a long time. We were being more marginalized as the months went by. This action that we are taking now is a signal to me and to the administration that we will have influence in the decision-making on this campus.

In spite of significant campus events that positively influenced goal congruence and viability, other events were exerting influence in a negative direction, as shown below.

Realizing that Not Everyone Believed in the Same Vision. As the work progressed to establish a new campus, some faculty members became concerned that CSUMB's vision statement meant very different things to different people. One faculty member described the implications of this realization as follows:

I knew from last semester that we had some faculty who were more comfortable with tradition. But I am at a different place with that right now. I think that the vision that I came here to help develop is not possible with so many different interpretations floating around. I've lost a



lot of hope for the vision. That doesn't mean that I can't help create the vision on a smaller scale. If the values can't exist on an institutional level, then maybe they can exist on a smaller scale. That's the only hope I have.

Scaling down the scope of goals from the university as a whole to smaller units within it is an interesting faculty strategy to maintain goal congruence and viability in the face of goal shifting due to an increased number of participants and greater organizational complexity. Another faculty member described this strategy as follows:

What I wanted to see happen here, hasn't happened. Not at the university level. I've come to accept that with so many interpretations of the vision, that I may just have to work with the faculty whom I share a common vision with. I've already talked with other faculty about collaboration for next year. I don't know what else I can do. That is the only strategy I can think of so that I can be happy here.

The strategy to scale down goals shows that goal congruence and viability are somewhat elastic concepts. Apparently, the organizational domain that serves as a reference point for assessing goal congruence and viability between the individual and the institution can vary from the institution as a whole to small networks of like-minded faculty.

Yet, not all faculty members reacted in the same manner to the loss of goal congruence at the university level. Some faculty members chose to disengage completely from the university. A faculty member described her decision to disengage this way:

For me, it started, and maybe ended, with the president's decision to remove the provost. Everybody knew my stand and how very upset I was. I could barely go to school, and I became really sick, physically. I probably had experienced for the first time in a job, depression. We're not people who get depressed. It takes a long time for me, with the type of personality I have, to get really upset at people. But I was so beside myself, very disillusioned, very shattered. And I don't have the spirit any



more to go on. All during the break I tried to recover and find in me a reason to go to work. But as the spring semester started, I saw less and less people supporting multiculturalism, especially at the top level. That was it for me.

The views of this faculty member show that while the concepts of goal congruence and viability can be elastic, there are limits to such elasticity. For goals that do not depend on an institution-wide base of support, elasticity may be relatively high. For those goals, such as multiculturalism, where an institution-wide commitment is needed for effective implementation, congruence and viability elasticity may be much lower or non-existent. Thus, faculty engagement in the face of threatened goal congruence or viability may depend on the specific goal(s) to which the faculty member is most committed.

The case of a goal with low elasticity is illustrated by the following faculty report:

I really struggled to maintain hope for the vision statement after this decision by the president. The provost authored the vision statement. The provost was the impetus for the paradigm shift. Without the provost, I didn't know who would advocate for the vision at that level. The president's vision is all about being "more, better, and faster." That's not our vision. As the spring started I came to realize that not everyone believes in the same vision. Consequently, not everyone is working to implement a multicultural vision. That's not what I came here for. So, it is time for me to leave.

Given the goal inelasticity and the actions of the university president, this faculty member clearly was headed toward disengagement from the institution, a clear case of the lack of goal congruence and viability and their consequences for faculty engagement.

The Suicide of a University Staff Member. Another event that negatively affected the faculty was the suicide of a university staff member. Faculty and staff on campus were just beginning to overcome the negative effects of the president's fall decision to remove the provost as chief academic officer when they were informed that one of their staff colleagues had committed suicide in his office. Already



overburdened and stressed, the suicide of a well-known university staff member only made things worse. Although some individuals felt that what led this person to take his life had little to do with the university, the site of his death was difficult for many of the faculty members to ignore. One faculty member spoke of the effect the suicide had on her as follows:

With this suicide, it's like pieces of reality that just don't fit. I think about the kind of admirable person that he was. It doesn't make sense. It's like you get the feeling that working here is not healthy. The two analogies I use increasingly are an insane asylum and Alice in Wonderland. There are days when I go home thinking, "Is it the place? Is it me? What is it?" Whatever it is, I can't ignore where he committed suicide: here on campus. Maybe it's symbolic for something. I don't know. All I know is that I was really depressed after I heard the news.

This event, besides adding further stress to an already turbulent environment, reduced goal viability for a number of faculty members as they pondered the significance of the suicide for themselves and for the institution that they were trying to build.

The Proposal for an Interdisciplinary Curriculum. As the spring semester ended, many faculty members were questioning goal congruence and viability with reference to the evolving vision of the university. Still, there was an event at the close of the spring semester that offered hope for some of the faculty members. A proposal was circulated around campus suggesting a strategy that would facilitate an interdisciplinary curriculum. The basic idea was to structure the lower-division curriculum around themes, such as immigration and the Vietnam war. The proposal was not yet well developed, but many faculty reacted positively to it, and engaged in much dialogue about potential academic themes. One faculty member described her reaction to the curriculum proposal this way:

I was really besides myself as to whether I would remain at CSUMB or not. I was hoping that we would be in a different place than we are right now. I was still struggling with the lack of an interdisciplinary academic structure for the curriculum. What gave me a little hope was the



proposal that has been going around about academic themes. We should have been thinking along those lines from the very beginning. Part of me thinks it's too late to pull this off. Another part of me likes the discussions that have been ignited by these ideas. I'm going to put in a little effort to see what can happen with these themes.

This report illustrates the cross-cutting influence of different events on campus. Goal viability can shift in a positive or negative direction depending on specific campus events. A faculty member thus has to weigh the cumulative impact of diverse campus events in making an overall assessment of goal viability and in determining the level of engagement on campus.

Discussion and Implications of the Study

The analysis of the data produced the following two major findings: (a) a new conceptualization of faculty commitment and engagement in the creation of a new university with a distinctive vision, and (b) a new conceptualization of the dynamics of faculty commitment and engagement in the context of campus events. The following section summarizes these new conceptualizations.

Reconceptualization of Faculty Commitment

Faculty commitment in the context of a new university with a distinctive vision was defined as the faculty member's willingness to engage in the reform effort. Two components determined the extent of faculty engagement: goal congruence and viability between a faculty member and the institution. Thus, faculty engagement in university activities depended on the faculty member making a positive assessment of congruence between his or her goals and the official goals of CSUMB as stated in its vision. Faculty engagement also depended on an assessment of goal viability in the context of the resources available to implement the common goals. These assessments were made in deciding whether or not to join the university's faculty. Similar assessments, or reassessments, were made by each faculty member after they joined the faculty in order to determine their willingness to continue to work for the university or to go elsewhere.



Reconceptualization of the Dynamics of Faculty Commitment

Faculty commitment and engagement were dynamically affected by ongoing campus events which exerted influence from the moment the founding faculty arrived at CSUMB and throughout the first academic year. Hence, campus events can reinforce, call into question, or diminish goal congruence and viability. Although some campus events reinforced goal congruence and viability, other events significantly diminished both of these factors. These negative events included: (a) realizing the depth and amount of responsibilities, (b) realizing that there was not enough time to accomplish the many assigned tasks, (c) discovering the constraints of the university system, (d) seeing faculty fall back on traditional practices, (e) conflicts between faculty and administrators, and (f) the arrival of the second group of faculty. These early campus events were reinforced by other negative events that occurred during the fall semester. These included: (a) realizing that the heavy workload would persist, (b) experiencing faculty exhaustion, and (c) the president's decision to remove the provost as chief academic officer. The latter was the most dramatic event of the fall semester, and had serious negative implications for the commitment of faculty who strongly valued multiculturalism.

As the spring semester began, other campus events continued to have a negative impact on goal congruence and viability. These events included: (a) the president's state of the university address, (b) faculty realizing that not everyone believed in the same vision, and (c) the suicide of a university staff member. However, there were three events that positively reinforced goal congruence and viability: (a) the faculty vote to endorse CSUMB's original vision statement as the official vision of the university, (b) the organizing of an academic senate, and (c) the proposal for an interdisciplinary curriculum.

Such cross-cutting influences led some faculty members to scale down their goal congruence and viability by shifting the reference point for congruence and viability from the university as a whole to smaller organizational units or people networks within the university. Others, whose key goals perhaps were less elastic, lost commitment to the institution. Still others, believing that goal congruence and viability had been lost, opted to disengage from the institution and go elsewhere. Thus, faculty commitment and engagement were driven by goal congruence and viability which in turn were positively or negatively influenced by campus events. This conceptualization of faculty commitment and



engagement accounts for the pattern of faculty departure in an institution and for the interactional behavior of those faculty who do stay with an institution in spite of a constantly changing campus environment.

Implications for Policy, Practice, and Research

The findings of this study have implications for policy, practice, and research. In the area of policy, this study provides a conceptual model that can better inform policy-makers about key interactions and contexts in the process of working toward fundamental higher education reform. For example, it was found that a key event that led faculty to question goal congruence and viability was a burdensome workload and a constrained time frame for planning and launching a new campus. One faculty member stated, "Eight months to plan and prepare for a new university is difficult if we were working with a traditional vision, but with the distinctive vision that we were after, eight months was impossible." Such pressure led to faculty exhaustion, burnout, and, for some, disengagement.

As the embryonic university grew and became more complex, not everyone supported equally all aspects of CSUMB's vision. As a result, some faculty lost hope that key goals of the institution were attainable. This situation led some faculty to leave or to consider leaving the institution. This finding suggests that policy makers should consider limiting the focus of the vision statement if its goals are to be distinctive. Underfocused institutional missions are a problem that Clark (1998) also found in his latest study of entrepreneurial universities. Clark suggests that universities need better focus if they are to solve problems of institutional imbalance.

The decision to create a distinctive university within a traditional system of universities proved to be problematic. The traditional university system imposed many constraints on faculty who were otherwise encouraged to do things differently. The frustrations resulting from these constraints led some faculty members to question goal viability. Thus, policy makers working in such traditional systems should take into account the potential constraints that traditional processes may place on an institution chartered to seek a distinctive identity and vision.

In the area of practice, this study offers an understanding of the difficulty of engaging in higher education reform. The findings suggest that while many faculty were able to become engaged in a



reform effort, sustaining their commitment and engagement was problematic. If faculty commitment and engagement are to be sustained over the long haul, campus leaders must ensure that goal congruence and viability are maintained at high levels. This may entail establishing realistic workloads and time lines, developing effective governance systems, socializing new faculty and staff to the institutional vision, and advocating for the institution's vision to gain support from outside constituencies and governing bodies.

Although the major findings of this study led to a new conceptualization of faculty commitment and engagement in the context of a new university with a distinctive vision, more research needs to be conducted to better understand faculty commitment and engagement in different contexts. Future research needs to focus on faculty commitment to reform within an existing institution. In addition, future research also should focus on faculty commitment to reform on a smaller scale, such as within a college or department.

The findings of this study also have implications for quantitative research. Measures of goal congruence and viability can be developed and used to study quantitatively the relationship between goal congruence and viability and the success or failure of innovation implementation in higher education.



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Faculty Disengagement Faculty Engagement of a new university with a distinctive vision Perceived viability of achieving goals Perceived viability of achieving goals Depends on positive Faculty Commitment Depends on negative assessments of: assessments of: Goal Congruence Goal Congruence

Figure 1. A concept model of faculty commitment and engagement in the creation



Figure 2. Campus events from January through August of 1995.

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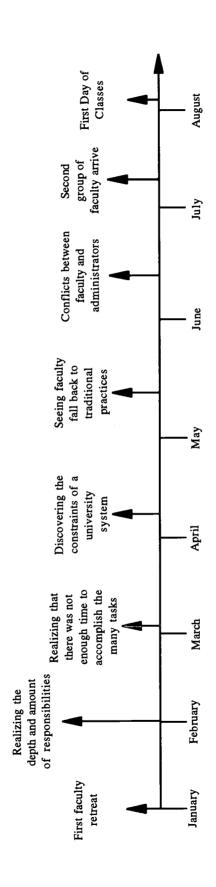




Figure 3. Campus events from September through December of 1995.

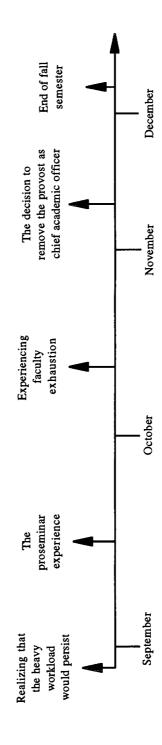
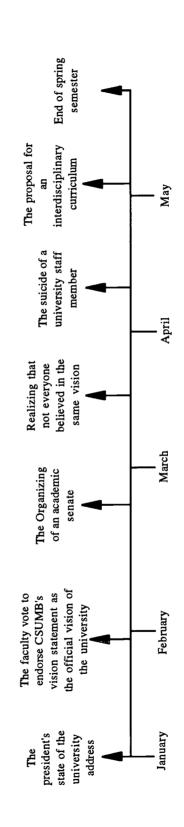




Figure 4. Campus events from January through May of 1996.





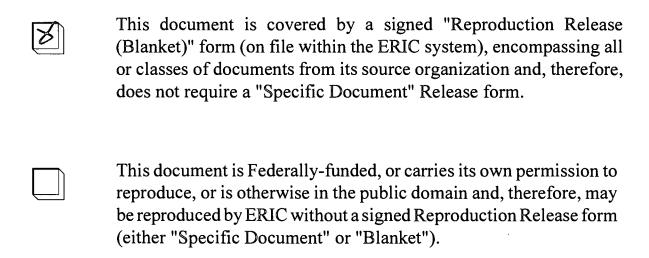


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