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Broadening Faculty Horizons in Emerging Universities

Some metropolitan universities evolve from institutions dominated by a narrow focus on classroom instruction. The campus culture typically is maintained by incentives that must be supplanted if the university is to fulfill a broad mission of education, scholarship, and service to its metropolitan region. This article notes pertinent characteristics of the classroom culture, some problems it produces, and the incentives that maintain it; proposes a possible solution to those problems, based on alternative incentives; and reports actual implementation and evaluation of the solution in a typical institution.

Efforts of metropolitan universities to respond effectively to local needs and, thus, to occupy an educational niche distinct from those of the research university or community college can be subverted in several ways. One way arises in certain kinds of emerging metropolitan universities, where faculty members suffer from a pernicious, often politically unmentionable habit: excessive commitment to repetitious classroom teaching.

Among the four categories of metropolitan universities identified in terms of historical origins by Charles E. Hathaway et al. in the first issue of this journal (see Suggested Readings), the problem of repetitious classroom teaching is likely to exist in two of the categories—those institutions that originated as branch campuses and those that are "specialized." The "specialized" category includes former community colleges, a number of which evolved to four-year status during the postwar population shift toward southern and western states.

To raise doubts about an aspect of the teaching role may seem at odds with a currently widespread impression that university faculties are dominated by the ideals of a traditional research culture, as pointed out by Gordon A. Haaland et al. in another contribution to the first issue of this journal (see Suggested Readings). Yet, where it exists, this counterculture of narrowly focused classroom teachers is just as real, and the recent call by Ernest Boyer and others to cultivate a "new American scholar" can be a useful exhortation to institutions at either end of the spectrum.

The Rise of Conflicting Values

Branch campuses and community colleges were established in metropolitan locations for one primary reason: to provide educational access at minimum cost for substantial numbers of taxpayers not in a position to benefit from remotely located, traditional universities and colleges. During their formative years, these emerging metropolitan institutions pursued their objective of delivering instruction at minimal cost by:

- offering relatively limited curricula;
- employing adjunct faculty extensively;
- hiring regular faculty members with little experience and at low salaries;
- placing heavy teaching responsibilities on regular faculty; and
- offering regular faculty the opportunity, especially where an aggressive continuing education outreach developed, to earn supplementary income by teaching classes in the summer and overloads during the academic year.

In their original context, such practices were effective in helping to serve a rapidly growing student population more efficiently and conveniently. Curricular limitations, for example, postponed the inevitable duplication of less essential offerings found at established institutions. Reliance on adjunct faculty was not only inexpensive, but also had the long-term virtue of building mutually beneficial relationships with members of the metropolitan community. In addition, faculty members new to the teaching profession brought a creative energy that fueled much curricular experimentation.

Strengths carried to excess, however, can become weaknesses, and these practices can become self-defeating. Supplementary course offerings tend to be dictated by instructor preference, rather than by demonstrated need or student demand. Where supplementary pay rates are proportional to base salaries, the heavy influence of senior faculty on course assignment decisions, naturally favoring their own employment, tends to drive up costs. Fewer offerings, then, are affordable in the face of fixed resources or limited demand.

Such effects become more apparent when academic salaries suffer relative to the national economy, as they did in many parts of the country during the late 1970s. Increasing numbers of regular faculty members, then, seek to displace adjuncts and supplement their incomes through additional teaching, typically minimizing their effort with repetitious sections of familiar courses. Many allow their life-styles to depend on this supplement. Guarantees of summer teaching even become recruiting tools, perpetuating the problem of year-round preoccupation with routine teaching.

More serious, far-reaching side effects crystallize more gradually. Practices fostering low-cost instruction tend to create institutional cultures that

value undergraduate teaching and campus service, with scant attention to professional and scholarly pursuits visible to the academic or metropolitan worlds beyond.

As institutions have attained the title "university," as the post-1960s excess of faculty supply over demand has produced an infiltration of younger scholars imbued with the traditional research culture, and as metropolitan areas have sought to benefit in new ways from the multifaceted resources their universities offer, a conflict of values has arisen. The expectations for faculty productivity, in fact, have broadened, but these rising expectations are frustrated by established practices that divert time and energy away from such pursuits as mentoring individual students, staying current with one's field, experimenting with new student learning formats, making scholarly contributions, organizing school partnerships, participating in economic development efforts, or sharing expertise in other ways with the metropolitan region. Burdened with heavy responsibilities for repetitive teaching of routine courses and with the added pressure of conflicting value systems, professors easily become candidates for professional burnout.

A Proposed Resolution

The traditional "solution" to a work load problem is to ameliorate it by securing increased, permanent funding to hire additional regular faculty members. In today's economy that brute-force approach can be dismissed as unrealistic; most universities must necessarily address such problems essentially within existing resources.

A different approach to the repetitious-teaching syndrome might begin by eliminating the most powerful incentive sustaining it: supplementary pay, not only for academic year overloads but for summer classes, as well. This move would help integrate metropolitan outreach into the fabric of the institution by treating evening, weekend, and off-campus courses as responsibilities within a basic faculty contract. Teaching loads would be reformulated, not as term-by-term quotas, but as an annual level of responsibility. By mutual agreement between individual professors and department chairs, this responsibility could be discharged through any feasible combination of terms during the traditional academic year and summer session. The guiding principles for such flexible scheduling primarily would be maintenance of program integrity and satisfaction of student demand, and only secondarily, satisfaction of individual preference. Meanwhile, faculty time and energy previously spent on excess instruction would be released to pursue activities more closely aligned with the university's new priorities.

Of course, if dysfunctional behavior results from a perverse incentive,

stimulating a new behavior pattern will require a new, equally powerful incentive. Such an incentive might entail a shift of budgetary resources from piecework pay for supplementary teaching, to base contract salaries; a permanently guaranteed salary increase would replace the unreliable, annually variable supplementary pay. The salary adjustments might be distributed in such a way as to reward faculty members who already are engaged in activities supportive of a metropolitan mission. And it all would be achieved without asking for more state revenue. A hypothetical example of the proposed changes is shown in Table 1 below, which illustrates the effect on total pay and instructional responsibilities for a typical faculty member. This example assumes, for reasons elaborated below, a partial shift of responsibility from regular to adjunct faculty. Throughout this discussion, the process of work load and salary restructuring will be referred to as the "conversion."

This proposal to bolster the scholarly aspects of faculty employment also offers some intriguing opportunities as by-products. The flexible scheduling feature, for example, could open new options for faculty members: when the free "fourth quarter" or "third semester" falls during the traditional academic year, instead of the summer, rejuvenating possibilities for visiting professorships and new collaborations multiply. Depending on state demography, regulations, and politics, the staffing of summer sessions through regular faculty contracts conceivably could open a way to absorb enrollment growth without the usual accompanying need for capital improvements.

Table 1 : Work Load Conversion Scenario (Based on Academic Quarters)

	Salary & Benefits	Teaching Credit Hours (TCH)	Student Credit Hours (SCH)	SCH / TCH
BEFORE CONVERSION:				
Base Compensation	$37,990	36	953	
Supplementary Pay	4,950	12	307	
Regular Faculty Cost	$42,940	48	1,260	26.2
AFTER CONVERSION:				
Base Compensation	$37,990			
Base Adjustment	3,540			
Regular Faculty Cost	$41,530	36	1,134	
Adjunct Faculty Cost	$1,410	4	126	
Total Cost	$42,940	40	1,260	31.5

At the same time, the conversion proposal would have serious organizational, political, and psychological hazards:

- Offering fewer classes may result in lower overall enrollment, bringing adverse political and financial consequences associated with diminished student access.
- If access were maintained by relying more heavily on adjunct faculty, some portion of the supplementary pay budget would have to be retained for them, thus diminishing the salary incentive for regular faculty to redirect their professional efforts.
- Any reasonable balance struck between expanded reliance on adjuncts and regular faculty salary increases would produce a net reduction in mean total compensation for regular faculty (cf. Table 1).
- Small departments may find it impossible to offer fewer courses or spread them over academic year and summer.
- Sudden, unexplained appearance of higher base salaries could backfire politically in the statewide competition for salary appropriations.
- The appearance of more pay for less teaching may draw suspicious attention from a legislature more concerned about "productivity" gains than salary improvement.
- Too many faculty members might simply reduce their overall professional and institutional commitment.
- Unless the change were managed with finesse, individuals and groups of faculty could be alienated by perceptions of unjustified favoritism.

Because such a proposal represents a fundamental change in the basis of faculty employment, calling, to a degree, for the institution to reorder the way it sees itself and its purposes, it is bound to be controversial. Its implementation would have to be designed to deal with the foreseeable hazards.

For example, in order to maintain student access to courses when fewer sections are offered, faculty would need to accept increased class size; this need not threaten quality, however, when faculty are simultaneously being freed from overloads. Faculty also would need to consider more extensive use of nontraditional learning formats, such as internships, independent study, directed readings, distance learning, and intensive workshops; a powerful argument can be made that these should produce positive benefits of their own by generating more active student involvement in learning. Obsolete or redundant courses may need to be eliminated—another beneficial side effect. The frequency with which courses are offered or the multiplicity of sections offered each year may be reduced. More attention to student advising would be required.

Departments, especially those unaccustomed to relying on adjunct faculty, would have to cultivate new adjunct candidates; this, too, could have beneficial side effects by broadening the department's range of expertise and further solidifying ties to the metropolitan community. To fund more

adjuncts, the faculty, as noted above, would have to accept a reduction in total compensation in return for their higher guaranteed base salary. At the same time, to satisfy politically based productivity concerns, faculty, at the very least, would need to maintain per capita student-credit-hour (SCH) production.

Administrators would have to spend time educating legislative and state governing board bureaucracies in preparation for seeking the understanding of legislators and board members themselves. Even more time likely would be required to cultivate faculty and staff understanding and support on campus. Campus leaders may need to employ nonsalary incentives, such as liberalized sabbatical leaves, to reinforce faculty commitment to learning activities—scholarship, consulting, advising, public service—outside the traditional classroom context. Administrators may need to reallocate resources creatively in order to ensure that the programs of small, but strategically vital, departments can survive under the new pattern. Dealing with the assorted circumstances of academic units that rely on widely differing proportions of lecture, laboratory, studio, self-paced, or seminar formats would demand great sensitivity and flexibility from decision makers.

This is a daunting prospect worth pursuing only if its potential outweighs the likely difficulties.

This is a daunting prospect, promising unforeseen ramifications to add to the complexity of those immediately obvious. It would be worth pursuing only if its potential to bolster the long-term academic health of the university outweighs the likely difficulties. In view of the uncertainties in such a proposal to enhance professional commitment by faculty, it may be instructive to examine an actual case in which conversion has been implemented and its outcomes evaluated.

A Case in Point

Weber State University is a medium-sized institution located in the Salt Lake City metropolitan area and has an academic calendar based on the quarter system. In 1962, the institution made the transition from community college to comprehensive state college; the "university" label was bestowed in 1990. Together with all public two- and four-year Utah institutions, WSU is governed by a statewide Board of Regents, whose staff is headed by a commissioner of higher education. In 1984, WSU's enrollment had surged past 10,000, accompanied by all of the general circumstances outlined in the introductory section of this article, plus a few conditions specific to Utah.

One relevant local condition is the inclusion of summer sessions and continuing education credit programs within regular state funding. Another is the absence of a salary schedule, combined with laws prohibiting public

disclosure of individual salaries. Historically, the confidentiality provision allowed salaries to follow national disciplinary markets. This created a significant and divisive gap between rich and poor disciplines. The gap was exacerbated by the supplementary pay formula in effect in 1984, which made such pay proportional to base salaries. Even though this effect was not recognized widely, since publicly available summary data were limited to base salaries, any proposal involving salary adjustments automatically became entwined with the issue of salary equity across the institution.

By 1984, seeds of change were germinating. Turnover and modest growth had produced a faculty, 25 percent of whom were in their first two years at WSU, and a conscious effort had been made to cast the net widely in recruiting. The chief academic officer, his staff, and a majority of the academic deans had been in place less than four years, and new perspectives were producing fresh approaches to a variety of issues.

Given its complex implications, the proposed conversion of work load and pay incentives was destined to be studied to death, yet it offered a compellingly imaginative approach to several basic problems. Therefore, in the context of a healthy climate of mutual respect between faculty and administration, rather than submit the proposal to hypothetical committee analysis, the chief academic officer decided to explore its implications through a pilot project involving any and all departments or schools that wished to volunteer. (WSU retains the title "school" for all its major academic units.)

After many weeks of corridor conferencing and open debate, the 1984-1985 academic year opened with nearly half the institution participating in the pilot project. Because most participants relied chiefly on the lecture format, they had inherent flexibility to increase class size, potentially biasing the pilot project toward success.

Faculty participants' reactions were so immediately positive that this project became the prime topic of campus conversation. Long before data bearing on its success were available, administrative and faculty peer pressure was challenging the rest of the university to join the plan. To do so, however, many departments faced real barriers, such as physical limitations of laboratories in the Schools of Natural Sciences and Technology; peculiarities of individualized instruction in the School of Education; strong pedagogical traditions in the performing arts, foreign languages, and communication fields; and the unique, noninstructional duties of the library faculty.

Clearly, the less flexible departments could not fund a similar conversion within existing resources. In order to reach consensus on workable conversion plans for each of the remaining departments, intense negotiations were required over a period of months among the chief academic officer and the academic deans, observed and mediated by representatives of the Faculty

Senate. The remarkable agreement that emerged reflected an unexpected, but gratifying, degree of unanimity attained through the process.

Central reallocation of 1 percent of the institutional Education & General budget to the remaining departments came chiefly from two sources. First, the Faculty Senate recommended giving up the first 1 percent of the faculty's appropriated 6 percent salary increase to create additional faculty positions as deemed necessary by the chief academic officer. Second, the Division of Continuing Education gave up 12 percent of the state-subsidized portion of its budget in return for authority to add coordination and marketing of evening and weekend classes to its responsibility for off-campus instruction.

During the deliberations, concern arose that a total ban on supplementary pay would seriously compromise the university's commitment to deliver instruction at off-campus sites within the metropolitan area. Therefore, a compromise was negotiated, allowing faculty to continue earning such pay up to a limit of two courses or ten quarter credits per four-quarter year, but only if taught under the auspices of the Division of Continuing Education at a fixed pay rate of $300 per credit. The chief academic officer saw this as an opportunity to enhance service to the metropolitan area by expanding operations, thus absorbing much of the anticipated enrollment pressure on a marginally profitable basis. To replace the reallocated funds, he secured a commitment of future growth-generated tuition revenue adequate to cover the division's increased operating costs.

Simultaneously, the Faculty Senate initiated a review of the institution's sabbatical leave policy, which resulted in a liberalization designed to encourage frequent mini-sabbaticals: One quarter off would be allowed for every two years of service, opening the way, in combination with the flexible calendar, for two-quarter sabbaticals at full pay.

With regard to the proposed transfer of budget from supplementary pay to base salaries, the School of Allied Health Sciences posed a unique challenge. For reasons of accreditation, this school historically had not relied on supplementary pay, and thus lacked an incentive to participate in—or for that matter, to understand—the conversion. On the other hand, there was some evidence that this school was likely to benefit from a fresh look at salary equity after campuswide elimination of supplementary pay and official placement of all faculty compensation cards on the table.

Evaluation of Outcomes

Because of the evident differences in circumstance from school to school, each constructed its own plan for internal reallocation of funds, use of adjunct faculty, adjustment of class sizes, and revision of instructional formats. Although there were common goals, administration of the approaches to them was thus totally decentralized to the schools. It was

deemed essential, therefore, to monitor at school level, evidence for the achievement of eight expectations of the conversion process. These eight outcomes were followed for five years (1984-1989), and summary results follow:

1. Total faculty compensation would decline as supplementary pay is shifted to base salary. During conversion, annual supplementary pay dropped immediately from a mean 14 percent of base salaries to 2 percent, while base salaries rose by 10 percent. Thus, faculty experienced an overall net compensation decrease of 2 percent. By 1988-89, despite pressures to compensate for three years without legislatively appropriated salary increases, supplementary pay had drifted back up to only 3 percent of mean base salary.

2. External governance bodies would be educated. During the summer of 1985, WSU's chief academic and budget officers held extended discussions with staff of the legislature and commissioner of higher education. The legislative analyst was receptive to the unusual argument that, under certain circumstances, class size could be increased without undue loss of quality. In addition, the analyst saw the transition as a productivity increase, and during subsequent legislative sessions, publicly praised WSU for its resourcefulness. The commissioner's budget officer ultimately agreed to permanent adjustment of WSU salary data in the regents' legislative requests and reports, in view of the abandonment of traditional summer pay.

3. Student access would be maintained by means of larger classes, nontraditional delivery formats, and expanded adjunct faculty. WSU's 2 percent dip in full-time-equivalent (FTE) enrollment during 1984-1986, while conversion was in progress, exactly mirrored a statewide decline driven by economic forces beyond the institution's control. Subsequently, from 1986 to 1989, WSU absorbed an FTE increase of 11 percent. Throughout this period, the total size of the faculty remained just under 400; the impact of the few new faculty positions created during conversion was negated by subsequent program cutbacks, due to faltering state revenues.

Conversion resulted in an immediate 9 percent decrease in course offerings, requiring a 9.9 percent increase in mean class size to maintain total enrollment. By 1989, class size had increased by 9.3 percent. As in other quantitative aspects of conversion, there was a learning curve: the immediate increase in class size during the 1984-1985 pilot project was only 1.5 percent. As was expected, the most striking effect appeared in evening and weekend classes, which became subject to an extradepartmental monitor—the Division of Continuing Education's minimum class size guideline. Consistent with the hope that student demand would displace faculty convenience in scheduling decisions concerning these nontraditional offerings, their mean size rose 34 percent the first fall quarter after conversion (1985).

By 1988-1989, such classes were 30 percent larger than preconversion levels in the fall quarter, 15 percent in winter and spring.

"Unscheduled" learning—correspondence study, classes and clinical experiences offered at remote sites, independent on-campus study, directed readings, intensive short-term workshops, internships, and other forms of cooperative education—grew by over 40 percent the first year after the conversion and gradually leveled out 65 percent above the preconversion level. During 1988-1989, such activities accounted for about 6 percent of all SCHs.

SCH production by adjunct faculty rose 17 percent in the first postconversion year and over 90 percent by 1989. From a different perspective, adjuncts' SCH production rose from 12 percent of all SCHs at WSU before conversion to 16 percent immediately afterward, and floated to 20 percent by 1989. Aggressive metropolitan outreach efforts by the Division of Continuing Education account for much of this growth, which by 1987-1988 was generating tuition revenue in excess of the division's total operating cost. By 1988-1989, the growth in nontraditional classes in evenings, on weekends, and at federal installations, high schools, and vocational training centers in the region essentially had compensated for the initial loss of course offerings.

4. Per capita SCH production by regular faculty would be maintained. Paralleling the learning-curve effect in other statistics, the per-capita SCH production of regular faculty dropped 5 percent immediately after conversion, but recovered to an overall net increase of 2 percent by 1989.

5. Summer enrollment would grow as faculty use the flexible calendar. The most innovative feature of conversion was its homogenization of the academic calendar, allowing the summer to be used by contract faculty as one of their three quarters of responsibility. Immediately after the transition, about 25 percent of all participating faculty took advantage of this flexible scheduling option, but by 1988-1989, that number had dropped to 14 percent. Correspondingly, summer enrollment rose 14 percent between 1984 and 1986, but then returned to the 1984 level.

Among factors working against the hoped-for flexibility were: the extreme budgetary stringency of the late 1980s that provided no added faculty; societal inertia that clings to the traditional agricultural model and resists schooling in the summer, despite the growth of year-round public schooling; and the inability of very small departments to cope with traditional academic year enrollments at less than full faculty strength.

6. Faculty professional productivity would increase. Pilot project participants were surveyed informally in 1985 after one year's experience, which conveyed summaries of faculty activities that could be compared in a general way with the findings of ongoing academic program reviews. Over three-fourths of the respondents reported a redirection of effort, producing

an impressive array of publications, research projects initiated, presentations at meetings, substantive course revisions, public service pursuits, individual development projects, and a generally improved sense of currentness with one's field. There also was evidence of more attention to individual student counseling, integrating computer applications into instruction, and increased involvement with professional organizations.

A systematic survey of the entire faculty in 1986, a year after conversion had been completed, echoed the 1985 survey. Developing computer skills, new instructional materials, and new courses each were reported by a majority as commanding more of their time; research, artistic works, publication, grantsmanship, consulting, and manuscript reviewing each attracted increased commitment from 40-50 percent; 30-40 percent were more active on professional and community boards; one-third reported a broadening of their normal range of experiences through travel and community involvement. It is noteworthy that senior faculty—the stratum most likely to be involved in excess teaching—were overrepresented somewhat among the respondents to this survey.

Several years of accommodation to an altered professional life-style might be expected to dull memories of the change. In fact, by 1989, only 70 percent of the faculty who had actually gone through the conversion process remained at WSU. Nevertheless, a campuswide survey of the general climate for research, scholarship, and professional growth suggested that nearly half of them could still identify residual positive effects of the new policy. Anecdotal evidence continues to indicate that the new policy has been helpful in recruiting faculty in such competitive disciplines as accounting.

The incidence of sabbatical leaves more than doubled after the 1986 policy change, largely in the form of mini-sabbaticals. A two-year review in 1989 of 52 leaves—60 percent of them to faculty with no previous sabbaticals—showed among the outcomes of this group's efforts, 50 publications, 118 works of art, 49 meeting presentations or gallery exhibits, 13 new consulting relationships, and a wide variety of other travel, study, and teaching programs.

7. Faculty would be satisfied with the new work load expectations. The 1985 and 1986 surveys showed a very high level of satisfaction with the new circumstances, despite the fact that half of the respondents were experiencing a drop in income. In the 1986 survey, that remained a concern for only one in five. Of the 1986 respondents, 76 percent were satisfied, a majority of them extremely so, and 90 percent wished to see the new conditions become permanent policy. Their reasons varied: Support of professional involvement, reduced teaching load, higher base salary, and flexible scheduling were most commonly mentioned. Only 30 percent decried the increased use of adjunct faculty; 42 percent felt it had no effect on

educational quality; 29 percent saw it as an opportunity for quality enhancement. A majority felt that the conversion had reduced their likelihood of burnout, even though reduced frequency of repetitive course offerings left a third of the faculty with a larger number of preparations. The only substantial discontent emanated from the nonparticipating Allied Health Sciences faculty, who erroneously saw conversion as an unjust way for others to gain more pay for less teaching.

8. More equitable salary distribution would be facilitated. Although something of an epilogue to the process of conversion, for reasons mentioned earlier, analysis and redress of salary inequities were logical outgrowths. After multiple regression analysis of 1985-1986 salaries showed that only three significant factors—national market by rank and discipline, which was by far the dominant factor, years in rank, and gender—accounted for more than 80 percent of the variance in faculty salaries, faculty seemed to accept as a fact of life that the market factor was pervasive, rather than exclusive to a few, favored disciplines. Extensive confidential review of the study data by a respected team of administrative and faculty leaders led to a Faculty Senate recommendation to devote a substantial fraction of available salary funds in 1987 and 1988 to individuals and departments whose salaries deviated from the regression model in ways not explained by quality of performance. As many of them resided in the School of Allied Health Sciences, the major share of the money was justifiably awarded to that school. In addition, a gender adjustment was made across the board; when the study was repeated during 1988-1989, gender had ceased to be a significant explanatory variable.

Conclusions

With the sole exception of summer session enrollment, the overall aims of WSU's conversion process were realized. One crucial finding, a theme that ran through miscellaneous comments in the faculty surveys, was that conversion had clarified and reinforced the expectation that faculty be involved in professional activity beyond the classroom.

In terms of WSU's metropolitan orientation, changing expectations have paved the way for faculty involvement in a variety of external partnerships. For example, through contractual relationships with major foreign and domestic manufacturers, cooperative education of automotive technicians has been upgraded to a sophisticated program with selective admissions, strongly supported by dealers in a four-state region. The Center for Aerospace Technology at WSU has stimulated an international market for small satellites and is aiding technology transfer through its incubator and other programs. WSU has been designated the state's prime agent to broker and deliver custom training for paraprofessional employees in high-technology

industries. Faculty members in the arts and sciences have spawned a dozen formal partnerships with school teachers and districts and have organized a series of unique, annual international and national conferences that bring both practitioners and undergraduate students to campus to share their scholarly work.

All such efforts depend on the availability of time, much of it reclaimed by abandoning excessive emphasis on classroom teaching. Perhaps the greatest long-term benefit of the conversion process, however, lies in the influential coalition among deans, faculty leaders, and central administrators that developed around it. This coalition set a precedent that conditioned the campus community to act together in such subsequent initiatives as expanding instructional computing capabilities, writing across the curriculum, redefining the institutional mission, and setting strategic program priorities. The coalition also contributed heavily to the university's ability to endure three financially trying years with its morale reasonably intact.

The lesson here should be applicable to institutional transformation in other situations facing metropolitan universities: the combination of a strong leadership coalition and appropriate incentives is a powerful force for change. Despite the need to rely on decentralized action in what has been termed "organized anarchy," it is indeed possible to mobilize a large body of faculty around institutional priorities that serve metropolitan needs.

Suggested Readings

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