On Change

En Route to Transformation

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About This Series

Any member of the academic community who has been engaged in institutional change knows that it is a difficult and complicated journey. Those who have undertaken that journey are likely to have found that the difficulty in accomplishing change—or frequently, the reason it fails—is not because of a lack of vision or good ideas about what to do, but rather because the change process is often hard to comprehend and manage. Change leaders must, of course, focus on a substantive set of issues that makes sense to the campus, but the change agenda is only one part of the puzzle. Another key piece is the process. At the end of the day, the personal, political, and cultural aspects of change will make or break a change initiative. How often do we hear about a well-conceived campus initiative that failed because of a process that did not take into account a particular group or because it ignored the widespread fear that the change engendered?

The importance of process formed a powerful framework for the three-and-a-half-year initiative that led to the publication of these papers. The ACE Project on Leadership and Institutional Transformation, funded by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, involved 26 institutions that were taking change seriously; each crafted its own change agenda and developed its strategic framework for action. The project’s goals were to support the institutions as they undertook change by providing useful tools, concepts, and vocabulary, and to engage the participants in learning about change together. By presenting a series of nuanced concepts about change, this paper and others to come are intended to spur discussions and generate ideas that will provide faculty and administrative leaders with a common language and help them to be more reflective about the change process.

Intentionality and thoughtfulness should be the hallmarks of change in the academy. We hope that this series of papers helps college and university leaders achieve those goals.

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En Route to Transformation

For most American colleges and universities, the pendulum has swung from the heyday of growth, prosperity, and public favor to new times that call for institutions to adapt themselves to current, harsher realities. Higher education is facing challenges on numerous fronts, which most administrators and faculty members can easily identify:

- The pressure to contain costs and keep higher education affordable
- Public demands for educational and financial accountability
- Increased demands for educational quality and excellent teaching, with their attendant implications for promotion and tenure policies and practices, teaching loads, faculty productivity, and curricula
- The growth of alternative models of post-secondary education delivery—including distance education, corporate universities, and transnational delivery
- The explosion of knowledge produced both inside and outside the academy
- The need to serve an increasingly diverse society
- The pervasive impacts of technology on all areas of higher education

The challenges of institutional change presented by the new environment are daunting. For institutions to be successful, change must be both intentional and continuous. Shifting student demand, budget shortfalls, and legislative mandates will produce any number of changes. But an intentional change requires strategies and behaviors that are quite different from those associated with unplanned change. Although intentional change is always subject to the winds of serendipity, it involves charting a deliberate course.

The second challenge is that of continuous change. In today’s environment, it is not sufficient to accomplish one or more important changes and stop there. The challenge is to change repeatedly, and to become more responsive to the needs of higher education’s many stakeholders and its external environment. In other words, colleges and universities need the ability to assess their environments, to decide whether, when, and how to act, and to change accordingly. Successful institutions will learn from their patterns of testing and experience to respond and change again (and again) when necessary.

The purpose of this paper is to explore transformation in American higher education. We begin by examining the debate over the type of change needed in higher education. Then we offer a definition of transformation, differentiating it from other types of institutional change. We close by examining our experiences working with 26 colleges and universities in the ACE Project on Leadership and Institutional Transformation, by speculating on whether transformation is likely to occur, and by framing some questions to consider.

How Much Change is Needed?

Colleges and universities are constantly undergoing change of some type. Each academic year brings a new course schedule,
new books introduced in redesigned courses, new courses added to the curriculum, computer software upgrades, new faculty hires, and administrative turnover. Yet there is no agreement about the meaning or importance of such changes.

Often what separates the critics of higher education from its supporters are their definitions of change. Some claim that changes in curriculum, staffing, or administrative processes are only superficial and that institutions never really change. These critics argue that the structures of higher education are relics of the past: They are based on outdated assumptions, use ineffective methods, and are managed through inefficient and ineffective processes.

Advocates for radical change reason that higher education as we know it must be overhauled if it is to survive. University leaders must change their basic assumptions and fundamentally alter the way colleges and universities do business, not simply adjust their current models. Proponents argue that unless traditional higher education reinvents itself, the providers of less expensive and more convenient education will eventually dominate the market. Others suggest that in the absence of major reforms, higher education will meet the fate of health care in the United States and be subjected to its version of managed care. Critics maintain that institutions that attempt to follow the familiar paths in the short run will find only temporary relief. Over the long haul, the familiar ways will be insufficient or potentially harmful. To succeed in the future, they maintain, most colleges and universities cannot rely on the types of change that worked well in the past.

The need for radical change is summed up in the following quotation:

*Environmental demands have shifted from asking the university to do what it does for less money to asking the university to change what it does.* The contemporary question is not whether higher education can continue business-as-usual given increased environmental turmoil; rather, the question is what sort of universities will emerge from adaptation to these inexorable demands. (Gumport & Prusser, 1997, p. 455)

Peter Drucker, another advocate of change in all sectors, has challenged leaders to rethink their “theory of the business” and recast outdated assumptions that “shape any organization’s behavior, dictate its decisions about what to do and what not to do, and define what the organization considers meaningful results” (1994, p. 96). In higher education, rethinking the “theory of the business” requires reconsidering its products, the ways in which faculty teach and students learn, and the priorities of time, energy, and money.

Others, however, are uncomfortable with the notion that higher education needs radical change. Proponents of more moderate changes argue that teaching, learning, research, and service should be (and are) constantly improved, but this can happen without pulling the whole enterprise apart and reconstructing it differently. Even major change, they argue—such as an entirely new curriculum—can be done within the existing institutional framework and through familiar and well-worn processes.

Our experience in the ACE Project suggests that most colleges and universities are unlikely to radically overhaul everything; they are the creations of their histories and are grounded in teaching and scholarship. They will still teach, recruit students and faculty, conduct research, transmit knowledge, and perform higher education’s central tasks. However, the assumptions about how students learn and what faculty do, how scholarly questions are addressed and research findings applied, and how resources are allocated are likely to change. Ernest Boyer encourages such redefinition in his influential 1990 book,


Scholarship Reconsidered, in which he challenges higher education to broaden its traditional concepts of scholarship.

A third view of change—what we call “transformation”—assumes that college and university administrators and faculty will alter the way in which they think about and perform their basic functions of teaching, research, and service, but they will do so in ways that allow them to remain true to the values and historic aims of the academy. In a word, they will change in ways that are congruent with their intellectual purposes and their missions. Though their efforts will produce concrete and visible changes—such as shifted institutional priorities and patterns of spending, different teaching pedagogies, alternative departmental and administrative structures, and new student-professor and professor-professor interactions—these “transformed” institutions will be recognizable for their continuity of mission.

Intentionally changing the way an institution does business is not an easy task. While some changes have simply, perhaps unintentionally, happened over time, such as enormous growth in part-time faculty or the move to career-oriented majors, unplanned change is risky. The current challenge to higher education is to chart intentionally a desired future congruent with our values and aspirations.

What is Transformational Change?

Because transformational change can mean many different things to those in the higher education community, we will begin with a working definition:

**Transformation changes institutional culture.**

Transformation requires major shifts in an institution’s culture—the common set of beliefs and values that creates a shared interpretation and understanding of events and actions. Institution-wide patterns of perceiving, thinking, and feeling; shared understandings; collective assumptions; and common interpretive frameworks are the ingredients of this “invisible glue” called institutional culture (Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Schein, 1992). Organizational culture is not monolithic. In organizations as complex as colleges and universities, it often is a composite of many different subcultures rather than a single culture.

Understanding institutional culture is analogous to peeling an onion, with its many layers (Kuh and Whitt, 1988). The outer skins of the onion are the organization’s *artifacts*, the middle layers the *espoused values*, and the inner core the *underlying assumptions* (Schein, 1992).

*Artifacts* are what we see—the products, activities, and processes that form the landscape of the institution’s culture. Examples of artifacts include insiders’ language and terminology, myths and stories, published mission statements, observable rituals and ceremonies, reward structures, and communication channels. They are the concrete representations of culture.

*Espoused values* are what we say—the articulated beliefs about what is “good,” what “works,” and what is “right.” Examples include: “We value promoting lifelong learning”; “faculty-student contact outside of the classroom is important”; or “active learning takes precedence over formal classroom activities.” Espoused values are what we say and what we promote, but not always what we do.

The innermost core of a culture is what we believe—our *underlying assumptions*; these deeply ingrained beliefs are rarely questioned and are usually taken for granted. Underlying
assumptions are difficult to identify since only careful observers or cultural insiders can truly understand them. Possible examples include: “Scholarly production is what counts”; “community welfare is more important than individual welfare”; or “length of service is more important than expertise.”

Most initiatives that institutions undertake do not challenge the espoused values and underlying assumptions of their cultures. Some changes may be quite broad, affecting many people and processes in the institution, but they are adjustments that do not alter values or assumptions. Changes that do challenge core values are often restricted to a part of the institution—such as a single school or department—and are therefore isolated or encapsulated.

Transformational change involves altering the underlying assumptions so that they are congruent with the desired changes. For example, most institutions operate on the underlying assumption that the instructors are the central actors in the educational process. To move toward a student-centered learning environment, this assumption must be altered to put the student at the center. The transformation that follows then would bring about changes in the espoused values (unless espoused values were already those of a learner-centered institution) and the artifacts (e.g., changing hiring practices, promotion and tenure criteria, student assessment tools, teacher-student interactions, and typical classroom experience).

Transformation is deep and pervasive. Transformation does not entail fixing discrete problems or adjusting and refining what is currently being done. Transformation is deep; it addresses Drucker’s “theory of the business”—those assumptions that tell organizations what to do, how to behave, and what to produce. In other words, transformation touches the core of the institution. Such change is also pervasive. It is a collective, institution-wide movement, even though it may occur one unit (or even one person) at a time. When enough people act differently or think in a new way, that new way becomes the norm.

Let us explore these two concepts—depth and pervasiveness—and their implications for understanding change.

Depth focuses on how profoundly the change affects behavior or alters structures. The deeper the change, the more it is infused into the daily lives of those affected by it. For example, an academic department decides service is of central importance. In this unit, the promotion and tenure decisions are heavily based upon faculty service records; students engage in service as a consistent part of their required coursework; and faculty are annually recognized for service contributions beyond the campus. Another example is a redesigned course now incorporating technology. This may result in an entirely different kind of learning experience for the student, one in which both the professor and the student act and think differently.

Deep change implies a shift in values and assumptions that underlie the usual way of doing business. In the first example, the centrality of connection to the community provides a value structure that drives changes in the curriculum and in faculty roles and rewards. Deep change requires people to think differently as well as act differently.

A deep change is not necessarily broad. Given the decentralized nature of academic institutions and the loosely coupled nature of its components (Weick, 1983), it is possible for deep changes to occur within specific units or academic departments without being widespread throughout the institution.

Pervasiveness refers to the extent to which the change is far-reaching within the institution. The more pervasive the change, the more it crosses unit boundaries and touches different parts of the institution. The use of computers is a familiar example of per-
Computers sit on most faculty members’ desks, students have access to computer labs and many have their own computers, and computers are used in university offices across campus for everything from tracking student accounts and inventory in the bookstore to submitting grades and analyzing data for research.

These two basic elements of change—depth and pervasiveness—can be combined in different ways to produce some rough categories of change. The matrix below outlines four types of institutional change—adjustment, isolated change, far-reaching change, and transformational change.

The first quadrant is adjustment—a change or a series of changes that are modifications to an area. One might call this “tinkering.” As Henderson and Clark (1990) suggest, changes of this nature are revising or revitalizing, and they occur when current designs or procedures are improved or extended. An adjustment may improve the process or the quality of the service, or it might be something new; nevertheless, it does not drastically alter much. It doesn’t have deep or far-reaching effects.

The second quadrant, isolated change, is deep but limited to one unit or a particular area; it is not pervasive. The third quadrant is far-reaching change; it is pervasive, but does not affect the organization very deeply. The final quadrant is transformational change. Transformation occurs when a change reflects dimensions both deep and pervasive.

Although this matrix presents the four types of changes as distinct, on most campuses, change is a composite of these types. Rather than a change being isolated within one quadrant, the dimensions may be thought of as overlapping. Additionally, each of these areas has some degree of variance. They may be thought of as continuums along which changes may fall. A change may be more or less pervasive or it may be more or less deep.

Transformation is intentional.

Transformation has an intentional component that leads to purposeful, desirable outcomes. It does not “just happen.” Intentionality has two elements: first, a conscious decision to act, and, second, a purposeful choice of how or in what direction to act. Transformation occurs when institutions succeed at the changes they desire and move in the directions they choose. One can argue that intentionality is rarely pure; the course charted by an institution is often a response to environmental changes. For some institutions, the change agenda will start with transformation in mind. Others may not start out with the goal of transformation. Rather, the magnitude of the change will grow exponentially as they continue their work, so that the cascading effects of change make it deep and pervasive, affecting institutional culture. Nevertheless, whichever way institutions reach transformation, they still have a purposeful goal.

Transformation occurs over time.

Higher education’s most severe critics maintain that it is incapable of transformation because it is ossified by tenure, faculty governance, unions, and an overabundance of traditions. Because the critics see change occurring at a glacial pace or not at all, they equate speed with extent. However, the speed of change represents only one vector in institutional change, and that one vector may not be very important to transformation. At one
end of the speed continuum is revolutionary change, which usually refers to the suddenness of the change. At the other end of the continuum is evolutionary or incremental change, which refers to a slow, methodical process. Both revolutionary and evolutionary change can lead to transformation because it is not the speed of change but its other dimensions—specifically its depth, pervasiveness, and impact on culture—that matter most in transformation.

Can the cumulative effect of evolutionary change be transformational? We believe so. Paradigm shifts are not accomplished overnight; change that is sufficiently pervasive and deep to qualify as transformational change requires changing processes, values, rewards, and structures throughout an institution, all of which take time. These changes build on each other. Because the transformation process is difficult and ambiguous, and because institutions themselves are complex, higher education is unlikely to see many “big bangs.” But over time, institutions may reinvent themselves and become transformed.

Are Colleges and Universities Really Transforming Themselves?

A survey of the landscape of U.S. higher education leads us to believe that many colleges and universities are seriously engaged in self-examination and change, but few will be “transformed” in the near future. The American Council on Education in 1995 started a project funded by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation to work with 26 colleges and universities on institutional transformation. We quickly learned that “transformation” was not a term everyone was comfortable with or an aspiration that everyone shared. Participating institutions recognized the need for change, but differed on how much they wanted or could undertake.

Only a few of the 26 institutions had the intention of implementing change agendas that exemplified our definition of transformation. At these “transforming” institutions, senior administrators and a strong cohort of faculty worked together to rethink their goals and assumptions. They developed change agendas designed to alter cultural values, they sought changes that were deep and pervasive, they were prepared for the change process to take substantial time, and they were intentional about what they wanted to happen.

The faculty and administrators not comfortable with transformation either sought different types of change or a different vocabulary to express what they wanted to occur. Some were concerned that transformation would negate the elements that made their institution special. Rather than rethink their ways of doing business and the underlying assumptions of their practices, they wanted to experiment with new activities or make modifications to what they were currently doing—a legitimate goal, but not transformation. They were not convinced of the need for transformation and were leery of the risks involved.

Others felt the language of transformation was too strong. Change agents—both faculty and administrative leaders—said they could not wave the change flag on their campus, let alone the transformation banner, without creating deep anxiety and alienating people who were central to implementing the change. They preferred making the needed changes quietly, without the fanfare that they thought would frighten people. They may have agreed with the concepts of transformation but they saw no advantage to publicly stating so.

Where Might Transformation Occur?

Our experiences with transforming higher education suggest that on most campuses both leaders and constituents do not now see the need for deep or pervasive change. Higher
education institutions are firmly rooted in traditions and customs that often permit them to make only small changes at the borders rather than large, comprehensive alterations to the fundamental ways in which they conduct business. Transformation, however, may be a part of the future for an increasing number of institutions. If the change initiatives undertaken by the institutions participating in the ACE Project are reflective of the concerns of the larger universe of higher education, the issues around which transformation might occur include:

**Putting learning first**
Historically, higher education has been concerned with teaching—transmitting knowledge—rather than with learning. In the traditional model, faculty members lecture to passive students who repeat the knowledge they have imbibed on exams. Active learning, collaborative learning, and service learning are ideas that are catching on, but these practices are still peripheral to the central tenet of “covering the material.” Much of the current educational experience is structured to facilitate the dissemination of knowledge and not the process of learning (Barr and Tagg, 1995).

Putting learning first may lead to different types and degrees of change. It may lead to some modification of the traditional lecture/discussion mode and a heightened consciousness of pedagogy. That is, putting learning first may result in making the kind of adjustments in the first quadrant of the change matrix. However, if it is pursued more deeply and broadly, it can become transformational, challenging existing notions of the roles and behaviors of faculty and students, forcing new pedagogies to be developed, creating new applications for technology, calling for new measures of success and mastery, and leading to different thinking about students’ engagement with courses’ content and materials. Putting learning first also may lead to reallocating budgets and spending money differently, reconceptualizing curricula, and changing the reward systems in order to recognize and reinforce new behaviors.

**Connecting institutions to their communities**
Because higher education is a public good and fulfills a public function, institutions form intentional linkages with their communities. The activities of the academy address a range of public needs, including the needs of students, the tuition-paying public, the employers of future graduates, the beneficiaries of research, scholarship, and service, and society as a whole. Communities may be local, national, or international, and most institutions interact with multiple communities.

Connections to multiple partners can produce very different types of changes. They may be simple adjustments, such as adding a course or program of study in response to local industry or creating community advisory bodies in various fields. For many institutions, ties to their communities have a superficial impact and thus are peripheral to teaching, learning, and research. Notable exceptions are community colleges.

However, these connections can contribute to the reshaping of institutional practices and purposes. For example, they may cause researchers to rethink the types of grants they seek, the ways they disseminate their findings, and the range and types of audiences for their findings. Institutions may alter their use of credit and contact hours, and the times and places they offer courses (or even complete degrees), so they are better able to meet the needs of people currently in the workforce and of their employers. They may reconsider the types of service rewarded through merit pay and promotion and tenure policies, and they may adopt wider definitions of scholarship that include application and integration (Boyer, 1990). The curricula may become more integrated, seamless, and interdisciplinary, reflecting the complexity of con-
temporary knowledge. Faculty may incorporate service and outreach in their classes and curricula, and students may participate in co-curricular activities (such as internships or service learning) that place them in the community where they can apply their learning to solving real-world problems.

Making higher education more cost-effective and affordable
Colleges and universities are increasingly pressed to become more efficient and productive. The public is concerned that higher education is beyond the financial reach of many citizens. In some states, external funding is level or dropping, tuition increases to meet budgetary shortfalls are politically implausible, and the public is calling for less waste in all public sector organizations. To maintain current levels of quality (and, of course, to strive to improve quality), colleges and universities are attempting to become more efficient and productive.

But productivity and efficiency are not interchangeable concepts. Their distinctiveness is tied to the type of change institutions undertake. Most efficiency measures are adjustments to current modes of operating. For example, to increase efficiency, institutions can raise student-faculty ratios, increase teaching or advising loads for faculty, tweak financial aid packages, or tinker with new ways of raising revenue. These are all possible steps to improve efficiency, but they do not guarantee increased productivity. In fact, familiar efficiency measures that take the shape of downsizing or consolidating may lead to short-term savings but, over the long haul, may lead to reduced productivity (Roach, 1996). These actions stretch people more thinly and tax stable or declining resources further, which, in turn, leads to less quality and requires more redundancy to accomplish the same tasks.

On the other hand, increases in productivity are more likely to be transformational because they force institutions to rethink their assumptions of what they do and how they do it. To truly increase productivity, institutions cannot continue business as usual and just make adjustments. They must consider new ways to meet their goals and accomplish their required tasks while achieving cost reductions. The redesign of curriculum and instruction, including rethinking the use of faculty time, are prime examples of rethinking the “theory of the business.” Institutions can also re-evaluate the traditional concepts of seat-time and instead focus on content mastery and self-paced activities that allow students to move more quickly through some content and more slowly through others (Johnstone, 1993). They might also make choices not to offer certain degree programs, or they might enter into collaborative agreements with other organizations (both inside and outside of traditional higher education) to offer programs jointly.

Changes that increase productivity are transformational because they affect, among other things, pedagogies, definitions of faculty work (a concept not interchangeable with faculty teaching loads), curricular design, and the ways faculty interact with students, as well as budget allocations. Many institutional changes that enhance productivity require new mental models and assumptions—elements of transformational change. Where money matters, a new mental model is needed that uncouples increased quality from increased expenditures.

Observations and Unanswered Questions
The experiences of the 26 institutions in the ACE Project provided important insights into the nature of transformation in higher education. It highlighted that the concept of transformation needs to be more thoroughly articulated and explored. What does transformation mean for an individual campus? What does it mean for higher education nationally?
Second, the project reinforced the necessity of tying discussions about transformation to the specifics of the institution and its local context. Third, the project has underscored the power of language. Finding a common and meaningful language is an extremely important but difficult task that allows diverse groups to struggle with their differences and seek common ground. Fourth, the project revealed that statements (or even implications) to key stakeholders that their work is unimportant or their values are wrong can derail a change process. Key stakeholders must have input into the change process and believe that their contributions are valued.

Yet, our experience leaves us with several unanswered questions. First, do institutions have the ability to undertake transformation that is not entirely imposed from without? Some argue that only directives from boards or legislatures or crushing blows delivered by market forces can counter the inertia of higher education institutions. We believe and have seen in the ACE Project that higher education has the capacity to create inner momentum and energy for change. But is it adequate for transformation?

Second, what makes some institutions more successful than others in undertaking transformational change? What strategies will enable institutions to formulate and achieve their goals? What works under what circumstances? As an enterprise, higher education has no easy answers or formulas.

Finally, do institutions that undertake intentional change (or even transform themselves) have the ability and know-how to sustain a continual process of change? The rate of change in the external environment to which colleges and universities must respond will not slow down. It will continue to press institutions to change and adapt to meet new demands. The successful institutions in the future may well be those that are able to change and continually comprehend new environmental pressures so they can keep changing.
References


