Organizational behavior in higher education and student outcomes

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Organizational Behavior in Higher Education and Student Outcomes

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INTRODUCTION

Most applications of organization theory to the study of higher education concentrate on issues such as academic leadership, governance, and organizational effectiveness. They generally attend to student experiences and outcomes only as secondary considerations. Organizational behavior is not an end in and of itself, but should be a means for helping a college or university function in a manner that promotes the development of positive educational outcomes for students (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). While we have learned a great deal about the ways in which organizational theory can be used to help us understand leadership, governance, and effectiveness; it is important that we now examine how organizational theory helps us understand how colleges and universities affect student outcomes.

While organizational studies in higher education largely ignore the student, research on college impact generally ignores the influence of organizational factors on student outcomes. New theoretical perspectives are also needed that help us understand the ways in which institutions of higher education affect students (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991). Taken together, these observations expose a gap in current knowledge about the interactive relationship between organizational behavior in higher education and the impact of college on student outcomes. Our lack of understanding about how organizational behavior at colleges impacts student development is quite puzzling, considering both the increase in research on organizational behavior of colleges and universities and the large amount of scholarly attention devoted to the study of college outcomes. It is also surprising that the interactive relationship between organizational behavior and student outcomes remains unexamined when one considers that organizational behavior is a theoreti-

cal domain with great potential to improve our understanding about how the college environment affects students (Baird, 1988). An investigation into ways in which the organizational behavior of a college influences individual students provides a window into the dynamic processes within the campus environment. Moreover, by examining the interactive relationship between organizational behavior and individual student outcomes, this chapter is designed to provide a new model of college impact.

Although there is already a large volume of literature that describes the organizational behavior concepts used in building our model; we provide a brief, but in depth, analytic description of this body of literature in this chapter. We do so in the hopes that it makes this literature accessible to a wider audience, particularly individuals interested in the impact of college on students, but not thoroughly conversant in the language of organizational theory. Moreover, we contend that one cannot simply apply the concepts of an organizational perspective to the study of students without first identifying some of the different assumptions and purposes of each body of literature. Once such differences have been identified, it is important to adequately reconcile such differences in a manner that allows us to use concepts from organizational theory as a means for becoming more student-centered in our attempts to improve the organization of educational institutions. This re-frames more traditional applications of organization theory: in which students tend to be viewed as one more type of organizational product, such that the goal of improving organizational functioning on campus revolves around the need to do a better job of educating and developing students.

The purpose of this chapter is to review and synthesize what is known about the relationship between organizational behavior at colleges and college impact (student outcomes). We suggest a conceptual model, based on existing theory and empirical evidence, that provides a means for studying how the organizational environment of a college or university affects student outcomes. This model can be used to investigate the relationship between organizational behavior and student outcomes in single and multi-institution studies. This type of inquiry is often subject to problems created by numerous philosophical, methodological, and conceptual issues. In this chapter we first explore these issues, review of existing empirical evidence, develop the conceptual framework, and finish with a discussion of implications for future research and practice.

DEFINING ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A Brief Historical Review of the Conceptual Development of Organizational Behavior

The study of organizations emerged with the industrialization of western society in the late nineteenth century. The combined growth of population and technology, along with the subsequent increase in size and complexity of social collectivities

tructured around the accomplishment of business, educational, religious, and social tasks, created a need for better ways of describing and understanding the sociological phenomena that would come to be known as organizations. Initially, writers focused on issues related to the processes that facilitated the accomplishment of specific tasks. In Europe, Max Weber described bureaucracy as an ideal type of structure for the accomplishment of economic and political administrative tasks. Similarly, Tonnies described how social groups were moving away from organic, holistic processes and structures (gemeinschaft) towards more specialized, formal forms (gesellschaft). Meanwhile in the United States, Frederick Taylor was popularizing the movement to find "one best way" of accomplishing specialized production tasks through scientific management and Fayol was defining core administrative principles designed to help promote efficiency and effectiveness.

Starting in the 1920s, but taking root in the 1930s and 1940s, was the realization that improving performance in organizations involved more than simply improving the means by which tasks were accomplished. The rise of psychology as a discipline and the application of social psychology in particular facilitated the development of industrial psychology and the growing recognition that organizations were composed of people. The human factor needed to be considered as awareness increased relationships that should be considered as well as tasks. Human and organizational needs required consideration. Motivation was as important as regulation. Initial studies in this area focused on how to get the most productivity and efficiency from employees. Elton Mayo attacked scientific management by arguing that it ignored the affiliation and emotional needs of humans as social actors. Chester Barnard's rich theoretical work on the inherently cooperative nature of organizations played an even bigger role in revolutionizing the nature of organizations.

While Barnard revolutionized the way we came to view organizations, he did little to explain the processes by which humans worked cooperatively in organizations. This problem was addressed by the work of social psychologists in Roethlisberger and Dickson's famous Hawthorne studies, Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, and Lewin's model of interaction between person and environment. These contributions identified human needs as being distinct and valuable in their own right and not just as variables to be manipulated in order to accomplish the task(s) at hand. Later works by Likert, McGregor, and Argyris built upon this tradition and established a concern for human resource development that continues to thrive in contemporary studies of organizations.

In the late 1940s and 1950s March and Simon produced two seminal works that collectively summarized what was known at the time about organizational behavior, added a host of new insights about the nature of human behavior in organizations, and subsequently laid the foundation for the development of other theoretical perspectives regarding the nature of organizing and organizations. Simon's (1947, 1957) Administrative Behavior focused on the social psychology of individual decision-making in organizations while March and Simon's (1958) Organizations was concerned with organizational decision-making. March and Simon described

individuals as "intendedly rational." Their rationality is limited, or "bounded" by incomplete knowledge of the intended and unintended consequences of their actions, incomplete knowledge of alternative courses of action, and uncertainty about the accuracy of preferences among alternatives. By viewing humans as possessing limited rationality, March and Simon simplified assumptions about individual decision-making (holding needs and aspirations constant) in order to focus on and more clearly understand organizational decision-making. March and Simon introduced the notion of "satisficing" in organizations, a concept which describe how bounded rationality leads people to choose the first satisfactory alternative rather than making optimal choices. Hence, the control of people's premises, or perceived definition of situations, about organizational work was viewed as the key to effective management. This represented a move away from the espoused rationality of earlier theories and laid the foundation for future studies that focused on issues of symbolism, power, and other informal mechanisms of organizational control. The emphasis on unobtrusive forms of control (the control of premises through organizational vocabulary) added to previous organizational theory that focused primarily on direct, obtrusive controls (rules, regulations, giving orders, supervision, sanctions and rewards). In many ways March and Simon's work revolutionized organizational thinking and led to the proliferation of schools of thought in the field of organizational behavior. By the 1950s organizational behavior was firmly established as a distinct branch of applied social science.

The growth of organizational theory led to a variety of approaches to the study of organizations as open systems: including the technological, systems, and institutional schools. All three of these schools recognized the systemic nature of organizations and the importance of understanding how the organization functioned internally as a system. Moreover, each considered how the organization as a whole functioned as part of the larger social system(s) in which it was embedded. The technological tradition focused on the nature of tasks in organizations and considered how the ways in which work was accomplished in organizations led to diversity of organizational forms and structures. Institutional theorists, most notably Philip Selznick and his colleagues, focused more on the organic nature of organizations and their relationship to the environment. Institutional theorists emphasized the ways in which some organizations become more than merely rational, goal-driven, impersonal places to work. Many organizations become "institutionalized" by taking on identities that supersede their function. Organizations are not merely places to work, but places with which to affiliate. These institutionalized organizations become valued regardless of what they do or how well they perform. Whereas the technological school continued the trend of emphasizing the rational nature of organizational systems, the institutional school was the first to emphasize the normative aspects of organizational life.

By the mid-1960s environmental theories were thriving. Some of the most influential theorists included Katz and Kahn (1966), Thompson (1967), and Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), all of whom emphasized the rational aspects of organizations

embedded in relatively rational environments. The interest in the systemic nature of organizations was continued by population ecologists such as Hannan and Freeman (1977), who conceptualized organizations as species who survive and die as the result of an organizational natural selection process, and by proponents of resource dependency such as Pfeffer and Salancik (1978), who emphasized recognition of the types of resources used and competed for by organizations. The institutional school has experienced a revival in the 1980s and 1990s as neo-institutional theorists, such as DiMaggio and Powell (1991), have focused on the isomorphism of organizational form. In the meantime, the 1970s saw the emergence of two other mainstream approaches to the study of organizations. The political analysis of organizations dominated much of the organizational literature in the 1970s and focused primarily on the role of power in organizational functioning and decision-making. While political science was making its mark in organizational studies, so too was anthropology. The anthropological tradition introduced the concepts of organizational culture and the symbolic nature of organizational life. This tradition has become one of the major approaches to the study of organizations in the last 20 years.

The growing number of theoretical perspectives led to the first attempts to classify these perspectives in order to make what was becoming an increasingly complex field of study more understandable and coherent. Classification continues to be a major issue in the study of organizational behavior and is addressed more thoroughly later in this chapter. This brief sketch of the historical development of organizational behavior is far from comprehensive and is meant to highlight some key trends. These include a move from an emphasis on rationality to a recognition of the non-rational aspects of organizational life (including symbolism and politics); a recognition that tasks and relationships define organizational behavior; a move from searching for "one best way" to an awareness of multiple ways of understanding; and a move away from conceptualizing organizations as closed, tightly coupled systems to a recognition of organizations as open, loosely coupled systems that are embedded in an often unpredictable environment.

It is becoming apparent that the different theories and ways of understanding organizational behavior are not mutually exclusive. Where early attempts to classify theories of organizational behavior were designed primarily to map competing interests; more recent attempts have focused on identifying salient aspects of behavior that can be found in all or most organizations. This theme is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter as we define our own way to classify and integrate the wide range of theories and models that fall under the broad rubric of organizational behavior.

Some key issues continue to plague the study of organizations. The more important issues that need to be addressed for the purposes of this chapter include the role of actors and action in defining the nature of organizational behavior and the need to make distinctions between related, but separate, terms used frequently and often synonymously, in existing literature.

Organizational Behavior as Action vs. Actor

Viewing student behavior through an organizational perspective reminds us that colleges and universities are organizations and organizational behavior does affect students (Tinto, 1993). Moreover, organizational models are appealing because they provide explanations that can be easily turned into policy via organizational action (Tinto, 1993). Most existing applications of organizational theory to the study of students have been criticized because they often ignore student sub-cultures and student experiences as intervening variables. Moreover, most organizational studies assume that all student behavior is shaped by the same sources of organizational behavior, rather than focusing on how different types of individual students interact with organizations (Tinto, 1993).

Inherent in Tinto's (1993) criticisms of previous studies that use organizational theory in the study of students is the assertion that these applications of organizational theory assume colleges and universities to be organizationally monolithic in form, function, and in the way that they affect students. Other theorists make similar critiques about the ways in which organizational behavior theory is applied to the study of other organizations (e.g. Weick, 1969; Scott, 1977; Hannan, et al., 1976; Pfeffer, 1982). In particular, these scholars criticize organizational theory for reifying organizations. A solution to this dilemma is to have organizational theorists speak of the process of organizing, rather than focusing on organizations as social actors (Weick, 1969).

Another means for viewing the concept of organizational behavior comes from structuration theory (Giddens, 1979). Structuration theory focuses on the reciprocal interaction between human actors and the structural features of an organization. Humans are enabled and constrained by structures, but these structures are nothing more than the results of previous human actions. Structures become manifested in rules, resources, and patterns of behavior that individuals use in everyday behavior. These structures mediate human action and interaction, but also become reaffirmed through continued use. Hence, organizational behavior is continually reinforced or created by individual actors, but the consequences of such actions continue to bound the possibilities for future actions. This process creates certain patterns of organized behavior that tend to persist over time within a given organization or organization field.

The focus of organizational studies should not be so much description of what "the organization" does, as it should be a focus on the individual basis for behavior within the organization and the subsequent interactions among those individuals within a set of organizing activities. Organizations are abstractions that exist only as social constructions, so it is problematic to speak of an "organization's" behavior. However, the enacted "organizing" behavior of individuals within an organization is concrete and measurable (Weick, 1969; Pfeffer, 1982, 1997). For example, while physicians and staff within a hospital treat patients, the "hospital" itself does not provide any treatment (Scott, 1976). Hence, while it is appropriate to speak of organizational behavior at colleges by administrators and faculty, alluding to the

organizational behavior *of* colleges inaccurately attributes agency to the college as an animate social actor. This type of distinction helps us think about organizational behavior as a dynamic process among individual organizational actors rather than as the reification of organizations as monolithic social actors.

Defining and Distinguishing Among Concepts of Organizational Climate/Culture/Behavior

Within the field of organizational theory and studies there has been a great deal of controversy about what is meant by organizational behavior versus organizational culture versus organizational climate (Kuh and Whitt, 1988; Tierney, 1990; Bergquist, 1992). The multiple meanings associated with each of these terms are by-products of the multidisciplinary roots of organizational theory (Cameron and Ettington, 1988). In order to make some sense out of the multiple definitions of these terms and to reduce confusion regarding the relationships among these constructs, we offer definitions of each term and provide a framework for understanding how these terms relate to each other.

Conventional definitions of organizational behavior have focused on either structural aspects of colleges and universities (e.g. goals, technology) or decision-making models (e.g. political, bureaucratic, collegial), or both (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). Generally, organizational behavior as a conceptual term has been used to describe the daily patterns of functioning and decision-making within an organization. Different theories and models have focused on different types of structures and decision-making processes. For example, bureaucratic models tend to focus on goals, coordination, hierarchy, and efficiency while collegial models tend to focus on consensus and equality.

While we argue that the concept of organizational behavior describes the basic patterns of organizational functioning and decision-making in a college or university, the concepts of organizational climate and culture have also been used as descriptors of organizational functioning and decision-making. This has created some disagreement regarding the exact use and definition of each term. Peterson and Spencer (1990) review previous definitions of organizational culture and climate to provide a means of distinguishing between these related concepts. The concept of culture, as applied to the study of organizations, comes from the anthropological and sociological traditions (Cameron and Ettington, 1988; Tierney, 1988; Peterson and Spencer, 1990), while organizational behavior has traditionally drawn from psychology and sociology.

Organizational culture is a holistic perspective that focuses on deeply embedded and enduring patterns of behavior, perceptions, assumptions, beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, and values about the nature of the organization and its functioning that are held and maintained by organizational members. Reflecting its holistic nature, culture is often manifested in a variety of ways in an organization (Peterson and Spencer, 1990). Examples of these cultural manifestations in an organization include campus landmarks (chapel building, "Old Main"), symbols (e.g. logos, seals), ritu-

als (e.g. orientation, fraternity and sorority rush), ceremonies (e.g. convocations, commencement), and stories about institutional history and heroes. While many scholars have focused on these explicit manifestations of culture, there are also more implicit levels including behavioral processes and patterns, espoused values and beliefs, and embedded values and beliefs (Peterson and Spencer, 1990).

There has been controversy regarding whether culture is instrumental and/or interpretive (Cameron and Ettington, 1988; Peterson and Spencer, 1990). In other words, is culture primarily something an organization has (interpretive) or is something that the organization is (instrumental). Regardless of whether one views organizational culture as instrumental or interpretive, Peterson and Spencer (1990) identify three core features that distinguish organizational culture from organizational behavior or organizational climate. First, organizational culture emphasizes the unique or distinctive character of an organization. Second, organizational culture is enduring because of its deeply embedded nature. Third, organizational culture is not easily changed and when change does occur it is through slow, intensive, and long-term efforts.

Peterson and Spencer (1990) discuss organizational climate as being derived primarily from cognitive and social psychology and defined in terms of current shared patterns of organizational life and/or organizational members perceptions of these patterns. Hence, climate includes the more transitory and less permanent features of organizational life, whereas culture represents the more enduring and embedded aspects of the organization. The three primary features of organizational climate include a primary emphasis on common views among organizational members, a focus on current patterns of perceptions and behaviors by organizational members, and the malleable, transitory nature of an organization's climate (Peterson and Spencer, 1990).

The definitions of organizational culture and climate developed by Peterson and Spencer (1990) can also be used to help clarify what is meant by the term organizational behavior. Organizational culture represents patterns of organizational behavior that have become institutionalized as structures. In contrast, organizational climate represents current perceptions about organizational behavior that are less permanent and more transitory than the patterns of behavior that have already become enculturated on campus. Institutions with a strong culture will have a more consistent, permanent and unchanging climate; whereas institutions with a weaker organizational culture will tend to have a less stable organizational climate. From this perspective both culture and climate are manifestations of organizational behavior. Culture results from previous patterns of organizational behaviors that have become re-affirmed through continued use to the extent to which they have become part of the social structure of the campus. In the absence of such structure, climate represents the pattern of organizational behavior that tends to be dominant on the campus at that particular time.

Given this perspective on the differences among organizational behavior, climate, and culture, future studies should be careful about the language that is used

so that these concepts are not misidentified. Culture and climate are most easily distinguishable when we can identify stable, persistent patterns of organizational behavior over time. Moreover, we can further distinguish these concepts when we identify the presence of organizational structures that create individual conformity to existing patterns of organizational behavior instead of the observation of more frequent changes in behavior patterns as the result of individual intervention.

If we view organizational culture as the embedded, enduring features of organizational behavior at a college campus, then many of the typologies of organizational culture (e.g. Cameron and Ettington, 1988; Bergquist, 1992) can be considered as typologies of organizational behavior. In such cases, these are typologies of organizational behavior that have become institutionalized as stable patterns of structured behavior on campus. Once again, measures of organizational climate describe less permanent patterns of organizational behavior on campus.

Definitions and Classifications of Organizational Behavior

Given the historical development of organizational theory described earlier in the chapter, it should be clear that there is no such thing as a theory of organizational behavior. Rather, there are many theories (also called schools, perspectives, traditions, frameworks, paradigms, and models) of organizational behavior which collectively cover a great deal of conceptual terrain (Shafritz and Ott, 1991). While some theories build upon the works of others, this is an eclectic field of study with roots in multiple social science disciplines (Peterson, 1985). Given the breadth and depth of literature in this area of study, it is helpful to categorize the large volume of work in a way that makes the discussion of this topic more manageable, understandable, and coherent.

Handy (1993) identifies over sixty theoretical perspectives that have been applied to the study of organizations. Many of these perspectives evolve at different times, one beginning while another was ascendant, each eventually becoming dominant, and most having since fallen from favor and are no longer viewed as a major school of thought (Shafritz and Ott, 1991). However, these major traditions never completely disappear. They influence subsequent thinking, occasionally re-emerge, and are often used in theory elaboration and integration.

The large number of theories about organizational behavior, each with its own assumptions and emphases, make it difficult to navigate the maze of conflicting information on this topic. Scholars find it challenging to develop efficient, but comprehensive, ways of examining organizational behavior. An improved, rich data base on organizations is one of the important legacies that has accumulated as a result of the scholarly competition among different schools and traditions. However, proliferation of theory has stifled dialogue among scholars of organizational behavior by undermining common bases for discussion (Peterson, 1985; Handy, 1993). Furthermore, the immense stock of organizational theory has made this potentially valuable information inaccessible to organizational leaders. The existing number of theories and studies create a daunting and overwhelming task for those

who are interested in applying organizational behavior theory to real life organizational situations (Bolman and Deal, 1992; Handy, 1993). Hence, finding a way to use all of this organizational information in a simplified format is one of the most important tasks for theorists in contemporary organizational theory. Multiframe, or multidimensional, models of organizational behavior take existing knowledge and perspectives of organizational theory and combine them to provide a more comprehensive picture of organizational dynamics. Given the large number of competing perspectives, a multidimensional model must incorporate a broad array of theory in a manner that is concise enough to be easily understood and used in future studies.

Classification is the simplest methodological technique for reducing large amounts of information into more manageable, yet meaningful, units. Classification is the process of systematically grouping objects so that those that share common characteristics are in the same group and objects in different groups have as little in common as possible (Bailey, 1994). As such, classification is the key to understanding multidimensional models of organizational behavior. Properly classified theories should produce groups of theories with low levels of in-group variance, but with high levels of between-group variance (Bailey, 1994).

There is no agreement about the best ways to categorize organizational theories. The first classification attempts occurred in the early 1960s, a time in which differing perspectives were just beginning to proliferate in the study of organizations. Some of the more influential classifications of organizational theory have been based on identifying the historical development of organizational theories, including Perrow's (1973, 1979, 1986) six categories, Shafritz and Ott's (1992) eight perspectives, Scott's (1992, 1997) three types of organizational systems, and Handy's (1993) themes and seven schools of organizational thought. A second approach has been to identify various models of organizational behavior as components found in all organizations: Etzioni (1960) and Quinn (1981, 1988) provide examples of this approach. Other classification systems, such as Pfeffer's (1981) four models, Morgan's (1986) eight organizational metaphors, and Bolman and Deal's (1984, 1992, 1997) four frames, have categorized theories by identifying common themes and concepts without regard for historical development. Additionally, several scholars of higher education have developed their own conceptually pluralistic models; including Baldridge's (1971) and Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, and Riley's (1977) alternative models of governance, Childers' (1981) assessment of organizational functioning in higher education, Birnbaum's (1988) five models of how colleges work, and Kuh's (1989, 1996a) six views of organizations. Figure 1 (p. 281) provides a listing for the most influential models and the various categories within each classification system as they relate to the five categories that will be used in the remainder of this chapter.

Although each classification system is unique and based upon differing classificatory criteria, they are all similar in their emphasis on grouping theories together on the basis of common theoretical foundations and assumptions. Different historical eras tend to emphasize one theoretical perspective or another. Given

both the differences and commonalities among existing attempts to classify organizational behavior theory, we have chosen to focus on and adapt two multiframe models of organizational behavior. Bolman and Deal's (1984, 1992, 1997) four frames and Birnbaum's (1988) models of how colleges work serve as the basis for our classification of organizational behavior; however, we also use insights from other theorists to strengthen our model. In particular, we choose to highlight some theoretical advances that have been made in the past decade in the areas of open systems and neo-institutional theory. This is helpful in modifying Birnbaum's (1988) and Bolman and Deal's (1992) conceptions of environmental-organizational interactions.

Bolman and Deal (1984, 1992, 1997) present four frames of organizational theory as their contribution to the task of building integrated conceptual models of organizational behavior. Bolman and Deal's work receives a great deal of attention, quite likely as a result of the simplicity of the model and the readily comprehensible manner in which they cover a wide range of organizational theory (Bensimon, Neumann, and Birnbaum, 1989). The four frames approach is cited by a number of other scholars as being influential in their attempts to classify and/or apply organizational theory in their work (Birnbaum, 1988; Bergquist, 1992; Shafritz and Ott, 1992; Bensimon, 1989, 1994; Kuh, 1996a).

Bolman and Deal (1984, 1992, 1997) label their four frames as *structural*, *human resource*, *political*, and *symbolic*. The *structural* frame uses bureaucratic, rational, and classical management theories as the foundation for emphasizing organizational rationality, hierarchy, and formal structure. The *human resource* frame emphasizes that the fit between organizations and individuals is important, both have needs, and a good fit between the two is mutually beneficial. The *political* frame stresses the importance of power, conflict, and competition for scarce resources as determinants of organizational behavior. The *symbolic* frame recognizes that symbols help organizational members deal with the inherent ambiguities and uncertainty of organizational life (Bolman and Deal, 1992).

There are multidimensional models of organizational behavior that have been explicitly developed to describe organizational behavior in American higher education. Baldridge (1971) and Baldridge et al. (1977) are the first to apply a multidimensional approach to the study of postsecondary institutions as organizations. Baldridge et al. (1977) characterize colleges and universities as having unique organizational environments. Unlike other types of organizations, colleges and universities have ambiguous goals, are oriented towards client service rather than profit-making, have unclear technologies, are dominated by professionals, and have a high degree of environmental vulnerability. Baldridge et al. (1977) suggest that colleges and universities are best described as organized anarchies. Building upon this theme, the authors develop three alternative models of academic governance and decision-making in higher education. The models of academic governance and decision-making represent different images of organizational behavior. The *bureaucratic*, *collegial*, and *political* models represent different images of organizational governance in higher education. Taken together, the three models pro-

vide a more complete picture of colleges and universities as organized anarchies (Baldridge et al., 1977).

Birnbaum (1988) builds upon this work by developing five models that describe how colleges work as organizations. In addition to the three described above, Birnbaum adds the *anarchical* and *cybernetic* models. The first four models are roughly analogous to Bolman and Deal's (1992) four frames (bureaucratic = structural, collegial = human resource, political = anarchical = symbolic) and the fifth, cybernetic, matches the systems frame that Bolman and Deal (1992) discount as a separate perspective. The symbolic frame is derived from a combination of ideas in separate perspective. The symbolic frame is conceptualized as an organized anarchy and which the collegiate environment is conceptualized as an organized anarchy and more recent studies of organizational cultures on campus (Birnbaum, 1988).

Bolman and Deal (1992) criticize systems and cybernetic theory for trying to integrate too many different perspectives together in one frame and attempting to explain everything through cybernetics. However, Bolman and Deal fail to recognize that this work makes a valuable contribution by introducing the importance of the environment as an organizational influence. For example, Birnbaum (1988) tries to use the cybernetic model to explain how the other four models manage to co-exist, with varying levels of success, in a single institution. This exemplifies the conceptual problem that fuels Bolman and Deal's (1992) critique of cybernetic models. While Birnbaum (1988) recognizes the need to include an environmental/open systems perspective in his work, he errs by presenting cybernetics as the glue that holds elements of the other four models together. By positioning the cybernetic model as a meta-model that subsumes the other four models, Birnbaum diverts attention away from a fifth frame that defines the relationship between environment and organization as its unique contribution to the study of organizational behavior in higher education.

There are many arguments for viewing colleges and universities as organizations that are open systems (e.g. Levine, 1980; Bess, 1982; Levinson, 1988; Hackett, 1990; Brint and Karabel, 1991; Scott and Meyer, 1992). Additionally, a number of other scholars note the importance of including environmental perspectives as a major classification of organizational behavior theory (e.g. Perrow, 1979; Scott, 1992; Shafritz and Ott, 1992; Handy, 1993). This indicates that it is important for complex models of organizational behavior theory to include a frame or dimension that focuses on organizational interaction with the environment.

A DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR ON CAMPUS

The Synthesis and Classification of Existing Knowledge on Organizational Behavior

Given the complex, cumbersome, and conflicting nature of organizational behavior theory, there is a compelling case for building a multidimensional model of organizational behavior. The challenge of creating a synthesized model of organizational

behavior is daunting. The number of dimensions of organizational behavior needs to be small enough to be easy to use, yet large enough to cover the spectrum of theories without artificially combining dissimilar work. Put simply, the challenge is to cover an extremely broad range of perspectives in a comprehensive, coherent, and parsimonious manner. While many different multidimensional models and typologies of organizational behavior already exist, a five dimensional model provides the most comprehensive, yet concise, means for classifying organizational behavior in colleges and universities. This approach also attends to suggestions that the problems of theoretical fragmentation caused by the proliferation of organizational models and metaphors is best dealt with by identifying the most basic organizational metaphors (Mangham, 1996).

The five dimensions in this model are labeled in the following manner: *systemic, bureaucratic, collegial, symbolic,* and *political.* The bureaucratic, collegial, symbolic, and political dimensions are well established in higher education literature (e.g. Baldridge, 1971; Baldridge et al., 1977; Birnbaum, 1988; Kuh, 1989, 1996a). The systemic dimension incorporates core concepts from Birnbaum's (1988) cybernetic model with compatible ideas from other variations of open systems theory, particularly more recent advances from neo-institutional theory (e.g. DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Brint and Karabel, 1991; Scott, 1992).

The Bureaucratic Dimension

The roots of the bureaucratic tradition can be traced to the work of German sociologist Max Weber. Weber's work represents some of the earliest influential work in the area of organizational theories. Weber (1947) describes bureaucracies as formal social networks dedicated to limited goals with a hierarchical structure that maximizes coordination and communication (Baldridge et al., 1977). The organizational characteristics of most colleges and universities match Weber's (1947) description of the ideal bureaucracy (Stroup, 1966; Baldridge et al., 1977; Godwin and Markham, 1996). These characteristics include the use of competence as the primary criterion for appointment, the appointment rather than election of officials, the payment of fixed salaries directly by the organization, the recognition and respect of rank, the exclusive employment in one organization by workers, the presence of security through the tenure system, and the separation of personal and organizational property (Weber, 1947). To view organizations through the bureaucratic dimension is to assume that organizations exist primarily to accomplish established rational goals and objectives. In this view, there are ideal structural forms that can be designed and implemented to fit any set of circumstances. The norms of rationality, specialization and division of labor, and coordination and control through hierarchical authority are essential to the effectiveness of a bureaucratic organization. In these organizations, decision-making processes are driven by the use of empirical data, documentation and written records. (Baldridge et al., 1977; Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman and Deal, 1992; Kuh,1996a). Specific examples of bureaucratic structures at colleges and universities include the use of

	Bureaucratic	Collegial	Political	Symbolic	Systemic
Astin & Scherrei (1980)	Hierarchical Task-Oriented	Humanistic	Insecure		Entrepreneurial
Baldridge et al. (1971)	Bureaucratic	Collegial	Political		
Birnbaum (1988)	Bureaucratic	Collegial	Political	Anarchical	Cybernetic
Bolman and Deal (1992)	Structural	Human Resource	Political	Symbolic	
Bush (1995)	Formal	Collegial	Political	Cultural Ambiguity Subjective	
Cameron & Ettington (1988)	Bureaucratic	Clan			Adhocracy Market
Kuh (1996a)	Rational	Collegial	Organized Anarchy Political	Culture	Learning Organization
Morgan (1986)	Machine	Psychic Prison Instrument of Domination	Politics	Culture	Organism Flux and Transformation
Peterson (1997)	Bureaucratic	Collegial	Political Conglomerate	Cultural Organized Anarchy	Network
Perrow (1986)	Bureaucratic Managerial Neo-Weberian	Human Relations	Political	Cultural	Institutional Environment
Quinn (1981)	Rational Firm	Clan			Adhocracy
Shafritz & Ott (1991)	Classical Neoclassical Structural	Human Resource	Political	Cultural	Systems Market

Figure 1. Overview of Multidimensional Models and Classifications of Theories of Organizational Behavior.

organizational charts that define lines of authority and chain of command; the attempt to increase coordination and control through the codification of rules in regulations in student handbooks, faculty handbooks, and course catalogs; the use of goal-setting and measurable objectives as means for providing a rational basis for strategic planning, and the increasing growth of administrative and departmental specialization and division of labor (Birnbaum, 1988; Bush, 1995; Godwin and Markham, 1996).

Evolving from Weber's work in this area are some of the earliest and most influential organizational theories, including Fayol's (1916) general principles of management, Taylor's (1911) principles of scientific management, Simon's (1946) proverbs of administration, and March and Simon's (1958) theories of bureaucracy. Although eventually replaced as the major organizational paradigm, classical structural-bureaucratic theory has never completely disappeared and re-emerges with regular frequency. Perrow (1979) argues that this dimension remains popular because it is the best pure description of organizations available. The work of Henry Mintzberg (1979) provides one of the best examples of contemporary theory in the bureaucratic-structural tradition (Bolman and Deal, 1992). Mintzberg (1979) identifies five basic structural parts of an organization (operating core, middle line, technostructure, support staff, and strategic apex) and describes how different organizations adapt these structural components to meet varying organizational needs. In college and university organizational settings the faculty constitute the operating core, department chairs and directors comprise the middle line, institutional researchers perform the technostructure role, secretaries, counselors, entry level administrators, food service and custodial workers act as the support staff, and the president and his/her cabinet serve as the strategic apex. More recently, popular management techniques such as management by objectives (MBO), planned programming and budgeting systems (PPBS), and total quality management (TQM) have kept the principles of bureaucracy at the forefront of organizational behavior (Kuh, 1996a).

The bureaucratic perspective has specific norms and ideological values embedded in it. The most fundamental value is the premium placed on rationality, in which it is assumed that there is one best way to accomplish organizational goals (Bush, 1995). Of course, this premise is built on two other basic assumptions. The first being that organizations have clear, defined goals and the second being that all organizational members are working towards those same goals. Viewing organizations from the bureaucratic dimension also emphasizes the importance of following rules and the necessity for hierarchy and the chain of command. Hierarchy and differential status positions are valued as necessary means for ensuring efficient accomplishment of organizational goals through increased technical competence, clearly defined authority, specialization, of expertise, and division of labor. Proponents of the bureaucratic dimension also emphasize the importance of organizational behavior and decision-making that is based on logic and rationality.

There are also methodological assumptions that are unique to this dimension. Most importantly, this dimension tends to focus on organizational effectiveness as the primary unit of analysis. The study of an organization from a bureaucratic perspective focuses on productivity and efficiency at the organizational level. Individuals are important primarily to the extent that they properly execute their assigned and established roles in a manner that results in the achievement of existing organizational goals. Individuals may also serve as the unit of analysis in studies that focus on the rational decision-making processes (Pfeffer, 1982; Bush, 1995).

The bureaucratic perspective has been the dominant frame for understanding organizational behavior throughout the twentieth century (Perrow, 1979, 1986). Despite the rise of other organizational models, the basic assumptions of the bureaucratic perspective continue to serve as the basis for much of our contemporary understanding about organizations (Perrow, 1979, 1986; Bush, 1995). This particular organizational view appeals to reason and logic, allows for clearly defined roles and responsibilities, provides standardized performance expectations, and emphasizes productivity (Kuh, 1996a).

There are weaknesses associated with viewing college and university organizations from a purely bureaucratic perspective. First, it is incompatible with certain values in higher education, such as academic autonomy, the importance of informal approaches to learning, and individual talent development (Astin, 1985; Kuh, 1996a). The ambiguity of organizational life in educational settings makes it hard to characterize these institutions as rational or bureaucratic because goals are often unclear and/or unmet (Cohen and March, 1974; Bush, 1995). The use of this approach tends to oversimplify complex problems, be resistant to change, use productivity measures that do not accurately reflect the purposes of higher education, be insensitive to issues of power differentials and resource availability, and reinforce the status quo (Kuh, 1996a).

The assumption that decision-making is rational is problematic and empirical studies have offered little support for this view of organizational decision-making (Weick, 1976; Bush, 1995). Some scholars try to compensate for this shortcoming by focusing on the bounded nature of rationality (Simon, 1957; Kuh, 1996a). Individuals can only process so much information at one time and are limited in their access to information (Kuh, 1996a). As a result, they must satisfice, or choose less than optimal options, when making decisions (Simon, 1957; Weick, 1979). Evidence from studies of organizational learning suggests that rational decision-making plays a very small role in the development of organizational learning and strategy formation (Chaffee, 1985; Miller, 1996). Moreover, when we speak of rationality, of whose rationality are we speaking? To assume that there is some objective rationality that exists for everyone contributes to the marginalization of alternative ways of knowing and understanding (Tierney, 1993). A limited view of rationality protects the status quo and inhibits innovation and change in organizations (Kuh, 1996a).

When the bureaucratic dimension is used as a primary lens for viewing organi-

zational behavior, the role of individuals in organizations is under-estimated or ignored; largely because this perspective emphasizes the importance of organizational goals and actions, without recognizing the importance of individuals and individuality (Greenfield, 1973; Bush, 1995). There is also a failure to recognize informal aspects of organizational life that cannot be depicted in an organizational flowchart, codified in rules and regulations, or measured in terms of goals, objectives and productivity.

The bureaucratic dimension tends to over-simplify issues of power and control in organizations. The focus on lines of authority and the importance of the chain of command in bureaucracies ignores multiple and alternative bases of formal and informal power in organizations (Bush, 1995). Moreover, bureaucratic theory has tended to emphasize the importance of specialization and division of labor, without attending to the resulting fragmentation and political activity that tend to occur in organizations as a result of increasing departmentalization (Baldridge et al., 1971).

Despite the numerous limitations of the bureaucratic dimension, it remains an important means for understanding organizational behavior. Most other models of organization have developed in response to its weaknesses, but none of them have been able to provide a comprehensive substitute for the bureaucratic dimension as an explanation for behavior in most organizational forms (Perrow, 1979, 1986) or even for organizational behavior in educational settings (Bush, 1995). The bureaucratic dimension remains significant as a partial descriptor for the ways in which many people understand organizational behavior. While we understand this perspective to be inadequate as a comprehensive description and explanation of organizational behavior, it remains as a core element in our understandings of the role that structures, goals, and purpose play in organizations (Bush, 1995).

The Collegial Dimension

When applied to colleges and universities, the human resource perspective in organizational behavior theory parallels collegial models (Birnbaum, 1988; Bensimon et al., 1989; Kuh, 1996a). Proponents of human resource theory recognize that both organizations and the people who work within them have needs (Perrow, 1979; Shafritz and Ott, 1992; Bolman and Deal, 1992). Follett's (1926) treatise on how to motivate others is perhaps the earliest work in this area and is a pioneering effort in participatory management. Other important works in this area include Mayo's (1932) and Roethlisberger and Dickson's (1939) studies at the Hawthorne Works, Maslow's (1943) theory of human motivation, McGregor's (1957) Theory X and Theory Y Likert's (1967) human organization studies, and Argyris' (1957, 1970) work focusing on the interaction between personality and organization.

The basic assumptions within human resource theories are congruent with the conception of the college or university as a collegium (Bensimon et al., 1989). These assumptions include the idea that organizations exist to serve human needs, and that organizations and people need each other. When the fit between the individual and the organization is poor, one or both will suffer: individuals will be

exploited, or they will seek to exploit the organizations, or both. In contrast, a good match between organizational and individual needs is mutually beneficial (Bolman and Deal, 1992). Moreover, an egalitarian, democratic work environment that features open discussion, consensus building, equal opportunities for participation, and cooperation among individuals provides an environment that helps meet individuals' higher order needs (Birnbaum, 1988).

It has been suggested that the collegium is perhaps the most appropriate way to view university organization (Parsons, 1947). In his view, the technical competence of faculty members is more important than official bureaucratic roles of administrators. Therefore, colleges and universities are more properly viewed as companies of equals where organizational members are valued and involved in the life of the organization.

The collegial dimension has been almost universally endorsed by faculty and student affairs professionals as the ideal way to run a college or university (Kuh, 1996a). Several scholars have identified the collegial model of organizational behavior as a means for developing community on campus (Perkins, 1973). This type of description portrays collegiums as places where informal contact among members is commonplace. Important campus decisions are not made autocratically by administrators but by faculty senates and campus committees where everyone has a voice and consensus determines the outcome of the decision.

While formative works conceptualizing the university as a collegial organization began to appear in the early 1960s (Goodman, 1962; Millett, 1962; Anderson, 1963), the collegial model continues to be used as an explanation of organizational behavioral in higher education (Zimmerman, 1969; Austin and Gamson, 1983; Bowen and Schuster, 1986; Birnbaum, 1988; Bergquist, 1992). Three major components constitute the collegium. These include the right to participate in campus affairs, a congenial, mutually supportive community, and the equal and fair treatment of all collegium members (Bowen and Schuster, 1986). Collegial institutions have been described as places characterized by informal interaction, egalitarian and democratic values, cooperation among faculty and administrators, consensus building, open discussion of issues, a strong sense of community, and a view of leadership as "first among equals" (Birnbaum, 1988).

When such values become enculturated as the dominant values in an organization, the culture can be characterized as a clan which emphasizes cohesion and a development of human resources (Cameron and Ettington, 1988). It has also been suggested that two different types of organizational cultures, collegial and developmental, can emerge from an organization in which human resource-based values and behaviors are dominant and become stabilized in the form of organizational culture (Bergquist, 1992). In this distinction between cultural types, collegial cultures focus on the needs and development of faculty and administrators as the core organizational actors and agents (Birnbaum, 1988; Bergquist, 1992). This focus on faculty, and sometimes administrators, as core organizational members has been typical of many early conceptions of the university as a collegium (e.g. Goodman,

1962; Millett, 1962). In contrast, a developmental culture is based on developing all human resources—faculty, administrators, staff, and students—and not just on developing key human resources such as faculty and administrators (Bergquist, 1992).

One of the key weaknesses of the collegial dimension is that the values of mutual respect, making decisions based on consensus, and the importance of equal and fair treatment has been largely defined only in terms of faculty members and administrators. Bowen and Schuster (1985) define the three major parts of a collegium (the right to participate in campus affairs, a congenial, mutually supportive community, and the equal and fair treatment of all collegium members) and specifically identify faculty and administrators as the members of the collegium. Birnbaum's (1988) discussion of the nature of the collegial model includes reference to the fact that members of the collegium (faculty and administrators) are concerned about the views of others, such as students and staff, "but the right of these others to participation is severely circumscribed and often only token in nature" (p. 88). This limited view of who constitutes organizational membership, or at least who is important in the organization, is in serious conflict with many of the espoused values of higher education, including ideas about student-centeredness and talent development (Astin, 1985; Tierney, 1993).

There is an inherent assumption within the collegial model that consensus is possible because everyone subscribes to a commonly understood and commonly held set of values (Tierney, 1993). Hence, consensus may be either fictional, divisional, or both. It may be fictional, because the values and ways of understanding the world are so diverse on any one campus that it is simply not possible to reconcile such differences in the form of decisions that can be actually made by a committee or community. The assumption of consensus may actually create discord on campus as people believe consensus to be attainable without realizing the true depth of the different assumptions and values guiding their actions. This type of dissonance could contribute to feelings of hostility and frustration as individuals try to work towards some non-existent, and thus unattainable goal.

The collegial model of academic organization has also been characterized as inefficient, labor intensive, and time consuming (Kuh, 1996a). Reaching agreement becomes increasingly difficult as the number of participants increases. This argument prompted Weber (1947) and Michels (1949) to criticize truly democratic forms of organizational and political structures as unrealistic and ineffective. Collegiality also raises concerns about issues of accountability (Bush, 1995). In a society and environment that values productivity and accountability, it is difficult for organizations to remain responsive to such demands without sacrificing some of the inefficiency of collegiality for more efficient, but less participative and democratic, organizational processes.

However, this trend toward efficiency over participation has contributed to the informal exclusion from the collegium of individuals who are different from the organizational norm or outside of the power elite in an organization (Tierney,

1988). The collegial perspective is insensitive to power differentials, resource availability, and issues of policy (Kuh, 1996a). As such, college and university campuses are more often characterized by conflict than they are by consensus (Baldridge et al., 1978).

The collegial model has also been criticized because its emphasis on consensus tends to obscure differences rather than portray the reality of diverse attitudes, abilities, and behaviors found on campus (Bush, 1995). Traditional connotations of the term collegiality may be counter-productive in an institution or society that values the benefits of diversity. Although an emphasis on the importance of consensus does not equate with unanimous agreement (Birnbaum, 1988), it does tend to inhibit the ability of diverse voices to be heard (Bush, 1995; Tierney, 1993). This particular set of concerns relates to the critique that collegial conceptualizations are more normative than they are descriptive (Bush, 1995). In other words, they are more about what should be than they are about describing what is on college and university campuses.

Collegiality has strengths as well. Many of the basic values associated with collegiality are congruent with humanistic concern for others (Bensimon et al., 1988). These values are also consistent with the espoused values of higher education (Kuh, 1996a). The use of democratic principles and representation reflects values that many people believe to be at the core of American society.

One of the most important advantages of the collegial perspective is that it is the form of organizational behavior favored by most educators (Davies, 1983; Bush, 1995; Kuh, 1996a). Moreover, there is evidence that the presence of genuine collegiality greatly increases workplace morale, satisfaction, and productivity (Bolman and Deal, 1992) and has been shown to improve the quality of decision-making in schools (Bush, 1995). Greater participation by teachers in decision-making processes at schools has been shown to be positively related to successful implementation of policies and programs that result from those decisions (Bush, 1995).

The Political Dimension

Colleges and universities may reflect the political dimension more than any of the other dimensions (Baldridge, 1971; Cohen and March, 1974; Baldridge et al., 1978). The application of the political dimension to college and university organizational behavior can be traced to the early 1970s (e.g. Baldridge, 1971; March and Cohen, 1974). While it has roots in the discipline of political science, the political dimension was first applied to the study of organizations in studies of colleges and universities (Bush, 1995). This is in contrast to other dimensions, such as the bureaucratic and collegial, that were adapted to higher education settings from other organizational contexts.

Theories addressing political realities in organizational life characterize much of the organizational theory literature in the late 1970s and early 1980s (e.g. Ladd and Lipset, 1975; Kanter, 1979; Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Mintzberg, 1983), making important contributions to the study of organizations as political arenas. In its

most basic form, the political frame describes organizations as having internally pluralistic goals with shifting coalitions and interest groups each pursuing their own agenda in a struggle for the control of organizational resources (Pfeffer, 1981).

The earliest conceptions of the college and university as a political organization focus on the political process of policy-making and implementation at the campus level (Baldridge, 1971). The process begins with a consideration of social context factors, which are defined as the conditions which promote the formation of divergent values and interest groups on campus. This leads to interest articulation in which interest groups exert pressures to further their agendas. Legislative formation occurs when the multiple pressures become translated into policy, which is an official commitment to certain goals and values. The implementation of policy affects the initial social context factors, interest articulation, and legislative transformation as part of a continuing and on-going process in organizations (Baldridge, 1971).

Our understanding of the complexities of the nature of political organizational forms has greatly increased since the early 1970s. Increased recognition about the role of power as an important determinant of political activity has been one of the most important advances in our understanding of politics on campus. Power is generally defined as the ability to determine the behavior of others or to decide the outcome of a decision or conflict (Bush, 1995). Power in educational organizations can be thought of in terms of being either formal, based on authority, or informal, based on influence (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Hoyle, 1982). Multiple sources of power have also been recognized with six types being recognized as being most relevant in educational settings. These include authority based on position, expertise, personality or charisma, control of rewards, coercive threat of sanctions, and control of resources (Bush, 1995). Individuals, coalitions, and interest groups with the best access to and most efficient use of various forms of power are most likely to be able to realize the fulfillment of their goals and agendas on campus.

While conflict and competition are key concepts in the application of the political dimension to the study of educational organizations, these concepts are often overemphasized. Cooperation, collaboration, consensus-building, negotiation, and the development of coalitions are important mechanisms to consider when explaining how political models work. Political models are often characterized as exchange models in which organizational members continually exchange resources. These exchanges have been characterized in organizational studies from purely economic standpoints, which focus on formal and material sources of power (Williamson, 1975; Shaffritz and Ott, 1991) or from more inclusive definitions, which recognize resources as being both material and symbolic (Hoyle, 1981). Exchanges may occur between individuals, groups, or some combination of the two. Such exchanges provide the basis through which competition among various individuals and interest groups can be at least partially resolved so that decisions and choices can be made from among the competing interests and values (Bush, 1995).

A campus characterized by the political perspective often has a competitive atmosphere in which dissension exists, some individuals and groups are more pow-

erful than others, networking and collaboration occurs across groups, there are shifting coalitions, and people are apathetic unless they have a stake in a specific issue (Birnbaum, 1988). The political dimension characterizes organizations as coalitions composed of varied individuals and interest groups with enduring differences among individuals and groups in their values, preferences, beliefs, information, and perceptions of reality. The most important decisions in organizations involve the allocation of scarce resources: they are decisions about who gets what. Because of scarce resources and enduring differences, conflict is central to organizational dynamics, and power is the most important resource. Organizational goals and decisions emerge from bargaining, negotiating, and jockeying for position among members of different coalitions (Bolman and Deal, 1992).

The resources that individuals and groups on campus strive to acquire are varied. Examples of these resources include money (salaries and wages for individuals, budgets for departments), facilities (better and bigger offices and facilities), time (course buyouts for research, sabbaticals), and values (curricular choices), to name a few. Dramatic shifts in resources can create disequilibrium in any organization. For example, a sudden infusion of funds into an institution's budget may create more problems than it solves. One group of administrators may want to use it for a new staff position, a group of faculty may desire to boost an honors program, while a second group of faculty want more research support, and still others have their eye on developing a new center or institute (Birnbaum, 1988). Individuals who believe that the university should be a rational bureaucracy or a collegial community might be troubled by the emphasis on competition for resources. However, from a political perspective such competition for resources is viewed as an important part of a healthy, dynamic institution with ambitious people and groups who are helping to move the institution forward (Kuh, 1996a).

The political dimension is important because it acknowledges not only the existence of issues of power, conflict, exchange, and conflict resolution; but also recognizes the centrality of these concepts to organizational life. This dimension emphasizes policy-making as a process for issue management and encourages collaboration among groups with disparate interests (Kuh, 1996a). In sum, the biggest advantage of the political dimension is that it is dynamic. This perspective focuses not on static structures, goals, and values but rather on the fluid processes of exchange and interaction. For these reasons, the political dimension has been called a less idealistic, but more realistic, portrait of organizational life than other more static models of organizational behavior (Pfeffer, 1981; Baldridge et al., 1974).

Despite the strengths of the political dimension, it has shortcomings. First, it is incongruent with many values that are idealized in higher education. For example, the importance generally ascribed to issues of openness, fairness, and autonomy is greatly diminished from a political perspective. Instead, there is an emphasis on competition and conflict that often overstates the role played by these constructs. As a result, the political dimension often holds negative connotations for many people who associate it with Machiavellian images of strife, dissent, and manipulation

(Bush, 1995; Kuh, 1996a). Moreover, while the political dimension is commonly meant to be descriptive or explanatory, it fails to account for normative implications. Descriptions which focus on the role of self-interest and competition in organizations can serve as the basis for rationalizing these less favorable aspects of human interaction as acceptable and even necessary (Bolman and Deal, 1984).

The political dimension also tends to focus on organizational fragmentation at the expense of understanding what is happening at the collective level of the organization (Bush, 1995). The result is a failure to recognize the ways in which individuals within the organization can and do function as an integrated whole. This derives from the emphasis placed on competition without recognizing the collaborative functions that exist in a political system. As is the case with any model or dimension of organizational behavior, the political dimension illuminates some important aspects of organizational life while obscuring others.

The Symbolic Dimension

The symbolic tradition is a derivative of the anthropological approach to the study of human phenomena. The popularity of this perspective is in response to the overemphasis on rationality, predictability, functionalism, and generalizability of the other approaches (Weick, 1982; Cameron and Ettington, 1988). Scholars recognize that organizations, particularly institutions of higher education, are characterized by purposes and structures that are loosely coupled, problematic goals, unclear technologies, fluid participation, and high levels of ambiguity and uncertainty (Cohen and March, 1974; Baldridge et al., 1977; March and Olsen, 1979; Birnbaum, 1988).

The following set of propositions summarizes the symbolic dimension. Events and meanings are loosely coupled, such that the same events can have very different meanings for different people because of differences in the schema that they use to interpret their experiences. Additionally, many of the most significant events and processes in organizations are ambiguous and uncertain. Faced with uncertainty and ambiguity, human beings create symbols to resolve confusion, increase predictability, and provide direction. Many organizational events and processes are important more for what they express than for what they produce; these symbolic events and processes include secular myths, rituals, ceremonies and sagas (Bolman and Deal, 1992).

There has been a tendency for scholars to equate symbolic behavior with organizational culture. However, symbolic organizational behavior constitutes only one level of organizational culture. Because symbolic behavior represents one of the more explicit manifestations of organizational culture, it has become to be used as the most easily identified feature of organizational culture. Symbolic behavior may not be an enduring organizational feature. Many institutions attempt to produce organizational change through the manipulation of symbols. For example, an institution changes its name from "college" to "university, or a new logo is adopted, or a new mission is drafted, or a new ceremony is instituted as the "inaugural" version of a new campus tradition, and so forth. It makes sense that campuses with strong

cultures would have entrenched patterns of symbolic behavior. But symbolic behavior can and does exist independently of a strong campus culture. Much of the existing literature fails to distinguish between symbolic behavior and organizational culture. Hence, as literature about symbolic behavior is reviewed in the following paragraphs, the discussion of symbolic behavior will incorporate a number of works, ideas, and concepts from the study of organizational culture. While this is necessary, we wish to emphasize that organizational culture and symbolic behavior, although closely related, are distinct concepts.

Burton Clark is one of the first scholars of higher education to utilize a cultural approach when studying campus life. Clark's (1970, 1972) *Distinctive Colleges* and his work on the organizational saga demonstrate how colleges are able to develop and maintain strong, distinctive on-campus cultures, with high levels of symbolic behavior, can have a powerful socializing effect on members of the college community.

Clark's (1970, 1972) early work and Baldridge's (1971) non-rational approach to college and university organization provide the foundation for numerous symbolic studies. Symbolic processes have been explored in terms of how they affect student life, paying particular attention to the presence of subcultures on campus (Kuh and Whitt, 1988). The virtues of cultural analysis have been extolled as the most appropriate perspective through which to view social phenomena in higher education (Tierney, 1988).

A quick look around any college campus will provide ample evidence of the strength of the presence of the symbolic dimension on campus. Colleges are full of a wide variety of organizational symbols that convey shared institutional values through artifacts (college logos, seals, architectural styles), rituals (orientation, final exams), ceremonies (commencement, convocations), and stories and myths about the founding of the institution or exemplary teachers and campus leaders. The symbolic nature of organizational behavior is also evident in the presence of distinct campus sub-cultures based on roles (student versus administrator versus faculty member), disciplines and departments, personal characteristics, and ideologies (Birnbaum, 1988; Kuh and Whitt, 1988). Moreover, the ambiguous and unstructured nature of the academic world often leads to a high degree of individual interpretation of values, goals, and expectations in lieu of the more explicit and formalized ways of the business and corporate world (Cohen and March, 1974).

A number of researchers see the application of anthropologically based views on cultural and symbolic phenomena as appropriate avenues for exploring organizations (e.g. Mitroff and Kilmann, 1975; Ouchi, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Smircich, 1983; Sergeovanni, 1984; Schein, 1985). Collectively, these studies view organizations as complex patterns of beliefs, assumptions, values, and symbols that help attenuate the ambiguity and uncertainty of organizational life through the creation of shared organizational meanings Many organizational theorists identify the concept of symbolic behavior as a means for investigating how individuals make sense of and create meaning in organized anarchies (Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman and

Deal, 1992). Studies of organizations as organized anarchies and symbolic behavior are now commonplace and have been gaining in popularity since the mid-1970s.

Most studies that examine the symbolic behavior of organizations are based on the assumption that the symbolic behavior within organizational cultures unify individual members of the organization. However, the more we study organizations the more we come to realize that organizations are rarely monolithically cultured. Many organizational cultures are really comprised of multiple subcultures (Birnbaum, 1988; Kuh and Whitt, 1988; Tierney, 1988). Moreover, organizational cultures serve three different symbolic functions—integration, differentiation, and fragmentation (Martin, 1992). The symbolic behavior within organizational cultures are integrative when they reduce ambiguity about organizational values and norms so that there is consistent understanding among the organization's members. Symbolic behavior in differentiated organizational cultures is viewed as consensus about norms and values that occur within organizational sub-cultures rather than across the organization as a whole. The fragmentation perspective views ambiguity as inevitable and holds that the symbolic meaning of any cultural manifestation (e.g. institutional artifacts, rituals, and stories) is subject to multiple interpretations by organizational members (Martin, 1992). The term "organized anarchy," in its most pure form, has been used to describe this type of symbolic environment (Cohen and March, 1974).

Symbolic models have also been characterized as being cultural, ambiguity (or anarchical), or subjective (Bush, 1995). Cultural models focus on shared values, beliefs, and norms that are expressed through ceremonies, rituals, stories, hero(ine)s, and artifacts (Tierney, 1988; Bolman and Deal, 1992, 1997; Bush, 1995). Anarchical models focus on organizational events and processes that are ambiguous and uncertain, making it difficult or impossible to know what is happening or why it is happening. High levels of ambiguity and uncertainty lead people to use symbols to make meaning out of otherwise chaotic situations (Cohen and March, 1974; Bolman and Deal, 1992, 1997; Bush, 1995). Finally, subjective models focus on how people make different meanings from experiencing the same events (Greenfield, 1974; Bush, 1995). Cultural models generally focus more on the integrative function of symbolic behavior, while anarchical models emphasize the differentiation function, and subjective models are more oriented towards the fragmentation function. Despite these various emphases, all three types of models focus on the powerful influence of symbols, symbolic behavior, and symbolic interpretations in organizational life. Taken together, these different models describe the full range of symbolic activity and functions within organizations. This helps us comprehend how symbolic behavior can lead to a powerful symbolic culture in some settings while providing a fragmented organizational understanding in others.

A more complete view of the symbolic dimension also helps us understand that the symbolic nature of organizations is composed of multiple layers in which there are some values and norms that may permeate the organization, while others only operate at the subcultural level, and still other interpretations of organizational reality

occur only at the individual level (Greenfield, 1974; Kuh and Whitt, 1988).

The symbolic dimension focuses less on the rationality of decision-making as the basis for organizational behavior and more on the importance of sense-making (Weick, 1976; Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman and Deal, 1992). Managing meaning becomes a more valuable skill than does rational decision-making (Smircich and Morgan, 1982). Hence, from this perspective the creation, understanding and the interpretation of a decision is more important than the decision itself. The process of meaning making becomes more important than the product of the decision itself, because that product is likely to mean different things to different people (Birnbaum, 1988).

One of the strengths of this dimension is that it acknowledges context as an important variable in understanding organizations (Kuh, 1996a). This perspective also allows for the explanation of both routine and unusual behavior (Kuh, 1996a). It does so by describing how certain beliefs, values, and norms become embedded in the cultural fabric of the institution while also providing mechanisms that describe the presence and role of subcultures and individual interpretations of organizational activity. This perspective also acknowledges the validity and importance of subjective realities (Bush, 1995; Kuh, 1996a).

The symbolic dimension can be problematic because it challenges basic assumptions about the rationality of organizational behavior and makes it difficult to suggest easily implemented leadership strategies that will effectively contribute to organizational change (Kuh, 1996a). Some critics have also suggested that this dimension lacks conceptual clarity (Kuh, 1996a). Despite these shortcomings, this is an important dimension of organizational behavior that offers unique insight into the role of meaning in organizational life.

The Systemic Dimension

The impact of environmental forces on higher education organizations has increased dramatically in recent years (Birnbaum, 1988). Sources of external influence include increased state and federal government intervention, access to information via advanced information technology; the continuing rise of professional affiliations and associations, the development of university-industry partnerships, and the globalization of American society (Peterson and Dill, 1997). As a result, it needs to be recognized that colleges and universities can be aptly described as open systems with interacting components, the ability to import people, ideas, and resources through permeable organizational boundaries and transform them into educational and scholarly outputs. These organizations are composed of varying numbers of sub-units and processes that have traditionally been only loosely coordinated (often referred to as loose coupling [Weick, 1976]). Organizational actor, is often constrained and enabled by environmental contexts. More specifically, Birnbaum (1988) identifies colleges and universities as cybernetic open systems that use automatic sensing process and mechanisms to monitor the environment so that the organization can maintain a steady state of equilibrium. These systems are more

responsive to information from inputs than they are in responding to changes in levels of productive output. Hence, colleges as cybernetic systems are more likely to respond to a drop in admissions applications than they are to act on a decrease in student learning outcomes (Birnbaum, 1988).

The open systems theoretical tradition, upon which Birnbaum (1988) draws heavily for his cybernetic model of colleges and universities, influenced the development of an entire family of organizational theories including agency theory, organizational learning, contingency theory, socio-technical systems, comparative structure, transaction costs, population ecology, resource dependency, the institutional school, and neo-institutionalism (Scott, 1992, 1995, 1998). Although many scholars emphasize that the differences are more important than the similarities among these environmental perspectives (e.g. Farazmand, 1994; Hall, 1992), others demonstrate the importance of recognizing the theoretical linkages among categories of open systems perspectives (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Thompson, 1967; Scott, 1992; Mitchell, 1996; Hoy and Miskel, 1996).

There are many different variations on the open system theme. The three earliest influential versions of open systems theory include general systems theory (e.g. Von Bertalanffy, 1949; Boulding, 1956), cybernetics (e.g. Wiener, 1967) and classical institutionalism (e.g. Selznick, 1949). Major theoretical statements by Katz and Kahn (1966) and Thompson (1967) popularized open systems theory. Several other strands of open systems theory become popular in the 1960s and 1970s, including contingency (e.g. Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Kast and Rosenzweig, 1972), population ecology (e.g. Hannan and Freeman, 1977; Aldrich, 1979), and resource dependency (e.g. Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). These theories are variations of open systems theory that take a rational, functional, and structural approach to the examination of organization-environment interaction. This group of open systems theories emphasizes the technical aspects of organizational environments and as such, focuses on intentional adaptation by organizations to the competitive demands of their environment.

Neo-institutionalism arose in response to the overemphasis on technical and rational processes found in traditional forms of open systems theory, including classical institutionalism. Neo-institutional theory responds to this oversight by focusing on persistence and order over change; emphasizing common understandings, routinization and cognitive schema over intentionality and interest group conflict; and emphasizing cognitive learning over newcomer socialization (Crowson, Boyd, and Mawhinney, 1996). From this perspective, organizational structures are less a reflection of the technical tasks of an organization than they are codified myths that legitimize the espoused purposes and functions of the organization (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The institutionalization process occurs as organizational boundaries disappear and organizations become isomorphic, or similar, in form (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Scott, 1995). In other words, organizations within a similar field begin to look more and more like each other. For example, empirical evidence suggests that patterns of faculty role performance at the institutional level

have become increasingly homogenized during the last twenty years (Dey, Milem, and Berger, 1997; Milem, Berger, and Dey, 1997). From a neo-institutional perspective, organizations have institutional components embedded within them, in contrast to the traditional open systems view that organizations are embedded within the environment and use permeable boundaries to protect the organization from environmental turbulence.

Three institutional mechanisms create tendencies toward institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Scott, 1995). Coercive (or regulative) mechanisms occur when dominant or elite organizations force dependent organizations to conform to certain structures and practices. Imitative mechanisms occur when less successful organizations borrow ideas from more successful, or legitimate, organizations. Normative mechanisms occur when professionalization increases the diffusion of common ideas and practices across a field of organizations.

Organizations exist within specific organizational fields, or sectors, in which isomorphic pressures are transmitted and diffused through these three mechanisms (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Scott and Meyer, 1991; Scott, 1995). Each field is comprised of organizations that are similar to each other or that exchange resources in some form, including suppliers, financiers, and regulators. Organizational fields have a more immediate impact on organizations than a more generally defined external environment. Organizational fields are becoming increasingly organized and centralized so that the organizations within them become more similar to each other (Scott and Meyer, 1991).

Educational organizations, including colleges and universities, are more appropriately viewed from a neo-institutional perspective than from any of the rational, technical strands of open systems theory (Scott and Meyer, 1991). Colleges and universities focus on legitimizing and justifying their organizational purpose and function, and de-emphasize their production processes and outputs (Meyer, 1970; Kamens, 1971; Scott and Meyer, 1983). Evidence of this pattern can be found in the tendency of college and university leaders to become more concerned with promoting the image that their campuses have the "best" or most "legitimate" resources, reputation, curriculum, or outcomes (Meyer, 1970; Astin, 1985). As a result, the process of developing the potential talent of students is replaced as the definition of educational excellence by attempts of individual institutions to project an image of success through enhanced levels reputation and resources (Astin, 1985).

Although the neo-institutional perspective is fairly new, similar ideas have been used for decades to describe the organizational environment of higher education. Isomorphic pressures on college and university campuses were first called to popular attention by Riesman's (1956) description of the "snake-like procession" in which the head of the snake (prestigious colleges and universities) is constantly guarding its position atop of the institutional hierarchy by watching everyone else, with schools lower in the procession always trying to catch up with those ahead of them. Hence, innovation rarely occurs because postsecondary institutions are more concerned with trying to legitimize their place in the systemic hierarchy of higher education and are

less concerned with their ability to deliver improved educational outcomes via technical proficiency. In the intervening years, similar observations have been made about the strong press for organizational conformity in the higher education environment (Bess, 1982; Birnbaum, 1983; Alpert, 1986; Dey et al., 1997)

The observation that colleges are more likely to respond to inputs than to outputs (Birnbaum, 1988), although derived from the more technically oriented cybernetic variant of open systems theory, also supports a neo-institutional perspective. Calling attention to the more important role played by inputs provides an example of how the technical production of educational and scholarly outcomes are de-emphasized in colleges. This point demonstrates the presence of ideas in classic open systems theory that are compatible with neo-institutional concepts. It is likely that Birnbaum (1988) fails to articulate specific connections with neo-institutional theory in his discussion of the cybernetic model because his book pre-dates some of the influential works that establish and popularize the tenets of neo-institutionalism (e.g. DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Scott, 1992).

While the accuracy with which neo-institutional seems to describe the higher education environment is a major strength of this perspective, there are also some weaknesses. A major weakness of neo-institutionalism is the over-reaction to the emphasis placed on intentionality, rationality, and conflict as sources of organizational behavior by classical institutionalism and other open systems perspectives (Brint and Karabel, 1991; Scott, 1992; Mitchell, 1996; Cibulka, 1996). Other weaknesses of the neo-institutional perspective include inattention to the origins of institutions and a failure to recognize organizational innovation and uniqueness (Brint and Karabel, 1991; Mitchell, 1996).

An historical study of community colleges in America addresses some of these weaknesses by bringing back concepts from classical institutional and open systems theory that had been de-emphasized by the neo-institutional school (Brint and Karabel, 1991). Specifically, the findings from this study suggest that "command posts," colleges in positions of elevated status and with greater access to resources, dictate organizational action in the field of higher education. This argument is further developed by the suggestion that organizations and organizational leaders can be intentional about defining and pursuing goals in their best interests (Brint and Karabel, 1991). More specifically, Brint and Karabel (1991) detail how organizations can exploit niches of opportunity within their environment and how concepts from classical open systems theory and neo-institutionalism are not entirely incompatible. This work is most informative to the development of a systemic dimension for two reasons. First, it elaborates upon the most contemporary open systems perspective, neo-institutional theory, by using a number of concepts from more traditional variations of open systems theory (including classical institutionalism). Second, this work is based upon a study of higher education organizations and, hence, fits the population of organizations targeted in this chapter. Recently, there have been several scholars who have also pointed out that neo-institutionalism and the more technical variants of open sys-

tems theory are far more complimentary than they are competing perspectives (e.g. Miller, 1996; Hoy and Miskel, 1996; Berger, 1997; Scott, 1998). As a result, we are now beginning to more readily and fully understand how environmental-organizational interaction takes place in organizational fields like American higher education.

In summarizing this body of literature, the following assumptions describe the systemic dimension of organizational behavior. Organizations are open systems in which external connections and internal structure are interdependent such that the environment is not simply external to the organization, but is also embedded in institutionalized structures and processes within the organization. Embedded aspects of the external environment (professional norms, societal expectations, governmental regulations, accreditation standards, etc.) serve as primary determinants of organizational action. Organizations exist within fields or sectors, composed of similar or related organizations, and the relationships among organizations within a common field constrain and enable organizational behavior. Hence, both change and continuity of organizational form and function reflect internal organizational responses to external stimuli. Certain types of environmental influences (e.g. professional norms, cognitive maps, and regulations) tend to reinforce the similarity and stability of organizational form and function across institutions; while other environmental forces (e.g. competition for scarce resources) tend to generate new organizational processes and structures that can be diffused to other organizations. It is important to remember that just as organizations are affected by the environment, the environment is also affected by organizations.

LINKING ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR AND STUDENT OUTCOMES

A Typology of Outcomes

Astin (1970, 1977, 1991) provides a typology for understanding and classifying different types of student outcomes. Astin's (1970, 1977, 1991) typology characterizes student outcomes in terms of the type of outcome (cognitive or affective), the type of data (psychological or behavioral), and time. Type of outcome reflects what is being assessed while type of data reflects how the outcome is measured and time refers to when the outcome is measured (Astin, 1991). Astin (1991) identifies short-term outcomes that occur during the college experience versus long-term outcomes that are measured after the completion of college. Additionally, short-term outcomes can be thought of as either intermediate (measured during college) or terminal (at the conclusion of the collegiate experience) (Astin, 1993).

The first two dimensions of Astin's typology, type of outcome and type of data, can be combined in a two by two matrix as the means for generating four types of outcomes (see Figure 2). *Cognitive-psychological* outcomes include subject-matter

Data	Outcome	
	Affective	Cognitive
Psychological	Affective-Psychological (e.g. Self-concept, Values, Attitudes, Beliefs, Satisfaction)	Cognitive-Psychological (e.g. Knowledge, Critical Thinking, Academic Achievement)
Behavioral	Affective Behavioral (e.g. Avocations, Citizenship, Interpersonal Relations)	Cognitive-Behavioral (e.g. Career Development, Educational Attainment, Income, Awards)

Figure 2. Typology of Student Outcomes (Adapted from Astin [1993])

knowledge, critical thinking skills, and academic achievement. Examples of *cognitive-behavioral* outcomes include degree attainment, vocational attainment, and awards or special recognition. Values, interests, attitudes, self-concept, and satisfaction with college are all examples of *affective-psychological* outcomes. Finally, *affective-behavioral* outcomes include leadership, interpersonal relations, and hobbies (Astin, 1991). We use these four broad outcome categories—cognitive-psychological, cognitive-behavioral, affective-psychological, and affective-behavioral as the organizing categories for our discussion of empirical evidence regarding the impact of organizational behavior at colleges on student outcomes.

Two sources of literature, studies of college impact on student outcomes and institutional effectiveness research, are used as the sources of this empirical evidence. Although institutional effectiveness studies tend to use administrator and faculty perceptions of student outcomes as proxy measures for actual measures of student outcomes, there are two reasons for including these measures in this review of empirical evidence. First, organizational variables need to be considered in addition to structural-demographic measures as sources of influence on student learning and development (Ewell, 1989). Given the lack of organizational measures in most studies of college impact, it is important that we consider other evidence that is related to these relationships. Second, faculty and administrator perceptions of student outcomes are important sources of information. They serve "as indicators of the priority and commitment accorded to these outcomes in particular organizational settings" (Ewell, 1989, p. 116).

Cognitive-Psychological Outcomes
Most of the research that investigates the relationship between organizational behavior and cognitive-psychological outcomes comes from studies of organizational effectiveness. Institutional effectiveness research suggests that student aca-

demic development is most strongly influenced in a positive direction by adhocracy organizational cultures, which tend to be highly systemic (Cameron and Ettington, 1988). A similar relationship between the systemic dimension and student academic development was found in a study of organizational effectiveness in two-year colleges (Smart and Hamm, 1993). The two organizational cultures (adhocracy and market) that represent systemic organizational behavior were found to have stronger positive relationships to student academic development than did other types of organizational culture (Smart and Hamm, 1993).

However, another study found no significant relationship between academic development and any types of organizational culture once other variables entered the regression equation (Ewell, 1989). Ewell (1989) found evidence of a weak negative relationship between faculty/staff perceptions of academic achievement and hierarchical organizational behavior, but this variable explained very little variance in the outcome and became a non-significant predictor after other organizational functioning variables entered the equation.

An initial review of empirical evidence suggests that only one of the five organizational dimensions—the systemic dimension—may have positive effects on cognitive-psychological outcomes such as student learning and achievement. There is also weak evidence (Ewell, 1989) regarding the negative influence of the bureaucratic dimension on this type of student outcome and no evidence to suggest that the other three dimensions of organizational behavior affect cognitive-psychological outcomes. However, a few words of caution are warranted. The evidence presented covers only studies from organizational effectiveness which use faculty and administrator perceptions of student gains and one study is primarily correlational. Evidence from these studies suggests that future research should test the hypothesis that high levels of systemic behavior have a positive affect on student achievement and other cognitive-psychological outcomes. Studies of the other dimensions of organizational behavior on this type of outcome should be exploratory in nature. Regardless of whether an actual hypothesis is tested, future studies should use actual measures of cognitive-psychological student outcomes to explore the nature of these relationships.

Cognitive-Behavioral Outcomes
Evidence concerning the relationship between organizational behavior and cognitive-behavioral outcomes tends to focus on two types of outcomes—persistence towards degree attainment and student career development. Studies demonstrating a link between organizational behavior at colleges and persistence will be discussed first, followed by a review of evidence relating to career development.

One of the earliest studies of the effects of organizational behavior on student persistence comes from the work of David Kamens (1971, 1974). Kamens (1971) uses multi-institutional data to demonstrate how institutions with greater size and complexity, coupled with a superior capacity to place graduates in prestigious social and occupational roles, have lower rates of attrition than do other types of

postsecondary institutions. He provides an open systems view of organizational behavior in higher education and emphasizes how colleges and universities with highly institutionalized social charters (Meyer, 1970) are able to use their elevated role in the field of higher education to enact a stronger influence on student persistence. In a later work, Kamens (1974) introduces elements of the symbolic dimension as he demonstrates how the use of legitimized myths in postsecondary institutional settings helps to reinforce the social charter of an institution, thereby strengthening the ability of an institution to retain students.

The findings from a multi-institutional study of the relationship between organizational behavior at colleges and undergraduate student persistence indicated that increased levels of bureaucracy led to increases in college dropout (Blau, 1973). Blau (1973) argues that more highly bureaucratized institutions are less likely to have high retention rates for two reasons. First, he suggests that they are less likely to attract high caliber, academically oriented students. This tends to negatively affect persistence rates because at entry students are less inclined and committed to persisting to the completion of an undergraduate degree. Second, the impersonal nature of highly bureaucratic institutions has a negative effect on persistence (Blau, 1973).

Astin and Scherrei (1980) identify different administrative styles that appear to affect undergraduate retention. Humanistic administration was positively correlated with student persistence, while the hierarchical administrative style exhibited a negative relationship with undergraduate degree attainment (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). These findings suggest that the collegial dimension, which is represented by the humanistic administrative style, and the hierarchical administrative style which is a variant of the bureaucratic dimension, have opposite effects on student persistence. Astin and Scherrei (1980) maintain that high levels of humanistic values in administrative behavior on campus, an integral part of collegiality (Birnbaum, 1988; Bensimon et al., 1990; Bergquist, 1992), lead to a greater concern for student well-being. This concern for student well-being leads to decreased attrition rates. Conversely, a hierarchical approach to administration, a key component of bureaucracy (Bush, 1996), is negatively associated with concern for students, which leads to increased attrition (Astin and Scherrei, 1980).

Concepts adapted from organizational studies of worker turnover (Price and Mueller, 1981) have also been applied to undergraduate persistence (Bean, 1980, 1983; Braxton and Brier, 1989; Berger and Braxton, 1998). Bean (1980, 1983) examines how organizational attributes and reward structures affect student satisfaction and persistence. He finds that student perceptions of organizational routinization, participation, communication, and rewards influence levels of student satisfaction, which in turn, affects student persistence. Braxton and Brier (1989) investigate the role of student perceptions about organizational communication, participation, and fairness as sources of social integration in Tinto's (1975) Interactionalist Model of Individual Student Departure. Braxton and Brier (1989) find that student perceptions of organizational fairness and participation have significant direct effects on retention at an urban, commuter institution. In a replication of this

study at a private, highly selective, research university, Berger and Braxton (1998) find that all three of these organizational attributes play a role in fostering social integration. Moreover, they call for more studies using organizational theory as a useful window for studying interaction between students and their collegiate environments.

These studies (Bean, 1980, 1983; Brier and Braxton, 1989; Berger and Braxton, 1998) suggest that students are more likely to persist in organizational environments where they perceive that organizational agents, such as faculty and staff, communicate well, keep students informed, and allow for student participation in organizational decision-making. Fairness, communication, and participation are key components of collegial behavior. Hence, it may be that the description of this particular pattern of interaction between students and organizational behavior at their institutions may reflect a situation in which some campuses extend collegial behavior to include students to some extent. It may also be that modeling collegiality on these campuses positively benefits student persistence. Regardless, students who perceive the elements of collegiality to be present on campus seem more likely to persist.

Aggregated data on persistence rates in a national study of 320 colleges and universities suggest that higher levels of collegiality enhance student persistence while higher levels of bureaucracy negatively affect retention (Ewell, 1989). These findings suggest that a clan-like organizational culture, which reflects collegial organizational behavior, has a small positive effect on persistence. Moreover, the findings indicate that a stronger negative effect is exerted by hierarchical, bureaucratic cultures (Ewell, 1989).

Regarding the career development of students, Astin and Scherrei (1980) found that students attending institutions with high levels of hierarchical, bureaucratic administrative behavior were likely to have an easier adjustment in choosing a career. A study of institutional effectiveness in two-year colleges demonstrates a positive relationship between high levels of hierarchical, bureaucratic organizational behavior and perceptions of student career development (Smart and Hamm, 1993). In contrast, Ewell (1989) found a negative relationship between hierarchical, bureaucratic behavior and faculty/staff perceptions that students can obtain jobs in their field.

Affective-Psychological Outcomes

There is a fair amount of evidence that links affective-psychological outcomes and organizational behavior at colleges. For example, empirical evidence indicates that student satisfaction with college is influenced by organizational behavior on campus. Bureaucratic administrative styles tend to have a negative relationship with levels of student satisfaction with financial aid and curricular advising (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). In contrast, collegial behavior was found to have positive effects on student satisfaction in these areas (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). Further, elements of the systemic dimension were found to be positively related to student satisfaction with distribution of academic transcripts (Astin and Scherrei, 1980).

The literature on organizational effectiveness provides information about how faculty and administrators perceive student satisfaction in different types of organizational environments. More collegially oriented environments have a positive effect on faculty/staff perceptions of student satisfaction while bureaucratically dominated campuses tend to have a negative effect on perceived student satisfaction (Cameron and Ettington, 1988; Ewell, 1989; Smart and Hamm, 1993). Evidence from one study indicates that a more systemic organizational culture positively affects faculty/staff perceptions of student satisfaction with their education (Smart and Hamm, 1993).

Organizational behavior at colleges has also been shown to affect the development of humanistic values (Berger, 1997). Campuses with high levels of bureaucratic, collegial, and symbolic behavior and low levels of political and systemic behavior positively affect the development of humanistic values. In contrast, highly politicized campuses tended to have a negative effect on the development of these values (Berger, 1997).

Studies of organizational effectiveness suggest that there are differences in how certain types of organizational culture affect the personal development of students. To summarize, collegially oriented and systemic campuses tend to positively affect students' perceptions of their personal development, while more bureaucratic and political behavior tends to negatively affect these perceptions. Ewell (1989) found strong support for the positive effect of highly collegial organizational environments, but found no support for a relationship between other dimensions of organizational behavior and perceptions of student development.

Affective-Behavioral Outcomes

Campuses with high levels of bureaucratic, collegial, and symbolic behavior and low levels of political and systemic behavior have a positive effect on student involvement in community service. In contrast, highly politicized campuses tend to have a negative effect on involvement in service (Berger, 1997). Mean comparisons of three different types of organizational environments suggest that the presence of high levels of bureaucracy, collegiality, and symbolic behavior with low levels of political and systemic organizational behavior lead to generally higher levels of student involvement in religious life, student activism, and collaborative learning. Campuses that are characterized by high levels of political behavior tend to promote higher levels of student activism and participation in multicultural activities.

The evidence is mixed regarding the effect of collegiality on affective-behavioral outcomes. Campuses that are collegially oriented tend to foster greater interaction among students, but lower levels of interaction between students and faculty (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). The bureaucratic dimension has also been shown to negatively affect student-faculty interaction (Blau, 1973), but may not have a similar effect on student relations with administrators (Godwin and Markham, 1996). In fact, the findings from the later study suggest that most students view bureaucratic functioning as the norm and accept the frustrations that frequently accompany this

as the cost for accomplishing organizational goals. Conversely, the frustration created by bureaucratic functioning causes some students either to distance themselves psychologically from administrators and other institutional agents or to come in conflict with the individuals (usually administrators) who they perceive to be responsible for their frustrations (Godwin and Markham, 1996).

Type of Organizational Dimension	Type of Outcome			
	Cognitive-Psychological	Cognitive-Behavioral	Affective-Psychological	Affective-Behavioral
Bureaucratic	Negative	Mixed	Mixed	Negative
Collegial	No Evidence	Positive	Positive	Mixed
Political	No Evidence	No Evidence	Mixed	Negative
Symbolic	No Evidence	Positive	No Evidence	No Evidence
Systemic	Positive	Positive	Positive	No Evidence

Figure 3. Summary of Empirical Evidence Linking Dimensions of Organizational Behavior at Colleges with Student Outcomes

Figure 3 summarizes what we know about the effect of organizational behavior on different types of student outcomes and reveals some interesting patterns. The bureaucratic dimension appears to have a negative effect on cognitive-psychological outcomes and on affective (psychological and behavioral) outcomes. However, evidence regarding the effect of bureaucracy on cognitive-behavioral outcomes is somewhat inconclusive. Evidence shows that higher levels of bureaucracy in colleges tend to negatively affect student persistence. The pattern of findings regarding the effect of bureaucratic behavior on students' career development is somewhat less clear. Only one study found evidence of a positive relationship between bureaucratic behavior and faculty perceptions that students can obtain jobs in their field (Ewell, 1989). Therefore, the preponderance of empirical evidence suggests that high levels of bureaucracy generally have a negative influence on student outcomes.

The collegial dimension appears to have a positive relationship with cognitive-behavioral and affective-psychological outcomes. However, there is mixed evidence concerning the effect of collegiality on affective-behavioral outcomes and no empirical evidence suggests that there is a relationship between collegiality and cognitive-psychological outcomes. While more collegial institutions tend to do a better job of fostering peer interaction, faculty-student interaction tends to suffer (Astin and Scherrei, 1980), suggesting that faculty and administrators extend the notion of collegiality only to each other and exclude students. This is one character-

istic of collegiality described by Birnbaum (1988). As such, Astin and Scherrei's (1980) findings in this area may indicate that students are more likely to turn to each other for interaction in collegial environments in place of interaction with faculty and staff members. Hence, while higher levels of collegiality on campus seem to positively benefit students, this may occur at the expense of student interaction with faculty and administrators.

The political dimension does not appear to affect cognitive outcomes, but seems to have a negative relationship with affective outcomes. While there may be no relationship between the political dimension of organizational behavior and cognitive outcomes, this finding may reflect the fact that there are no studies that have investigated this relationship. The negative relationship between political organizational behavior and affective outcomes may be explained by a "me first" mentality that develops as individuals compete for and engage in conflict over resources. Highly political decision-making and organizational functioning create competition among the members of the campus population, including students (Astin and Scherrei, 1980; Kuh, 1996a).

Individuals within politicized environments are only likely to engage in activities in which they have a personal stake, otherwise apathy prevails (Birnbaum, 1988). This supposition is supported by findings in Berger's (1997) study. Students who attended highly political colleges were less likely to engage in seven of his twelve involvement behaviors than were students in the other types of organizational environments. Moreover, the three involvement behaviors that served as significant predictors for both outcome measures were the types of behaviors that students with a personal interest, or personal stake (Birnbaum, 1988), are likely to exhibit. It is also possible that institutional goals are more ambiguous in highly political organizations (Baldridge et al., 1971; Birnbaum, 1988; Bergquist, 1992), thereby making it harder for students to know which activities are valued by the college. Consequently, students are less apt to become involved and to have their outcomes shaped in some uniform manner by the college experience. It is likely that the competitive values, apathy, and goal ambiguity created by political organizational environments inhibit students from becoming involved in campus life. This minimizes the impact that these colleges have in positively influencing affective outcomes among their students.

The symbolic dimension appears to be positively related to cognitive-behavioral outcomes, but studies fail to demonstrate a relationship between this dimension and the other three types of student outcomes. Regarding cognitive-behavioral outcomes, highly symbolic campuses tend to have higher retention rates. This suggests that highly symbolic campuses also have strong organizational sagas (Clark, 1970) that provide students with a common sense of understanding for and bond to the institution that center around commonly held beliefs and values. This is likely to result in a congruent image and campus potency that results in uniformly higher persistence rates (Clark, Heist, McConnell, Trow, and Yonge, 1972).

The systemic dimension appears to positively affect cognitive outcomes and

affective-psychological outcomes while it has no observed relationship with affective-behavioral outcomes. The positive relationship between this dimension and cognitive (behavioral and psychological) and affective-psychological outcomes may reflect the fact that institutions that are highly systemic have strong social charters (Meyer, 1970) and high levels of campus potency (Clark et al., 1972). Subsequently, they are able to attract high achieving students. It may also be that highly systemic campuses create an environment where the form and function of the organization is more congruent with student expectations of what the institution should be like because these institutions are more likely to be shaped by the expectations of students and parents. As a result, they are better able to adapt to these expectations and to provide more highly developed forms of "legitimate" programs, policies, and resources in the eyes of students.

Overall, existing evidence indicates that affective-psychological outcomes are most likely to be affected by organizational behavior at colleges and cognitive-psychological outcomes are least likely to be affected. It is not surprising that cognitive-psychological outcomes are the least likely of the four outcome types to be affected by organizational behavior. Cognitive-psychological outcomes occur primarily in the classroom domain, where instructor autonomy and academic freedom may buffer students from the effects of campus-specific organizational behavior patterns. Moreover, empirical evidence indicates that there is a relationship between all five dimensions of organizational behavior and affective-psychological outcomes. This pattern of findings may be explained by the fact that much of the existing research has focused on the relationship between organizational behavior and this category of student outcomes.

Although this section has focused on the relationship between each dimension of organizational behavior and student outcomes, it is important to consider the ways in which these dimensions combine to affect outcomes on individual campuses. Berger (1997) suggests that there is a spectrum of organizational types that can be constructed from combinations of the five dimensions of organizational behavior. Previous literature on multidimensional models indicates that organizational outcomes consist of varying levels of different types of organizational behavior (e.g. Baldridge et al., 1971; Morgan, 1986; Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman and Deal, 1992; Handy, 1995; Kuh, 1996a). One means for understanding how this happens is provided in Birnbaum's (1988) description of cybernetic organizational functioning. While Birnbaum offers a mechanism for explaining how different models work together, he ignores the different effects that combinations of the five dimensions within one institution may have on students and other campus constituents.

Birnbaum's (1988) cybernetic model is based more on structural concepts that come primarily from the bureaucratic and systemic traditions. Using a different perspective, Robert Quinn (1981, 1988) provides a "competing values" approach to synthesizing different models of organizational behavior. Quinn (1988) notes that while different models, or dimensions, or organizing seem to be unrelated, they are actually interwoven as representations of the competing values found in all organi-

zations. Moreover, it is important to recognize that each dimension does not contain organizations, the five dimensions are all contained in organizations, including colleges and universities (Quinn, 1988).

The five dimensions of organizational behavior can be thought of as the basic building blocks of organizational types. Just as atoms consolidate in various combinations to constitute molecules, the dimensions of organizational behavior combine at varying levels of intensity to build specific types of organizational environments. It is unrealistic to expect that every possible combination of organizational dimensions exists in the real world. For example, it is unlikely that we can find high levels or extremely low levels of all five dimensions across all five dimensions in any single organization. Uniformly low levels of all five dimensions can be characterized as *weak* organizational environments, while uniformly high levels can be described as *intense* organizational environments in which all or most aspects of organizational behavior are tightly coupled. In the middle of this spectrum are colleges and universities with medium levels of all five dimensions that can be labeled as having *moderate* organizational environments. In between the midpoint and each end of the spectrum are numerous possibilities of organizational types that are defined by the relative strength and balance of each of the five dimensions (Berger, 1997).

Berger's (1997) study of eight small, private liberal arts colleges identifies three types of organizational environments; labeled *competitive, casual,* and *cohesive.* The *competitive* type of organizational environment comprised the three colleges that had medium levels of bureaucratic, systemic and symbolic behavior, high levels of political behavior, and lower levels of collegial behavior. The *casual* type of organizational environment was composed of three colleges that exhibited medium levels of the collegial, political, symbolic, and systemic dimensions and lower levels of bureaucracy. The *cohesive* type of organizational environment represents the two colleges which had high levels of bureaucratic, collegial, and symbolic behavior and lower levels of political and systemic behavior. These types of organizational environments and their effects will be described in greater detail throughout the next three paragraphs.

The competitive model describes a group of institutions that are characterized by their low levels of collegiality and high levels of political organizational behavior. This suggests that these are environments with organizational functioning that is dominated by competition for resources and recognition at the expense of mutual respect, trust, and consensual decision-making. The casual model characterizes institutions with low levels of structure, formal goals, and rational decision-making processes, but with moderate levels of the other four dimensions of organizational behavior. These institutions appear to have found a balance among the collegial, political, symbolic, and systemic dimensions and are characterized by a steady-state condition of organizational functioning, which results in less reliance on rational bureaucratic mechanisms. The cohesive model represents institutions that share common goals and procedures for obtaining those goals (high levels of bureaucracy), a mutual sense of respect and desire to work together (high levels of collegiality), and

common values that are expressed through shared rituals, ceremonies, and stories (high levels of symbolic behavior). Moreover, cohesive environments are characterized by minimal internal conflict and competition (low levels of political behavior) and little influence by external sources (low levels of systemic behavior).

Cohesive organizational environments had positive effects on the development of humanistic values and involvement in community service (affective-psychological and affective-behavioral outcomes, respectively). Casual environments had relatively weak effects on these outcomes, while competitive environments negatively affected these outcomes while also having a negative relationship with student involvement in a range of academic and social activities. While existing empirical literature has focused primarily on examining the effects of single dimensions of organizational behaviors or on the use of the dimensions of organizational behavior as ideal types, future research should examine how different combinations of dimensions of organizational behavior affect student outcomes.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The literature reviewed earlier in this chapter demonstrates that dimensions of organizational behavior can characterize colleges and universities and that there is empirical evidence demonstrating a relationship between organizational behavior at colleges and student outcomes. Although we have established that a relationship exists between organizational behavior at college and student outcomes, we have yet to provide an explanation for how organizational behavior at colleges affects student outcomes. We now turn our attention to describing the process by which colleges and universities as organizations affect student outcomes. This model draws from both college impact literature and existing knowledge about organizational behavior.

Figure 4 illustrates a conceptual model for studying the impact of organizational behavior on student outcomes. This model describes how student entry characteristics directly affect the student peer characteristics of a particular institution, student's experience—behavioral and perceptual—in the organization, and student outcomes. Organizational characteristics, including structural-demographic features and organizational behavior dimensions (which exert a reciprocal influence on each other), affect the types of students who attend the institution, student peer group characteristics, and the behavioral and perceptual aspects of the students' experience in the postsecondary organization. Peer group characteristics are a source of direct influence on how students behave and perceive during their experience with the organizational environment of the college or university. The student experience is composed of both behaviors and perceptions which continually interact as students become more or less involved in the organizational environment of the college or university. These experiences directly affect student outcomes. Student experiences are proximal to an individual's campus experience, while other student experiences are proximal to an individual's campus experience, while other
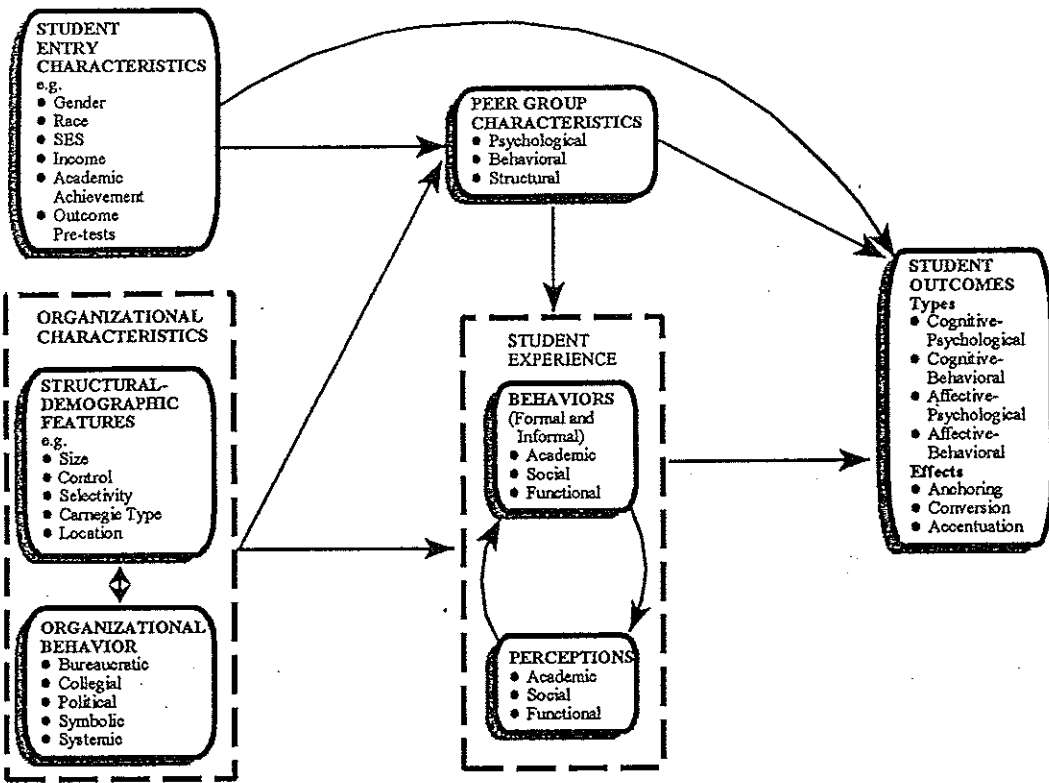
Figure 4. Conceptual Model for Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes

measures of organizational characteristics and peer climates are distal (Astin and Scherrei, 1980; Jessor, 1981). Hence, student behavioral and perceptual experiences have the most direct effect on outcomes. The effects of other variables in the model (except for student entry characteristics) are likely to be mediated by behavioral and perceptual components of the student experience.

Student Entry Characteristics

Because students do not randomly assign themselves to different colleges and universities, inputs, also known as student entry characteristics, are essential components of studies of college impact (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Astin 1977, 1993; Weidman, 1989; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991). Different types of students choose to attend different institutions. This makes it imperative that we know as much as possible about the characteristics of students at any given college or university. Three primary sources—(1) research on college effects, (2) research on student persistence, and (3) research on status attainment—provide evidence regarding the important role played by student entry characteristics in our attempts to understand how college affects students (Weidman, 1989).

Typically researchers have identified a number of entry characteristics that are used in research in the area of college impact; including but not limited to gender, race/ethnicity, family income, academic achievement (high school grade point average and standardized test scores), aspirations, and values. Additionally, whenever possible pre-college indicators of outcomes should be used as pre-tests to control for initial levels of that college outcome (Astin, 1977, 1993; Weidman, 1989). By knowing student entry characteristics, we can control for the effect of student predisposition on subsequent behaviors and outcomes. The inclusion of these characteristics is essential for any model for studying college impact (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Astin, 1985, 1993; Weidman, 1989; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991).

The combination of different student characteristics at any one college or university creates a particular set of peer group characteristics that come together to form the peer climate of the institution. Individual student characteristics also affect the type of experience students will have in college, particularly with regard to the types and levels of involvement in academic and social activities. Nearly every study of college impact recognizes that different types of students become involved in different types of activities, just as students choose different types of institutions to attend. Different students will perceive the same organizational cues in different ways and will react and act differently as well. Ultimately, existing evidence suggests that student entry characteristics are the strongest predictors we have in determining student outcomes (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991).

Organizational Characteristics

While it is important to consider how student entry characteristics affect outcomes, it is also important to consider the role of institutional characteristics in models of college impact. There are two types of organizational characteristics that should be

considered in studies of college impact—structural-demographic features and organizational behavior dimensions. Structural-demographic features of an institution include student body size, selectivity, control (public versus private), and location (urban versus rural), to name a few. These measures of the institutional environment are important in multi-institution studies of college impact and together with student entry characteristics influence the campus environment for students (Astin, 1977, 1993; Pascarella, 1985). Moreover, the evidence presented in this chapter indicates that organizational behavior at colleges also needs to be considered as a source of environmental influence on student outcomes.

The patterns of organizational behavior at a campus and the structural-demographic features of an institution may affect each other. Blau (1973) found evidence of a strong positive relationship between institutional size and bureaucracy. Recent evidence suggests that historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) tend to be more bureaucratic, collegial, and symbolic, while they tend to be less political and systemic than predominantly white institutions (Berger, 1997). Institutional selectivity is positively related to systemic and symbolic behavior (Meyer, 1970; Kamens, 1971, 1974), but negatively related to bureaucracy (Blau, 1973). Although more studies are needed in this area to have a better understanding of the relationships between these types of institutional measures, it appears that structural-demographic characteristics and organizational environments mutually shape each other.

There are several ways that organizational behavior may affect the college choice process and thereby influence the composition of the peer climate on campus. Clark et al. (1972) suggest that the stronger the organizational environment or campus potency, particularly when combined with a strong external image, the more likely an institution is to draw a homogenous student body. Weaker organizational environments tend to be less potent and have more heterogeneous student bodies. Blau (1973) suggests that high levels of bureaucracy are negatively related to institutional selectivity, yet the presence of a strong external organizational orientation attenuates some of these effects. Some studies that document the positive relationship between systemic organizational behavior at colleges and selectivity also indicate that highly symbolic behavior has a positive effect on selectivity and therefore high levels of these dimensions, symbolic and systemic, may lead to more homogenous peer groups with similar patterns of previous academic performance (Meyer, 1970; Kamens, 1971, 1974). It is likely that a combination of highly systemic and symbolic behavior will accentuate this pattern.

The structural-demographic features of an institution also play an important role in the college choice and admission process. For example, there is mixed evidence regarding the relationship between institutional size and college choice. Larger enrollments have been found to be negatively (Blau, 1973) and positively (Kamens, 1974) related to institutional selectivity and levels of academic achievement of the student body. While institutional selectivity can be defined as a structural-demographic feature of an institution (Pascarella, 1985; Weidman, 1989), it also can be considered as a measure of the peer climate on campus in its relation-

ship to previous academic achievement of the students on campus.

Structural-demographic features of an organization also affect student involvement in the formal and informal academic and social sub-systems on campus. For example, institutional size is likely to be an important factor. Larger institutions may limit the number of opportunities students have to become involved in certain types of activities (Chickering, 1969). Alternatively, religiously affiliated institutions may offer or require participation in religious activities that may be limited at other types of institutions.

The dimensions of organizational behavior affect different types of involvement behavior in different ways. Astin and Scherrei's (1980) findings suggest that bureaucratic organizational behaviors may help some students get more involved in campus life. This may result from a positive relationship between student time management and making decisions about academic majors and career paths. Bureaucratic mechanisms on a campus can help define appropriate uses of time and channels for getting things done, which takes some of the ambiguity out of campus life for students. Bureaucratic models of organizational functioning are typically characterized by high levels of goal clarity, making it easier for students to know what is expected of them.

Berger's (1997) work demonstrates that an important relationship between organizational behavior and student involvement exists. For example, the bureaucratic dimension was found to be positively correlated with involvement in collaborative learning activities; the collegial dimension was positively related to involvement in collaborative learning activities and participation in clubs and organizations; the symbolic dimension was negatively associated with student leadership and activism; political dimension was positively correlated with measures of academic involvement and negatively related to involvement in multicultural activities; and the systemic dimension was positively related with a number of academic involvement measures but negatively associated with involvement in religious life (Berger, 1997). Berger (1997) also found that higher levels of political organizational behavior on campus led to lower levels of student involvement, particularly in activities like student government participation.

It is worth reiterating that while most studies have focused on the effects of individual organizational dimensions, there is a need for more research on how different combinations of these dimensions create certain kinds of organizational cues and that subsequently impact student experiences and outcomes. While each of the five organizational dimensions does exert specific types of effects, they all are found in varying levels in every college and university. Hence, in addition to understanding how changes in the levels of each dimension may affect students on campus, it is also important to understand how combinations of relative levels of each organizational dimension on any one campus form different types of organizational environments across campuses.

The relationship between organizational behavior and student outcomes has been documented in this chapter and there is additional evidence that organiza-

tional behavior at colleges affects student involvement as an intermediate outcome. While existing literature provides us with a rough sketch of these relationships, it does not provide a detailed description of specific social mechanisms that enable broad based organizational behavior patterns to affect individual students. Baird (1988) suggests that work done in the area of organizational assessment may provide some answers. In particular, he cites Naylor, Pritchard, and Ilgen (1980) and Lord (1985) as examples of theoretical approaches that may help us better understand the college environment. Naylor et al. (1980) identify a process whereby organizational attributes, such as structural-demographic features and organizational behavior are moderating characteristics of the organization that create actual cue values or environmental attributes which are then processed by individuals, such as students, within the organizational environment. Organizational cues are the manifestation of certain patterns of organizational behavior on campus. These cues serve to influence the perceptions that students have of that organizational environment. It makes sense that these cues would affect behaviors as well as perceptions, given the relationship that has been established regarding perception and behavior (Astin, 1985; Milem and Berger, 1997). The concept of organizational cues provides a conceptual link that can help us understand how something distal to the student experience affects more proximal aspects of the student experience, such as individual student behavior and perception. Organizational cues are the part of the organizational environment that are most likely to have a direct effect on patterns of student perception and behavior. While organizational decision-making and other aspects of organizational behavior are further removed from student experience, there are some organizational practices and processes that directly influence the student experience.

We have a fairly good idea regarding what kinds of cues might be manifested by each of the dimensions of organizational behavior. For example, rules, regulations, policies, and procedures would guide student behavior at campuses with high levels of bureaucratic behavior. Highly bureaucratic organizations are likely to have what Strange (1994; 1996) calls static campus environments that are less complex, more centralized, more formalized, less innovative, and more focused on the production of quantity rather than quality. Strange (1996) suggests that these types of environments generally lower student morale, stifle student creativity, and produce conformity. Strange notes that some students may be more comfortable in this type of environment. For example, he suggests that students with high scores on the Myers-Briggs sensing and judging personality traits (Myers, 1980) or the conventional and realistic types in Holland's (1973) typology of vocational preferences may prefer the highly structured environment associated with high levels of bureaucracy. In contrast, Strange (1996) warns that students with other style preferences or from cultural backgrounds that are less hierarchical may have a difficult experience at a highly bureaucratic campus. However, the effects of bureaucracy may also have only nominal effects on students. Most students take bureaucratic cues for granted as an expected part of college life and bureaucratic mechanisms are designed to routinize college life (Godwin and Markham, 1997).

Highly collegial environments exert very different types of organizational cues. Students, if included in the collegial aspects of organizational functioning, receive much of their organizational cues from the formal (e.g. campus-wide committees) and informal (e.g. professors and administrators asking for student opinions and feedback) invitations to participate in campus discussions, decision-making, and execution of organizational responsibilities.

Highly political environments are likely to provide organizational cues that emerge only when an issue is important to students. In reality, apathy may be the general rule of thumb in highly political environments and only when individuals have strong interest and/or a stake in power will action commence (Birnbaum, 1988). In political environments, organizational cues are likely to be centered around issues rather than processes. Highly competitive organizational environments that are characterized by high levels of political behavior generally have lower levels of student involvement in generic campus activities (e.g. student government) but higher levels in issue specific activities, such as participation in multicultural student groups and campus protests and demonstrations (Berger, 1997).

Highly symbolic organizations provide organizational cues to students through campus symbols. Where common goals are emphasized in highly bureaucratic institutions, shared values constitute the content of symbolic cues. The weaker the symbolic dimension at a campus the more we expect that symbolic cues have a diffuse or fragmented effect on students, whereas stronger symbolic environments tend to have a more integrating and conforming effect on students.

Systemic cues are manifested in patterns of campus behavior that send messages to students that the institution is legitimate when compared with similar institutions. The organizational cues most likely to be noticed by the students are those features of the institution that are either highly congruent or highly incongruent with students pre-conceived images of what that college should be like. The extent to which other types of external influences, regulative or normative from a neo-institutional perspective, or competitive from a resource dependency perspective, provide organizational cues is affected by whether they create congruence or dissonance with the students' own cognitive maps (which also serve as sources of mimetic organizational influence).

Organizational behavior generates various cues that reflect the strength of the particular combination of organizational dimensions that characterize the environment at each college or university. It is likely that most students will not be directly aware of most organizational cues, but that there is a sub-set of organizational cues that have the largest conscious and direct effect on students. Future studies may want to focus on identifying which types of cues most likely affect students and how students conceptualize and process these cues.

Peer Group Characteristics

Having established that it is important to consider student and organizational characteristics as sources of college impact, we still need to understand how these factors interact to facilitate change in college and university students. We know that structural-demographic features of an institution, such as size and selectivity, influence students' choices about which college or university to attend (Clark et al., 1972). We also know that the organizational behavior encountered by students prior to their arrival on campus affects their choice of college and serves as a source of anticipatory socialization that affects their perceptions of organizational functioning and expectations (Kuh et al., 1990).

Building upon the underlying assumption in this chapter that colleges and universities are organizations and that students are client-members within those organizations, the college experience of students can be thought of as a process of organizational socialization. Thinking about the college choice process as a form of organizational anticipatory socialization makes sense because colleges and universities have historically been recognized as the primary socializing organizations for adults in American society (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Meyer, 1970; Kamens, 1974). Weidman's (1989) model for studying undergraduate socialization is useful in the development of an organizational behavior-based college impact model. This work is instructive in considering how colleges and universities can be thought of as socializing organizations in two primary ways. First, the model provides a conceptual link for integrating peer group theory into college impact models. Second, Weidman asserts that specific change producing mechanisms must be included in college impact models. These are congruent with Astin's (1991) assertion that intermediate outcomes, particularly behavioral measures, are mechanisms that help to explain how change is facilitated and/or inhibited in the college environment. Hence, in addition to considering organizational characteristics as measures of the college environment that affect student outcomes, we also should include measures of the peer normative climate and involvement behaviors as environmental influences.

Weidman (1989) focuses on the role of peer and reference groups in shaping college outcomes. Peer and reference group theory has been used frequently by social scientists and by scholars of higher education to help explain college impact (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Astin, 1985, 1993; Weidman, 1989; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991). The term reference group refers to "a group in which an individual orients him/herself, regardless of whether or not the individual is actually a member of the group" (Milem, 1992, p. 4). In the 1940s, Hyman and Newcomb pioneered research into the effects of reference groups (Milem, 1992, 1994, 1998). Despite Hyman and Newcomb's early work, reference group studies on college and university campuses do not emerge again until the 1960s (Milem, 1992, 1994, 1998). Newcomb and Wilson (1966) suggest two major considerations when studying college impact. They emphasize the importance of selection, or student entry characteristics, as determinants of student behavior in college and subsequent out-

comes. They also articulate the importance of peer influence in shaping student perceptions, attitudes and values.

Peer group effects are an important part of the literature on college student development and college impact. The theories and models that focus on peer effects described above (e.g. Newcomb and Wilson, 1966; Weidman, 1989; Milem, 1992, 1994, 1998) are examples of sociologically oriented college impact literature. Similar emphasis on the important role that the student peer characteristics play in the development of outcomes comes from the more psychologically oriented student development literature. For example, a large body of literature suggests that the collective, dominant characteristics of students at a particular campus, also known as the human aggregate, exert a conforming influence on the development of students (Strange, 1984). Human aggregate research has focused on how these shared peer environments, represented by the dominant patterns of involvement (Astin, 1962), personality characteristics (Myers, 1980), and career orientations (Holland, 1973), influence individual student development (Strange, 1991; 1994). It has also been noted that a campus may be composed of multiple peer and reference groups, or peer sub-cultures, that affect students perceptions and behavior while in college (Kuh and Whitt, 1988).

The larger the percentage of students who share common characteristics, or the more homogeneous the entering student population, the stronger the peer climate. Organizational environments that are stronger or more intense (with high levels of multiple organizational dimensions), because of the strength and congruency of organizational goals, values, and resources as manifested by enacted organizational behaviors, are more likely to attract similar students (Berger, 1997). These homogeneous peer climates further accentuate the development of student outcomes that are consistent with the espoused and enacted organizational goals and values (Clark et al., 1972). Conversely, weaker organizational environments draw a more heterogeneous peer group to campus and have weaker effects on student outcomes (Clark et al., 1972; Berger, 1997). The more homogenous, congruent, and consistent organizational features (such as mission, goals, values, resource allocation, policies, programs, administrative styles, and patterns of decision-making) are with the characteristics of the students on campus, the more likely the institution is to produce some sort of accentuation or conforming effect on student outcomes (Clark et al., 1972; Astin and Scherrei, 1980; Kuh et al., 1990; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991; Kuh, 1996b).

The interaction between organizational behavior at colleges, the structural-demographic features of an institution, and student characteristics provides a source of influence on the peer climates of institutions. Structural-demographic features and dimensions of organizational behavior influence how different students make their choices about college attendance. As a result, students tend to enroll at institutions with other students who share certain common individual characteristics. In turn, this strengthens the nature of the peer climate on campus.

The peer climate influences student involvement as well. Administrators and campus-

pus leaders often develop programs around the interests and needs of the majority of their students (Clark and Trow, 1969; Clark et al., 1972), which results in patterns of involvement that reflect the interests of the dominant peer groups on campus. Additionally, students can influence the types of involvement that their peers become involved in on campus through socialization processes and normative pressures.

Throughout this section we have been using the terms student peer characteristics or peer climate as ways of labeling the aggregated characteristics of students at a particular college or university. However, it is important to make brief mention about the kinds of characteristics we are talking about. Most studies of college student peer groups have focused on attitudinal and other perceptual characteristics. This has been true in both the student development literature and college impact literature. The impact of structural characteristics, such as race and ethnicity, should also be considered. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1997; 1999). The structural diversity of a campus can be influential in defining the nature of the peer groups on campus. This is particularly true since many students of color may come from cultural contexts with cultural values and norms that differ from the dominant organizing values and norms found in most American organizations (Cox, 1992), including colleges and universities.

Clark et al. (1972) discuss how the peer climate and the organizational function-ing at a campus interact to create different patterns of effects on outcomes. Building on the work of Feldman and Newcomb (1969), Clark et al. (1972) identify three types of college effects that may be found when studying college impact—the anchoring effect, the accentuation effect, and the conversion effect. The anchoring effect describes when the college environment reinforces existing patterns of belief or behavior in students. The accentuation effect occurs when the college experience results in the increase of a particular belief or behavior. Finally, the conversion effect is most pronounced and occurs when a transformation occurs such that a "negative" value on some attribute becomes "positive" or a "positive" value becomes "negative."

Campuses with homogenous peer groups and strong organizational environ-ments, or "campus potency" to use Clark et al.'s (1972) term, tend to exert accentu-ation effects. In situations where the peer climate of a campus is heterogeneous and the organizational environment is strong there is a tendency towards conversion effects. A homogeneous student body and relatively weak organizational environ-ments often result in weak accentuation effects while a heterogeneous student body at an institution with a weak organizational environment will tend to produce anchoring effects. While these patterns are only tendencies, they provide a good example of how peer climates and organizational environments combine to provide an effect on student outcomes.

Student Experiences

We have argued that organizational characteristics and the peer climate are impor-tant campus environmental factors in an organizationally based view of college

impact. We have also asserted that student perceptions of the environment and involvement behaviors are additional pieces of the college environment that affect student outcomes. Pascarella (1985) identifies four sets of college environment measures that affect cognitive learning and development. These measures include structural/organizational characteristics of institutions, institutional environments (student perceptions of the environment), interaction with agents of socialization (e.g. faculty and peers), and quality of student effort. Pascarella's (1985) concep-tion of structural/organizational characteristics is analogous with what we call the structural-demographic features of an institution and his definition of the institu-tional environment includes a set of perceptual factors that is similar to the percep-tions of organizational environment concept described in this chapter. Additionally, Pascarella's (1985) concepts of interaction with agents of socialization and quality of student effort represent different types of involvement behaviors. Quality of effort, as defined by Pascarella (1985) can be thought of as pertaining to specific types of academic involvement. Students with a high quality of effort directed towards learning can be said to be heavily involved in learning activities. Similarly, interaction with faculty and peers are the fundamental types of involvement stu-dents have while in college (Berger and Milem, 1997).

Astin's (1985) Theory of Involvement has been instructive as a conceptual tool in studies of college impact. After reviewing results of a national study of student persistence, Astin (1985) was convinced that involvement played an important role in shaping student outcomes. Astin summarizes his theory by noting, "Students learn by becoming involved" (1985, p. 133). He proposes five basic postulates: involvement requires the investment of psychological and physical energy into objects (tasks, people, activities, etc.), either specific or general; involvement is on-going with different students investing varying amounts of energy into different objects; involvement is quantitative and qualitative; the amount of learning or development is proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement; and the educational effectiveness of any policy or practice is related to how well it facil-itates student involvement. Although Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) question whether Astin's propositions constitute a properly defined theory, they note that it has had a powerful influence in higher education research and administration. Astin's involvement propositions can be viewed as conceptual "helpers" that explain how college affects students when used in other studies of college impact or when integrated with other conceptual frameworks (e.g. Milem and Berger, 1997).

Simply stated, the more involved a student is with college life, the more he or she is likely to interact with and be affected by the campus environment. In Astin's (1985) terms, quality of effort means that students are investing high levels of phys-ical and psychic energy in learning activities. This indicates that college impact models should include measures that represent the time and effort students exert in becoming involved with campus life. The college impact literature has identified two primary domains of campus life in which students become involved—aca-demic and social (e.g. Tinto, 1975, 1993; Weidman, 1989; Paulsen and St. John,

1997), Pascarella's (1985) work supports this view by demonstrating that the interactions students have with faculty and with peers influence student learning and cognitive development.

A few recent studies indicate the importance of distinguishing between the behavioral and psychological interaction students have with the campus environment (Milem and Berger, 1997; Berger and Milem, 1997; Paulsen and St. John, 1997). Milem and Berger (1997) offer a model of student persistence where student interaction with the campus environment is described as an on-going cycle whereby students interact with the campus environment (behavior) which modifies their perceptions of the environment, which in turn affects subsequent behavior. Paulsen and St. John (1997) describe a similar process whereby students enter college with expectations (a perceptual or psychological measure), experience aspects of the campus environment (a behavioral measure), and then evaluate (a perceptual measure) their situation.

The literature on college student development has recognized the important relationship between behavior and perceptions. Strange (1994), in a comprehensive review of college student development theory, showed how Lewin's (1936) social psychological model of person-environment interaction can be helpful in understanding how students develop in college. In this model, human behavior is seen as a result of an individual's perceptions and the environment around them. Simply put, behavior is a function of the interaction between perception and environment (Strange, 1994). Lewin's (1936) model can be applied to studies of the impact of the organizational environment at colleges on student behaviors. Student behavior, defined as the amount of time spent in various social and academic activities, can be seen as the result of students' perceptions of the organizational environment and the actual environment in which they are immersed. This type of conceptualization helps explain how the organizational environment may affect students. Student involvement behaviors can be viewed as a result of the interaction between the organizational environment at a college or university and student perceptions.

There is much empirical evidence supporting the assertion that the amount and types of involvement in academic and social activities are influenced directly by the organizational environment on campus and student perceptions of that environment. The degree to which students' perceive organizational behavior at a campus is likely to influence their satisfaction with and participation in various academic and social aspects of campus life. Much of the student development literature has focused on the important role that student perceptions of the environment play in shaping student experiences and outcomes (e.g. Pace and Stern, 1958; Pervin, 1968; Stern, 1970; Walsh, 1973). Student perceptions of the organizational environment may be the most important constructs in this model given the emphasis we place on the need for organizational agents at colleges and universities to be student-centered.

More specifically, studies of student persistence demonstrate how student perceptions of organizational functioning directly affect academic and social integra-

tion and influence persistence (Brier and Braxton, 1989; Berger and Braxton, 1998). Related research demonstrates that students who perceive that the institutional, or organizational, environment is supportive are more likely to be involved academically and socially, and are more likely to persist (Milem and Berger, 1997; Berger and Milem, 1997). While students are not likely to conceptualize organizational behavior in terms of theoretical abstractions (e.g. bureaucratic, collegial, political, symbolic, or systemic), research suggests that students have perceptions about the nature of organizational behavior at campuses as it pertains to their experience. For example, student success has been linked to the extent to which students perceive that organizational functioning and decision-making is fair, promotes communication, allows for participation, and provides support (Braxton and Brier, 1989; Milem and Berger, 1997; Berger and Milem, 1997; Berger and Braxton, 1998).

There are three broad categories that can be used to describe the major areas of student experience on campus. The three categories are academic, social, and functional. The academic and social categories of student experience are well established in college impact literature. The work of Tinto (1975, 1993) and Weidman (1989) has firmly established the importance of both the academic and social contexts of the student experience as major sources of influence on student outcomes. The academic experience focuses on aspects of the college experience that relate to the attainment of educational objectives, cognitive development, and learning in and out of the classroom. The social experience focuses on interaction and relationships among members of the college community that contribute to psycho-social well-being and development. There are formal and informal aspects of both types of experiences. Formal academic experiences include activities such as attending classes and labs and participating in study groups, while informal academic experiences include discussing course content with other students and time spent studying alone. Formal social experiences include attending performances and belonging to clubs and organizations. Informal social experiences include socializing with friends, dating, and going to non-campus sponsored parties.

Less attention has been given to the functional context of the college experience. There are experiences that students have in college that are neither academic or social, but are necessary forms of participation in campus life. Functional experiences are aspects of the college experience that focus on things that are required to be a participating member of the college community, but do not relate directly to either the academic or social aspects of college. These experiences can be either formal or informal. Examples of formal functional experiences include dealing with financial aid, registering a car, paying bills, buying books, learning and following university rules and regulations, petitioning to change a campus rule or policy, and so on. Informal experiences include finding a parking space, getting something to eat, getting from one building to another, or finding the right office on campus.

While functional experiences seem rather trivial at first glance, it is through these functional experiences that students interact with the organizational environ-

ment of the campus. Moreover, the extent to which students successfully negotiate these functional experiences and the extent to which they perceive that these experiences provide a supportive campus environment, the more likely functional experiences are to influence the quantity and quality of involvement that students have in social and academic aspects of college. Similarly, higher levels of involvement and perceived satisfaction with academic and social experiences are likely to lead to increased involvement with functional aspects of the college experience.

In a qualitative study of how bureaucracy affects new student adjustment to college, Godwin and Markham (1996) find that the bureaucratic mechanisms that are a pervasive feature of college life affect students' initial perceptions and activities at college. Most students successfully conform to both the regulative and normative parameters of bureaucratic functioning in an university. Despite personal costs and frustration students do this because their needs are generally met and because of normative pressure from other students and organizational agents (faculty and staff). However, for students who encounter situations in which existing regulations and norms do not meet their real or perceived needs, negative behavioral and perceptual consequences often result for the students. Non-routine responses—such as the bending of a rule or the making of an exception—seem to have a positive impact on students when functional problems arise (Godwin and Markham, 1997).

Student Outcomes

Although student outcomes were discussed previously in this chapter, there are a few loose ends that still need to be addressed. Most importantly, it is worth noting that we are describing a general model of organizational impact on student outcomes. The type of outcome (i.e. cognitive-behavioral, etc. or more specifically academic achievement, persistence, etc.) studied will define the specific variables included in any tests of this model. Existing literature about a particular outcome will dictate which entry characteristics, organizational characteristics (particularly structural-demographic features), aspects of the peer climate, and measures of the student experience (behavioral and perceptual) should be included in the model. For example, studies of student persistence are more likely to include a variety of social measures than are studies of academic achievement. Whether the model is used in single or multiple institution studies is also an important factor to consider when applying this model to the study of organizational impact. Many organizational level constructs will be constants in single institution studies, yet it is still important to consider how the individual attributes of students relate to these measures.

STUDYING ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND DILEMMAS

There are a number of methodological issues involved with the study of organizational behavior in general and, more specifically, with the application of organizational behavior theory to the study of college impact. The multidisciplinary and low

consensus nature of organizational studies increases the number of theoretical and methodological tools at our disposal in the study of organizations, while also increasing the number and scope of methodological problems inherent in the study of organizations (Pfeffer, 1982; Peterson, 1985). Some of the methodological challenges that affect the way in which we study organizations include level of analysis, units of measurement (individual vs. aggregated scores), and choice of methods (including quantitative and qualitative issues).

Organizational studies have wrestled historically with defining the level of analysis that is appropriate as well as choices related to units of measurement. One of the clearest examples of these issues involves the individualist versus structuralist controversy (Pfeffer, 1982). The individualist position contends that larger social structures, like organizations, do not behave, people do (Weick, 1969; Collins, 1981; Pfeffer, 1982). In contrast, the structuralist position entails the belief that social collectivities, such as organizations, can only be understood by examining the empirical, enduring macro-social processes (Pfeffer, 1982). From the structuralist's point of view social structures are more than just mere aggregations of individual-level actions and perceptions. Hence, the individualist is not asking what explains social phenomena, but rather is asking how individual behavior explains social phenomena (Mayhew, 1980; Pfeffer, 1982). Structuralists believe that the individualist position relies on a logic of reductionism that individualists focus on are abstract constructs that are often derived from even lower levels of perceptions and behaviors (Pfeffer, 1982). Taken to an extreme, the individualist position ultimately depends on each instance in a person's life that some event triggers a stimulus to affect a certain attitude, value, or behavior.

We are becoming increasingly aware of the complexity of the world around us and of the multiple lenses we can have to view and understand social phenomena. Our ability to use multilevel conceptual models and multiple research methods to more fully describe our world continues to expand. The danger inherent in these increased conceptual and methodological choices is that while our understanding may become more diverse and comprehensive, there is also a tendency for fragmentation to occur (Pfeffer, 1982; Peterson, 1985). The goal of theory and research is to make complex social phenomena more easily understood so that we may be more systematic in our attempts to improve the social condition. While fragmentation of theory and methods may provide diverse perspectives a stronger voice in scientific discourse, such fragmentation also hinders the development of larger understandings (if, in fact, they exist; this is a frequently debated point).

The point we want to make with this discussion is that the choices we make about units of measurement and levels of analysis should not be taken for granted. The choices we make regarding measurement, levels of analysis, and research design reflect underlying assumptions about the nature of reality and the role of research. This discussion is germane to methodological issues because it is our assumptions about the nature of reality that form the basis for how we measure

social phenomena. Historically, research methods have been closely tied to philosophical paradigms about the nature of reality. The social fact perspective, which is based on the belief that there is an objective, discoverable reality external to our perceptions, has been closely associated with quantitative methodologies. Qualitative methods have been used more traditionally by proponents of the social constructivist viewpoint who contend that reality exists as a manifestation of our perceptions. Moreover, there has been a tendency for qualitative methods to use inductive logic and for quantitative studies to use deductive logic. However, this does not mean that deductive logic must always be paired with quantitative methods or that inductive logic must be always be used with qualitative methods. Instead, these choices, along with decisions regarding whether to verify or generate theory, depend on the researcher and his/her beliefs, aptitudes, experience, and skills (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The most basic methodological issue arising from this discussion involves units of analysis. Organizational theory has always been concerned with examining organizational phenomena at multiple levels, including individual, group, organizational, and system levels of analysis (Pfeffer, 1982, 1997; Peterson, 1985). It is important to consider two issues when choosing units of measure and levels of analysis for an organizational study (Pfeffer, 1982). First, one must insure that the choices made are appropriate given the theoretical basis of the research. Second, there must be recognition that each level of analysis contains specific philosophical assumptions and methodological concerns. Both of these issues have important implications for the application of organization theory to the study of college impact.

The few studies that link organizational behavior and student outcomes often fail to consider individual students as the unit of analysis or as the appropriate source of data collection. Instead, researchers tend to concentrate on changes in student outcomes for the institution as a whole by aggregating individual student scores into composite measures of change. To further add to the problem, many of these studies use administrator and faculty perceptions of student outcomes, rather than actual measures of student perceptions and behaviors. While we know something about how organizational behavior affects student outcomes for students as a group at particular institutions, we have almost no insight into how the organizational behavior at a specific college affects different students within the same organizational environment. The focus on aggregate student scores makes it impossible to ascertain whether or not different types of students are affected in the same way by common organizational experiences.

By using individual students as the unit of analysis, it is possible to examine how individuals from different backgrounds and with different attributes and abilities (such as race, socio-economic status, high school achievement, and gender) are influenced by specific kinds of organizational behavior (Pascarella, 1985; Baird, 1988). This research strategy also attends to problems that result from using faculty and administrator judgments concerning outcomes instead of actual outcome measures.

There are also important measurement and methodological concerns that relate to this discussion. Several organizational studies in the mid-1970s identify the inherent shortcomings (particularly concerning problems with the specificity, accuracy, and bias of measures [Scott, 1976]) that are created by studies that aggregate individual-level outcomes data (e.g. Dornbusch and Scott, 1975; Hannan, Freeman, and Meyer, 1976; Scott, 1977). Yet, aggregating individual-level outcomes data into institutional level outcomes remains a common practice for organizational studies in American higher education (e.g. Cameron and Ettington, 1988; Smart and Hamm, 1993). As a result, we have some excellent and valuable insights into the impact of organizational behavior on students at the organizational level, but there remains a need to better understand the impact of organizational behavior at colleges on students at the individual level.

No unit of measurement or level of analysis is inherently better than another. Choices regarding these issues depend on the goals of the study and the nature of the underlying theory. Given our understanding of existing research, one of the prime areas for further inquiry is the relationship between organizational behavior at colleges and student outcomes. Hence, we have chosen to focus on our understanding of the level of the individual student as our level of analysis. However, we comes at the level of the individual student and also recognize that college impact is an interactive process between a student and campus environment(s) (Tinto, 1975, 1993; Astin, 1977, 1991; Weidman, 1989). Hence, we can understand more completely the impact of organizational behavior on student outcomes by examining how individual students interact with organizational structures.

Defining and Measuring Organizational Roles

Important methodological and theoretical questions remain. Who is college student in organizational terms? Are students external or internal to the postsecondary educational organization? What is the nature of the relationship between students and professional members (faculty and staff) in the organization? How do we measure organizational behavior and cues along with independent measures of the student experience? All of these questions require an understanding the organizational role of students and the relationship of that role with other organizational roles in colleges and universities.

The best place to start is by examining how best to understand organizational behavior and then by moving to a discussion of the place of students within the organization. If, as suggested earlier in this chapter, the college itself is not an entity that is capable of behavior that affects students, then the question remains regarding who on campus is responsible for enacting organizational behavior on behalf of the college. Is it administrators? Faculty members? Trustees? Students themselves? Some or all of the above?

One way to answer these questions is by identifying all members of the campus organizations—students, staff, administrators, faculty, trustees, and even parents and alumni—as organizational actors (Kuh and Whitt, 1988). While this may be

true, it presents some conceptual and methodological difficulties. Conceptually, this view presents a vague and unclear definition of exactly what an organizational actor is and who is responsible for what types of organizational behavior. Moreover, good theory should describe complex social phenomena in simpler and more easily understood terms (Patterson, 1980; Babbie, 1992). The failure to recognize differences in the role and scope of power and responsibility of different individuals within an organization does little to further our understanding of how organizational behavior affects other aspects of the higher education experience.

It has also been suggested that different conceptions about the organizational behavior of a college and university campus (Peterson, 1988). For example, faculty and administrators may have different conceptions about the organizational functioning of a campus (Peterson, 1988). This may be partly the result that some constituencies, such as the average faculty member, are so focused on their immediate realm of responsibility (such as academics) that they do not have as full of an understanding of organizational behavior as do administrators and faculty members with administrative responsibilities (Peterson, 1988).

Failure to be specific about what type of organizational behavior is being manifested by specific types of organizational actors glosses over the differences among various sources of influence on student outcomes in higher education settings. Organizational behavior on campus influences and is affected by a variety of other campus environments, including student and faculty environments (Peterson, 1988). Recognizing differences among patterns of behavior on campus is an important part of being able to develop clearer explanations of how aspects of college and university life interact to affect college impact.

There are also methodological considerations. Most important is the issue of measurement. Because a precise definition is lacking, it is difficult to operationalize and measure organizational behavior on campus. By determining which members of the campus community are most responsible for and most aware for enacting organizational behavior on campuses, we can identify a target population from which to obtain measurements and definitions of organizational behavior on campuses.

Faculty and staff can be viewed as organizational agents who have a responsibility for stewardship of the organization over time and who are responsible for meeting student needs. Organizations have "dominant coalitions" of individuals who are primarily responsible for enacting organizing behavior on college campuses (Cameron, 1986). These dominant coalitions are comprised of presidents, vice-presidents, deans, and academic chairs on college campuses. These administrators have primary responsibility for programmatic and policy decisions that have widespread effects across the entire campus (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). This is not to say that only these individuals enact organizing actions or have legitimate perspectives on the organizational behavior on campus. However, this definition provides a means for specifying who has primary responsibility for and access to power necessary for initiating and sustaining

organizing action on campus. Making the distinction between organization and organizing also allows us to more precisely explore how these particular sets of behaviors interact with and affect other behaviors of structured activity on campus, including faculty role performance and student experiences and outcomes. Future studies should clarify whether the term "organizational behavior" is being defined in terms of patterns and processes of behavior exhibited by organizational agents in general or by administrators and faculty holding administrative posts in the dominant coalition on each campus.

This leads to questions about the role of students as they relate to the college or university organization. Because students are educational consumers they can be viewed as being external to the organization as are customers and clients in most organizations. On the other hand, even though students pay for educational services through tuition, they must still work for their degrees and they exert a great deal of influence and even play formal roles within the organization itself (Bush, 1996). Hence, students can also be viewed as being internal to the organization as members. This situation is one of the major factors that contributes to the unique nature of colleges and universities as organizations. Vreeland and Bidwell (1965) suggest that students are client-members of college and university organizations. Students generally have less permanent and less formal organizational roles than do professional-members of the organization, defined as the academic (faculty) and administrative agents of the organization. Future studies should also investigate the nature of the organizational roles played by students on campus; particularly with regard to how students themselves perceive those roles. It may also be informative to investigate how various types of organizational agents perceive the client-member role. By focusing on separate measurements of organizational behavior as perceived and enacted by organizational agents, including the dominant coalition, and students as member-clients of the collegiate organization it is possible to identify potentially productive approaches to measuring each of the components identified in the conceptual model developed for this chapter.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are several important directions for future research in this area. As a first step, the conceptual model we have suggested in this chapter should be empirically tested. Additionally, collegiate organizations are not monolithic in nature. As the size and complexity of an organization increases, there are likely to be important differences in the ways that various departments and administrative sub-units operate within any organization. The conceptual model could be modified and tested across different academic departments within a single institution, within different colleges of a university, or within other types of sub-divisions of a college or university.

The conceptual model we proposed is designed to examine the relationship between organizational behavior at colleges and student outcomes in quantitative studies. However, qualitative studies that generate new knowledge and perspectives

about the impact of organizational behavior on students are also needed. Qualitative studies can provide rich descriptions of how the dimensions of organizational behavior are enacted on various campuses. Moreover, they can provide insights into how different students react to and are affected by various types of organizational behavior on campus. By focusing more on the individual student as the unit of analysis, qualitative studies can help us understand how specific students interact with and are affected by the organizational environment on their campus.

Qualitative studies also may inform us about how differences within the dimensions of organizational behavior affect students. Even when quantitative measures reveal that campuses share common levels of an organizational dimension (for example, both college A and college B may have high levels of bureaucracy), the ways in which this organizational behavior is enacted on these campuses may be very different. While two campuses may have the same level of bureaucracy, those bureaucratic behaviors may be intended to promote different goals. One institution may emphasize goals that foster professional education and career development while another may be structured such that community service and the development of humanistic values are the primary goals of the institution. Similarly, the same level of symbolic behavior does not mean that institutions share or espouse common values through symbolic behavior.

Qualitative, inductive approaches provide a means for better specifying how students perceive the organizational environment around them. Students may conceptualize organizational behavior at colleges in fundamentally different ways than do faculty or administrators. Moreover, the most salient aspects of organizational life may be very different for students than they are for people who are employed to serve and educate students at the same institution. A better understanding of how organizational cues are interpreted and acted upon by students is needed.

Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) note that better models for studying college impact are needed because so much of the college impact process remains unexplained. By introducing organizational behavior at colleges as a potential influence on student outcomes, this chapter integrates a previously ignored set of constructs (dimensions of organizational behavior) into the study of college impact. Our conceptual framework describing the range of organizational behaviors found on college campuses through five distinct dimensions provides another contribution to knowledge. This approach simplifies much of the existing organizational behavior theory by synthesizing it in a descriptive framework that can be used by scholars and practitioners alike. These five dimensions of organizational behavior can be used to investigate a wide range of social phenomena in higher education settings and in other types of organizations. For example, studies could examine how these five dimensions affect faculty socialization and role performance. Similarly, these dimensions could be used to examine worker productivity or administrative efficiency in a wide range of organizations. The synthesis of organizational theories and perspectives into a five dimensional model also has implications for organizational behavior theory. This descriptive framework is another contribution to the

synthesis of organizational behavior in a field that is becoming increasingly fragmented (Peterson, 1988).

The review of literature in this chapter suggests that we should pay closer attention to the merging of theory and methodology in our attempts to understand the impact of college from an organizational perspective. We have discussed some of the ways different methodological approaches, quantitative and qualitative, can provide different pieces of knowledge about the relationship between organizational behavior at colleges and student outcomes. We also need to pay closer attention to units and levels of analysis. If, as educators, we are concerned about developing the individual talents of students, then the ways in which we conceptualize and investigate the impact of college on students need to emphasize the student as the primary unit of analysis. Individual faculty members and administrators engage in organizational behavior to develop and sustain educational environments for students. Institutional agents engage in organizational activities like governance, leadership, strategic planning, and policy implementation not as ends in and of themselves, but as means to fulfill the goals of student education.

There are many conceptual and methodological issues not fully addressed in this chapter. We encourage scholars and practitioners alike to use various conceptual and methodological tools to provide a fuller, richer, and more diverse understanding of organizational impact on undergraduate student outcomes. The models developed in this chapter can be criticized as being reductionist in nature. We tried to make the complex phenomena of organizational behavior more easily understood and concise in the hope that it would make some of these concepts more readily accessible to a wider audience. We realize that any time we reduce complexity to increase understanding, we make trade-offs with regard to accuracy and comprehensiveness. We encourage and applaud other perspectives and strategies that help focus our knowledge about colleges and universities on student-centered issues.

There is a great deal of work to be done with the five dimensions of organizational behavior developed in this chapter. Future studies should examine how pure or ideal types of each dimension affect different types of outcomes for different types of students in different types of educational settings. Other studies may identify how different combinations of levels for these organizational dimensions constitute different types of organizational environments and then examine how these environments affect different types of students.

Most of the existing research on the relationship between organizational behavior and student outcomes has been done at smaller, private institutions (e.g. Astin and Scherrei, 1980; Berger, 1997). Hence, we need to study a more diverse array of institutional types. This is particularly important given some of the significant differences already found between certain types of private institutions. Berger (1997) found that historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) have much more intensely cohesive organizational environments than their predominantly white counterparts. These organizational differences were found to have important effects

on the development of student outcomes. It is likely that important organizational differences can and will be found between and among public and private colleges, smaller and larger institutions, and so on.

Figure 3 (page 303) summarizes what we know about the relationship between each of the dimensions of organizational behavior and the four broad types of student outcomes and indicates that we have much to learn about these relationships. There is mixed evidence concerning the effects of both bureaucratic and political behavior on cognitive-behavioral outcomes and regarding the effects of collegiality on affective-behavioral outcomes. These discrepancies could reflect a number of interesting and important issues, including the differences in the structural-demo-graphic features of institutions, the types of students studied, the specific type of outcome, and the ways in which the outcomes and/or organizational behavior dimensions were measured. We will not know why this mixed evidence exists with-out further investigation. There are also a number of relationships for which we have no evidence. No empirical evidence exists regarding the relationship between cognitive-psychological outcomes and the collegial, political, and symbolic dimen-sions. Likewise, there is no evidence concerning the relationship between the politi-cal dimension and cognitive-behavioral outcomes, or the relationship between symbolic behavior and affective-psychological outcomes, or the relationship between affective-behavioral outcomes and the symbolic and systemic dimensions of organizational behavior. While there may be no relationships among some or all of these organizational dimensions and outcomes types, it is also possible that we have failed to look in the right places or to ask the right questions yet.

Our model is not intended to be the final word regarding the relationship between organizational behavior at colleges and students outcomes. Rather, it is meant to provide one means for understanding this form of college impact given our understanding of the empirical evidence that currently exists. We hope that scholars with an interest in this area will look for more ways to investigate how organizational behavior at colleges affects students.

POSTSCRIPT

It is the task of vigilant scholars to consider how the knowledge that we create is used, how it relates to other components of the institution, and who gains access to that knowledge and who does not. Tierney (1993) argues that an organization's par-ticipants must have a common definition of excellence and quality. Moreover, this definition should be derived from dialogue that participants have with one another. The absence of dialogue about what it is that "ties our community together, weak-ens the very purpose of an educational institution" (Tierney, 1993, p. 78). Tierney rejects the idea of a collegial model that has been popularized by many organiza-tional theorists because "it is based on the notion that consensus can be reached because all individuals ultimately subscribe to the same values" (Tierney, 1993, p. 77). Rather, he forwards an ideal of educational institutions as communities based

upon agape (selfless love) where people "are united in a community and culture through mutual desire to understand one another's differences, and from those dif-ferences to forge alliances that, in effect, create a new organizational culture" (Tier-ney, 1993, p. 77).

Tierney's ideas call into question how we conceptualize who belongs to the col-lege or university and who does not, or how we define "insider" and "outsider" within the organization. When we assume either the need for or the existence of con-gruent values, perceptions, and behaviors within an organization, we marginalize those individuals who differ from the espoused organizational norm. For example, a review of literature on campus racial climates suggests that students of color are often denied the embedded organizational benefits that have been afforded to white students (Hurtado et al., 1998, forthcoming). Similarly, much of the literature on organizational behavior, particularly literature in the areas of organizational effective-ness, leadership, and governance; suggests that students are external to the organiza-tion or viewed merely as resources for the effective functioning of organizations.

One of the goals of research is to create knowledge. When we create and use models of organizational behavior without investigating how they affect student outcomes, we are generating or maintaining beliefs that deny students a place as members of college and university organizations. While much of the existing orga-nizational behavior research in higher education has provided important knowl-edge, we can do a better job of using what we know about colleges and universities as organizations in order to understand how college affects students. To do so, re-affirms the place of students at the heart, and not the periphery, of organizational life on college campuses.

In a similar vein, Alexander Astin (1985, 1989, 1991) argues that excellence in American higher education has not been equated traditionally with the educational development of student talents. Instead, the academic reputation of an institution and/or the resources it accumulates have been the most common measures of edu-cational excellence in the minds of many (Astin, 1985). In this traditional view of excellence, resources are measured by money, faculty, research productivity, or numbers of highly able students. As a result, much literature, popular and scholarly, focuses on the importance of static, resource-based structural-demographic features (such as size, selectivity, endowment, etc.) of colleges and universities. Conversely, little attention has been given to the more dynamic interactive campus processes, such as organizational behavior, as an important influence on or source of educa-tional excellence. Astin suggests that this traditional view of excellence results from the hierarchical nature of the higher education system. While the American higher education system is large, diverse, complex, and decentralized, it is at the same time remarkably homogeneous (Astin, 1985). This homogeneity can be seen in comparable approaches to undergraduate curriculum, remarkable conformity in the training and preparation of faculty, and similar administrative structures. Most educators view the higher education system from an institutional perspective as opposed to a systems perspective. This tendency toward an institutional perspective

often leads to the implementation of policies and practices that weaken the system as a whole by shifting efforts away from organizational processes designed to foster educational excellence and toward efforts to improve the resource base of each institution (Astin, 1985).

When we view students as a resource there is a tendency to become overly concerned with them as "inputs." Moreover, when we view students as educational resources, and not as the focus of the educational enterprise, there is increased pressure to make institutional admissions policies more selective. Based upon the traditional view of educational excellence, this will increase the institution's reputation, which in turn, causes more students to want to apply to the institution (Astin, 1985). Faculty and administrators come to view selective admissions policies as being essential to the maintenance of academic excellence or standards. Hence, institutions and institutional excellence come to be defined by the "quality" of the people they admit and not by the educational experience that students have at the institution (Astin, 1985).

The dominant focus on the acquisition of material and symbolic resources has created a legacy whereby institutions are rewarded more for their form than their function, and more for their ability to acquire and maintain resources than for their ability to implement and sustain educationally powerful environments. Resource acquisition and educational excellence are not mutually exclusive categories, but there is little empirical evidence suggesting that educational excellence is dependent upon the amount of resources found at an institution. There is evidence that the ways in which we organize activities on campus has an educationally powerful impact on student outcomes. Given such evidence, and given the place of student education as the core function of organizational activity on college campuses, there is a need for scholarship that focuses on discovering, synthesizing, and applying knowledge about organizational behavior at colleges as an important source of educational excellence. This type of philosophical approach has the potential to help us understand both the organizational nature of higher education and the impact of college on student outcomes. This approach also allows us to view colleges and universities as being organized to serve students as key organizational members rather than as imported resources that serve other organizational goals.

We are keenly aware that this work reflects our own values, beliefs, and assumptions regarding how and why colleges work in the way that they do. In this chapter, as we have discussed the effects of organizational behavior on campus, we have tried to bring students from the periphery to the center. In doing this, we hope to provide a means for institutional leaders and higher education scholars to assess educational excellence in a way that is more in line with our own values, beliefs, and assumptions. It is our hope that the information provided in this chapter will be helpful in assessing the extent to which the organizational behavior at institutions of higher education is working to develop student talent. Hopefully, this chapter will stimulate greater thought, dialogue, and action regarding these interactive organizational processes and the ways in which they influence students as unique individuals.

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