CURRICULAR DECISION-MAKING AT A PUBLIC UNIVERSITY IN A NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY

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Abstract

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When university faculty members plan their colleges' curricula and their research directions, they interact with administrators, accrediting agencies, and students. The present era of neoliberalism and globalization has introduced drastic changes in the impact of these groups. Various interest groups in the US have endorsed a move toward greater social accountability in public higher education. While these measures may provide a certain kind of effectiveness and efficiency, their relationship to student learning remains unclear.

This study seeks to understand how faculty make sense of neoliberal reforms and how that translates into their knowledge production and transmission as reflected in curricular construction. Using a comparative case study design and qualitative research methods, it examines how the faculty of the English department and the teacher education department at a public university experience neoliberal policies and the consequences of these processes. The study triangulates interview and document data at each level within one public higher education system.

The findings show that neoliberal transformations in the higher education system took two major forms: increased accountability regulations and deregulated market activities. The federal and state governments attempted to capitalize on public higher education's contribution to the economy while continuing to defund institutions and deregulate the market of higher education. The market culture flourished within the university, turning courses and knowledge into consumer products and students into customers. Such neoliberal transformations have a significant impact on faculty's

perception of the factors that contribute to their sensemaking processes with regard to teaching, research, and service. The pursuit of accountability and marketability has driven a move toward academic consumerism, managerialism, and stratification. Neoliberal economic values prevailed over traditional academic values in both departments investigated and their curricular activities. Consequently, faculty in both departments adopted the economic framing of education, viewing economic productivity as positive. Additionally, both administrators and faculty considered faculty as mobile employees in an increasingly deregulated academic labor market.

The findings of this study suggest that knowledge transmission and production in higher education are taking on new forms that reflect neoliberal interests and societal trends. Among the casualties may be academic freedom.

Dedication

To my teachers and my mentors

To my family and my loved ones

To those who have taken an interest

To the chaos in the world

To those who have wondered

To the freedom of our mind

Acknowledgement

The making of this dissertation and my graduate study in general rely on the help of many. My mentor and committee member Joanne Cohoon has trained me as a social science researcher during my time at UVa. She is a source of positive energy; a force of life, will, and kindness. Without her intellectual and financial support, I would not have been able to persist through my graduate study.

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The completion of this dissertation marks the end of a long dreamy, occasionally bumpy, journey. It has been a luxury and a pleasure to carry out such a selfish endeavor. In appreciation of life and truth, I thank you all.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Background

Public higher education in the US is at crossroads. In 2007, 62% of federally financed research and development money went to public universities, rising from 57% in 1972 (Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities, 2009). However, the percentage of college students enrolled in public universities is declining. Fall enrollment at public four-year institutions decreased from 49% in 1970 to 38% in 2008 of total enrollment in degree-granting institutions (Geiger and Heller, 2011). The share of degrees granted by public institutions has decreased at all levels. For example, graduate degrees decreased from 51% of all graduate degrees granted in 2003 to 47% in 2013 (Baum and Ma, 2014). Harris and Goldrick-Rab (2010) calculated the ratio of bachelor's degree production and overall cost at public colleges and found out that public institutions' productivity in 2006 was only half of what it was in 1970. This decline was about 20% when adjusted for inflation.

Some researchers attribute the deceleration in output to slower growth in tuition and state appropriations in public universities (Adams, 2009; Birgeneau and Yeary, 2009). Public universities offered lower tuition and greater financial aid than private universities, and served a more socioeconomically diverse and larger student population. Absent growth in state appropriations, public universities four-year institutions have increased average net tuition and fees for full-time in-state undergraduate students by 38% from 2010 to 2012 (Baum and Ma, 2014) as well as increasing faculty teaching loads and

reducing salaries (Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities, 2009). The average public research university's total revenue in 2006 amounted to only 28% of the same type of private universities' revenue. University leaders' call for federal financing of basic operating support for public research universities has been ineffective (Birgeneau and Yeary, 2009). Public institutions are quickly going from "state-supported" to "state-assisted" and to "state-located" (Ginsberg, 2011). Under the pressures of continuous fiscal constraint and increasing public demand for market relevance, states governments increasingly define public education as a vehicle for the preparation of the future work force for a national and international economy (Morrow, 2006). The University of Virginia (UVa), for example, was receiving 8 percent of its income from the state in 2010, 5.8% in 2013, with its law and business schools financially independent and essentially privatized (Schrecker, 2010). From 1990 to 2013, UVa's per student state funding support decreased by 51% when adjusted for inflation (Johnson, 2013).

Shrinking state financial support and growing teaching loads have created a neoliberal transformation at multiple levels of a higher education system (national, state, university, college, and department) that manifests in public research universities. This study examines the impact of these reforms on faculty's day-to-day professional experiences.

Purpose of Public Higher Education

The purpose of public higher education has always been an amalgam of various intentions. Two early thinkers on the subject, Thomas Jefferson and John Dewey, viewed education as the foundation of a strong society. Jefferson wrote of education, "No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness" (1903,

p.396). He believed that the education of the common people would secure liberty. To Jefferson, the main object of higher education was to foster the intellectual growth of all citizens.

> To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business; To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing; To improve by reading, his morals and faculties; To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either; To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor and judgment; And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed. (Jefferson, 1818)

Similarly, Dewey believed that school was not only a place to gain content knowledge, but also a place to learn how to live. He described the purpose of education as helping students realize their full potential and to learn skills they could use for the greater good, including the instigation of social change and reform. He called education the basis of social consciousness and "the only sure method of social reconstruction" (Dewey, 1910, p. 16).

Both men referred to the importance of training the mind and educating students to be responsible citizens. Jefferson also referenced preparing students for the workplace as something to provide in strict balance with civic education. The vocational training function is another important purpose of public higher education. Higher education systems have traditionally included vocational education through professional programs, such as the professional schools of law and medicine.

American public higher education has been a contested terrain where the above two purposes competed and balanced one another (Labaree, 2006). In recent decades, the

scale tipped towards the workforce preparation function under the influence of neoliberal economic ideologies.

Neoliberal Transformation

While the definition of neoliberalism has changed over time, social theorist David Harvey provides a broad meaning this dissertation will use:

> Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. (Harvey, 2007, p.2)

Neoliberalism took hold in American public education during Reagan administration. Friedman (1994) argued for the advantage of free market and proposed a voucher system for American schools, masking the difference between the public and private in American schooling (Desmond, 2002). Neoliberalism encouraged educational reformers to operate schools like competitive businesses, on the logic that competition would increase efficiency and advance the US economy. The notion of public education as a public good became less and less popular during this time period. The reforms of American public schools laid the foundation for ongoing higher education reforms. Government funding for higher education became more and more customer-oriented, shifting from institution-based support to student-based financial aid. Clark Kerr (1963) anticipated the decline of government funding for higher education as early as 1963, and within ten years it had begun and continues to the present day. Leadership began to apply the principles of corporate culture. While private institutions may also evidence the influence of neoliberalism, this study focuses on its influence on public higher education, which has been stronger (Slaughter, 2002).

Henry Giroux (2002, 2003) stresses neoliberal ideology's negative impact on higher education. Citing Robert McChesney, he states that neoliberalism permits "the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests...control as much as possible of social life" (McChesney in Giroux, 2002, p. 425). Because pedagogy creates identity, neoliberal tendencies in curriculum and instruction ultimately get translated into corporate identity. Corporate identity takes the place of citizenship and the definition of citizen becomes mixed up with that of the consumer. The application of neoliberal ideologies in higher education may result in economic productivity gain and the growth of knowledge economy, but it may lead to erosion in academic freedom and democracy as well.

Giroux argues that under neoliberal influences, public education produces self-interested individuals, instead of citizens of a democratic society. What Giroux terms "an ensemble of ideological and institutional forces that functions politically and pedagogically both to govern organizational life through senior managerial control and to fashion compliant workers, depoliticized consumers, and passive citizens" come to dominate (2002, p. 429). He argues that this process narrows the scope of freedom and justice, and erodes the operation of democracy. The human capital rationale is particularly influential in the public sector due to its long-standing commitment to increasing access (Slaughter, 2002).

As Zemsky et al. (2005) argue, decreasing societal interest in paying tax to support public higher education has consequences:

> There is a diminished sense that policy in itself can satisfy the public's appetite for high-quality educational programs made available at low cost to consumers. Diminished as well is that commitment to a broad social agenda that characterized public discourse in the 1960s, beginning with civil rights and equal employment

> opportunity and culminating in local, state, and federal programs of affirmative action. (Zemsky, Wegner, & Massy, 2005, p.181)

The weakening sense that universities can support the public good and declining federal and societal support for them feed into each other. They compel public universities to increase college tuition and seek alternative funding sources, which means changing their finance and governance models.

In this transformation, public universities may lose their focus on public service and become subsumed by the economic goals of global capitalism. Such reform turns the field of public higher education into a market, where degrees and credentials are products, and universities compete for both students and resources.

Changing Finance and Governance Models

As knowledge creators, university faculty at research institutions have historically had a great deal of authority and autonomy. Traditionally, the faculty have played a significant a role in the governance of higher education institutions. Jasper Adams wrote about university governance in 1837:

> The administrative authority of the discipline comprises the judicial and executive authority of the institution. The faculty customarily assemble by themselves to transact the business of the institution, they are governed by their own rules, they act by their presidents, or by a committee of their own body.... The faculty, moreover, are the body, which is held by the public, to be chiefly responsible for the good conduct of the institution. (Hofstadter & Smith, 1961, p. 313)

He notes the "corporate character" of the board of trustees and their role in the governance of the university, but describes the faculty as self-governed and autonomous in curricular matters.

Contemporary public universities are vastly different. With decreasing public support, they increasingly turn to organizational models derived from economic and

business institutions. Like many corporations, they cut faculty salaries by increasing the percentage of part-timers who receive no benefits or job security. Full-time faculty at higher institutions in the United States increased by 51% from 1975 to 2005 (Ginsberg, 2011). According to the American Association of University Professors, non-tenure-track positions of all types currently account for 68% of all faculty appointments in American higher education (American Association of University Professors, 2012). Administrators increased by 85% and other administrative staff by 240% in three decades (Ginsberg, 2011), giving full-time professional administrators a growing share in university personnel on all types of campuses. They have taken over responsibilities such as recruiting students and raising donations, and responding to state and federal mandates among other functions.

Reduction in state funding for higher education also forces governing boards and administrators to seek other sources of funding to support their operations and makes them vulnerable to market forces, both by reliance on donors and pressure from consumers (students). University administrators increasingly position themselves as valuable by pointing to their preparation of students for competitive advantage for gainful employment. While tuition has increased to a rate that imposes enormous burden on students, raised rates have been insufficient to satisfy university financial goals. Institutions have incorporated university services, commercialized research, and marketized teaching and learning. All of these measures lead to increasing the number of full-time professional administrators, and changing the composition of faculty from tenure-track to wage employees.

Along with shifting numbers, the responsibilities of university governance have been gradually shifting from faculty to administrators, thus making universities more bureaucratic and commercially-oriented organizations (Aronowitz, 2000; Miller, 2006; Donoghue, 2008). In this process, new models of financial organization are spreading throughout public universities. They include the internal financial model, Responsibility Centered Management, which many universities have implemented in the past 20 years. It emphasizes "incentive-based allocations" of resources, with incentives built into the system to encourage "entrepreneurialism" among all university personnel (e.g., Sullivan, 2012). In keeping with this focus, many universities have embraced an academic reward system that encourages university faculty to seek financial support from external funding agencies and donors. The funding preferences of these entities can therefore influence faculty research, impinge upon academic freedom, and shape their construction of knowledge.

In short, institutions of public higher education have mimicked the form and behavior of private, commercial enterprises. Neoliberalism has transformed the institutional structure of public higher education. Human capital theories that define higher education as a private good have created an environment that defines the purpose of the university as preparation for employment with pressure on the curriculum to change accordingly.

The connection between higher education and employability has a long history that dates back to the establishment of professional programs in universities and vocational training in community colleges. However, the connection has been made more prominent in recent years. Governments encourage academic research that contributes to

economic advancement, creating jobs and generating revenue. University administrators promote and incentivize employment-oriented curricular offerings in all disciplines. Various interest groups, including faculty, administrators, students, employers, government, accrediting agency, and the general society initiate curricular changes in keeping with the focus on future student employability.

Impact on Curriculum

Sheila Slaughter describes the traditional relationship between research and curricula as closely connected and defined by disciplinary characteristics rather than student preferences.

> Researchers discover new knowledge that is incorporated into peer reviewed journals, then into textbooks, finally appearing as curricula in the classroom.... Professional understandings of fields of specialization provide the boundaries around which curricula are organized. Course offerings are determined not by the needs of students so much as by course content that professors see as inducting students into the knowledge of their particular fields (Slaughter, 2002, p. 261).

The conventional discipline-based view of curricula focuses on the classroom. Curricular activities are mainly interactions between professor and students, with professors' connections to their professional societies as an addition (Slaughter, 2002).

The university's role as a knowledge generating institution has become ever more complex over time. As early as 1963, Clark Kerr decried the declining conditions of the majority of faculty, arguing that boards of trustees, presidents, and faculty senates had an increasing role in major decisions. Since the late 1970s, an intergovernmental system of public and quasi-private professionally based associations and accrediting bodies has shaped university curricula, as will be examined in this study.

The erosion of faculty power over curriculum has coincided the decline in government support for public higher education and the expansion of knowledge, the rise

of human capital rationale, public vs. private competition, and market-consciousness. New university financial management models increasingly ask faculty to focus on creating curricula that will attract undergraduate enrollment, the predominant source of university funding. The connection between research and curriculum has been lost. A discourse of commercialism and "marketing" frames program and curricular planning.

The forces of neoliberalism are changing funding and governing models that in turn, shape curricular decision-making. As James Engell and Anthony Dangerfield (2005) argue, funding and financing now determine "which fields and pursuits within the academy expand and flourish, and which ones retract and shrink" (p.1), and thus influence the formal organization of knowledge. To avoid retraction and demonstrate relevance, faculty craft curricular offerings begin to reflect economic fluctuations. For instance, sociology departments are offering more and more criminology courses, and philosophers are teaching business ethics (Schrecker, 2010).

Significance of the Study

The mission of the public university has become contested. A larger cultural context of neoliberal ideologies and cultural shifts is at work in a system in crisis. Is the primary purpose of public higher education to serve the public good or private interests? Is higher education a public or private good? Who owns the public university and how should it be governed?

Public higher education is increasingly adopting institutional forms quite different from its roots. The system is engaged in what New Institutional Theorists refer to as mimetic isomorphism in which it is adopting the form of other dominant institutions in society such as the institution of the capitalist economy (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

This study addresses how these trends have influenced the micro-politics of the governance and organization of public higher education and ultimately shaped the production and transmission of knowledge. Through a comparative case study, it examines how faculty members experience the macro forces of neoliberal ideology and its influence on curriculum at a micro-level.

The study has significant implications for knowledge construction and power in society. The role and nature of the faculty sensemaking process is worthy of examination because it directly influences the shaping of curricula at both the program and course level, and thus influences the transmission of knowledge to students who represent the next generation of societal leaders. The study aims to examine who decides what knowledge to transmit and how. Better understanding of knowledge production and transmission provides further understanding of the changing purpose and quality of higher education, which require continuous scholarly attention.

Statement of the Problem

In an era of neoliberalism and globalization, higher education is undergoing drastic changes. Various interest groups in American society endorse a move for greater social accountability in public higher education. The pursuit of market relevance, efficiency, and productivity reflects a societal retreat from "all things social, public, and collective" (Giroux, 2001). Faculty in the public sector are facing pressure to produce knowledge relevant to the global economy based on criteria in conflict with the original mandate of universities to educate for democratic responsibility (Morrow, 2006). Public higher education increasingly prioritizes educational training over acting as what Abraham Flexner referred to as the "service station for the general public" (Flexner, 1930,

in Hofstadter and Smith, 1961, p. 907). The idea of educational training deemphasizes the purposes of education Jefferson and Dewey laid out: improvement of the mind, realization of one's full potential, and public good.

When planning a college curriculum, university faculty interact with administrators, accrediting agency personnel, and students. Most of these actors do not share faculty's commitment to disciplinary fields, and their beliefs and actions have an impact on the knowledge faculty members consider worthy of teaching. Faculty may also compromise their approach to research based on such concerns. Accrediting agencies translate national priorities and mandates set by the federal government, a government that increasingly mirrors neoliberal assumptions. The current generation of college students has been brought up in a consumerist culture and may have mixed interests in what they think should be taught. At the same time, curriculum reviewers evaluate curriculum more and more from a consumer perspective, applauding the part of curriculum that teaches skills and helps students to attain jobs.

Within the same institutional environment, neoliberal trends impact different disciplines in different ways. Professional schools carry out their mission of preparing students for the workforce. Liberal arts education may remain true to its mission of educating the whole person as a life-long learner and an engaged citizen, or it may be compelled to adopt other missions related to the demands of the economy. The purpose of higher education is at issue. Is it primarily to serve the interests of private capital or is it to serve the interests of public good?

To understand the changing democratic qualities of American public higher education, this study examines the impact of neoliberal ideologies on public higher

education as a public good and their influence on the processes that shape curriculum in public higher education. Specifically, it examines the influence of neoliberal ideology on the context for faculty decision making with regards to curriculum. The next chapter reviews existing research and theories related to the problem.

Chapter 2 Review of Literature

Background

The *Guardian* published an article that claimed, "the government's planned education reforms are fundamentally misguided" (September 27, 2011). Signed by hundreds of UK academics and a number of academic groups and associations, the paper endorses the following principles of university cited in the *Magna Charta Universitatum*:

> The university is an autonomous institution at the heart of societies differently organized because of geography and historical heritage; it produces, examines, appraises, and hands down culture by research and teaching.
> To meet the needs of the world around it, its research and teaching must be morally and intellectually independent of all political authority and intellectually independent of all political authority and economic power.
> Teaching and research in universities must be inseparable if their tuition is not to lag behind changing needs, the demands of society, and advances in scientific knowledge. (Magna Charta Observatory, 2015)

The paper argues that the above principles are put at risk by the market approach introduced into universities through government control, and, as a defense, proposes nine propositions about the value of public higher education, of which consumerism does not have a share. The paper defines the university community as academics, managers, administrators, and a range of support staff.

Questions naturally arise with the above claim: Is it true that the market approach is eroding the traditional principles of university? How do curricular changes happen, and how do faculty perceive and react to changes? What are the impacts of changes, and how can they be evaluated? Existing literature provides some answers to and insights into these questions.

Review of Related Literature

Knowledge Production

Gibbons et al. (1994) propose two modes of knowledge production in contemporary society. Mode 1 knowledge production is equivalent to the classic notion of science—production of cognitive and social norms that determine what is legitimate knowledge. In Mode 1, knowledge is essentially legitimated through peer-review processes. Mode 2 knowledge production refers to problem solving in an application-oriented environment, usually involving interdisciplinary, diverse organizations of people. In Mode 2, social accountability and reflexivity of various values are the agencies that legitimate knowledge through the context of application. Thus, the "good science" or "legitimate knowledge" becomes multidimensional and is continually changing in Mode 2.

The emergence of Mode 2 knowledge production connects the research-oriented institution and the market (i.e., the public sector, which the results of research serve, but at the same time, makes quality control of knowledge production problematic). This is because the funding mechanism rewards marketization and commercialization of knowledge, which causes knowledge creators to pursue a market-oriented form of knowledge production. Knowledge creators may neglect quality and ethical considerations when trying to maximize the profit of their work.

As Gibbons et al. (1994) state, social accountability is a key mechanism to control the quality of knowledge in Mode 2, alongside the reflexivity of values. While marketable science is traditionally not as common in the humanities as in disciplines such as engineering, the humanities are under the pressure of increasing public demands for social accountability. Social accountability is particularly problematic for the humanities

because reflexivity and contextualization have been the core qualities of the humanities, thus making social accountability more questionable in the view of the public. Recently, when the "knowledge" in question comes from public higher education, social accountability is more often than not the sole criterion the public uses to evaluate its quality (e.g., debates over faculty performance, pay, and productivity).

The idea of public higher education begins to evolve around marketization and commercialization of "educational products," with public higher education institutions performing as business enterprises, which in turn advances the ideas of competitiveness and globalization. Under this condition, the faculty work as dispensable employees on campuses. Krause, Nolan, Palm, and Ross (2008) examine the seven-month strike at New York University in 2005–2006 and its implications. While the strike took place among graduate-employees (i.e., contingent faculty) and did not involve full-time, tenure-track faculty, the authors argue that the strike was a result of NYU's "centralized and top-down governance, its fiscal vulnerability, and its entrepreneurial ethos" (Krause, Nolan, Palm, & Ross, 2008, p. 3). The role and composition of faculty are changing.

Academic Capitalization

In higher education, faculty conducting research is a core element of knowledge production. Researchers have reported a significant trend in higher education, known as academic capitalization, and discussed its influence on the process of knowledge production.

Today, higher education institutions seek to generate revenue from their core education, research, and service functions, ranging from the "production of knowledge (such as research leading to patents) created by the faculty to the faculty's curriculum and

instruction (teaching materials that can be copyrighted and marketed)" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 37). Rhoades and Slaughter (1997, 2004) see this trend as an ignition of systematic changes toward a "neo-liberal and neo-conservative" stance, with the most alarming changes in fundamental academic practices that put revenue generation above expansion of knowledge. Some other scholars have written about higher education transformation from various perspectives, drawing from their personal experiences. For example, Parker and Jary (1995) write about the "McDonaldization" of university in the United Kingdom. However, none of these works focuses on curriculum.

Some researchers also refer to this trend as corporate takeover of higher education, with an increasing resemblance between higher education governance and corporate management (Altbach, 2001; Aronowitz, 2000; Currie & Newson, 1998; Delanty, 2001; Drakich, Grant, & Stewart, 2002; Marginson and Considine, 2000; Reimer, 2004; Reynolds & Griffith, 2002; Tudiver, 1999; Welch, 2005; White & Hauck, 2000). Knowledge produced in the corporate mode tends to be the type of knowledge that funding agencies and university managers prefer and demand: knowledge in the fields close to the market, such as the hard and applied sciences. Researchers observe that there are inequalities among different disciplines and knowledge areas. For example, a member of the business faculty would be offered a salary several times greater than that offered to a member of the education faculty, and this stratification exists worldwide. The stratification within higher education creates micro-political cliques within schools and departments. The high-status, well-paid faculty are invested in the status quo and support administrators while others may be resistant to administrative changes. Such micro-

politics leads to eroding professional status and academic freedom, a major harm caused by corporate mentality.

Stratifications among knowledge areas and within academic professions inevitably change knowledge application as well. One example is the federal government's favor of the quantitative research agenda over the qualitative. Researchers argue the embrace of a single type of research method may cause harm to policy making at various levels. In an interview study on hegemonic relations in the field of curriculum, Apple (2004) investigates questions such as "What restrictions do you now see as being imposed upon the research community in education?" and "What will be the results?" (p. 191). The diversified critical research methods and perspectives make it harder for researchers to communicate amongst themselves easily as well as for policy makers and practitioners to apply to their work knowledge rendered through different research approaches. At the same time, restricted funding has limited "what counts as legitimate inquiry, what counts as science, in the academy to only that which helps in an industrial project—or to the priorities and concerns of traditional positivist forms of inquiry" (Apple, 2004, p. 192). Apple (2004) observes a political economy of research funding that is "organized around particular senses of what is important to know and what the legitimate procedures are to know it" (p. 192). This political economy fuels not only academic research but also research-oriented graduate education and training.

Knowledge workers' attention given to knowledge transmission (i.e., teaching) is less than sufficient in the past half a century, and may be oriented toward neoliberal ideologies. Research concerning curriculum and instruction at the postsecondary level involves either pedagogy (andragogy) or planning. Even though it was historically argued

that the "prime business of American professors must be regular and assiduous class teaching" (Glassick, Huber, & Maeroff, 1997), the transformation of faculty priorities from teaching to research has been pervasive since the 1950s. In response, university professors, especially research faculty, prioritize research over curricular and pedagogical matters in response to a system that rewards research and publication.

Most recently, higher education funding mechanisms have rewarded a kind of social networking and collaborative knowledge building that is oriented toward leveraging social capital among faculty over simple and basic knowledge production. In the meantime, the model of research becomes more socially conscious in both aims and procedures. For example, faculty may pursue collaborations with high-status counterparts to maximize the influence and financial gain of their research activities. Such preference may cause the social dimensions of knowledge production to be focused on instrumental aims and marketability. Faculty collaborations manipulated by a neoliberal agenda may contribute to stratification of social class among faculty, as the corporate agenda continues to erode professional status and academic freedom.

Knowledge Transmission

Academic capitalization in knowledge transmission started earlier than the corporatization of higher education institutions. The structure of knowledge and knowledge production matches the academic structure of higher education institutions (Duryea, 2000). This trend emerged in the early 20th century when professors moved to the highest positions in the academic hierarchy, along with the change of higher education's priority from "disciplining of the mind and character" to specialized knowledge and utility of education (Duryea, 2000). A number of scholars argue that

many of the reforms of management techniques at higher education institutions were put in place by administrators to shift power from autonomous professionals with significant authority over the curriculum, hiring, and evaluation processes to administrators (Birnbaum, 2001; O'Meara, 2011; Rhoades, 1998; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

The traditional conflict between autonomous professionals and administrators has a long-standing existence in the curriculum field as well (Giroux, 1981). Apple (2003) argues that decision making about the content of a curriculum is by nature cultural politics, as it involves not solely the selection of knowledge content but also "who should select it, how it should be organized, taught, and evaluated, and once again who should be involved in asking and answering these questions" (Apple, 2003, p. 7). This assertion is true for education at all levels.

Boyer (1990) proposes a vision of scholarship with four equal dimensions—discovery, integration, application, and teaching—with the intention of broadening the scope of the professoriate, particularly through enhancing the scholarship of teaching. The American academic community agrees on the general definition of teaching: curriculum development, advising, and conducting instructional and classroom research. Boyer's proposal enlarges the definition of teaching in a scholarly manner, and not in day-to-day practice, as teaching has not been better rewarded in academic reward structures (Glassick, Huber, & Maeroff, 1997).

Few scholars have provided accounts of university curriculum transformation under neoliberal influences, although a small number of authors provide accounts of faculty experience and institutional transformation under neoliberal influences.

One relevant book demonstrates how educational institutions subordinate the critical search for knowledge to the maximization of stockholder value, and how Canadian faculty attempt to resist corporate demands, by presenting cases at five different Canadian universities (Woodhouse, 2009). Woodhouse provides a framework showing how higher education conforms to "the principles of the market model of education," where "the goals, motivations, methods, and standards of excellence of education are undermined by corporate market demands" (p. 4). The corporate principle erodes the core educational functions and does not recognize knowledge as a public good. In reality it means "corporate culture has expunged the language of education": Professors are "resource units," students are "revenue units," curricula are "program packages," and graduates are "products competing in the global economy" (Woodhouse, 2009, p. 4).

Gumport and Snydman (2002) provide a case study analysis on academic restructuring. Analyzing degree program data within seven knowledge areas over a 45-year span at a comprehensive state university, the authors observe several movements in knowledge areas. For example, (1) there is a decline in "consensus over what counts as knowledge," especially in the humanities; (2) changes in degree programs reflect "state needs and industry trends"; and (3) institutional commitment to traditional liberal education is "symbolic" (Gumport & Snydman, 2002, pp. 398–400). Gumport argues that an "industry logic" is competing with, and replacing, the traditional social institution logic in university restructuring (Gumport, 2002, p. 53). A common theme across the cases regarding knowledge production and transmission is that a market-oriented,

demand-driven tendency outstrips the discipline-oriented, faculty-driven tradition (Gumport, 2002). In other words:

> Academic fields are differently valued and resourced. Organizations selectively invest in new areas to align with projected student demand, employer needs, and currency in today's marketplace; and conversely, consolidate academic programs and departments deemed to have insufficient sensuality, quality, or cost-effectiveness. (Gumport, 2005, p. 115)

Writing in a novelist's style, Tuchman (2009) presents a case study on backstage power dynamics and faculty politics, using years of observational data from a mid-sized, second-tier public university in the Northeast. As Tuchman describes, administrators compete with faculty members over the control of course offerings and curriculum design, because they are eager for more responsibilities as middle management. As a result of backstage politics, faculty members who are part of the course and curriculum committee at the university level do not feel that they are representative of their own department as gatekeepers of disciplinary knowledge. In essence, institutional values no longer align with traditional academic values.

Zeichner (2010) examines the impact of the neoliberal movement on teacher education. Zeichner discusses the formation and consequences of three mechanisms that take control of education away from teachers and teacher educators: commodification of teacher education, hyperrationality and increased accountability, and attacks on multicultural education. These mechanisms contribute to the trends of de-professionalization of teaching, de-diversification of the content of a teacher's education, and increasingly bureaucratic and prescriptive approval requirements for teaching education programs. These trends could lead to situations in which high-quality teachers are defined only in terms of "faithfully implement[ing] teaching scripts with other

people's children," and teacher education, matched with commercially produced scripted programs, is turned into pure market economy (Zeichner, 2010, p. 1550).

Curriculum

The scholarly definition of curriculum is fluid in the academic community. A small number of handbooks and literature review articles summarize the overall situation of postsecondary curriculum. Dressel's writings on curriculum (1968, 1971) have served as the basic how-to guides for university faculty and administrators in their curricular practices. Dressel (1971) notes that curriculum may refer to either courses that include both knowledge and instruction or educational experience in general. Most literature on curriculum can be divided into these two categories.

Curriculum as Courses

Rudolph (1977) provides a historical document of curricular matters, which contains a collection of individual cases of curricular design and examination taking place at an array of sites with comments by numerous scholars and practitioners. Levine (1978) provides an early overview of undergraduate curriculum, including descriptions on a collection of higher education forms and programs around the world. Featuring various schools of philosophical thought on postsecondary curriculum, Levine lists numerous definitions of general undergraduate curriculum, ranging from "the discipline and the furniture of the mind" to "the necessary prerequisite for specialized study" (1978, pp. 3–4). Regarding curricular improvement, Levine proposes five strategies for curriculum change, although without taking human factors into consideration.

Gaff & Ratcliff (1997) provide a general overview of undergraduate curriculum. The term *curriculum* is used in their work to define an educational plan at various levels

(e.g., school level and program level). The authors give university leadership and top-tier academic administrators the power of overseeing and controlling curricular matters. Gaff (1991) assesses the general undergraduate education curriculum changes in terms of course offerings from an administrative perspective, although he recognizes it as a limitation of his overview of curricular matters.

Curriculum as Educational Experiences

Conrad and Haworth discuss curriculum from the perspective of student experience (Conrad & Haworth, 1990; Haworth & Conrad, 1995). Toombs and Tierney (1991) see courses as the "basic building blocks" of a curriculum (p. 27) that cannot be separated from sociocultural and organizational contexts. The design, maintenance, and evaluation of curriculum notably shift from being fully represented by the professoriate (Hofstadter & Smith, 1961) to being asserted by university personnel other than faculty (Toombs & Tierney, 1991).

In general, the academic community lacks consensus on basic terms describing the learning process at the postsecondary level. For example, a theory of curriculum generating testable hypotheses is missing (Dressel, 1980; Stark, Lowther, & Smith, 1986). Stark, Lowther, and Smith (1986) propose a definition of curriculum as an academic plan, which entails "what knowledge, skills, and attitudes are to be learned"; "the selection of subject matter or content"; structure, processes, and materials to be used to achieve learning; evaluation strategies; and a "feedback loop" to increase learning (pp. 5–6). As a result, curricular decision making is mixed with academic planning. Increasingly the responsibility of curricular planning has gradually shifted from faculty to academic administrators, and the voice of administrators has become prominent in the academic

planning model as proposed by Stark and Latucca (Latucca & Stark, 2009; Stark & Latucca, 1997).

Academic Structure

A number of researchers examine curriculum with the assumption that curriculum reflects academic structure (e.g., the structure of the academic profession, the structure of knowledge). These studies look at academic structural changes (Blau, 1973), course offerings and elimination of knowledge fields (Hefferlin, 1969), professoriate changes (Metzger, 1987), and more recently, bureaucratic and programmatic changes in formal academic structure (i.e., degree programs) (Gumport & Snydman, 2002). An important finding from these studies is that economic factor fuels curricular debates in American higher education.

There are a number of empirical studies on curricular changes per specific discipline. These studies typically do not discuss human factors in relation to curricula changes. For example, Southerland (1991, 2002) conducted studies on criminal justice programs and curricula in 1988–1989 and 1999–2000 using primarily statistical methods, involving mainly numbers of programs and course offerings. Frank, Wong, Meyer, and Ramirez (2000) conducted a cross-national and longitudinal study of university curricula in the discipline of history. This study takes into consideration the influence of macro-level politics on higher education. The authors point out that the changes in history course offerings reflected local power and world-level politics. This finding shows that the notion of "relevance" can determine what knowledge should be transmitted.

A matter of concern is the distinction between knowledge as science (or academic knowledge) and knowledge as culture. In the corporate mode, curricula are materialized

into an educational product, similar to credentials. Individual academics create knowledge and develop curriculum, but in a controlled manner. In this model, curriculum is constructed in a top-down process of decision making (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). In contrast to the corporate mode, from a cultural perspective, the making of curriculum is a dynamic negotiation. Curricula are the results coming out of a web of organizational conflict and tension (Gumport, 1988). Knowledge transmitted through such curricula is a subculture about which its participants form a consensus. Giroux, Penna, and Pinar (1981) provide three categories for the definition of curriculum: traditional, conceptual-empirical, and reconceptualist. The first places "high priority on knowledge that is functional," the second "supports a unitary scientific method and tends to deny the importance of other modes of knowing," and the third emphasizes "subjectivity, existential experience, the art of interpretation, and the centrality of intentionality to understanding human action" (Girou, Penna, & Pinar, 1981, p. 14). The study presented in this dissertation is grounded in higher education curriculum, and curriculum in general, in the third category: "a view of curriculum that defines it as a study in ideology" (p. 104); it is historical, social, and value-laden, as it is critical; it is situational.

Faculty Curricular Practice

Traditionally the professoriate is responsible for creating and maintaining curricula and course syllabi. As previous studies on neoliberal transformation point out, this tradition is undergoing changes (Ginsberg, 2011; Parker & Jary, 1995; Tuchman, 2009). While scholars have examined the changing nature of the professoriate under neoliberal conditions, very few researchers have addressed the issue of faculty sensemaking (Weick, 1995) in curricular matters. Literature on teaching and the

assessment of teaching does not reflect the processes of faculty sensemaking of neoliberal conditions and the curricular decision-making processes.

To better understand how faculty view their roles in curriculum planning processes, Stark and colleagues conducted an interview study that showed "how faculty view and define program curriculum planning and what factors influence their actions" (Stark, Lowther, Sharp, & Arnold, 1997, p. 100). In an effort to distinguish their study from previous academic planning research, Stark et al. focus on the epistemological assumptions faculty bring to their curricular decisions. They find out that faculty are not as interested in program-level academic planning as they are in course development and planning, because the former involves much less personal investment and autonomy than the latter. The authors note that faculty in non-scientific disciplines such as the humanities are more likely to engage in curricular debates than those in scientific fields such as engineering (Lattuca & Stark, 1994; Stark & Lattuca, 1993; Stark et al., 1997). One explanation is that the social sciences and humanities, compared to the sciences, tend to attach more value to the notions of consensus and coherence. Competing value makes it harder for a curricular consensus to form among faculty members. The authors compile lists of catalysts for different types of curricular changes; for example, responsive curricular changes take place under the influence of contextual changes such as funding increases and technology development (Stark et al., 1997, p. 114). Such catalysts have an observable impact on faculty's curricular planning activities. This finding supports the argument that curriculum can be shaped by societal contexts or, in other words, relevance.

Similarly, to better understand faculty teaching in relation to knowledge production, Gumport (2000) conducts an interview study to explore doctoral mentoring

characteristics in two disciplines at two research universities. Examining physics and history departments at two campuses, Gumport finds out that the more prestigious institution "trains entrepreneurial science managers and scholars with a sense of academic and personal entitlement" and the other "trains technicians and teachers with a sense of themselves as workers" (Gumport, 2000, p. 18). The researcher concludes that such choices resulted from socioeconomic factors, mainly division of labor (i.e., expectations for students' future employment) and money (i.e., financial resources throughout doctoral study), because institutions exacerbate these two factors to create stratified, discipline-specific professional identities for their doctoral students. These factors are the fundamentals of educational socialization at the doctoral level, and subsequently create inequality in knowledge production. The author suggests further research be done in the area of doctoral education, particularly at those institutions self-presented as student-centered research universities.

In curricular practice, curricular decision making is mixed with academic planning. There are multiple models for both processes in higher education literature, although curricular models are not always nested within planning models. For example, Conrad and Pratt (1983) propose a model of curricular decision making that involves three main curricular design variables: content, form, and outcomes. There are three types of participant groups in this model: management groups, committee groups, and interest groups. To summarize, four types of participants are involved in curricular planning: faculty, administrator (departmental-level administrators and university-level administrators such as college president), external factors (e.g., lay board, state/federal government), and student. Their model adds a reciprocal element to the traditional linear

curricular design models: interaction and feedback amongst groups, while attaching an equal weight to each group.

Similarly, Latucca and Stark (2009) propose an academic planning model that is situated within sociocultural contexts. Their model addresses three groups of influences on curriculum planning: external influences (e.g., market forces, government, accrediting agencies, and disciplinary associations), internal institutional influences (e.g., college mission, resources, and governance), and internal unit level influences (e.g., faculty, discipline, and student characteristics). Their model gives less weight to faculty and student groups than it gives to other forces making claims on curricular matters.

Curriculum in a Cultural Web

At public research-oriented institutions in the United States, knowledge production and transmission are influenced by organizational culture and behavior. The view of curriculum as a cultural web came from a critical framework developed by researchers such as Giroux (1981, 1983, 1988), Gumport (1988, 2000a, 2000b, 2002), McLaren (1986, 1988a, 1988b), Simon (1987), and Tierney (1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1991). This perspective views curriculum as "a site where oppositional discourses take place about the nature and content of academic knowledge" (Tierney, 1989a, p. 72).

Noting the contextualized nature of curricular models, Tierney (1989a) argues that conflicts and disagreements regarding curriculum are caused by "competing cultural definitions of what counts for knowledge" rather than what seem to be "differences of opinions" or "ineffective decision-making structures" (p. 72). On the rise of neoliberal ideologies, Giroux and Simon (1984) note that educators are "increasingly faced with the specification of practices rationalized through a logic of individual commodification that

is dictated by an instrumental relation to the economy" (p. 227). What counts as education becomes a dilemma when curriculum is shaped by cultural politics. Tierney further proposes questions such as:

> How do we define knowledge? What counts for a knowledgeable individual? How has what we defined as knowledge changed over time? Whose interests have been advanced by these forms of knowledge? Whose interests have been superseded or ignored by such forms? How do we transmit knowledge? What is the method used to determine what counts for knowledge? Who controls the decision-making? Who participates and who does not in curricular decisions? (1989a, p. 82)

These questions remain by and large unanswered in educational research literature, as discussed in the following section.

Attempting to uncover potential tensions within organizational life, Gumport (1988) conducted a case study of how feminist scholars gained legitimacy over time. After interviewing a selected number of feminist scholars around the United States, Gumport proposed "a fluid view of curricula as academic knowledge that is always in process or under construction by organizational participants" (p. 50). Curricula are considered, from a cultural construction point of view, to be signposts of evolving commitments made by participants in higher education organizations about what constitutes academic knowledge and what is worth transmitting. Gumport (1988) stresses the interplay between scholarly commitments and political commitments external to the academy. Thus, the shaping of curricula entails ongoing negotiations among faculty, administrators, and students about what counts as legitimate knowledge.

More recently, Gumport (2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2005) pointed out that three interrelated mechanisms—academic management, academic consumerism, and academic stratification—have contributed to the "transformation of the dominant legitimating idea

of higher education (and especially public higher education) from that of a social institution to that of an industry," which has profound influence on the dynamic views of "what knowledge is valued and who should decide" (p. 116). Gumport's view of curricular matters is consistent with earlier viewpoints from cultural sociologists such as Giroux and Tierney.

Curriculum Evaluation

In evaluation literature, a teacher tends to be evaluated from a learner's perspective. Curriculum evaluation specifically is often conducted at the output point of instruction rather than at the input position (Giroux, 1981). This is true in higher education evaluation as well. A college-level course analysis typically evolves around the feasibility of the course itself and the way it contributes to the integrity of the whole curriculum. Nevertheless, regardless of how curriculum evaluation is done or who does it, curriculum is evaluated based on its effectiveness (Dressel, 1971, 1980). Giroux (1981) further argues that the evaluation of instruction should be separated from that of the curriculum. Regarding evaluation of curricular change, Stark et al. (1986) argue for the necessity of an evaluation mechanism that examines whether "student learning changes as a result of a new program" (p. 8).

Summary and Rationale for This Study

While it is clear from the literature that neoliberal ideologies are influencing the organization and management of higher education, it is unclear how these influences are being transformed into curricular decision-making processes and thus impacting the production and transmission of knowledge. Competing ideas about curricular decision making, ideas dealing with what knowledge should be transmitted and who should decide,

serve as a connection between knowledge production and transmission. To explore and evaluate this connection, this study focused on the processes of faculty sensemaking in curricular decision making with an emphasis on the influence of neoliberal trends in higher education. When neoliberal tendencies collide with curricular matters, how faculty members perceive and respond to them remains unclear. This study asks: How do faculty members make sense of curriculum and negotiate these meanings within the policy culture (Yanow, 1996) of neoliberalism, reflected in financial trends as manifested by administrator actions? Do faculty ignore these influences, or do they adopt uncritically the curricular suggestions made by external non-experts? How are the curricular changes socially constructed? This process requires clarification.

Researchers who focus on the sociocultural aspect of curriculum have studied the factors, internal (such as influence of faculty background and characteristics, faculty members' views of their academic fields, purposes of education espoused by faculty members) and external (contextual factors such as institutional goals, student interests, scheduling issues, and campus services and resources), that influence faculty curricular decision making. Scholarly works on the purposes of education espoused by faculty members include discussions on faculty sensemaking, which is viewed as a factor to be considered in academic planning. Literature on academic freedom and faculty work has explored how faculty sensemanking influences organizational life. Evidences on how the faculty sensemanking process influences curriculum in specific are insufficient.

The lack of research about how faculty make sense of the neoliberal factors in the curricular decision-making process is the motivation for the research reported here. This study explores how neoliberal contexts influence organizational sensemaking (Weick,

1995) and activity defining the postsecondary curriculum. It seeks to examine the impact of societal trends on knowledge production and transmission and power.

Research Questions

In order to understand how curricular decision making works within a neoliberal setting in the public sector and how university faculty make sense of curriculum within the context of neoliberal ideologies and cultural politics, I ask the following questions:

1. What are the conditions, interactional processes, and consequences of neoliberal curricular policies in a public university system?
2. How are university administrators responding to the conditions of neoliberal reforms with regard to academic programming?
3. How do faculty in a liberal arts department and a professional school interpret and make sense of the changes instituted by university administrators with regard to curricular decision making?
4. What are the implications of neoliberal changes for course offerings and knowledge production in the public interest in a liberal arts and professional school setting?

Liberal arts departments and professional schools are two major academic units in universities, although they have varying missions. This study addresses the above research questions at a school of education and a liberal arts department in one public university in order to compare the impact of neoliberal reforms on two different types of units in the university. Schools of education are of particular interest here because they prepare teachers and have a public interest component in their mission. In addition, most pre-service teachers are required to conduct preliminary coursework and in some cases

even obtain degrees in liberal arts disciplines. The next chapter discusses methodological approaches and research methods selected for this study.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Purpose of the Study

The ultimate purpose of this study is to understand faculty sensemaking and activity with regard to knowledge production and knowledge transmission as reflected in curricular construction within the conditions of neoliberal reforms shaped by federal and state policymakers and administrators in institutions of higher education. The study asks how faculty in a school of education and a liberal arts department are interpreting and responding to national, state, and local university neoliberal conditions with regard to program and curricular planning. It seeks to understand how neoliberal policies are transformed in implementation at the level of university faculty's everyday lived experience, and what the consequences of these processes are for knowledge transmission.

Rationale for Interpretive Qualitative Design

The interests in the contextualized and localized interpretation of faculty members reflected in the identified research questions call for an interpretive research approach that seeks to explicate a perplexing phenomenon by identifying conditions that would make the situation less perplexing and more normal (Yanow, 2011; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006). Interpretive, qualitative research methods are best suited for understanding complex matters of policy interpretation and implementation, organizational sensemaking, and action (Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Yin, 1982). Hence, an interpretive, qualitative approach is taken for this study. According to Behrens and Smith (1996), there are seven attributes of qualitative inquiry:

1. Assumes reality filtered through individual interpretations and meaning perspectives.
2. Assumes human action is context-sensitive.
3. Resists tendency to reduce educational experiences to simple, two-variable models.
4. Accepts that the researcher is the instrument.
5. Data collection and analysis are overlapping and reflexive.
6. Produces large data records of text, management challenges, no algorithms exist for reduction.
7. Unit of analysis usually not individual psyche, but social phenomenon.

These assumptions frame the design of this study.

Methodological Assumptions

Interpretive Paradigm

Regardless of field of study, paradigms originate in philosophy. Paradigms orient the researcher toward ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions that guide the purpose and conduct of the inquiry. The ontological and epistemological assumptions Erickson (1986) advances for qualitative research include:

> Meaning is constructed through social interaction. Individuals act on the basis of meanings they perceive. Meanings change in the course of interaction because of different perceptions held by the actors. Thus, reality is not a prior given; it is based upon interpretations and it is constructed during interaction between and among individual actors. Reality is not fixed, but changes according to the actors and the context. (LeCompte, Preissle, and Tesch, 1993, p. 128–129)

The word *translation* is what Geertz used to term the "conception of what culture explainers of all sorts claim they can do for us" (Geertz, 1983). The translation of culture, unlike the translation of literature, involves just as many ambiguities and troubles. The

interpretive approach involves the qualitative researcher reaching beyond the context through interpretive inquiry:

> The figurative nature of social theory, the moral interplay of contrasting mentalities, the practical difficulties in seeing things as others see them, the epistemological status of common sense, the revelatory power of art, the symbolic construction of authority, the clattering variousness of modern intellectual life, and the relationship between what people take as fact and what they regard as justice are treated, one after the other, in an attempt somehow to understand how it is we understand understandings not our own. (Geertz, 1983, p. 5)

The key of being interpretive is to be sensitive to meaning-making activity. Interpretive research "seeks knowledge about how human beings, scholars included, make individual and collective sense of their particular worlds" (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012, p. 46). It requires a research design that puts contextuality front and center. What the interpretive researcher wants to develop and understand is "experience-near concepts"—participants' local knowledge, concepts, and situated definitions grown out of their daily lives.

Erickson's (1986) understanding of interpretation, in the simplest way, can be compared to humans' meaning making, as he argues:

> We take action toward the objects that surround us in the light of our interpretations of meaningfulness. Those interpretations, once made, we take as real—actual qualities of the objects we perceive . . . We see the ordinary world as if it were real, according to the meaning we impute to it. (Erickson, 1986, p. 126)

The search for truth becomes the inquiry about the conditions or contexts of the traditional meaning making, mechanical linkage. The study of correlation becomes the study of how the correlations come about, as "interpretive, participant observational fieldwork research, in addition to a central concern with mind and with subjective meaning, is concerned with the relation between meaning perspectives of actors and the ecological circumstances of action in which they find themselves" (Erickson, 1986). According to Erickson (1986), "the task of interpretive research, then, is to discover the

specific ways in which local and nonlocal forms of social organization and culture relate to the activities of specific persons in making choices and conducting social action together." To stress the sense of "specific," Erickson (1986) further argues that "the primary concern of interpretive research is particularizability, rather than generalizability." The methodological approach remains a micro-level observation of individuals in interaction with others (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993).

Erickson, as a cautious interpretive researcher, develops "methods of working from top down" (Erickson & Schultz, 1997), which involve both macro-level and micro-level strategies to alleviate the critique on micro-level analysis. His model of interaction structure investigates "shifts in participation structure within classroom activities and within lessons, shifts from less formal and instrumental activity to more formal and instrumental, and back again." This kind of "type-case model of interaction structure" points to both "what a collectivity of members need to know in order to produce the interaction" and what is really going on in the specific classroom where the researchers collect their data, and thus has both micro and macro validity. The Ericksonian interpretive approach will be the overarching theme of my research construct. As methodology and theory are intertwined, I next turn to an explanation of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks to be used to sensitize the research proposed herein.

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Theoretical perspectives are frames that sensitize the researcher's understanding of the social phenomenon under study. Associated with certain paradigms, theories and conceptual frameworks extend the methodological approaches into frames for examining the phenomenon of interest. With the underlying assumptions and principles provided by

the paradigm, and reading of existing literature, the researcher forms a conceptual framework, a blueprint to orient research practice. It structures data collection and assists with the interpretation of data.

Considering the context of my project, and applying Erickson's methodology of analytic induction (1986) discussed above, an interpretive qualitative study is proposed to produce an understanding of faculty sensemaking of a specific curriculum and faculty work within social contexts and administrative cultures. The study is organized around the following questions: Assuming neoliberal influences on curricular changes, how do administrators and faculty members make sense of the influences (e.g., the call for sustainability, reduction in public funding) and translate neoliberal mandates into changes in program-level and course-level curricular changes? What are the faculty's and administrators' understandings of what is going on in the education school and the liberal arts college, respectively?

Conceptual frameworks are about ideas related to the subject or topic of a study. Sometimes the purpose of conducting a study is to develop a conceptual framework, and in other instances conceptual frameworks are used to sensitize the design, data collection, and analysis of a phenomenon under study. It is a system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that support research designs. A conceptual framework explains the main things to be studied, informs the rest of the research design, and helps justify research—pointing out holes in the research. It is constructed instead of found. It comes from the researcher's own experiential knowledge, existing theory and research, pilot/exploratory research, and thought experiments.

Conceptual Framework for the Proposed Study

The conceptual framework for the study originates from three theoretical perspectives: neoliberalism, symbolic interactionism, and organizational sensemaking.

Neoliberalism

In this study theories of neoliberal ideology are used as a mechanism for understanding the macro sociological conditions surrounding decision making and action by university administrators and faculty in the site selected. The concept of neoliberalism used here is derived from Giroux's work on the topics of neoliberalism and higher education (2002, 2003). Giroux's theory of neoliberalism's negative impact on higher education stems out of his scholarship on curriculum and pedagogy. Because pedagogy creates identity, neoliberal tendencies in curriculum and instruction ultimately get translated into corporate identity, which then allows the notion of the consumer to interfere with the sense of citizenship. Thus, the result of public education is to produce self-interested individuals instead of citizens of a democratic society. Giroux argues that this process narrows the scope of freedom and justice, and erodes the operation of democracy. Here, neoliberalism "refers to the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximize their personal profit" (Giroux, 2002, p. 425). Within the context of higher education, neoliberal trends mainly refer to the application of corporate culture in higher education. Corporate culture, according to Giroux, means "an ensemble of ideological and institutional forces that functions politically and pedagogically both to govern organizational life through senior managerial control and to fashion compliant workers, depoliticized consumers, and passive citizens" (2002, p. 429). The view of higher education undergoing neoliberal reforms has deep implications for my research

questions. However, I do not intend to simply equalize actor-specific interests and private interests. For example, I assume that the accrediting agencies represent the interests of the federal government, in addition to their own interests as private businesses. I suspect the curriculum interests from different actors are always mixed—concurrently private and public, selfish and altruistic.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a set of theories originating from sociological social psychology beginning with the work of John Dewey, William James, Charles Cooley, and Herbert Mead in the Chicago School of Sociology. According to Blumer (1969), symbolic interactionism rests on the following three premises:

> The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of meanings that the things have for them. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (1969, pp. 2–5)

Anselm Strauss (1978) applies symbolic interactionism to institutional sensemaking by developing a conceptual framework centered on negotiations and negotiated order. He acknowledges that negotiations occur within a structural context (Strauss, 1978, 1993). In his way of theorizing about organizations, social order is negotiated order. Meaning is created and maintained through such order. *Negotiation* refers to any type of reaching of agreement, such as bargaining, compromising, exchanging, etc. According to Strauss's theory, no organizational relationship occurs without accompanying negotiation. Negotiations are patterned, produce texts, and are continuously reconstituted. Negotiated order can be understood as the sum of rules and policies, including formal and informal agreements, at every level of the organization.

The researcher must consider the structural properties of the social setting in order to grasp the meaning of negotiations.

Along the same line of theorizing about organizational behavior in symbolic interaction, Hall, in his transformation of policy intentions framework (Hall, 1987, 1995), argues that symbolic interactionism contributes significantly to the study of social organization and public policy in both its traditional strength at the micro level and the application of mesodomain analysis that connects the micro and macro levels. Hall considers policy as "a transformation of intentions where policy content, practices, and consequences are generated in the dynamics across time and space" (Hall & McGinty, 1997, p. 441). The linkages between phases and sites are the key to understanding policy process at a macro level. Through enacting the linkages, symbolic interactionism is capable of drawing out "the relationship of the policy process to multiple levels of government and varying actors," as well as identifying "the forces that drive the policy process within and between phases" (Hall & McGinty, 1997, pp. 463–464). Hall's mesodomain analysis (1995) builds on his theory of transformation of policy intentions. It consists of the analyses of conditions, processes, and consequences at multiple levels throughout the policy process, highlighting specifically "organizational context and conventions, linkages between multiple sites and phases of the policy process, the mobilization of resources, and a dynamic and multifaceted conceptualization of power" (Hall & McGinty, 1997, p. 439). The following table shows a list of selected components guiding data analysis for this study, adapted from Hall's 1995 policy study.

Table 1: Selected Components of Hall's Mesodomain Analysis

Component	*Description*
Conditions	Trends, circumstances, and events that broadly influence or specifically lead to higher education teaching and learning

Network of Collective Activity	Key actors involved in the process of curricular decision making and the interactions among the actors
Major Tasks	What the key actors are trying to accomplish in the process
Interests/Intentions	Actors' interests and intentions with regard to curriculum and/or academic programming
Conventions/Practices	Accepted ways of accomplishing the major tasks
Power/Resources	The leverages that key actors use or possess in the process
Contingencies/Opportunities	Unexpected outcomes grow out of or influence the process
Consequences	Results of the collective activities with regard to curriculum and/or academic programming
Linkages	Ways in which the consequences from one level transform into conditions for the next level

Therefore, symbolic interaction analysis is designed to answer questions such as: How does social organization emerge out of interpretation conducted through social interaction? How do units and levels of a policy system fit together and influence ultimate outcomes and actions related to a policy? And how do networks of social relationships extend across space and time? (Hall, 1995) Hall argues that within the symbolic interaction framework:

> …social organization or structure is reconfigured as process, condition, and dialectical. Structure is dissolved as a determining object apart from humans into constituting and consequential processes. The forms, arrangements, and distributions of "structures" provide conditions that shape but do not determine activity. (1995, p. 399)

Symbolic interaction framework suits my research questions because of the hierarchical policy structure around curriculum. Faculty are local actors at the program level whose actions are influenced by policy interpretations occurring at the school, the university, the state, and the federal government levels. Administrators, interpreting social, cultural, and political contexts, operate at program, school, and university levels surrounding individual faculty work. Accrediting agencies operate at the state and federal levels, often influencing administrators' interpretation of those contexts and work. Within and across sites and linkages between sites, "structuring conditions" constrain and facilitate participant action simultaneously. The proposed study will use the elements of

mesodomain analysis articulated in Hall's article—conditions, network of collective activity, task, interests/intentions, conventions, power/resources, contingencies/opportunities, consequences, and linkages (1995, p. 415)—in order to examine the conditions influencing faculty sensemaking and curricular decision-making activity. To supplement symbolic interaction I will use the framework of organizational sensemaking developed by Weick (1995).

Organizational Sensemaking

Social cultural theories like neoliberalism are translated into policy contexts primarily through organizational activity. Two conceptual frameworks related to organizational work will be emphasized in this study: symbolic interaction (that is, a combination of Strauss's negotiated order and Hall's transformation of policy intentions) and Weick's organizational sensemaking.

Organizational sensemaking augments the interpretive analysis of elements identified by symbolic interactionism, negotiated order, and policy transformation. I use Weick's (1995) organizational sensemaking framework for the proposed study because it highlights the process of creation of reality in the inherent complexity and ambiguity of real-world organizations and their environments. This reflects the importance of the organizational context of individual sensemaking and action.

Weick states the essence of sensemaking is "that human situations are progressively clarified" (1995, p. 11). It is usually the case that an outcome develops, rather than fulfills, some prior definitions of the situation. In the case of the proposed study, I will focus on discovering the discourse of the sensemaking process among the faculty members and administrators who may have given different interpretations of

policies written in the same texts, and reacted differently as a result—that is, I will ask participants to make retrospective sense of their experienced situations. This is more substantive than focusing on decision making or conception of strategic rationality.

Sensemaking is important to my research question because of the nature of policy as actions and texts. To find the connection between the two is to find meaning. Weick (1995) argues:

> People make sense of things by seeing a world on which they already imposed what they believe. People discover their own inventions, which is why sensemaking understood as invention, and interpretation understood as discovery, can be complementary ideas. If sensemaking is viewed as an act of invention, then it is also possible to argue that the artifacts it produces include language games and texts. (1995, p. 15)

Meaning is created when a person can form a relation between "past moments of socialization" and "present moments of experience." To study sensemaking is to study text.

Sensemaking is brought to attention by information load, complexity, and turbulence (Weick, 1995, p. 86). To start studying the process of sensemaking, Weick suggests the following six initial steps:

> 1. A basic focus of organizing is this question: How does action become coordinated in the world of multiple realities?
> 2. One answer to this question lies in a social form that generates vivid, unique, intersubjective understandings that can be picked up and enlarged by people who did not participate in the original construction.
> 3. There is always some loss of understanding when the intersubjective is translated into the generic. The function of organizational forms is to manage this loss by keeping it small and allowing it to be renegotiated.
> 4. To manage a transition is to manage the tension that often results when people try to reconcile the innovation inherent in intersubjectivity with the control inherent in generic subjectivity. Organizational forms represent bridging operations that attempt this reconciliation on an ongoing basis.
> 5. Reconciliation is accompanied by such things as interlocking routines and habituated action patterns, both of which have their origin in dyadic interaction.

> 6. And finally, the social forms of organization consist basically of patterned activity developed and maintained through continuous communication activity, during which participants evolve equivalent understandings around issues of common interest. (Weick, 1995, p. 75)

These steps guide my data collection and analysis.

Research Design

I use a case study design with interviews and documents as the primary sources of data. Using the conceptual frameworks of symbolic interaction and organizational sensemaking, Yin's (1982) and Stake's (1995) approaches to case study research will be combined with Erickson's analytic induction methodology (1986). This is a comparative case study of two academic units, a liberal arts department and a professional school, within one university in order to examine how the different cultural contexts shape curricular activity under conditions of neoliberal reform.

Yin (1981) argues that case study, as a research strategy, should be used when "an empirical inquiry must examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 98). In Yin's review of policy implementation studies (1982), he concludes that unstructured discussion and documents and news reports are the most powerful data sources, while structured interview, participant and field observations, and participants' published reports are complementary to data collection.

A case study design is appropriate to the research questions because every educational institution has its own culture and history, and those interact with current philosophies and ideologies to set the conditions for faculty sensemaking. Case studies are a way to examine how macro conditions get worked out in specific localized settings. Local contexts shape curricular policies, and a comparison assumes that no two schools

would have exactly the same set of curricular policy that works in exactly the same way. Both the uniqueness and commonality in response and action are of interest in this study. The benefit of the case study design in Stake's words is that "ultimately . . . the qualitative case researcher tries to preserve the multiple realities, the different and even contradictory views of what is happening" (Stake, 1995, p. 12).

Stake (1995) states that case study research, as a form of qualitative research, presses for an experiential understanding of the interrelationships among all the complex factors that shape a phenomenon in a setting. The case study researcher uses interpretation as the method to achieve such understanding. Therefore, the uniqueness of individual cases and contexts is of importance to the researcher. Resonating with Erickson's (1986) argument on the centrality of interpretation as the primary characteristic of qualitative research, Stake (1995) asserts that the qualitative case study researcher must assume an ongoing interpretive role. Stake's case study method and Erickson's analytic induction method are in the same vein and will be fused together for the proposed study.

The understanding that the qualitative researcher pursues is ultimately a personal view. The reader should be given the benefit of the doubt because of the subjective nature of qualitative research (Stake, 1995). In recognition of faults associated with subjectivity, qualitative researchers propose varied research methods to eliminate misinterpretations. Both Erickson (1986) and Stake (1995) consider data collection an inquiry process, where the researcher needs to look for inadequacy of evidence and multiple realities. In terms of data analysis, Stake (1995) urges the researcher to "review raw data under

various possible interpretations (p. 53), whereas Erickson's analytic induction method provides a system of generating and testing analytic and empirical assertions (1986).

Case study design is suited to the research study because of the insufficiency of case studies on the topic of higher education curriculum. Prior scholarly attempts to assess higher education curricular changes have not resulted in definitive understandings of who and what shape the processes of knowledge transmission and production. We don't yet understand all of the factors that are in play in such changes. Case studies are designs suited for such exploratory work.

In addition, I incorporated a comparative lens into the case study design. Organizational culture is multi-layered, and liberal arts and professional schools have variable missions within the mission of the public university. While the overall university-level environment serves as the context for all departmental activity, each school shapes its own curriculum with discipline-oriented history and tradition and mission. In addition, there may be variable relationships between the university and different academic units. Liberal arts education traditionally aims at preparing students generally for public life as citizens and leaders and lifelong learners. It is historically broad and reflects one aspect of the basic mission of the university. Professional schools have the mission of preparing the students for the future workforce. Schools of education, in particular, prepare workers (public school teachers) for public service.

I hypothesized that these two schools interpret and act on conditional changes in different ways within a neoliberal environment. It may be the case that education school faculty plan courses differently than before, compared to liberal arts faculty, because the traditional mission associated with the liberal arts education causes the latter to be more

resistant to neoliberal influences. It may also be the opposite case, where liberal arts programs have changed their ways more drastically than education schools. Liberal arts schools are compelled to seek funding sources via marketization of course offerings (Schrecker, 2010), while education schools experience fewer marketization movements because of federal and state control over the content of teacher education.

I prefer the type of liberal arts program that traditionally carries an "ivory tower" identity, so the discipline of English was chosen for the study. I chose teacher education in the curriculum and instruction division as the subunit inside the education school because of my interest in its mission of preparing workers for public good.

In summary, the study collects data from multiple sources: interview, documents, and observation notes at two sites within the same institution, following the data collection guidelines provided by Stake (1995) and Erickson (1986). Data will be analyzed using Erickson's analytic induction method, as well as Hall's mesodomain transformation of policy intentions analysis model, Strauss's negotiated order, and Weick's sensemaking frameworks.

Site, Participants, and Sampling Procedures

To understand how curricular matters influence the purpose and quality of public education, I narrowed down my selection of population to professionals, faculty, and administrators who work at a mid-Atlantic public university system.

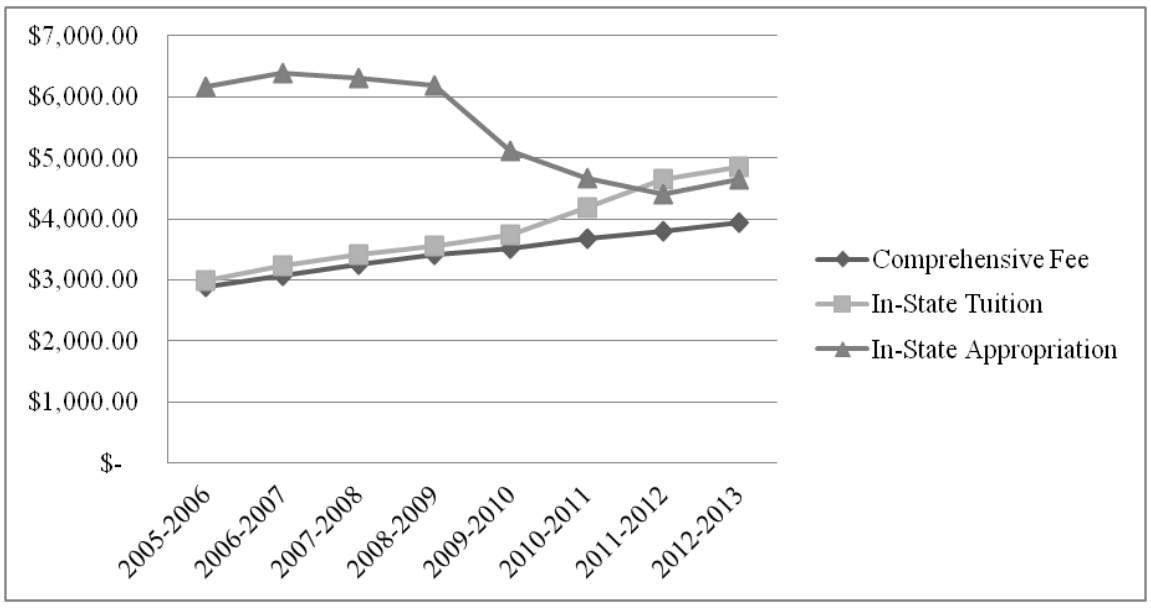
The population I interacted with in this project was comprised of higher education professionals, university faculty, and administrators who were involved in curricular decision-making activities at all levels of the selected public higher education system. I initiated the research project by reaching out to university presidents or their offices

directly with an email invitation. Out of 11 public institutions that I established communication with, seven responded to the invitation and six consented to the research request. I then scheduled one-on-one interviews with all consenting university presidents. After interviewing the presidents, I selected one institution, herein referred to as SITEU (meaning the university that served as the research site for this study), based on ease of access and availability of data. Within SITEU, I followed the institutional hierarchy to select other participants within the site.

SITEU Background

SITEU is recognized as a coeducational research university with teaching as its primary mission. The institution doubled its undergraduate student body in the past two decades. At the same time it suffered from shrinking state support, as did every other public institution in the country. SITEU's budget per in-state student had a steady but not dramatic increase in tuition and fee, as shown in Figure 1. SITEU's state appropriation in 2012-2013 was about 15% of the entire institutional budget.

Figure 1: SITEU Institutional Budget Per In-State Student, 2005-2013



The acceptance rate at SITEU is about 60%. The student-to-academic staff ratio is approximately 15:1. According to Collegedata.com, SITEU enrolled less than 2% international students in 2014, and more than 80% of its US students were white. One faculty participant from the education school described their student demographic as "white as can be." At the same time, more than 25% of its undergraduate students intended to pursue advance study directly. SITEU has been highly ranked by many ranking agencies (e.g., U.S. News & World Report) as one of the "best value" institutions. SITEU has its own Board of Visitors (BOV), which consisted of 18 members at the time of study.

Sampling Procedure Within SITEU

To protect the identity of the selected institution, all terminologies reported in this dissertation are substituted with comparable terminologies used here at the University of Virginia (UVa). Within SITEU, I selected two departments to form a comparison: one from the College of Liberal Arts (CLA) and the other from the College of Education (COE). The two departments under study are the Department of English and the Department of Teacher Education. To protect participant identity, each participant is named with his or her department name followed by a randomized two-letter combination code.

I contacted faculty members in both departments by emailing all faculty members who were listed on the department websites. Response rate to the email invitation was higher in the education school, possibly due to English faculty's high travel rates in summer: 40% of education faculty responded to my email invitation; 22% of English

faculty responded. Because of the high response rate to the invitation, the sample is representative of both departments (Table 2).

Data Collection

Data collection occurred through interviews and document collection. The use of interview is suitable for the proposed study because "conversation is a basic mode of human interaction" (Kvale, 1996). The majority of previous research on faculty work and the sensemaking process is carried out through interviews. Interviews and documents combined render sufficient data for the study.

Interviews

I recorded all interviews using a digital audio recorder with the interviewee's consent. The lengths of the interviews varied between 50 and 120 minutes. Because 60% of the interview data came from faculty members, each one of the faculty participants was assigned a randomized two-letter code for ease of identification. Details of interviewees are reported in the following table.

Table 2: Summary of Interview Participants

Level	*Title/Discipline*	*Note*	*Title/Discipline*	*Note*
Federal/State	Accrediting agency representative	Previously a faculty member		
	Governing body representative 1		Governing body representative 2	Previously a faculty member
University	President 1 President 2 President 3 President 4 President 5 President 6		Provost 1	Long-term SITEU faculty
College	CLA Dean	Senior English faculty	COE Dean	Senior education faculty, school counselor
Department	English department head	Senior English faculty, served as department head before in another institution	Teacher education department head	New hire, senior education faculty
			Previous teacher education department head	Recently retired, senior education faculty
	English department secretary			
	English faculty VA	Junior English faculty	Teacher education faculty ER	Senior education faculty
	English faculty NZ	Senior English faculty	Teacher education faculty AN	Senior education faculty
	English faculty GB	Senior English faculty	Teacher education faculty SL	Junior education faculty
	English faculty EF	Junior English faculty	Teacher education faculty DG	Senior education faculty
	English faculty BK	Senior English faculty, graduate program director	Teacher education faculty SH	Senior education faculty, non-tenure track
	English faculty CO	Senior English faculty	Teacher education faculty RD	Junior education faculty

To avoid deceptive simplicity, I followed Kvale's (1996) guideline on interview research. I used four semi-structured interview protocols for four types of participants identified in the previous section: (1) university-level administrators, (2) college-level administrators, (3) department-level administrators (i.e., department heads), and (4) faculty.

I asked administrators questions about neoliberal conditions at national, state, university, and school levels, as well as processes and outcomes of curricular preferences and changes. I asked faculty questions about their perceptions of neoliberal conditions at levels above them, and how they translate neoliberal mandates into changes in course offerings and designs, using similar language as in the questions for administrators. The interview questions were open-ended.

Documents

I collected documents in both digital and print formats through government websites (including the websites of the U.S. Department of Education (DOE), the Virginia Department of Education (VDOE), the State Council of Higher Education for Virginia (SCHEV), the Virginia Governor's Office, etc.), university websites, accrediting agency websites, various press releases, online news feeds, and interviewees. Document data collection follows the hierarchical structure of the research site, shown in Figure 1.

SITEU is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges (SACSCOC). The college of liberal arts does not have its own accrediting body and is under SACSCOC review as part of the university. The university developed an internal educational assessment system in compliance with SACSCOC requirements. The evaluations of faculty and administrators falls into the same structure and are included as document data.

The college of education is accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) at the national level, and accredited by the VDOE at the state level. Each discipline within teacher education has its own discipline-specific accrediting agency.

Details of collected documents are reported in Table 3. However, both individual faculty members and university provosts denied access to course syllabi and therefore they are not included in data analysis. The response was “syllabi are university property. What you can download from the university website is what’s available to the public.” Only sample syllabi, part of teaching resources for the faculty, were found on the university website, and none of them pertain to the disciplines examined in this study.

Table 3: Summary of Document Data

Level	*Documents*
Federal/State	DOE and VDOE documents related to higher learning and teaching (e.g., VDOE Biennial Report 2011–2013) Virginia Governor's Office documents (e.g., executive orders) Legislative documents related to the Higher Education Opportunity Act and the Higher Education Restructuring Act SACSCOC accreditation principle, standards, and other documents related to program and course offerings SCHEV documents (e.g., strategic plan, budget documents, statewide program elimination documents) Formal and informal news feeds published online Various press releases
University	General Education Curriculum and Instruction Handbook 2011–2012 General Education Annual Report 2011–2012 Internal Review Requirements and Outlines Institutional Annual Reports (Provost's Office): 2011–2012, 2012–2013 Reports on Institutional Accomplishments: 2010–2011, 2011–2012, 2012–2013 Budget Reports: 2011, 2012 SACSCOC Evaluation 2012 SACSCOC QEP Proposal 2013 Faculty Senate documents 2011–2013 Academic Committee Report (Academic Rigor) 2012 Faculty Satisfaction (COACHE) Survey 2013
College	Liberal Arts: Curriculum and Instruction Handbook 2013–2014 Academic policy documents Education: College Annual Reports: 2009–2010, 2010–2011 NCATE institutional report 2012 NCATE accreditation guideline and standards
Department	English: General education checklist for students Faculty evaluation 2012 Student evaluation 2012 Academic affairs policy documents (e.g., program proposal) Course Catalogue 2012–2013 Teacher Education: VDOE teacher licensure policy and documents VDOE SOL policy and documents IRA accreditation documents Department annual reports: 2009–2010, 2010–2011 Faculty evaluation 2012 Course Catalogue 2012–2013

Data Analysis and Reporting

I used Erickson's (1986) analytic induction, combined with Hall's mesodomain analysis method, for qualitative data analysis. Erickson's method involves data reduction

technique, reflexivity, and use of analytic memos. This method aims to gain understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

Erickson's analytic induction model bears methodological assumptions such as:

- Reality is not separate from person and is complex, contextual, and multiple; the real world is of our own making and beyond our own making;
- Research methods are fallible, not separate from the researcher; and
- People's actions and behaviors are intentional; to understand them requires looking at the sequences of actions.

According to Erickson (1986), data collection is a part of the inquiry process. Researchers examine their own assumptions and those of participants. Understanding of a phenomenon is the understanding of what happened in terms of actions and meanings. Researchers need to find the structure or organization of meanings, and relate meanings to larger social structure. Researchers construct coherent, plausible accounts and establish evidentiary warrants, which is the source of validity. Data analysis and reporting aim to demonstrate plausibility, which means to "persuade the audience that an adequate evidentiary warrant exists for the assertions made" (p. 149), not proof.

Erickson (1986) states that the researcher's tasks include:

- Identifying the full range of variation in modes of formal and informal social organization (role relationships) and meaning perspectives;
- Collecting recurrent instances of events across a wide range of events in the setting, so that typicality or atypicality of certain event types with their attendant characteristic social organization can later be established; and

- Looking at events occurring at any system level (e.g., the classroom, the school, the reading group) in the context of events occurring at the next higher or lower system levels.

Using the Ericksonian approach, data collection and data analysis occur simultaneously and influence each other during the course of study. The researcher carries out data collection and analysis in an iterative manner.

The process of analytic induction involves generating assertions, developing interpretive commentary and synoptic data reports, recording the natural history, reading field notes and interviews again and again, etc. An assertion is a statement or conclusion about the data made through analytical induction. "The process of converting documentary resources into data begins with multiple readings of the entire set of field notes" (Erickson, 1986, p. 149). Then researchers generate assertions by looking for recurrent patterns. An assertion is made by combing through data and intuitively grasping what is there. It is a holistic description of the phenomenon, and changes over the course of the study. The preponderance of evidence is the standard for retaining or modifying assertions. Researchers are to stick to the original data while analyzing them. Analytic memos consist of working assertions that are modified over time and in order to reflect accuracy to the overall data set.

The assertions were conceptualized and arranged by (1) higher education system hierarchy and (2) Hall's transformation of policy intentions framework: conditions, network of collective activity, task, interests/intentions, conventions, power/resources, contingencies/opportunities, consequences, and linkages (Hall, 1995). At each level, I present assertions and a table summarizing the conditions, processes, and consequences. I

then present findings following the structure of the table. I report data exemplars to support each one of the assertions. The goal of this reporting format is to allow data to support analytic assertions (Erickson, 1986; Wolcott, 1994).

I triangulate data whenever possible when reporting findings. Evidences at each level of the system are not restricted to data collected from that specific level. For example, part of the evidence about university-level academic programming is gleaned from data collected from the deans and faculty members who carry administrative responsibility. In addition, interview data and document data are combined in the data corpus. I use direct quotes from both interviews and documents as primary evidence when reporting findings. Main elements include:

1. Quotes from interviews
2. Quotes from document data
3. Synoptic data reports
4. Interpretive commentary framing general description (discussion that points to the more general significance of the patterns identified)
5. Interpretive commentary framing particular description (an account of the changes that occurred in the author's point of view during the course of the inquiry) (Erickson, 1986, p. 152)

Data Management

Interview recordings were transcribed. Recordings will be destroyed after the study is closed through IRB procedure (the study is currently open). Documents in print were digitalized for analysis. Original prints are stored in a safe location. All proper names containing identifying information in the dataset are substituted with confidential pseudonyms (as seen in Tables 1 and 2). Overall data management is carried out using a modern data management tool called Dedoose.

Validity Criteria

The goal of the interpretive report is to produce a plausible and coherent account with an evidentiary warrant. The qualitative nature of the proposed study requires a variety of understandings and corresponding types of validity to properly describe, interpret, and explain the phenomenon in question. To be specific, I used Erickson's criteria (1986) to judge the validity of the proposed study. I looked for:

1. Inadequate amounts of evidence:

I interviewed at least one participant per level in the educational system I examined. Because of my research focus on faculty experience, I invited all faculty members in both departments and interviewed all faculty who agreed to participate. I collected over 40 hours of interview data, logged 26 site visits, and conducted thorough on-site and online research to collect sufficient document data.

2. Inadequate variety in kinds of evidence:

In addition to interview data, I collected document data through interview participants and non-participants I encountered during site visits. I recorded field notes during and after each site visit. I collected additional document data through online research.

3. Faulty interpretive status of evidence:

In order to triangulate and validate evidence, I asked participants from different levels to answer the same questions. Therefore, I compared and contrasted faculty interpretations of their experiences with administrators' experiences in the same context. In addition, documents also yielded evidence that I used to validate participants' interpretations of the context.

4. Inadequate disconfirming evidence:

In addition to constructing coherent, plausible accounts and establishing warrants, I searched for disconfirming evidence while polishing my assertions to improve validity by following these steps:

- Line assertions up to examine them for confirming or disconfirming evidence;
- Refine assertion when disconfirming evidence is found; and
- Make assertions fit the data.

5. Inadequate discrepant case analysis:

This study uses a comparative case study design. Two departments were compared and contrasted within the same university context. In addition, each faculty had a unique interpretation of their own, allowing me to take a multiple case study approach when examining faculty experience.

Table 4 shows a matrix of research methods: what questions were answered, what data were used to answer the question, where the data came from, and how the data were analyzed.

Table 4: Summary of Research Methods

Research Questions	1. What are the conditions, interactional processes, and consequences of neoliberal curricular policies in a public university system?	2. How are university administrators responding to the conditions of neoliberal reforms with regard to academic programming?
Data Collection Methods	Observation, interview, external and internal document review	Interview, internal document review
Sources of Data	Site visits; interviews with university and college-level administrators; external documents published by accreditation agencies (SACSCOC, NCATE, and IRA); internal documents such as university annual review	Interviews with faculty; internal documents such as college-level performance report; deans and department heads evaluation done by faculty
Assumptions	State funding shifts and decline force public universities to adopt neoliberal agenda and show neoliberal interests in academic programming.	Making changes in academic programming is one of ways in which university Administrators respond to neoliberal conditions.
Related	What trends do you see in higher	What are the dimensions of organizational

Interview Questions	education? How does your institution/college/dept. change/improve its curriculum?	culture? What other factors influence your program-level curriculum? How are curricula impacted?
Strategy for Analysis	Identify conditions; analyze processes at federal/state, institution, and college levels	Analyze processes in education and liberal arts schools respectively, with particular regard to neoliberal transformation

Table 4 Summary of Research Methods (continued)

Research Questions	3. How do faculty in a liberal arts department and a professional school interpret and make meaning of the changes instituted by university administrators with regard to curricular decision making?	4. What are the implications of neoliberal changes for course offerings and knowledge production in the public interest in a liberal arts and professional school setting?
Data Collection Methods	Interview, internal document review	All of the previous
Sources of Data	Interviews with faculty; internal documents such as faculty evaluation done by students	All of the previous
Assumptions	Faculty makes contextual sense of neoliberal influences. English and teacher education faculty interpret and react to institutional changes differently.	Neoliberal influences have an impact on knowledge production and transmission.
Related Interview Questions	How is research and teaching agenda shaped locally? How are courses taught to fit with bigger curriculum? What are the influences of professional societies? How does your institution's reward system respond to curricular changes/improvements? How is teaching rewarded?	What trends do you see in higher education?
Strategy for Analysis	Analyze processes in English and teacher education, respectively, with particular regard to sensemaking processes	Look for consequences of neoliberal transformation at the faculty and course levels

Ethical Consideration (Human Subject Protections)

I followed Institutional Review Board (IRB) procedures for conducting social science research. I audio-recorded each interview digitally. The audio files and all documents I obtained through the subjects will be stored on a hard drive to which only I have access. All data were digitalized and all identifying information of the subjects was removed in the process. Analysis was conducted on a computer for which only I have the password.

Prior to the interview, I asked each participant to sign an Informed Consent Agreement approved by the IRB Office at UVa. The president and provost of the study site provided a formal letter of approval of access (included in appendices). Subjects in this project had more power than the researcher. The subjects could refuse to sign the agreement, or stop the interview at any time.

To protect institutional identity, any public documents published by or related to SITEU were not entered into the bibliography. I also paraphrased and concealed certain information, proper names in particular, in the process of data analysis to ensure SITEU's anonymity.

Researcher as Instrument

As mentioned earlier, I did not intend to select participants representational of all gender types and academic ranks. My selection of participants was based solely on job responsibilities. The difference between the researcher and the researched lies in the researcher's position as an outsider observing a local culture, while the researcher comes from a similar organizational setting as the researched. The similarity in background may give the researcher sensibility to facilitate the investigation. However, the researcher may bring presumptions and subjectivity about organizational culture and structure into the research site, which restrains the investigation and communication with the subjects. The researcher needs to be fully aware of prejudices embedded in previous knowledge about education schools.

In the meantime, being incapable of influencing the local culture, the researcher may not have access to all existing documents pertaining to the research questions. I will

have to take for granted all the documents that participants are willing to present. This limitation may reduce my understanding of the local culture.

Limitations

This research study is a contextualized case study addressing issues within one specific organization. It provides insights for understanding faculty work in general. It also provides insights for both liberal arts and professional education, but does not address similar problems across institutional types (e.g., public and private, research-intensive and teaching-oriented). There is potential for comparative studies when this study is duplicated to cover more institutional and program types, as well as more types of faculty and administrative positions.

Chapter 4 Results at the Federal Level

This chapter describes conditions, processes, and consequences at the federal level that framed the actions at state and university levels. The last section of this chapter explains the linking activity between the federal level and the lower levels (state and university) through political system and accreditation. The following chronological chart (Table 5) delineates how neoliberal transformations at higher levels impacted lower levels over time.

Table 5: Chronology of Neoliberal Curricular Policy Transformation by Level

Time	Federal	State	SITEU	School	Department/Faculty
Prior to 1985	General fund appropriation dropped since mid 70's 1978: Business-Higher Education Forum established 1980: Bayh-Dole Act 1983: Nation at Risk published				
1985 to 1990	General fund appropriation continued to decrease Laws to foster university-industry partnerships (e.g., Federal Technology Transfer Act in 1986)	1985: Commonwealth of Virginia started to explore issues in accountability and assessment in higher education 1988: SCHEV sponsored assessment centers for colleges			

1991 to 2000	1998 Amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965 1999: SACSCOC standards reform began, introducing outcome-based assessment	State general funding continued to decrease 1998: First year of SOL testing in Virginia			
2000 to 2005	No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 Higher Education Reconciliation Act of 2005	2005 Restructured Higher Education Financial and Administrative Operations Act	General Education Program fully established, Enrollment increases start to pick up		
2006 to 2010	Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2008 Amendments 2009: Arne Duncan appointed as Secretary of Education	2010: Gov. McDonnell's Executive Order #9	2008: Faculty salary freeze began 2010: BOV proposed tuition surcharge (Figure 1), expanding annual tuition increases	CLA: Adjunct hire increased COE: Set up college-level assessment office	
2010 to 2014	2011: US DOE final regulations amending the Student Assistance General Provisions	Virginia Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2011 2014: State-wide program elimination based on program productivity outcomes	SITEU participating in technological initiatives to attract external funding	CLA: Online and summer courses to increase enrollment COE: Develop STEM-related programs to attract external funding, Outreach programs to increase enrollment	English and Teacher Education: Course design matching learning objectives English: Vocational course, Student satisfaction mini-surveys, Large classes, Outsourcing grading jobs, Collecting graduate job placement data for assessment Teacher education: Regimented curricular design, Faculty research to generate revenue

The following table (Table 6) shows a summary of federal level conditions, processes, and consequences, as well as the activities that transformed the federal level consequences into the university level conditions.

Table 6: Mesodomain Analysis at the Federal Level

	Federal Level	Federal to University Linkage
Conditions	Economic crises Reaganomics Business mentality in higher education	Accreditation system
Network of Collective Activity	Federal government US Department of Education (DOE) Corporations General public	Federal government US DOE SACSCOC NCATE University leadership
Major Tasks	Decreasing federal support for public higher education Restructuring higher education funding model Mandate for accountability NCLB	Reform accrediting rules and standards to reflect neoliberal priorities Enforcing federal mandate through accreditation
Interests /Intentions	Fostering business/corporate-higher education partnership Transferring support from institutional aid to student aid Aligning higher education with economic priorities Promote college- and career-readiness Intentionally increase competitiveness	Staying in business as an organization Comply with federal mandates
Conventions /Practices	Laws and regulations that promote the workforce development function of public education Increasing support for high need fields and technology Intensified pursuit of accountability and standardized testing in public education	Conventional meetings with primarily university presidents and assessment professionals Conventional workshops offered to faculty who need to learn about rules
Power /Resources	Legislation Federal funding Public opinion	Legislation
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Increasing societal impact on higher education Universities pursuing financial independence	Popular ranking systems challenging accreditor's legitimacy
Consequences	Student as consumers Market culture and business mentality in institutions Reduced funding support Increased regulations Changing public understanding of quality and purpose of public higher education	Materialization of federal economic framing of education through accrediting standards University level compliance

Federal Level Conditions

In this section, I introduce the conditions that the federal government presets for higher education systems. I make the following assertion to summarize the neoliberal conditions at the federal level:

1. The legitimacy and endurance of Reagan's economic policy effectively introduced a market culture into academia.

Reagan revolution in the 1980s shifted the discourse in public education from education as a public good to education as a private individual good. Reagan's neoliberal policy focused on the deregulation of the economy, the promotion of economic growth, productivity, and profits, and the embrace of the free market.

> During Reagan's first term, the rhetoric, discourse, and purpose of accountability shifted, from a primary concern with optimizing the relation between resource inputs and educational outputs, to a relentless drive to create policies and practices that aim to produce social conditions and forms of subjectivity consonant with the creation and efficient operation of market culture. (Ambrosio, 2013, p. 317)

The market culture started to influence higher education when the Congress enacted the Bayh-Dole Act in 1980. To promote economic growth, the legislation decentralized government control of federally funded academic research and allowed universities to patent and trade academic research in the marketplace. The federal intention was to speed up the process of converting research results into marketable products.

As a direct result, Bayh-Dole Act introduced a business mentality into the academia. The focus on profit challenged the traditional public service mission of knowledge production and led universities to view themselves as businesses (Washburn, 2006). According to The New York Times,

> The Bayh-Dole Act of 1980 started out with the best of intentions. By clearing away the thicket of conflicting rules and regulations at various federal agencies, it set out to encourage universities to patent and license results of federally financed

> research. For the first time, academicians were able to profit personally from the market transfer of their work. For the first time, academia could be powered as much by a profit motive as by the psychic reward of new discovery. University "tech transfer" offices have boomed from a couple dozen before the law's passage to nearly 300 today. University patents have leapt a hundredfold. Professors are stepping away from the lab and lecture hall to navigate the thicket of venture capital, business regulations and commercial competition. (Rae-Dupree, 2008)

This shift is significant because it demonstrated to both the federal government and the universities that higher education institutions could generate revenue through commercializing what they produced (research and education).

Federal Level Processes

In this section, I describe the neoliberal actions at the federal level as resulted from the condition of the emerging market culture. I make the following assertions to summarize the processes at the federal level:

1. The market culture resulted from neoliberal economic policies promoted the instrumentalist concept of public education, fostered the utilitarian aspect of the public opinion, and toppled public education's core mission of public service.
2. The instrumental and utilitarian views of public education enabled the economic transformation of public education by framing education in economic terms.

The network of collective productivity at the federal level involved the following actors: the federal government, US DOE, corporations, and the general public. In 1978, corporate leaders, college and university presidents, and other political figures (e.g., President Reagan) formed the Business-Higher Education Forum (BHEF). BHEF was

one of the oldest interest groups that contributed to federal policy priorities with the emulation of corporate practices in the arena of public education.

The major tasks of the federal government and BHEF aimed at transforming higher education's main public mission into economic development. Since Bayh-Dole Act, many federal laws promoted competitiveness and commercialization of university activities and services. One example was the Federal Technology Transfer Act in 1986, which led to the creation of university "tech transfer" offices as mentioned above. Another major event, publication of *Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) brought into public attention the global competitiveness of the US economy. This report subsequently led to a series of neoliberal reforms of the US public school system and the enactment of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in 2001. Some of the recent corporate influenced initiatives BHEF put forward include: reforming education to promote global competitiveness, bridging P-16 to trace educational standards and increase accountability, and creating workforce to fuel economy by emphasizing STEM education (e.g., BHEF, 2003, 2005, 2011).

The federal government viewed public education in general as an economic engine and was interested in fostering the market culture. At the K12 level, the federal government initiated market-based school reforms in the 1990s, creating the charter school system. At the postsecondary level, it was interested in fostering business/corporate-higher education partnerships. With the federal government's support, BHEF promoted business and higher education collaboration to align higher education with the business and corporate sector, to promote economic growth and the workforce development function of higher education. Ultimately, BHEF was interested in creating

an “ideological hegemony” that lead to a profit- and control-orientation (Torres and Schugurensky, 2002; Slaughter, 1990). The main purpose of public higher education, from the federal legislature’s perspective, was professional training as opposed to education for the purpose of intellectual growth and expanding experience.

The conventions and practices at the federal level included the enactments of various laws and regulations that promoted the economic function of education. Federal funding agenda favored high-need areas (STEM fields) in comparison with the study of the classics. Federal mandates reinforced requirements on measurable outcomes, e.g., degree and job attainment rates. The federal government also promoted the use of technology in education through legislature.

For example, the 1998 Amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Higher education Amendments of 1998 in reference list), revision of Title VII in particular, showed that the federal government mandated cost-effective evaluations of federal grants for higher education. Regarding grants for the improvement of postsecondary education, the 1998 Amendments stated:

> The Secretary is authorized to make grants to, or enter into contracts with, institutions of higher education…to improve postsecondary education opportunities by— ‘‘(2) the creation of institutions, programs, and joint efforts involving paths to career and professional training, and combinations of academic and experiential learning; ‘‘(5) the design and introduction of cost-effective methods of instruction and operation….
> The Director is authorized to make grants to institutions of higher education, … for innovative projects concerning one or more areas of particular national need identified by the Director. ‘‘(c) AREAS OF NATIONAL NEED.—Areas of national need shall initially include, but shall not be limited to, the following: ‘‘(1) Institutional restructuring to improve learning and promote productivity, efficiency, quality improvement, and cost and price control. (Amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965, § 741-744, 1998)

The above items shows how the Federal government tied together the input (grants) and the output (paths to career and professional training), and how productivity and cost-effectiveness were of concern to the federal legislature.

The Higher Education Reconciliation Act of 2005 (HERA) initiated the use of "direct assessment program" (SACSCOC, 2013), which referred to "a competency-based education program that measures a student's learning through direct assessment, not credit or clock hours" (SACSCOC, 2013, p. 1). In a recent audit report published by the Inspector General for the US DOE, the direct assessment was explained as student learning outcome measured at the course-level:

> The Department published an interim final rule, effective September 8, 2006, implementing the HERA provisions. The interim final rule defined a direct assessment program, identified the information a school must include in its application for the program to be approved as a Title IV-eligible program, and limited the use of Title IV funds to learning that results from instruction that the school provides or oversees. According to 34 Code of Federal Regulations (C.F.R.) § 668.10, direct assessment is a measure—such as a paper, exam, or portfolio—that shows what a student knows and can do and provides evidence that a student has command of a specific subject, content area, or skill. (Office of Inspector General, 2014, pp. 1 – 2)

The regulation above mandated measureable outcome of student learning. This type of mandates was similar to the standardized testing in K12, as mandated by NCLB.

The federal government recognized distance education and online learning as ways to increase productivity and efficiency. HERA of 2005 reformed federal student aid programs by decreasing the amount of subsidized student loan (including students enrolled in teacher preparation programs) and increasing federal support for distance education. The reauthorized Title VII

> Expands the activities authorized under the current program to include: (1) the development of innovative teaching methods and strategies to ensure the successful transition of disabled students from secondary to postsecondary

> education; (2) making distance education accessible to disabled students; (3) teacher training and support in providing disabled students with career options; and (4) curriculum development to make postsecondary education more accessible to disabled students. (National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, 2014)

Through legislature, the federal government tied the industrial concepts of productivity and efficiency to the democratic term of accessibility. In addition, the use of innovative technology in teaching and learning became federally mandated.

The powers and resources that the federal government utilized included legislature, government spending, and public opinion. The regulations cited above are examples of legislative and financial powers at the federal level. The federal government also leveraged the utilitarian nature of American culture to facilitate the neoliberal reforms.

> Common sense over abstract learning, hands-on experience over erudition: this has long been an unspoken national creed. Within such a culture, it's no surprise that universities have often sought to legitimize their existence by emphasizing their utility: training students for practical careers in engineering, medicine, and law; providing expert advice to various sectors of society, including private industry; generating scientific and technological breakthroughs to spur economic growth. (Washburn, 2006, p. 26)

As a result, neoliberal transformations at the federal level increased the tendency of universities relying solely on utilitarian aims.

The contingencies evolved in the formation of the market culture were unexpected outcomes of the Bayh-Dole Act.

> The Bayh-Dole Act can be seen to impose a duty on the part of all researchers who contract with the government, referred to as grantees or contractors, to pursue the commercialization of government-funded scientific inventions. The duty to commercialize is not explicitly stated within the Act, but is formed through the interplay of two key provisions. The result is a "use it or lose it" policy, whereby government contractors must take steps to reach "practical application" of their inventions and comply with all requirements under the Act,

> or be subject to the government's right to intervene and assume ownership. (Henderson and Smith, 2002, p. 4)

An important unexpected outcome of the Bayh-Dole Act was that the universities considered commercialization of research as federally-mandated. Universities' desire and presumed obligation to capitalize on technology transfer created an institutional culture that paralleled BHEF's desired hegemonic market culture. The discovery of revenue source through commercialization also opened the door for increased non-academic personnel hire (e.g., staff in tech transfer offices) on university campuses, further leading to conflicts of interests at various levels.

Federal Level Consequences

In this section, I describe the consequences of the above neoliberal transformations at the federal level. I make the following assertion as a summary:

1. The above transformations allowed the federal government and the general public to increase regulation of public education through standardized testing and outcome measurements.
2. The federal government continued to change its funding model for higher education based on neoliberal principles.

Federal mandates, as shown in the previous section, for outcome assessments and cost-effective evaluations legitimized the public pursuit of the utilitarian function of education, accountability, and standardized testing (particularly at K12 level). US DOE's strategic plan for 2014 – 2018 describes its objective for the quality of postsecondary education as to "foster institutional value to ensure that postsecondary education credentials represent effective preparation for students to succeed in the workforce and participate in civic life" (US DOE, 2014, p. 7). On June 13, 2011, US DOE

published final regulations amending the Student Assistance General Provisions regulations to evaluate and improve postsecondary educational programs by increasing "gainful employment in recognized occupations".

> The Department of Education has a particularly strong interest in ensuring that institutions that are heavily reliant on Federal funding promote student academic and career opportunities. These final gainful employment regulations are designed to (1) provide institutions with better metrics and more time to assess their program outcomes and thereby a greater opportunity to improve the performance of their gainful employment programs before those programs lose eligibility for Federal student aid funds, and (2) identify accurately the worst performing gainful employment programs. At the same time, the final regulations require that these federally funded programs meet minimal standards because students and taxpayers have too much at stake to allow otherwise. …The required elements include the program cost, on-time completion rate, placement rate, median loan debt, and other information for programs that prepare students for gainful employment in recognized occupations. (Program Integrity: Gainful Employment--Debt Measures; Final Rule, 2011, pp.34387 – 34388)

This approach allowed the occupational and professional training outcome of undergraduate education to outweigh the value of educational experience in general.

Federal funding for public higher education has shifted away from directly supporting public institutions to a focus on students and their families instead (i.e., loans and tax credits), creating a discourse of consumerism and a customer-orientation. Students and families as consumers are allowed significant influence on higher education reforms at both national and state levels in recent years. The US DOE mission statement includes "encourage the increased involvement of the public, parents, and students in Federal education programs". The general public is included in federal rulemaking processes, as stated in the Office of Postsecondary Education's (OPE, a subdivision of US DOE) Policy Initiatives:

> The Office of Postsecondary Education is working with students, families, the financial aid community, and others to develop model formats for financial aid offer forms. These forms, often referred to as Financial Aid Award Letters, are

> sent to prospective students by colleges, universities and other postsecondary institutions to let them know how much financial aid the student can expect to receive when they attend school. (OPE, 2014)

This announcement explains the use of a "consumer tool" authorized by US DOE: "Financial Aid Shopping Sheet", previously named as "Model Financial Aid Offer Form". In other words, consumers now shop for federal financial aid to fund their purchase of education. DOE's change of terminology was an example demonstrating the predominance of the market culture at the federal level.

In summary, interest groups at the federal level (federal government, corporations, BHEF) promoted the economic framing of education through legislative reforms and leveraging the utilitarian aspect of the American culture. These systematic neoliberal transformations can be categorized into two major trends: the federal control of input in education through modifying funding agenda to favor economic development, and control of output of education through assessments of measurable outcomes in the labor market.

Federal to Lower Levels Linkage

How did federal level consequences become state and university level conditions? The federal level consequences became the university level conditions through higher education accreditation system. The federal level consequences became the state level conditions through the political system (federal and state governmental relationship). The linkages between levels were enacted through a similar condition-activity-consequence process.

Federal to University Linkage (Accreditation)

In this subsection, I explain how the federal level neoliberal consequences were transformed into university level conditions. To summarize the federal to university linking activities, I make the following assertions:

1. University accreditation policies strictly reflected the economic framing of education at the federal level.
2. The federal imposition of productivity and efficiency was materialized into specific numerical measures of accountability through the accrediting process at the university level.
3. Using a hierarchical power structure, the accreditation process removed faculty from curricular policy making process at the national level.

The accreditation system in American higher education was a tool created by the federal government for the purpose of controlling the cost-efficiency of government spending on higher education.

> Although accreditation had existed in higher education since the late 1800s, the federal government had no interest in the process until the early 1950s. Prior to that time, the federal government provided limited financial assistance to institutions of higher education. However, beginning with the passage of the GI Bill in 1944 and continuing with the passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1952 and the Higher Education Act of 1965, the federal government increasingly began providing financial support for higher education. As federal financial support for higher education grew, so too did the interest of the government in preventing federal funds from going to little to no-quality providers of postsecondary education. (Postsecondary National Policy Institute, 2014)

The notion of quality mentioned in the quote above is important. The federal government utilized the accreditation system to control education through quality check.

> More recently, essentially in 1965, accreditation became eligibility for financial, for students being able to apply for financial aid. Without accreditation, students can't apply for Pell grants, can't get federal financial aid. (SACSCOC representative, p. 4)

As a result, accreditation became a necessity for most higher education institutions as they must be accredited in order for their students to receive federal financial aid.

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges (SACSCOC or SACS) was the main accrediting body for Virginia institutions, as approved by US DOE. SACS had a major reform on their standards (including curriculum standards) between 1999 and 2001. As a membership organization, SACS held conferences and workshops as conventional activities. The new (currently used) rules and standards formulated during the reform were voted on during those conventional meetings by representatives of their membership institutions. However, faculty were rarely the designated voting members, as described below:

> President of the institution is the designated voting member of that institution, there is a vote for each membership, like on the change of our standards, the president can delegate that to another person from the campus, so we have presidents attend, provosts attend, a fair large amount of institutional effectiveness people, we would also have CFOs, so usually institutional leadership, not so much faculty who are not in leadership positions. We do have a summer meeting that's called our summer institute, it brings in pretty highly recognized people in higher education that give talks and hold workshops and seminars, and that's often attended by faculty, faculty that need to learn about our rules. (SACSCOC representative, p. 2)

The above quote showed how faculty participated at the national level curricular decision-making process. Because SACS only took votes on their policies from university presidents, who were the representatives of institutions, and because faculty who carried a teaching load were typically not in leadership roles, the majority of the faculty involved in teaching did not have access to SACS policy making process. This demonstrated that faculty authority over curriculum was essentially removed at the national level. Faculty who were actively teaching were the recipients of curricular policy decisions, rather than the originators.

Through the reform of standards, SACS's accrediting requirements increased regulations on institutions' demonstration of productivity and efficiency using numerical measures. For example, SACS heightened accountability requirements in directly response to the federal mandate, such as new rules about calculating credit hours:

> One (example) is they (federal government) require institutions to have a credit hour policy that determines how many credit hours attached to each course, and we have to enforce that. (SACSCOC representative, p. 2)

For another example, federal legislature mandated that SACS held higher education institutions accountable for student learning outcomes in the format of completion and job attainment rates. The Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2008 (HEOA), which reauthorized the Higher Education Act of 1965, section on student achievement standard describes accreditation evaluation of institutional success as:

> Success with respect to student achievement in relation to the institution's mission, which may include different standards for different institutions or programs, as established by the institution, including, as appropriate, consideration of course completion, State licensing examinations, and job placement rates. (Institutional eligibility under the higher education act of 1965, as amended, and the secretary's recognition of accrediting agencies; final rule, 2009, p.55428)

To comply with the above legislature, SACS must enforce that higher education institutions obtain measures and meet predefined standards to maintain accreditation status. This was very similar to the standardized testing in K12, although higher education institutions may set standards for themselves. Because technology was recognized by the federal government as one way to increase educational productivity, SACS's accrediting efforts also covered technology enhanced educational programs such as distance education.

> An example of federal mandate from recent years. They have a requirement that says, if the institutions have a distance education program, there must be some means that institutions used to ensure that the student who is registered in the

> course is the one who is actually doing the work for it. (SACSCOC representative, p. 2)

This was an example of increased federal regulations on education.

SACS's practices included the conventional meetings and workshops (mentioned above) and regular campus visits:

> For a lot of the programs there are accrediting bodies. Those accrediting visits, maintaining accreditation, gives us periodical ways of looking at programs and how they are doing… SACS, and other accrediting bodies, even though they are not a governing body, they also have regulations and rules that we must follow. Higher education is highly regulated, people don't think about it that way. These bodies constantly look at what we are doing and they make rules and regulations that we have to follow. SACS is interested in, in particular, quality enhancement plan (QEP). (SITEU President, pp.2-3)

As described above, SACS reinforced rules and regulations by collecting documents and evidence (such as QEP proposals) demonstrating institutional compliance and visiting campuses on a regular basis to collect first-hand data.

While SACS accredited universities (including SITEU), professional schools were often accredited by specialized accreditors. SITEU's School of Education was accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) at the time of study. Similar to SACS, NCATE was recognized by US DOE. NCATE's accrediting practices enforced performace-based outcome measurements. According to NCATE's transition plan in 2004, NCATE started to require a performance-based assessment system from membership institutions. NCATE expected the assessment systems to collect and report specific data:

> A. Units are expected to have performance data from the following sources:
> 1. state licensing exams (where applicable)
> 2. program review reports or state reviews of programs
> 3. graduate/employer surveys
> 4. assessments of clinical practice
> 5. other key assessments as identified in unit assessment systems

> B. Units are expected to have an assessment system in place and operating. The assessment system should address:
> 1. transition points
> 2. major assessments
> 3. the design for data collection, analysis, summary and use
> 4. measures that address unit operations
> 5. description of the use of information technology to maintain the system
> C. Units are expected to have developed and implemented internal performance assessments
> 1. the assessment instruments should be based on professional/state/institutional standards
> 2. assessment instruments and criteria/rubrics should be developed
> 3. assessment instruments and criteria/rubrics should be in use
> 4. data collection should be in process; some analysis should have begun
> 5. testing for accuracy, consistency and fairness should be occurring (Document data, NCATE Board of Examiners Update, Fall 2004, p. 3)

By requiring results from state licensing exams and state program reviews, NCATE also enforced state level regulation of teacher education. NCATE accreditation also required Schools of Education to obtain survey results from schools, who evaluated teachers as employees.

As independent organizations, SACS and NCATE's main interest was to stay in business. In order to maintain its recognition by US DOE, accrediting agencies faithfully reflected federal mandates and preferences in its accrediting activities:

> There's not much we can do to push back on a federal mandate. Unfortunately we just pass them along to our members. (SACSCOC representative, p. 4)

One contingency emerged from the accrediting process was the university ranking systems convened by non-accreditors. The popularity of these ranking systems threatened SACS's perceived legitimacy to an extent.

> Historically what they have said (about demonstrating accountability) is that we demonstrate by being accredited. That's been viewed less and less as being acceptable in the sense that there seems to be more and more peer-to-peer comparisons available for people, so people can say how does UVA stack up to Virginia Tech to George Mason. And the recognition of rankings that exist, either ones that are done by academics and only stay in academic literature, or the ones that are very public but also very flawed, like the U.S. News & World Report

> rankings, that will allow some accountabilities in terms of whether or not we are better than other schools. And of course the president of ours desired to have a ranking system, go into place in the next few years, the accreditors may or may not have a role in that. (SACSCOC representative, p. 3)

This was an example of conflicting interests at the national level.

In summary, SACS's accrediting efforts facilitated the economic framing of education and increased regulation of education in many different ways. Through the accrediting process, the consequences of the neoliberal reforms at the federal level were transformed into conditions at the university level. In order to maintain accreditation status, universities forced themselves to meet SACS standards on numerical performance-based outcomes, such as course completion rates and credit hour calculations. SACS also required the universities to establish assessment programs that did not involved teaching and learning.

> Now in the curriculum area, ...just this last year we introduced a new policy that covers the introduction of competency-based education, and this specifically means for institutions to have assessment program where there are no credit hours associated with it. That's a curriculum issue associated with change. (SACSCOC representative, pp. 2-3)

Maintaining such programs may require universities to hire non-academic staff, or help justify their decisions of doing so.

The political culture in the Commonwealth of Virginia determined that Virginia state leadership embraced the neoliberal ideologies at the national level. Adopting the federal government's focus on the economic contribution of higher education, the Virginia state government intended to incorporate higher education into its economy, framing the main responsibility of public higher education as workforce development. The next chapter provides evidences for the state level neoliberal transformations.

Chapter 5 Results at the State Level

In addition to federal level neoliberal transformations, the state level conditions, processes, and consequences also shaped the curricular activities within the university. This chapter describes the conditions, processes, and consequences at the state level that framed the actions at the university level. The last section of this chapter explains how the State Council for Higher Education in Virginia (SCHEV) served as a linkage between the state and universities, transforming state level consequences into conditions at the university level. The following table provides an outline for the conditions, processes, and consequences at the state level and the linking activities that transformed state level consequences into university level conditions.

Table 7: Mesodomain Analysis at the State Level

	State Level	State to University Linkage
Conditions	Economic crises Virginia's shrinking state appropriation Federal call for accountability	SCHEV's role and status as a governing body for the state higher education system
Network of Collective Activity	State government including: Virginia Department of Education (DOE), Virginia Board of Education, and Virginia General Assembly University presidents Corporations General public	SCHEV University leadership, primarily presidents and university boards of visitors
Major Tasks	Restructuring higher education funding model (2005 Restructuring Act) Universities pursuing institutional financial independence Mandates to increase accountability Mandates to increase regulation	Policy/Rule making as resulted from the Restructuring Act Assessment system articulating numerical measures Governing higher education system for economic purposes
Interests /Intentions	Fostering business/corporate-higher education partnership Aligning higher education with economic priorities Public higher education as workforce development	Conveying state level intentions to the universities Materialize state level mandates through policies

Conventions /Practices	Legislative reforms Budget cycles Governor's Executive Orders VDOE goals and strategic plans	Regular meetings with university leadership Program approval process Institutional evaluation process
Power /Resources	Legislation State control of public education Public opinion	Legislation State funding (e.g., appropriation, grants)
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Universities competing among themselves	Universities adhering to institutional mission and pushing back certain state mandates
Consequences	Corporatization of institutions Promotion of modern funding models Controlled institutional spending on instruction Students as consumers	Economic framing of public higher education at the university level Institutional Compliance Changing faculty responsibilities

State Level Conditions

In this section, I describe the neoliberal conditions in the Commonwealth of Virginia. I make the following assertion as a summary:

1. Virginia's embrace of neoliberal principles led to the state level compliance with federal level neoliberal mandates and reduced state funding support for higher education.

Virginia state leadership embraced the neoliberal ideologies because of its conservative political heritage and the economic crises.

> Virginia's political leaders were genuinely committed to generating new jobs. They too lived in the shadow of corporate downsizing, the recession of 1991, and the threat of global competition. Yet in pursuing a program of corporate-sponsored economic development, the state's elected leaders legitimized the idea that business should dominate social policy. (Dennis, 2007, p. 320)

Believing that technology could deliver new economic prosperity, Virginia made early and hefty investment in the high-tech development (Dennis, 2007). With specific regard to higher education, the state leadership believed that "university research should foster

economic growth and advance private enterprise" (Dennis, 2007, p. 322) by establishing the Center for Innovative Technology in 1984:

> Virginia is pumping $30 million into a project that could bring it into the forefront of the high-technology industry while improving higher education and research at Virginia's major universities, according to Gov. Charles S. Robb. …The center will also serve as a link among technology institutes that already exist at three Virginia universities. They include the institute for computer-aided engineering at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville; a biotechnology institute at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, and institutes in materials science and information technology at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute in Blacksburg. The acting president of the Center for Innovative Technology, John J. Salley, who is on leave from Virginia Commonwealth University, where he is vice president of research and graduate studies, said that while Virginia "has not always been in the vanguard," the center "should enhance our homegrown scientific talent by making it available to U.S. technology." (New York Times, 1984)

The business-higher education partnership in Virginia had been fostered by both the state political leadership and university leadership for decades. In fact, Virginia embraced a larger agenda of market revivalism that legitimized a number of policy reforms:

> Welfare reform; revisions in unemployment insurance; the privatization of utilities, education, and social services; market deregulation; and the adoption of "flexible" work arrangements such as contract labor were also essential elements of this program. The central theme in these multiple initiatives was the veneration of unrestricted market competition. Emerging as early as the 1960s but crystallizing only during the Reagan administration, it defined American political culture in the 1990s. Southern legislators, business leaders, and free-market champions played a decisive role in this campaign. (Dennis, 2007, p. 335)

The above policy reforms inspired a series of ideas pertaining to higher education, including: privatization of higher education, marketization of education and research, promotion of market competition, faculty as contract labor (adjunct).

The Commonwealth of Virginia started to explore standardized testing before the enactment of NCLB in 2011. Virginia's Board of Education and Virginia Department of Education (VDOE) established the standardized testing system, Standards of Learning, as early as 1995, according to the following news release.

> The Board of Education adopted the Standards of Learning in 1995. A program of annual assessments in English, mathematics, history/social science, and science in grades 3, 5, 8, and at the end of high school-level courses began in the 1997-98 school year. The department is introducing new reading and mathematics tests for grades 4, 6, and 7 this year, as required by the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. (VDOE, 2005)

This showed that Virginia's adoption of standardized testing was both state-originated and federal-mandated. Other data sources showed that Virginia started to explore accountability and assessment issues in higher education in mid-1980s. For instance, SITEU established its university assessment center due to direct funding support from SCHEV in 1988.

State-to-state comparisons have shown that Virginia's share of general fund appropriations to public higher education was lower than many other states. It fell from 14% of total state appropriations in 1992 to 11% in 2010, then to 10% in 2011 (SCHEV, 2009, 2011). From 1980 to 2011, Virginia's general fund appropriations declined by 53.6% (Mortenson, 2012). On a per-student basis, the Virginia state legislature decreased its state general funding by 22% from 1992 to 2011 (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2013). In 2010, Virginia was ranked 40th in the country for state and local appropriations per student (SCHEV, 2011). Some research projected that state general funding in Virginia would reach zero by 2032 or 2038 (Mortenson, 2012).

State Level Processes

This section describes the processes of neoliberal policy transformations at the state level. I make the following assertions to summarize the state level transformation:

1. Virginia carried out legislative reforms to fundamentally change higher education financing model. The new legislature endorsed the market culture

and the economic framing of education in the area of productivity and efficiency.

2. State level policy initiatives aimed at increasing instrumentalist thinking of public education and heightening state control over educational accountability using standardized testing and performance-based assessments.

The network of collective activity at the state level included state government agencies, university leaderships, and corporations, whose interests factored into the state level rules and regulations. Since 1980s and 1990s, policy movements in Virginia's higher education system have involved mostly deregulation of high education financing and increased regulation of education accountability. Legislative reforms at the state level demonstrated Virginia's commitment to the market culture. Because the state and university leaderships viewed higher education as a section of the state economy, the state's major task in the process of neoliberal transformation was to restructure higher education financing model, with the interest in decentralizing higher education market and reinforcing state authority over academic programming.

Virginia General Assembly passed the 2005 Restructured Higher Education Financial and Administrative Operations Act (Restructuring Act in short) to offer some institutions more financial independence and operational autonomy (Becker, 2005; Jones, 2005). The restructuring process started out with three pilot universities, University of Virignia (UVa), Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (VT), and the College of William and Mary, and gradually expanded to include other public institutions. In essence, the restructuring movement was a long and complex negotiation process between the institutions and the state, where the institutions offered to accept a cut in

state financial support and be held accountable for state-imposed goals and standards in exchange for increased freedom in financial management at the institutional level, including the authority to set tuitions and fees:

> In Virginia, the public colleges and universities became more like public corporations than state agencies under the Restructured Higher Education Financial and Administrative Operations Act (2005) (Code of Virginia, §23-4.10). The institutions gained authority over tuition setting, purchasing, personnel, construction, and technology implementation. In exchange, the institutions must achieve performance benchmarks on 12 state goals, as state oversight changed from ‘‘pre-approval’’ permission to ‘‘post-audit’’ review of performance. (Greer and Klein, 2010, p. 327)

As the above quote stated, the 2005 Restructuring Act had a particular interest in information technology. It gave additional authority to campus administrators with regard to institutional financial management. It sought after educational outcomes such as degree attainment and job placement rates in high-demand professions. SCHEV summarized the goals of the Act:

> The Act seeks to address basic operational and instructional funding, per-student enrollment funding, need-based financial aid, targeted economic and innovation incentives, a higher education “Rainy Day” fund, institutional six-year plans, and increasing high demand degrees through public-private partnerships. (SCHEV, 2014)

The 2005 Restructuring Act tied higher education outcomes closely to the region’s economic development. This was consistent with VBOE’s mission statement: to “improve student achievement and prepare students to succeed in postsecondary education and the workplace” (Document data, VBOE 2012).

Practices established and enforced by the restructuring initiative centered on institutional assessments. The 2005 Restructuring Act and its amendments gave assessment authority primarily to SCHEV (at postsecondary level) and educational professionals (at K12 level) in the following areas:

A. Access,
B. Affordability,
C. Breadth of academic programs,
D. Academic standards,
E. Student retention and timely graduation,
F. Articulation agreements and dual enrollment,
G. Economic development,
H. Research, patents, and licenses,
I. Elementary and secondary education,
J. Six-year plan,
K. Financial and administrative standards. (Virginia HB30, §4-9.06)

These 11 "objective measures" became 12 state goals in 2010:

> The 12 goals are: 1. provide access to higher education for all citizens, including under-represented populations; 2. ensure that higher education remains affordable, regardless of individual or family income; 3. offer a broad range of undergraduate and, where appropriate, graduate programs, and address the need for sufficient graduates in particular shortage areas; 4. ensure that programs maintain high academic standards by undertaking continuous review and improvement; 5. improve student retention; 6. develop articulation agreements that apply uniformly to all Virginia community colleges; 7. stimulate economic development in the state and the institution's region; 8. increase externally funded research and the transfer of technology to the private sector; 9. work with K-12 administrators, teachers, and students to improve student achievement; 10. prepare a six-year financial plan; 11. maximize operational efficiencies and economies in the institution's business affairs; and 12. promote the safety of the campus and students. (Greer and Klein, 2010, pp. 327-328)

The above state goals exemplified state government's ultimate goal of reframing education in economic terms with the practices such as: higher education institutions conducting business affairs, institutions making six-year financial plans to demonstrate efficiency, institutions increasing educational productivity by maximizing enrollment, etc. The legislature also established review and assessment practices in order to keep institutional responses in check. For example, survey assessment administered by SCHEV (discussed in the linkage section). Another new practice rolled out during the restructuring movement was the memorandum of understanding (MOU), applicable to SITEU:

> Institutions may seek additional operational autonomy through the memorandum of understanding with the appropriate cabinet secretary in the areas of information technology and/or human resources and personnel. (Virginia HB30, §4-9.05)

This specification indicated that technology-enhanced teaching and learning could benefit institutions more than traditional ways of education could.

The 2005 Restructuring Act mandated the state control over higher education academic programming, stating that institutions eligible for the new authority should commit to:

> B. 3. Offer a broad range of undergraduate and, where appropriate, graduate programs consistent with its mission and assess regularly the extent to which the institution's curricula and degree programs address the Commonwealth's need for sufficient graduates in particular shortage areas, including specific academic disciplines, professions, and geographic regions;
> B. 4. Ensure that the institution's academic programs and course offerings maintain high academic standards, by undertaking a continuous review and improvement of academic programs, course availability, faculty productivity, and other relevant factors. (Code of Virginia, § 23-38.88)

In other words, the ultimate goal of the 2005 Restructuring Act was to endorse the economic framing of education. The primary purpose of higher education was workforce preparation, especially in the most profitable areas. The Act promoted the use of innovation (i.e., technology) to increase educational productivity. The state adjusted funding priorities to facilitate such workforce preparation. To make sure institutions comply with the state mandates, the Act enforces an assessment process that numerically measures institutional productivity and efficiency.

Virginia's governor elected in 2010 continued higher education restructuring by establishing a "Governor's Commission on Higher Education Reform, Innovation and Investment". Members of the Commission consisted of higher education professionals (university leadership), powerful political leaders (Senators and delegates), and business

professionals (CEOs). The mission of the Commission was consistent with the State's and federal agenda of economic growth. The Governor's Executive Order outlined three major objectives the Commission:

> (1) Increased Degree Attainment, Financial Aid and Workforce Training
> (2) Implement Innovation and Cost Containment
> (3) Regional Strategies/Partnerships for Research and Economic Development (Governor McDonnell's Executive Order No. 9, 2010, p. 3)

Activities of the Governor's Commission led to the most recent legislation: the Virginia Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2011. This legislation had three foci: economic opportunity, reform-based investment, and affordable access (Governor's Commission, 2010). This act was also known as the Top Jobs Act. The goal was to "call on Virginia's institutions of higher education to create or enhance programs that lead to more college graduates, greater employability, and a strong economy for the future of all Virginians" (Document data, SCHEV Innovation in Higher Education 2014). State legislature's recommendations for higher education centered on: increased and accelerated degree completion, growth in STEM areas, technology-enhanced instruction, and student financial aid. This legislation shifted the tension away from institutional autonomy, and to an extent, back to the broad national discussion on affordability and accessibility, both of which directly connected to the economic term of cost-efficiency. The Top Jobs Act mandated submission of six-year plans on a biennial basis from all institutions:

> All state universities developed six-year financial, academic, and enrollment plans to demonstrate their commitment to the commonwealth's needs and to ensure adequate state financial support. (Document data, VT 2012)

Both VT and SITEU's six-year plans delineated numerical calculations of operational cost, student enrollment and tuition income, degree completion rates, and plans to strengthen university-industry partnership.

In the meantime, the state heightened control of public education through Virginia Board of Education (VBOE) activities. VBOE evaluated achievement and success using standardized testing and performance-based assessments. VBOE's major tasks included the following:

> Setting statewide curriculum standards;
> Establishing high school graduation requirements;
> Determining qualifications for classroom teachers, principals, and other education personnel;
> Establishing state testing and assessment programs;
> Establishing standards for accreditation of local school divisions and preparation programs for teachers and administrators;
> Implementing the No Child Left Behind Act and administering federal assistance programs; and
> Developing rules and regulations for the administration of state programs. (VBOE, 2012)

The state's authority over K12 curriculum was important for understanding higher education because K12 curriculum heavily influenced the curriculum in Teacher Education programs.

One contingency emerged in the process of reform was the financial inequality among institutions. Because the Restructuring Act rested upon finances, institutions stood at different starting points based on their financial resources. Universities with bigger endowments (or other forms of financial capacity) had the opportunity to forgo more state support and negotiate for more operational flexibility. Overtime, public institutions gained more autonomy in certain administrative areas. For example, UVa's Medical Center, Law and Business Schools have transitioned to a private funding model since

early 2000s (Couturier, 2006). SITEU went under restructuring shortly after the expansion from the pilot universities. It was among the majority of institutions that did not seek the highest level of autonomy. The recognition of this inequality and desire to gain independence motivated university leaderships to commit to the profit-orientation and market culture, increase tuitions, and marketize public higher education as a private good. Because teaching-oriented public institutions who served the majority of the financially disadvantaged students typically had smaller endowments than research and private institutions had, tuition raises at these institutions increased college-access challenges for underrepresented and poor student populations. This contingency worked against the state's intention of increasing access for such populations (State Ask Goal #1).

State Level Consequences

The neoliberal reforms at the state level led to a series of consequences. I make the following assertions to summarize:

1. Virginia's decentralization efforts and increased regulation of public education changed the nature of public institutions and the nature of public higher education in Virginia.
2. Public universities' quasi-public nature deepened the economic framing of education and intensified the system-wide pursuit of demonstration of accountability.

Under the financial circumstances stated above, tuition became a major revenue source for higher education institutions nationwide and was the center of interest for Virginian universities in the restructuring process. Virginia's higher education institutions

continued to evolve into "quasi-public entities", with tuition being the heart and soul and students being the customer. SCHEV emphasized this view point:

> Student as "Consumer": 1990's saw a fundamental change in thinking about the student. Today, the student is treated as a consumer and the product is education. Student as consumer places more demands on the institution: students have higher expectation of services—housing, food, access, and other accommodations. (Alessio, 2007, slide 12)

The state expected the universities to function as business entities, treat students as customers and education as products. Furthermore, the state expected such products to contribute to business and economy. SCHEV assessed the benefits of restructuring in areas of college completion, support for K12 in STEM, and business-university partnership:

> Transfer between Virginia's public two-year colleges and four-year institutions has increased by 22% since Restructuring was passed…. There are literally hundreds of programs and partnerships at Virginia's public institutions to support K12, but some of the greatest advances since Restructuring are in the areas of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM). One of the most publicized economic partnerships since Restructuring is the collaboration with Rolls-Royce North America, University of Virginia (UVA), Virginia Tech, VCCS, and the Virginia Economic Development Partnership. In addition, Virginia's colleges and universities are keeping up with new business trends in their outreach efforts. (SCHEV, 2010, pp.1 – 3)

The Top Jobs Act of 2011 continued exploring higher education funding model using performance measures, outlining four key areas for institutional assessment: access, affordability, production, and efficiency.

The pursuit of economic performance forced university administrators to operate academic programs as businesses. While higher education institutions were forced to expand enrollments and offerings with less financial support from the federal and state governments, academic programming decisions inevitably became business decisions:

> Another thing is a zero sum game, in terms of major thinking. In order to offer a program where there are a lot of demand right now, you might have to shut down programs in other areas. (SACSCOC representative, pp. 5-6)

Like businesses in the private sector, public universities were forced to compete among themselves for resources:

> Now the universities are forced to act, I'm talking about public universities, less as state entities that offer sort of public service in a way most state entities would do, this is what we do and you have to accommodate to what we do. And as funding is changing, we basically have to act more as competing entities that have to earn their money, that have to attract students. All of a sudden it's no longer the case that we do what we do, take it or leave it. Now we have to fight for students, we have to compete to respond to student needs, so the financial piece is having profound implications because it's forcing universities to be much more attuned to the needs of the market, to be more innovative, almost behave in the way private companies to. That's a terrible comment to make in academic settings, but in a way, it's forcing us to behave that way. (President 4, p.1)

As a result, a business mentality permeated the academic programming decision-making process in higher education institutions.

One unexpected outcome from the financial restructuring movement was the questionable long-term sustainability of the new financing model. For example, the university president quoted below did not consider the new state financing model as sustainable in the long-term. As a result, the president resorted to work towards a completely self-sustaining financial model at the institutional level.

> The whole financial structure of public higher education, it's not sustainable in the future. If you look at the demand on resources and tax dollars for Medicare or criminal justice, for environmental protection, K-12 all that sort of thing, there is not enough money. And the yet to sustain large public institutions of very high quality, it takes a lot of resources. The current model of funding is not working. That's why we're fortunate in the state of Virginia, we raise significant amounts of private money, but even that is not gonna be enough to sustain this. That's why we are gonna have to restructure, reconfigure the flow of the resources in our institution. We set up three private companies last year, they're designed to bring revenue into the university. (President 6, p. 1)

The above example was from a public research university. The institutional leadership directly privatized academic research so that the institution could profit from it. One common way to do so was technology transfer in most research universities.

In summary, the legislative reforms at the state level fundamentally changed higher education financing model in Virginia. The reforms built into Virginia's state legislature the economic framing of higher education, the instrumentalist thinking of public education, and the market culture. These neoliberal principles endorsed the state's efforts to deregulate higher education market and to increase regulation of educational accountability. The state level transformations modified public universities' mission of public service into workforce preparation for regional economic development and gave universities a new mission of functioning as corporations.

State to University Linkage (SCHEV)

Neoliberal consequences at the national and state levels were transformed into conditions at the university level through accreditation agencies and governing bodies. In the case of Virginia, SACSCOC was the main accrediting body for Virginia public higher education and SCHEV was the main governing body that held Virginia public higher education accountable. This section describes how SCHEV's governing practices transformed state level consequences into university level conditions. I make the following assertions to summarize the state to university linking activities:

1. SCHEV's governing process transformed the state level economic framing of education into the day-to-day action of public institutions.
2. The hierarchical interactions between SCHEV and university administrators instilled a compliance mentality into the higher education institutions.

Conditions

SCHEV was established by the Virginia Governor and General Assembly in 1956 to coordinate a full range of rule making and implementation efforts in Virginia's higher education system. SCHEV's primary responsibility was to develop "policies, formulae, and guidelines for the fair and equitable distribution and use of public funds among public institutions of higher education", as assigned by the Code of Virginia (§23-9.9). The Code of Virginia assigned SCHEV 20 general duties that included: developing statewide strategic plan, reviewing and approving or disapproving all enrollment projections, all new academic programs, department, school, college, branch, etc., in any public institution, guiding the assessment of student achievement, and so on. The Code of Virginia mandated institutions' compliance with SCHEV's rules and regulations:

> To adopt such rules and regulations as the Council believes necessary to implement all of the Council's duties and responsibilities as set forth in this Code. The various public institutions of higher education shall comply with such rules and regulations. (Code of Virginia, §23-9.6:1)

The status and authority of SCHEV in Virginia's higher education system set the tone for SCHEV's governing activities and institutions' compliance mentality.

SCHEV Linking Activities

The network of collective activity that linked the state to the universities centered on SCHEV. The network also included university leaderships (e.g., university presidents, boards of visitors, assessment professionals, and other administrators) and state government agencies (e.g., VDOE, General Assembly, and the Governor).

As stated in the previous section on State Level Processes, Virginia state government delegated various regulation and assessment responsibilities to SCHEV. The Top Job Act mandated that "Virginia's public institutions of higher education to prepare

and submit Six-Year Plans (§23-38.87:17, Institutional six-year plans) on a biennial basis in support of the Top Jobs Act objectives" (Document data, SITEU six-year plans). The six-year plans demonstrated how each higher education institution contributed to state priorities:

> The State Council of Higher Education for Virginia, in cooperation with the public 2- and 4-year institutions, developed institutional performance standards to address state-wide priorities: access, affordability, academic offerings, academic standards, student progress and success, economic development, research, enhancing K-12 education. Institutions that meet these performance standards will be granted greater management, curricular and fiscal autonomy. (Document SCHEV 007, p. 1)

One of SCHEV's duties was to review institutional performance on behalf of the state. In order to make sure that the institutions meet the state goal of economic development, Virginia legislature amended the 2005 Restructuring Act with mandates on institutional performance criteria, introduced through the Budget Bill in 2006:

> In cooperation with the State Council, institution develops a specific set of actions to help address local and/or regional economic development needs consisting of specific partners, activities, fiscal support, and desired outcomes. Institution will receive positive feedback on an annual standardized survey developed by the State Council, in consultation with the institutions, of local and regional leaders, and the economic development partners identified in its plans, regarding the success of its local and regional economic development plans. (Virginia HB30, §4-9.06, G. Economic Development)

This item authorized SCHEV to use criteria generated by regional political figures and corporations (future employers of students) in evaluations of institutional achievements. A similar mandate applied specifically to the Schools of Education:

> In cooperation with the State Council, institution develops a specific set of actions with schools or school district administrations with specific goals to improve student achievement, upgrade the knowledge and skills of teachers, or strengthen the leadership skills of school administrators. Institution will receive positive feedback on an annual standardized survey developed by the State Council, in consultation with the institutions, of the superintendents, principals, and

> appropriate other parties. (Virginia HB30, §4-9.06, I. Elementary and Secondary Education)

The above item authorized SCHEV to use criteria generated by the future employers of pre-service teachers to evaluate the effectiveness of Schools of Education in the state. Through SCHEV's review process, the state legislature influenced day-to-day actions of all public institutions.

To perform the above assigned duties, SCHEV's major task was to translate its duties into specific practices. For example, the above two mandates were translated into:

> Goal 7: Institution shall provide a brief narrative describing each economic development action meeting the stated intent of the measure. Upon request, institution shall provide annually a list of economic development and business leaders knowledgeable of the actions to be surveyed by SCHEV.
> Goal 9: Institution shall provide a brief narrative describing each K-12 cooperative action meeting the stated intent of the measure. Upon request, institution shall provide annually a list of K-12 educational leaders knowledgeable of the actions to be surveyed by SCHEV. (SCHEV, 2014)

As the above definitions explained, SCHEV identified evaluation criteria first. University administrators then provided data and evidences to demonstrate institutional compliance and achievements as per SCHEV's expectations.

With specific regard to curriculum, SCHEV was responsible for the review and approval/disapproval processes in the higher education system. SCHEV reviewed and approved or disapproved substantial changes in academic programming, such as adding and closing degree programs at public institutions.

> Here in public institutions in Virginia, degree programs come through us. Our program approval policy gives expectation, that you have to show us, that your program isn't duplicative of what other programs in the state are already offering. From the efficiency, saving, not competition, types of foci, that there is a demand for it, going back to the applicability, people who are majoring in it ought to get a job in Virginia. From my perspective, these are some of the things we look at. We're approving programs based on duplication with other public institutions, it's from a resource perspective. It would be great to have every institution have every

> program, and have locations of colleges and universities on street corners of every city, but we can't afford it. And then we do it from a need perspective, whether you have students in need for program, the demand for the program, whether you have the students, and whether the students have the prospective of getting a job. (SCHEV Representative 2, p. 2)

The above quotes indicated the major criteria SCHEV used to judge whether or not a degree program should exist in a public institution: enrollment and student employability. When academic programming changes increased productivity or did not raise budgetary concerns, such changes tended to be approved with reduced reviewing efforts:

> When public institutions propose a program, they are gonna have an outline of courses that they argue is gonna lead students to proficiency in that subject matter. When they propose it, they don't have the faculty yet, they have to hire them. That's in the past, now that we see more is institutions trying to do more with less. This means trying to branch out degree programs from a common trunk, so they've already got the faculty and they want to get some more courses. So they add some courses, they have a whole new major, what traditionally called the tracks, you now have umbrella of degrees and you can major in things under that umbrella. For example, you don't just major in English, you major in this type of English, or that type of English, which could be more meaningful in the marketplace, the employers might have a better sense of what exactly you are studying. As we see that, we don't see as much resource needs, just adding new courses and create a new program out of that, so we call them spin-offs. That's a new concept in the last decade, which goes through a less rigorous type of review. The regular review goes through the full account of the governing body, our board board, for approval. (SCHEV Representative 2, p. 2)

SCHEV rewarded the added economic efficiency of spin-off programs with reduced reviewing efforts. The economic side of program review process (less faculty hire, less rigorous review, and potentially more enrollments) incentivized institutions to treat academic programs as branches of a business.

Productivity at the state level meant contribution to the regional economy. The state government equated low productivity to low student enrollment and low student employability, comparing such rates across disciplinary areas as well as across peer institutions. As SCHEV was empowered by the state legislature, it adhered to the interest

of the state government. The main interest of SCHEV was to closely align public institutions' operations with the state goals. For example, in SCHEV's statewide assessment of program productivity in 2013-2014, approximately 60% of the programs targeted as low productivity ones were in the humanities. For example, UVa's targeted programs included:

> Bachelor: Architectural History, German, Italian, Astronomy
> Master: Asian Studies, Government, Philosophy, Linguistics, Classics, German, Italian, Music, Slavic Languages and Literature, Digital Humanities
> Doctoral: Classics, German, Slavic Languages and Literature (Document SCHEV PPS, p. 2)

The low productivity of liberal arts disciplines and the high productivity of scientific and technological disciplines identified at the state level created a disciplinary inequality within institutions. The state further incentivized institutional investments in high productivity programs with grants. As the state governing body enforced productivity as a standard, institutions judged the values of disciplines from an economic perspective that replaced the traditional scholarly standards.

In the hierarchy of Virginia's higher education system, SCHEV's position was higher than that of the public institutions. This had important implications for the day-to-day function of an institution, because

> To be certified as meeting the performance standards in effect in the fiscal year, institutions will meet the following SCHEV criteria: 1. Successful demonstration of institutional performance at or above the "absolute minimum standard of performance" on all measures. 2. Successful demonstration of continuing progress toward established targets on 15 of 18 measurable targets for four-year non-research institutions, 17 of 20 for research institutions, and 14 of 17 for two-year colleges. 3. Successful demonstration of commitment to the overall goals by failing no more than two measures for any single goal. (Document data, SCHEV No.68, p. 1)

This showed that not only legislature but also the state budget cycles enforced institutional compliance with SCHEV's governing efforts. The performance standards described above were logistically similar to the SOL standards applied to K12 students.

In summary, SCHEV's governing activities included: increasing regulations of accountability and assessment and decentralization of academic programming initiatives that increased economic productivity.

Consequences

SCHEV's governing activities linked the state level neoliberal transformations to the universities. SCHEV's commitment to and advocacy of the state government's economic agenda systematically incorporated the economic framing of education, the instrumentalist thinking of public education, and the market culture into Virginia's higher education system. This led to a series of consequences that impacted the universities in Virginia.

SCHEV's governing efforts increased the state government's influence on the day-to-day function of public institutions. Take SITEU as an example:

> As a state institution, the governor and the SCHEV play very real political role. A good example for that is the governor had a talk on top jobs of higher Education in 21st century. Since he went into office, he has had emphasis on science technology engineering mathematics and also health. The previous governor had done that, not with as much fanfare. We have been responsive to that. As an institution, we have in our six-year plan that we submitted to SCHEV, that we are going to increase number of graduates in STEM, increase graduates in the health. This political and legislative impact has directed some of our priorities here with our academic programming. (Provost, p.2)

As a result, state government's economic priorities directly shaped SITEU's academic programming priorities.

For university administrators (such as presidents), running a university became a business. The pursuit of productivity led institutions to close academic programs with inadequate enrollment. This was a major trend in academic programming changes observed in SACSCOC review process was the closing of academic programs due to financial reasons:

> If you close a program, you have to notify us, and I've just seen a real rise in notifications from institutions saying we are doing away with this major we are doing away with that major, we're closing this off-campus site, and not just private institutions, a lot of that came from public institutions. … There is a general trend that's happening in a lot of institutions. It's going to be your lower enrollment program from the perspective of the major, and a lot of that's in the liberal arts areas. It doesn't mean that they are not going to have any English faculty or history faculty on campus, but the role of those departments has been shifted to more and more strictly service departments and the colleges are losing their majors in those areas. That is very unfortunate. The other example I might say is foreign languages, you might have plenty of service for foreign languages but you don't see any student seeking a major in foreign languages. So the colleges are just saying one way to save money is to not offer any sections or not offer any graduate programs in the languages so that you don't have to teach small classes. (SACSCOC representative, pp. 5-6)

In such decision-making process where the priority was to balance checkbooks, faculty's authority in academic programming and responsibility in maintaining academic values gave way to the business mentality and economic values, allowing university administrators to make business decisions on academic matters.

SCHEV's governing activities were gradually changing the responsibilities of students and faculty. In an efficient system where enrollment and graduation rates were maximized, faculty's responsibility became a type of parental responsibility.

> Firstly coming out of the government, perhaps more about applicability, what we do in the classroom to what's going on in the world, especially the work world, questioning the liberal arts, what are we focusing on, applications, degrees, skills, those kinds of things. Sort of reshaping the definition of responsibility, I'm talking big picture here. In the old school, students are responsible for everything, our job is to make it hard for them, only the best get through. Now it's different,

> we are gonna help them get in, we are gonna help them get through, we are gonna help them get out. We are expecting the faculty to be much more teachers, than professors, or both, you know, taking an interest in your students and be involved, trying to help them along, not just weed them out, which might have been more of the perception from faculty. I wrote a paper on in loco parentis, the general consensus was that it went away, my argument was that what we thought in the past was paternalistic, what we get today is much more maternalistic, sort of mothering the students, in the way that institutions were not expecting to do in the past. (SCHEV Representative 2, p. 1)

In the system described above, as students were to graduate and enter the workplace, faculty's main responsibility was to help students get through, almost infantilizing the students, rather than stimulating their thinking and expanding their experience. This was an expectation that SCHEV held, but not yet conveyed to the faculty through policy at the time of study.

In summary, the state of Virginia embraced the neoliberal ideologies at the federal level. The state carried out neoliberal transformations in the forms of: 1) increasing regulations on assessment and accountability using economic framing of education, and 2) decreasing the regulation of the higher education market. Higher education institutions, public institutions in particular, were forced to generate revenue to fund their own operations and to compete among themselves for resources, including funding from the state and federal governments and tuition from the students. These movements influenced the general public's understanding of higher education quality, creating a general political and cultural environment that demoted teaching as a profession at both K12 and post-secondary levels. The next chapter examines the neoliberal experiences of one public institution in Virginia.

Chapter 6 Results at the University Level

The higher education system was undergoing neoliberal transformations. As the previous chapters showed, the conditions, processes, and consequences at the federal and state levels had tremendous impact on institutions. The linkages between federal/state and the universities included accrediting agencies and the state governing body (SCHEV), the linking activities of which (rule-making and –enforcing activities) turned federal/state level consequences into conditions at the university level. This chapter discusses the neoliberal conditions, processes, and consequences at one public institution in the state of Virginia: SITEU. Table 8 shows a summary of the main content of this chapter.

Table 8: Mesodomain Analysis at the University Level

	University	University to College/Dept Linkage
Conditions	Shrinking federal/state support Fast institutional expansion Accountability mandates	Hierarchical administrative system Faculty senate's unclear responsibility for curriculum
Network of Collective Activity	University leadership (President, Provost, Deans) BOV General public (such as employers)	University leadership and administrators Faculty senate Assessment Center General Education Department
Major Tasks	Set up programs and initiatives that comply with regulations and accreditation requirements Respond to the State: invest in technology, increase enrollments Develop "brand" identity Increase tuition	Push financial pressure down to each college Push accountability pressure down to each college and department Enforce assessment/review practices Bring college/dept/faculty on board for university level initiatives
Interests /Intentions	Grow institution Pursue cost-efficiency	Align college/dept priorities with university priorities Justify administrative units' authority over academic matters and administrators' pay
Conventions /Practices	Formal meetings and informal contacts	Faculty senate meetings Formal committee meetings Informal contacts Assessment procedures Internal review procedures

Power /Resources	Finance/Budget	Financial incentives Colleges had obligation to serve the university
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Adopted the market culture but had no effective business agenda	Committed to the mission of teaching but had no clear standards for good teaching
Consequences	Corporatization of the university Education as a consumer experience Faculty as Employee	Top-down control of academic programming Enforcing compliance mentality Disciplinary inequality

University Level Conditions

As introduced in the methodology chapter, SITEU was a public comprehensive liberal arts university in Virginia. To summarize the conditions at the university level, I make the following assertion:

1. The following factors shaped SITEU's operational priorities: shrinking governmental financial support for public higher education, Virginia's conservative political culture, and rules and regulations enforced by accrediting and governing bodies.

According to SITEU's BOV report on institutional budget in fiscal year 2013, SITEU needed an increase in general fund appropriation to maintain its normal functions.

> Nationally, the majority of states have experienced inconsistent revenues – combined with significant pressures to fund a variety of critical initiatives like health care and corrections. One result of this difficult combination of factors has been a decline in the state appropriations going to higher education. Since 1980 Virginia's appropriation declined -56.4 percent, which is 9.6 percent more than the national average of -46.8 percent. In FY13, Virginia ranked 38th in appropriations per $1,000 at $4.56 ($4.57 in 2012), $1.02 below the national average of $5.58. In 1990, Virginia ranked 27th at $9.78, $0.45 above the national average of $9.33. (Document data, SITEU BOV0313, p. 13)
>
> State general fund support to SITEU dropped from 63 percent of the total educational and general (E&G) appropriation in 1988-89 to 47 percent in 1995-96 … SITEU's 2012-13 general fund appropriation per in-state FTE student was $1,309 below the average of the four-year Virginia comprehensive public institutions. Its 2012-13 appropriation is $1,281 below 2001-02. Were SITEU to be funded at the average for all four-year comprehensive institutions in 2012- 13, its general fund appropriation would increase by $16.4 million. If SITEU was funded at its highest year, 2000-01, the general fund appropriation would increase by $20.7 million. (Document data, SITEU BOV0313, p. 18)

The national financial constrains was aggravated in Virginia. The decline in general fund appropriation resulted in inadequate institutional operating budgets at SITEU. The funding decline led to faculty salary freeze at SITEU:

> In Virginia, one topic has to do with faculty compensation because the state hasn't provided base salary increases for a number of years and that's becoming a real concern because competitively we are falling behind comparing to other states and other institutions. (President 1, p.2)

SITEU faculty had not received raises for about five or six years, according to other research participants.

Inadequate funding support intertwined with Virginia's conservative political culture. As stated in the previous chapter, Virginia's state government was primarily interested in higher education's economic contributions. The state's conservative political culture supported the decline in state appropriation for public institutions. It also eroded the general public's trust on the faculty as a profession. Take CLA dean's experience for example,

> Virginia is increasingly… conservative voters, and they don't like academics. They don't trust academics. They think we are overpaid and we don't work hard enough, and during the summer we just go away and lying in the sun drink gin and tonics or whatever, and that we are too liberal, and so on and so on. (CLA Dean, p.3)

The Dean of the College of Liberal Arts (CLA) perceived the general culture in Virginia as conservative and anti-academic. This conservative culture had significant impact on what politicians expected out of education:

> Frankly Republicans are perfectly happy if they can get a workforce with semi education, semi-vocational folks. They'd be perfectly happy with lots of community colleges that turn out a lot of mechanics and factory workers. They don't care anything about the lower class, the 47%, the lower and middle class, all they care about is making money. If they can turn UVa into the Darden School and the Medical College and put everybody else in Piedmont, they wouldn't care

> about anything in the liberal arts. They don't care about that. It's political. (CLA Dean, p.4)

As the Dean pointed out, the primary political goal for public higher education in Virginia was workforce development and profit generation.

The conservative political culture had an impact on universities' boards of visitors (BOV) and their approach to education, as the ultimate governing body at the institutional level was the BOV in Virginia. The current SITEU BOV was appointed by the Governor of Virginia in 2012. Nearly all of the board members were business professionals holding positions such as CEO, CFO, company president and vice president. Many of the board members were involved in political campaigns. A journalist counted over $400,000 contribution from the SITEU board members and their families to Virginia's Governor McDonnell since his election in 2010. CLA Dean considered BOV members as a force behind the business culture in education:

> Boards of visitors are increasingly politicized and in Virginia that can be a very bad thing, particularly if there are Republican governors. Because they're interested in the business of education. … I'm interested in educating people so they are empathetic, so they are willing to listen, able to listen, able to think critically, able to articulate ideas, not interested in always toeing the party line, and that's a hard sell to the board of visitors. (CLA Dean, p.4)

In CLA Dean's experience, BOV members' expectation of education outcome (profit) was fundamentally different from the academic expectation (educated citizens).

Rules and regulations in the higher education system, as described in the previous chapters, influenced SITEU's functions:

> The governments at different levels city state national make regulations that the University has to follow. NCAA, when it comes to athletics, they have regulations that we have to follow. SACSCOC, and other accrediting bodies, even though there are not a governing body, they also have regulations and rules that we must follow. Higher education is highly regulated, people don't think about it that way.

> These bodies constantly look at what we are doing and they make rules and regulations that we have to follow. (President, p.2)

> As a state institution, the governor and the SCHEV play very real political role. A good example for that is the governor had a talk on top jobs of higher Education in 21st century. … We have been responsive to that. As an institution, we have in our six-year plan that we submitted to SCHEV…. This political and legislative impact has directed some of our priorities here with our academic programming. (Provost, p.2)

According to SITEU's president and provost, accrediting and governing bodies had rules and regulations that SITEU must follow. At the same time, they felt obligated to take actions in the interest of the political governing body. SITEU's top-tier administrators believed that it was a necessity for the university to demonstrate compliance.

University Level Processes

Under the above conditions, a series of neoliberal transformations took place at SITEU over the past decade. This section describes the processes at the university level. To summarize, I make the following assertions:

1. To demonstrate accountability and comply with accreditation requirements, SITEU increased university-level regulation through the following initiatives: assessment center, general education program, and internal academic reviews.
2. To mitigate financial constraints and show compliance with federal/state economic priorities, SITEU deregulated academic programming activities by adopting practices such as increasing enrollment, increasing tuition, developing fast-track programs, hiring adjuncts, and developing a "brand identity".

The network of collective activity at the university level included the members of the university leadership: BOV members, SITEU president, provost, deans, and other

administrators (such as vice provosts). The general public, especially employers such as private companies, had an impact on SITEU's academic programming priorities as well.

> We hear from the employers, we talked to a lot of our alumni; one of the things we hear is that they really value those skills like critical thinking and teamwork skills that they learned through the general education courses here at SITEU. So we generally try to be in conversation with those folks so we can hear what was working. (President, p.3)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in order to increase the applicability of knowledge transferred in higher education and increase students' employability, SCHEV identified political and business leaders and conducted surveys to formulate assessment criteria for evaluating higher education quality. SITEU's president adapted to this assessment method by establishing a connection with the workplace.

To demonstrate quality and compliance, SITEU leadership identified three major tasks at the university level: systematic assessment, use of technology in teaching and learning, and expanding the institution (especially in areas favorable to the state, such as increasing enrollments in high-need areas).

Systematic assessment allowed SITEU to control its curriculum in a top-down manner. The assessment system at SITEU was grown and refined over the past two decades. SITEU's Assessment Center was first set up in 1988 with directly funding support from SCHEV, although it might not be fully functioning in the early years. Currently, the assessment center was in charge of running a university-wide assessment system that documented various kinds of assessment data from all academic programs. It was in charge of designing and implementing assessments, as well as producing reports. In order to perfect assessment outcomes, SITEU's assessment system was designed in such a way that university-level curriculum was tweaked to fit with assessments.

> You can spend years and years fine-tuning your curriculum. We always start from the outcomes, and work backwards. SITEU is a little different from other institutions. Our students don't start by taking a course from here and there, they start with a program. It's very carefully sequenced, we move them through cohorts. Courses are the same regardless of who's teaching them in the sense that they have the same outcome through the same assessments, those kinds of things. There can be variation, but the program was to maintain the integrity, and there are people we hire to maintain that integrity. (Previous teacher education dept head, p.1)

The previous department head of the teacher education program in the College of Education was involved in the design process of the assessment system at the university level. According to her explanation quoted above, SITEU's university level curriculum was arranged carefully in a specific way so that measureable outcomes of the courses would be optimized. SITEU's new faculty orientations provided incoming faculty with curriculum and instruction documents so that faculty learned to maintain curricular integrity.

> At SITEU we have curriculum and instruction documents, so when a course is developed at SITEU, you have to document what the course objectives are, how they are aligned with SITEU's curriculum and mission, that's on file at the registrar's office, and that document pretty much says what the course do, how you get there is up to the faculty member, in the end of the day this is where you have to go. (Teacher Education faculty RD 1811-2899)

Because outcomes were pre-determined, faculty designed courses with the goal of producing the same outcomes. SITEU hired non-teaching administrative to maintain this system at the university level. At the college/department level, the outcome-based curriculum design system became either loosely maintained by the faculty (in the case of English department) or even more powerful than at university level (in the case of COE). To meet SACS accreditation requirements, SITEU also ran a General Education Program (Gen Education Program). Both the Assessment Center and the Gen Education Program were fully administrative units at the university level that did not hire any teaching

faculty. At the university level, administrators generated changes in academic programming and curriculum.

SITEU leadership considered responding to the political and legislative economic framing of education as their main job responsibility. For example:

> As an institution, we have in our six-year plan that we submitted to SCHEV, that we are going to increase number of graduates in STEM, increase graduates in the health. This political and legislative impact has directed some of our priorities here with our academic programming. (Provost, p.2)

The 2005 Restructuring Act required institutions to submit six-year plans on a biennial basis to SCHEV. According to the provost, SITEU's major task as proposed in the plan was to increase enrollments in areas favorable to the state and legislature, such as STEM and health-related areas. The provost considered technology, or "the effective use of technology", as a good way to demonstrate compliance with the state economic agenda:

> For example, the thing out there now is MOOCs, more and more online and hybrid…and what we have done is tele-presence classrooms. Think of going to a movie and look at a flat screen versus a 3D experience. In a tele-presence classroom, the psychological feel is as if you are in the same room. They meet at this telepresence classroom just like they would in any other classrooms meet with instructors real-time. Part of class is drawing of the figures and the instructor can see what our students are writing with this technology. So we are doing more of that. We are doing more and more of that with foreign languages because all of us cannot afford to have every language covered with instructors. And we are expanding that technology to other areas, even in the sciences so that we can share expertise [with other institutions]. It's a good way if you've got expensive instructor and instructional resource, you can share that and get a better bang for the buck, so to speak. (Provost, p.4)

As the provost put it, the institution was interested in cost-efficiency. SITEU leadership's pursuit of cost-efficiency was directly reflected upon curriculum:

> It seems to me at SITEU that, they (the administration) are more interested in growing the university right now. If you look at SITEU's curriculum, it looks like a place that had uncontrolled growth in last 20 years as it had, and it allows people to basically to open up whatever kind of courses in pretty much whatever

> kinds of structure they see fit as long as it doesn't have budgetary implications. (English Department head, p.1)

The English department head pointed out two things: 1) top-down control of curriculum: the administration approved/disapproved courses; 2) cost-efficiency: any course would be approved as long as it did not cost extra. According to a news report on SITEU's six-year plan in 2012, one cost-effective way to run education was to shorten student's time to degree:

> The Board of Visitors is looking for ways to help students earn two degrees in four years. The potential for students to graduate in three years and the chance to take classes at three other Virginia universities are part of SITEU's Six-Year Institutional Plan. The plan has three components: academics, finance, enrollment and degree projections. One of its top priorities is developing ways for students to complete their degrees faster. (Document data, news02, p. 1)

Aided by technology, SITEU was able to increase enrollment without increasing faculty hire. To improve cost-efficiency, it seemed reasonable to SITEU leadership that the institution enrolled more students, graduated them faster, limited fulltime faculty hire, and charged more tuition (SITEU tuition increases shown in Figure 1) at the same time. SITEU's increased hire of adjunct faculty was considered problematic among both faculty and some administrators:

> For the last couple of years, SCHEV has their recommendations, that have been basically to hire adjuncts and to do online courses. This has been some kind of take away. This is just despicable. … The system with the adjuncts seems to me exploits the adjuncts and it exploits students who don't really see the difference and often don't get a very good educational experience, and it's also bad for the existing faculty…the foreign languages department is just a disaster. There are so many adjuncts. They are not gonna staff it. Students are pretty apathetic about it, to begin with. (English Department head, pp. 4-5)

The foreign language department was famous for its adjunct hire. In order to increase enrollment and cutting back on faculty salary cost, SITEU took a two-pronged approach:

hiring adjuncts and move lectures online. The news story quoted above included an interview with a student who was enrolled in this particular department.

> Telepresence is a video technology system that allows participants in different locations to feel as if they were in the same location. Most of the courses offered are either foreign language or intelligence analysis classes. "This is really important when [in] foreign languages where a lot of schools are having to cut back — they can't offer as many of these programs themselves," SITEU President said at the BOV meeting… Jane, a junior modern foreign language major, believes that this program will give students the opportunity to take languages SITEU doesn't offer… Video is "less interactive and I think that language programs are extremely interactive," Jane said. "Just being there and seeing someone is really helpful with languages." But she does think if cuts have to occur, this program would be helpful. "It's better than nothing at all," She said. "If it's the only option, it's great but it's definitely better to be in person." … Projected enrollment for this year and the 2017 to 2018 academic year is 19,000 and 20,000 students, respectively. (Document data, news02, p. 3)

According to the student, video-taped lectures seemed to be "the only option" that resulted from the "cuts" in funding for higher education.

To best adapt to the market of higher education, SITEU leadership concluded that the institution was in need of a unique "brand identity":

> The hot trend right now, and it's been there for a long time, how do we use technology effectively. I don't care if you call it massive online open course, or whether it's just us taking one of our regular courses online. Our online courses have increased, we have completely online programs, even though we are primarily a residential undergraduate institution, we offer some programs online. The key is to offer them in the way that upholds the quality, the brand identity if you will, of SITEU, so that it reflects well on us. It is consistently the quality of what we do here. (Provost 1, p.1)

The provost believed that use of technology should be a component of SITEU's brand identity: it was not only a vehicle to reduce the cost of hiring faculty but also a selling point.

> We are working on our comprehensive strategic plan right now. We talk about SITEU as our identity going forward in our mission as being an interesting hybrid with strength of what you see at a smaller liberal arts university with student-faculty interaction in the sense of a community and people really feeling like they are being known and valued as individuals, they are not just a number when they

> come here. When you combine this strength with what you see at a big research intensive institution where you have a number of different colleges and a wide array of programs and pre-professional programs and a lot of research that's happening on campus. But we are not a research intensive university either, we take some of the best elements of both types of institutions and combine them into something that's our own. And that's what we are trying to focus on. We are trying to find out what is that model. It's time for us to think about what kind of education we can provide that differentiates us as we go forward. (President, p.1)

The president proposed an identity that was tailored to SITEU's mission and vision: teaching-oriented education with a diversity of programs and experiences, although the president's plan has not yet evolved into any specific policies/initiatives at the time of study.

SITEU's top-tier administrators and BOV were interested in the business of education: cost-efficiency and business strategy. Interest groups in the non-academic world (such as employers) were interested in applicability and relevancy of the knowledge transmitted in higher education, as they viewed education as a product. SITEU president perceived conflicting interests in his institution:

> The fact that you have so many constituencies that you have to weigh in and balance, and deal with, whether it's student faculty staff parents alumni legislature community members, lots of constituencies that you have to deal with all the time, and many of them are not aware of the other groups that you have to deal with, especially in my position. It's a constant challenge that certainly keeps the job interesting, but also a lot of voices that you have to pay attention to and listen to. (President, p.1)

University level decision-making processes involved practices including formal meetings and informal contacts. SCHEV hosted two conventional meetings each year that were attended by university leaders in Virginia. Many university level academic programming decisions were outcomes of such meetings:

> He [the Provost] is a good example of the disappointing class of an administrator that I've seen over the last 20 years….He and his people, who he work with, had said yes to everything that Richmond wants him to do, in terms of adding new

> majors, new initiatives, new numbers of students, and they've never been funded clearly. They've said yes we'll do a STEM program, so they did a STEM program maybe 15 years ago which was a disaster. There were no students taking these courses, the ones we had are not prepared, we have all of these relatively high-priced faculty that are in this. … That is just typical of SITEU. They said fine and didn't really think through how much money would really be necessary for doing this or whether there was a need for doing it. (English dept head, p.7)

As the above quote showed, SITEU leadership had always complied with the state level mandates. Since BOV was the ultimate decision-maker at SITEU, the university president and provost were responsible of communicating formally and informally with the BOV members.

> We are required to say that the board of visitors make the final decisions because indeed they can turn anybody down. But a good president… explain in very elementary terms why the decisions we want to make are good for the Commonwealth and good for the University. (CLA Dean, p.4)

This meant that when university administrators made a decision, the president was responsible of obtaining approvals from the BOV members. In a way, university president's communication skills were an important resource for the university leadership.

SITEU leadership's pursuit of brand identity had unexpected outcomes for the faculty. Most of the business and administrative decisions at the university level did not involve faculty. However, the products sold by the university were courses and programs offered by the faculty. The possible conflict between business and academic values raised questions among the faculty.

> I think they (the state) are asking a lot of people without business skills to become business people in 2 to 3 years and they (the administrators) are struggling with how to balance that, probably not much of the communications would be what they want to tell you (the faculty). They are truly struggling with what can I asked my faculty to do ethically, where is this money come from, and how do we handle this now that we know it's a long-term approach. (Teacher Education faculty SL, p.8)

The majority of SITEU administrators in leadership roles were long-term faculty members. The neoliberal transformation at the university level required them to develop business skills quickly. The faculty member quoted above expected negative (unethical) outcomes during such transition.

Another contingency was the lack of a sounding marketing agenda at the university level. The English department head criticized the university leadership's approach to marketizing SITEU: "SITEU has no real program, other than being friendly, and a good deal. That's how they (the administrators) prime themselves." In faculty's understanding, SITEU's leadership leveraged the cost-efficiency of SITEU's educational offerings in the market, which was not an outstanding marketing strategy.

University Level Consequences

The financial remodeling at SITEU was an ongoing project. SITEU's leadership focused on "mission" and "vision". They reaffirmed the institution's commitment to teaching and increased institutional regulation of accountability and assessment. At the same time, they were seeking a new "brand identity" for the education SITEU had to offer. The university level processes rendered consequences that had an impact on the colleges and departments:

1. SITEU leadership's adoption of the state level economic framing of education forced business responsibilities upon administrators and transformed the relationship between faculty and administrator into an employee-employer relationship.

2. SITEU leadership's pursuit of brand identity and institutional growth fostered the market culture in the university and the consumer mentality among students.

SITEU's compliance mentality and pursuit of cost-efficiency determined that university administrators' day-to-day job function was to balance the checkbook.

> For the last couple of years, SCHEV has their recommendations, that have been basically to hire adjuncts and to do online courses. This has been some kind of take away… the first thing it does is to train every administrator who's looking at a spreadsheet with cost, that a course like X only worth like $25,000 or whatever it is, so they can do the math, if you are teaching six courses a year, the question is why are we paying you $60,000 when we can get this for $15,000? …the foreign languages department is just a disaster. There are so many adjuncts. They are not gonna staff it. Students are pretty apathetic about it, to begin with. It looks to me like it's going to be a program that's gonna be abandoned at some point. (English Department head, pp. 4-5)

In other words, SCHEV's recommendation and the desire for cost-efficiency justified SITEU's increased hire of adjunct. Through such practice, administrators learned to attach a monetary value to courses and programs, as well as faculty members. The academic life of the faculty was framed in economic terms.

The transformation of SITEU into a business changed the relationship between university leadership and the faculty. SITEU's president categorized faculty concerns into two types: compensation and workload.

> In terms of working with faculty your concerns are generally around these issues, compensation and workload. There a lot of demands placed on faculty's time, so they're trying to balance these different concerns. Workload and compensation are the two biggest concerns. And then people in different disciplines have different sets of concerns, for example how do we teach chemistry in 21st century, what kind of lab do we need, how history can be important and relevant to the 21st century, these related to discipline. (President 1, p.2)

In SITEU president's experience, faculty concerns were not different from employee concerns in the business sector. Academically, the faculty were concerned about

transmitting knowledge relevant to the non-academic world. It was likely that the president, and the university leadership in general, expected faculty to be concerned about relevancy and applicability of their disciplinary knowledge. At the same time, the faculty viewed SITEU as a workplace and an employer as well.

> We have something astonishing in the humanities is that we have people who can get job offers for more money from better places, that's never happened before. People work here for three or four years and say thank you but I can go to this place and I can make $10,000 or more and my spouse will be able to work there as well, or they have better facilities for research or the teaching is less or the social atmosphere is different. So retention in the humanities is an issue. And I would say by the time when retention in the humanities is an issue, the university is in pretty deep trouble. People at the business college are probably the most blunt about the deterioration of the quality of the university. (English faculty NZ, pp. 1-2)

In a modern age of neoliberalism, the faculty are mobile employees living in a labor market, who relocate for higher paying jobs, instead of the traditional way of relocating to improve their academic status. The faculty quoted above stated that SITEU president was "not a president of the university any more than the marketer in chief".

This higher education institution has adopted a market culture that promoted students' consumer mentality. For example, one English faculty pointed to SITEU's funding allocation:

> There's been a lot of resources being poured into different structures like stadium and playing fields. People (faculty) have questioned the importance of those things. Why does the administration do that? Because it's the things that students and parents look at … For six years we haven't had any raises, people are getting a little pissed off. It's not good for morale. (English faculty CO, p. 5)

SITEU leadership's consumer orientation guided their funding priorities. They prioritized construction over faculty compensation, causing rancor among the faculty. Education faculty, on the other hand, did not have such strong reactions to university level decision making. For example,

> That's [SITEU finance model] above my pay grade level. There are some things we just don't have to worry about… If you don't go look for that information [university level policy], nobody's going to bring it up to you. (Teacher education faculty SL 9846-10163)

Compared to the English faculty, the teacher education faculty were generally less interested and less involved in university level policy/decision making processes. The above education faculty employed a neoliberal thinking, associating professional authority with pay scale. This suggested that faculty in professional schools manifested neoliberal logic more than their counterparts in the liberal arts.

The consumer mentality changed the responsibilities of the student and of the faculty. Like many other universities, SITEU strived to increase enrollment numbers and graduation rates. This endeavor met with disapproval among some faculty:

> I bet the president told you that 91% of the students who came to SITEU graduated from it. I hear that all the time, and it's like wow they are so proud of that, and I think, what's wrong with that? ... If we had a system that's more flexible in terms of intellectual endeavor, that was more challenging, had more content to it, and that it was not about demonstrating it was good enough. The people who tell us over and over again what good enough means are not people who are going to be able to define excellence. Nor for that matter was the tool that can tell us good enough. (English faculty NZ, p. 5)

From the faculty perspective, high graduation rate was not equivalent to excellence. SITEU leadership failed to define excellence for using the wrong yardstick. SITEU administration's failure to promote intellectual challenges narrowed the overall intellectual capacity of higher education. In the process of chasing economic output, the students became customers and they demonstrated a consumer mentality when dealing with academic study.

> I think a lot of it has to do with the way we pitch college education as consumer experience. They are just not used to being told that they have to do anything. A lot of times when it comes to choosing courses, students think about it like the return desk at Nordstrom's in the mall, they are gonna take it back no matter how

> many times you've worn it. The customer is always right. There is a hard-core consumer ideology among the students that universities have really gone out of their way to develop that. That's always a problem. (English Department head, p.2)

SITEU's course enrollment policy allowed students to drop out of courses without any consequences as if they were returning a product in a shop. Because customers were always right, the students now expected not to be challenged. Faculty's primary responsibility was to help students get through, rather than challenging them intellectually. SITEU leadership expected them to help students get through.

> We still have a long way to go, but we are getting better at letting the students and the public know, the skill set you get being a liberal arts major really does prepare you for a lot of jobs and opportunities and graduate school. They really apply to whatever you think that you are doing upon graduation. And faculty very much believe that and they are very much a part of that to help people get what they want completing liberal arts education. (Provost 1, p.5)

As the provost argued, SITEU's educational offerings provided knowledge and skills that were applicable in the work world. He expected SITEU faculty to satisfy customer needs.

University to College/Department Linkage

How did the university level consequences become conditions at the college/department level? Within SITEU, administrators served as the linkage between the university and the lower levels. These administrators included non-teaching administrative staff in administrative and leadership roles, such as provost, deans, and assessment professionals. Through formal administrative infrastructures and informal networks that allocated resources and enforced institutional regulations, SITEU leadership established control of academic programming at the college and department levels. This section describes the conditions, processes, and consequences of such

administrative infrastructures and informal networks at SITEU. I make the following assertions as a summary:

1. SITEU established top-down control of academic programming through finance and hierarchical policy structures.
2. Faculty senate focused on representing faculty financial interest and had weak oversight of university level academic programming, resulting in instructional faculty being removed from the university level curricular decision-making process.
3. Through university-level administrative units and their interactions with lower levels, non-teaching administrators generated programmatic changes at the college/department level and influenced faculty work.

Conditions

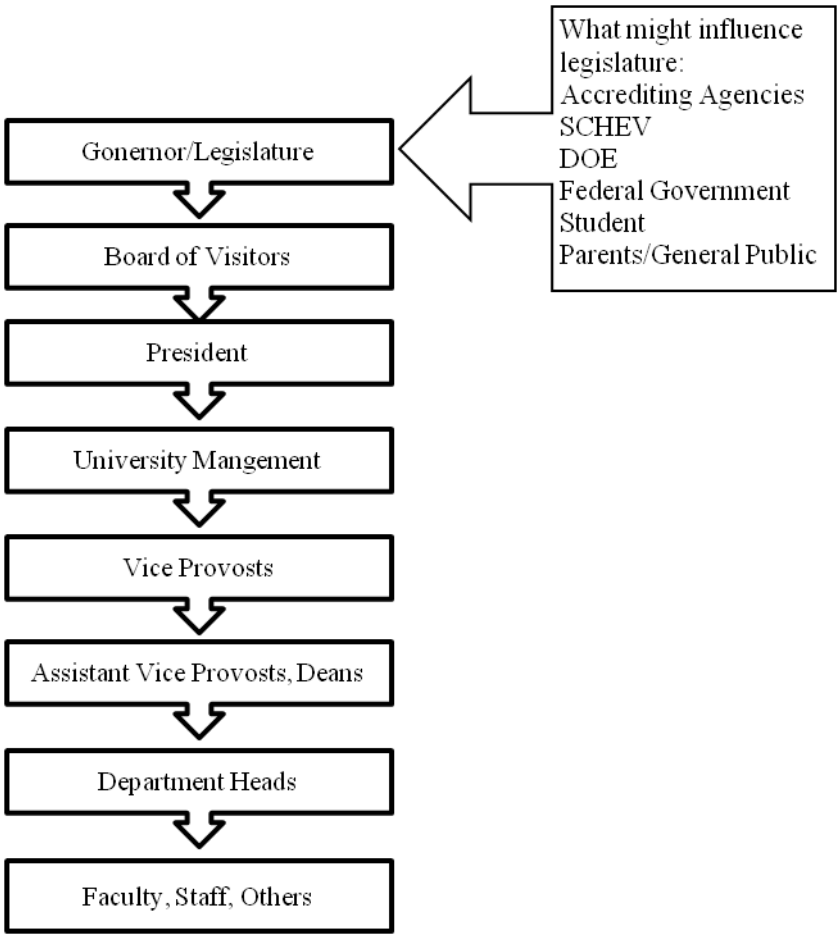
In recent years, SITEU's financial situation set the condition for most of the interactions between the university and the lower levels (college/department/faculty). As described earlier in this chapter, SITEU required additional tens of millions of dollars in state funding each year to maintain its normal functions. This budget shortfall directly resulted in faculty pay freeze. All faculty participants unanimously claimed "there seems to be no money at all".

> We are in the situation now that things have changed because no one had a raise since 2007. We have people who are tenured associate professors, who are making less than the brand-new assistant professors, and the brand-new assistant professors are not making much less than I do after 30 years of good evaluations. So as far as that goes, this is probably the central issue with the faculty right now, is the inequity in the pay scale. (English faculty NZ, p.1)

From the faculty perspective, the central issue at SITEU was faculty compensation.

Curriculum was where academic and administrative matters intersected. At SITEU, there were two hierarchical power structures that regulated the actions of administrators and faculty: a sequence of commend (Figure 2) and a sequence of approval (Figure 3). In the chain of command, external influences such as political and societal mandates were placed at the top because they influenced legislature. Following the hierarchy, university leadership (BOV and administrators) responded to the command from political and legislative bodies. Because faculty were the smallest unit in the organization, they held the least amount of administrative and financial authority and were at the bottom of this administrative hierarchy.

Figure 2: Administrative Power Structure: Command Sequence

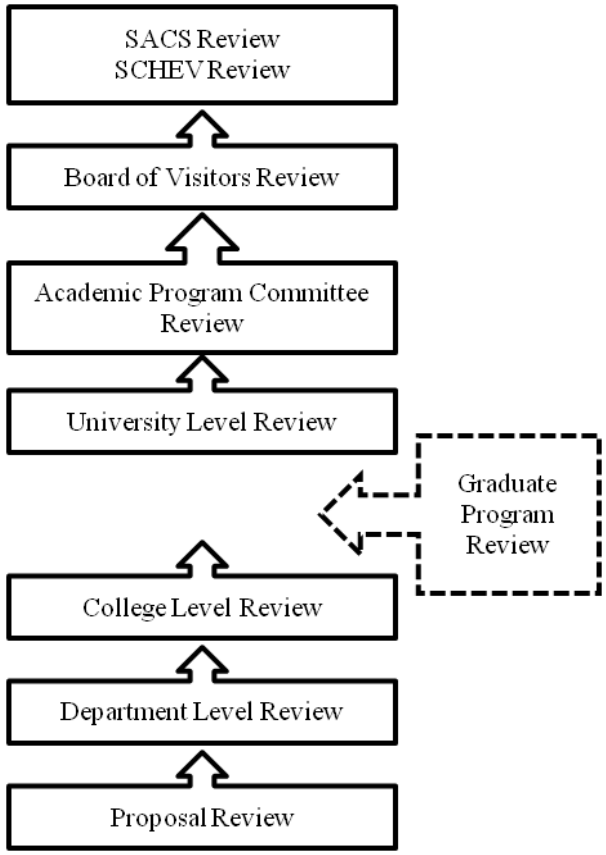


(Source: Document SITEU AAOC02)

This hierarchy allowed administrators to press changes in academic programming from top down. After decisions were made at the university level, initiatives and projects (such as a new degree program) needed to be staffed with faculty. Because of the staffing issue, the administration claimed that faculty "owned the curriculum". In the decision-making process, faculty did not have the power to make decisions above their level, although faculty had access to the university-level meetings (e.g., BOV meetings, committee meetings such as curriculum review meetings shown in the following Figure 3). For

example, SITEU president mentioned that he encouraged SITEU faculty to participate in BOV meetings. SITEU used an approval sequence to regulate faculty work.

Figure 3: Academic Power Structure: Approval Sequence



(Source: Document SITEU AAOC03)

SITEU administration used the above hierarchy to regulate curricular changes initiated by faculty. Any proposals on new courses or new programs made by the faculty was first reviewed and approved/disapproved at the department level. Proposals involved bigger changes or bigger budget implications must be submitted for review at higher levels. The faculty had access to all review meetings but did not have the authority to make decisions at any level above. For example, college level curriculum review committees consisted of college dean, associate deans, department heads, instructional faculty representatives, and

representatives from other colleges. Decisions at this level were not voted among the majority of instructional faculty.

> This is a very top-heavy university. A lot of deans, associate deans, associate provost's, a lot of administrators. That has made faculty sometimes feel that they weren't as important in the decision-making process, they weren't as valued. (English faculty CO 15892-16618)

The administrative structure at SITEU separated faculty and administrators into two classes.

The faculty senate at SITEU represented all instructional faculty. It partook in university governance but its oversight of academic programming was weak. From an administrative aspect, the faculty senate did not have a place in either of the hierarchy shown above and was excluded from the curricular decision-making process. According to SITEU faculty senate's bylaw,

> The responsibilities of the Faculty Senate include: Offering suggestions to the vice presidents for academic affairs and for administration and finance on matters of university organization, budget recommendations and revisions, facilities, planning, and mission at the university level; Consulting with appropriate resource persons concerning academic policy; Offering recommendations about admissions policies and enrollment management; Participating in university-wide curricular oversight through its representatives on the Committee on Academic Programs; and Working with the Office of the Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs to maintain policies and procedures by which the faculty will be involved in the evaluation of academic administrators at the university level. (Document data, faculty senate bylaw)

The bylaw indicated that the faculty senate served recommendation and consultation roles and was involved in university-wide curricular oversight. Unlike the faculty senate in many other institutions, SITEU's faculty senate was not responsible of approving/disapproving any curricular changes. In the curricular review process discussed above, a series of committees appointed by key administrators at different levels were responsible of curricular approvals and disapprovals. For example, SITEU

president and provost appointed, and accepted recommendations for, members for university level curricular review committee. The faculty senate did "represent the instructional faculty of SITEU", and "exercised the delegated authority of the instructional faculty in the consideration of all policies and issues that affect the academic climate and direction of SITEU" (Document data, faculty senate constitution).

SITEU's faculty senate had different levels of influence in different colleges. In CLA and the English department, faculty senators were active and kept faculty informed with university level activities.

> We have a very active faculty senator in the department, who's always been sending out emails. The bar is very high. I need to make sure that I keep that up, and be responsible. (English faculty EF, p. 5)

COE was located in a building outside SITEU's main campus. The physical location and COE's professional focus on K12 education made its faculty feel disconnected from the rest of the university.

> We've moved away from campus. Eventually we will be connected by bus, so it'll come to us… But there aren't many opportunities for us to be on campus—the rest of the university, so I can't explain why. At the curricular level, we are sort of away. (Teacher education faculty ER, p. 2)

Consequently, SITEU's faculty senate had limited influence on education faculty. Teacher education department head, for example, was not aware of faculty senate's activities.

> I don't know about here (SITEU). I haven't seen a lot of activities from them (SITEU faculty senate) … I don't get a sense of faculty governance here. I don't think I'm eligible for faculty senate here because I'm department head. I don't get much sense of faculty senate here. (Teacher education dept head, p. 5)

The current teacher education department head was hired to replace the previous department head who retired. She had been on COE faculty for over six months and not yet noticed faculty senate's influence in COE.

University to College/Department Linking Activities

Under the above power structure, faculty became bottom-level staff, whose curricular initiatives needed to be approved by personnel at higher levels. Administrators had the power to initiate university-wide programmatic changes, such as setting up new majors and new degree programs. Administrators also had the power to command personnel at lower levels to comply with their decisions. This demonstrated the erosion of academic professional norms at SITEU. For example, the key decision-maker for certain programmatic changes in COE was SITEU provost.

> There is a whole curriculum and program planning process that starts at the program level and goes through the college level and then the University level. It won't get very far if I haven't already talked to the Provost and say we'd like to do this and this is what it's gonna take. We've had some success and we've had some failure with that. Some program revision doesn't require new resources, that requires internal agreement and cooperation which sometimes is harder to get them resources, to get people to stand in the middle of the circle. That has proven to be harder to do at times. (COE Dean, p.5)

This process referred to the academic power structure described in the previous section (Figure 3). In COE dean's experience, moving a curricular decision through the approval sequence required internal cooperation throughout all levels within the power structure. Even when a curricular change did not have budgetary implications, the university leadership could reject a college/department level program revision.

To increase accountability, SITEU set up several fully administrative units at the university level: the Assessment Center, the Gen Education Program, and the Faculty Development Center. The activities of these units transformed university level decisions

into college/department level actions and regulated faculty curricular practices. The Assessment Center facilitated university's fulfillment of all accrediting requirements, generating data, evidences, and reports submitted to SACS, specialized accrediting bodies, VDOE, SCHEV, etc. Assessment professionals were fulltime non-teaching administrators. To make sure faculty comply with their rules and regulations (e.g., report submission), they gave talks and hosted workshops.

> I feel the kind of move where in the secondary education, model of assessing, has moved into university. We have to do every year an assessment report, we have to have an assessment plan in place. Graduate education seemed to be exempt from this until about four years ago. I got an email saying you are late on your assessment report, you are not in compliance. I emailed the graduate Dean and said what gives? The assistant Dean said I don't know either, let me find out. At the next graduate meeting, the assessment people came and spoke to us, and said you are not in trouble yet, which I find very offensive, I mean in trouble with who? So what we have to do is we have to have an assessment plan in place, and we have to fill out every year this template, it's a form, very regimented, you have to have objectives, they have all to be a student centered, you have to map your objectives into your course offerings, and you have to have a way to assess whether you are meeting your learning objectives. (English faculty BK, p. 10)

In the above case, SITEU's assessment professionals formulated new policies and procedures, transformed SITEU leadership's desire for greater accountability into specific faculty practice, and demanded department/faculty compliance with their regulations. If the faculty were to miss deadlines that they imposed, the faculty would be "in trouble." University level regulation of education started with undergraduate education and grew to cover graduate education. As SITEU systematically increased regulations, the assessment system captured and controlled certain areas of faculty curricular practices. For example, academic departments and their faculty designed course offerings and syllabi to specifically fulfill assessment requirements. Faculty's

course design started with desired outcomes and worked backwards, in the same way that SITEU tailored university level curriculum to maximize assessment outcomes.

The Gen Education Program was created to specifically fulfill SACS's requirement for general education competencies. Similar to the assessment center, general education program was a fully administrative unit that did not have any faculty of its own. The Assessment Center, in coordination with the Gen Education Program, collected data on student learning outcome through standardized tests, and used student test scores (learning outcomes) to measure and evaluate teaching quality in general education courses. Assessment data could be traced back to individual faculty who offered those courses so that the university could hold the faculty and their departments accountable. The Assessment Center and Gen Education Program worked as regulating agencies between the university and the lower levels.

> We have this horrific general education program, that was put in place, pilot year was the year I arrived, and it's huge, it eats up two years of students program, and it was poorly designed, and it's always been hard to staff it, the faculty didn't want it, but it got shoved in despite of that. They have clusters of courses. The English classes are in cluster two. They have coordinators who, I guess coordinate, with faculty who teach these classes. … Having more administrators means they have to justify their position in a way, so they come up with projects. And suddenly we are stuck with having to do all these work for their project when there's no time. So that's what we noticed that has been happening, and it's very frustrating for us. (English faculty BK, pp. 8-9)

According to the above faculty's observation, these administrative units were powerful administratively and financially. The Gen Education Program operated regardless of faculty objection. The administrators' need to "make work" created conflicts between the university and its faculty. For example, one of these "made work" initiatives was online courses with videotaped lectures:

> I've heard a lot about the online classes … actually someone from the university has come up to me and talk about that. I don't feel like it's a good idea, I think it's a bad idea… To the administrator who suggested filming me, I said no, and since this won't go anywhere, I said that would be evil. He said oh okay. Again I'm 53, SITEU often offers early retirement. I'm pretty sure I'm going to be okay for the next 10 years and it's not going to affect me. I don't think I will have to do it, I have a strong teaching record, and I think I will be okay. (English faculty VA, pp. 6-7)

In this event, an administrator tried to informally recruit a faculty member for videotaped lectures used in large online courses. The faculty chose to reject on the basis of job security. Conceivably junior and non-tenure track faculty members might not have the leverage to reject administrators' requests.

According to the president and the provost, the Faculty Development Center was created to educate faculty and facilitate faculty work.

> We have a center for faculty development. There is new faculty orientation. Faculty development center works on a lot of issues. How to team teach, how to format class discussions to try out different voices and different perspectives when you have a diverse population of students, how to teach with technology. It's important to understand different faculty have different needs, finding ways to accommodate and value that, looking for different ways to acknowledge, trying to be visible about our support. (President 1, p. 4)

> And another thing from the administrative point of view is to put support system out there to help faculty develop the skills or what's needed to do that transition. We have two centers here: one is for instructional technology, the other is for faculty innovation, both of which are faculty support systems, they work with faculty who want to do this. So it's not just like sending you off on your own to figure it out, we actually have a structured process that faculty would go through, move the course to an online format and how to go about teaching that course. (Provost 1, p.2)

The above quotes showed that an important task of the Faculty Development Center was to train faculty to work with technology. Through such training, the Center converted SITEU leadership's decision on using technology to increase cost-efficiency into

faculty's classroom practices. However, the faculty had conflicting views of the Faculty Development Center. For example,

> The center for faculty innovation have workshops all the time, simple things such as doing rubrics, that you can go to. So there are a lot of resources. I just haven't gone to any yet. (Teacher education faculty SH, p.3)

> For instance they've got the center for faculty innovation, it has a huge budget, the people running it have nothing to offer most faculty. (English faculty BK, p. 9)

> Creating new kinds of classroom instruction... That's all centralized in terms of an office, which is a technology and teaching office, which I think is more of a token, it's more of something the administrators, senior administrators, can point to and say that they are doing something about teaching and technology. It's not really thought through, and certainly not integrated well from the ground up with individual departments. (English Department head, p.1)

The Faculty Innovation Center had no intimate connection with individual departments. Faculty found limited use of the services provided by the Center. This was an unexpected outcome/failure of the administrative initiative. Another contingency was a result of conflicting interests of the university and academic departments that had to do with administrator hire.

> They (SITEU administration) wanted to hire an assistant director (for the Faculty Development Center), who would be a faculty member with tenure in one department but primary responsibility as an administrator in this center. Two years ago two of the finalists would have been in English department, and we didn't know anything about it until the last minute, they had candidates coming to campus and they said would you like to talk to them. And we said yeah, if they're gonna have tenure in our Department, we need to decide. Well, neither of the candidates was remotely tenurable in our Department. I mean their resumes wouldn't have passed our first glance, if we had a search going. …. Our Department head I know talked to the director, he was outraged, he said how could you bringing candidates like this, who would have been paid more than any faculty member in our Department, and have tenure. This is a trend I find very irritating. We've been bullied into taking a couple faculty members in. … But taking in faculty member with this type of dual appointment positions that we have no control over the hiring decision. (English faculty BK, p. 9)

In order to manage administrative units such as the Faculty Innovation Center, the university administration hired administrative personnel who were also faculty with tenure. Academic departments sometimes were obliged to offer faculty position to an administrator who would be paid more than any faculty but academically underqualified.

The faculty senate was a venue where SITEU leadership informed faculty with administrative decisions and interacted with the faculty through panel discussions. For example, the provost held a panel discussion in 2013 to inform faculty the leadership's progress on formulating a business model.

> In fact I know the Provost said at the faculty senate this year, we are a teaching institution. But, then again we are going into a business model if you are thinking of a business model, it's so much more cost effective. I think the message from the state has been clear now that funding levels are not gonna return to what they were. The universities have to become more self sufficient. So thinking through how to do that is the next step. How much of that will be done at the level where faculty will be part of the conversation, how much of it will be just administrative, that I don't know. (Teacher education faculty SL, p.6)

Here the faculty were at the receiving end of university level decisions. Faculty did not have a role in university level administrative and financial decision-making processes. Through conventional activities hosted by the faculty senate, the faculty learned about university level neoliberal transformations, although they had doubts about the sustainability of SITEU leadership's business model:

> I don't understand the business model, I guess. So how are they going to make money doing that (MOOCs)? …from a business point of view, I don't see how they are ever going to make any money. The grading part, somebody has to grade it, if you are going to offer it for credit, it cannot be as loose as it is now. So who's gonna grade it, who's gonna monitor those discussions, online discussions about the readings, you know, could be very well it's gonna reduce learning at the college level to take these standardized multiple-choice exam because that's easy to grade, and then you can make money with it, with taped lectures and preloaded exams that are ready to go. It will bring up in discussion things like adjuncts. … On a smaller scale, big universities have done that for years with graduate students and research level professors, so is that your sort of model you wanna

> follow? … They are assuming there's gonna be a payoff in the end, I just don't see it yet from a business point of view. People pay for things that they can't get for free. I wonder if it's gonna be one of those dot com startups... I don't think this is sustainable for teaching and learning. (Teacher Education faculty SL 23386-25817)

The contingency here was the potential conflict between cost-efficiency and the quality of teaching and learning. From the faculty perspective, online courses with pre-recorded lectures, quantified assessment of learning outcomes, and the use of adjuncts would increase cost-efficiency and decrease the quality of education at the same time. For the faculty, SITEU's business plan did not seem to contain any component to maintain the quality of education. This was because SITEU's leadership considered quality as institutional successes in areas of accreditation, competition in the higher education market (e.g., attracting students with a brand identity), and measurable economic outputs (such as graduation rates). At the university level, the university leadership's criteria for evaluating educational quality were prioritized over that of the faculty.

The faculty senate made recommendations and proposals with regard to university finances such as tuition income and faculty compensation. The faculty senate proposed tuition surcharge on behalf of all colleges and departments in 2010. The proposal was quickly accepted by BOV and generated additional tuition income for the university. The logic for tuition surcharge was:

> Variations in the cost of educating students in a given college or major are largely a function of the cost of hiring faculty to teach in that college or major. And there is a positive (though not perfect) correlation between how much it costs to hire faculty and the earning potential of graduates in a major. Thus, if all majors pay the same amount of tuition as under present policies, students in lower-cost majors with lower entry-level earning potential after graduation subsidize the cost of educating business and engineering majors. (Document data, senate proposal10, p. 1)

Therefore, tuition surcharge was an equity issue. To be fair, some degree programs should charge their students more. As a result, colleges such as business and engineering generated more tuition income for the university. These colleges and their faculty might have contributed to the tuition surcharge proposal more than other colleges. However, additional tuition income did not result in faculty pay raises in the following years. In 2012, the faculty senate argued that

> The cause of the salary issues cannot be an absolute lack of funding. It is quite clear that the University regularly finds funds for things that the Administration and Board truly want to accomplish … Over the longer term, the primary issue at hand is one of the budget priorities of the SITEU administration and Board. Significant and definite progress in addressing comprehensive salary issues can be gained simply by a reorientation of the priorities of this institution's leadership. (Document data, senate resolution12, p. 1)

Realizing that faculty salary freeze was not solely resulted from declining state funding, the faculty senate urged the university leadership to adjust their financial priorities. Without taking a very strong stance, the faculty senate proposed a plan that did not force university leadership to change their funding priorities.

> In effect, tuition can be raised, and if Non Educational & General Fees are dropped at the same rate, then charges to students are not increased. At current rates, even a mere 10% drop in the comprehensive fee when added to tuition would provide over $7 million in funds available for addressing concerns on the academic side of the University. (Document data, senate resolution12, p. 3)

The faculty senate suggested that SITEU increase tuition and decrease comprehensive fee at the same time so that more funds could be allocated to faculty salary. Even though SITEU's faculty senate did not have the right to approve/disapprove curricular changes, it took the responsibility of guiding the academic culture at SITEU. The negative impact of the tuition surcharge proposed earlier was documented by the faculty senate in 2013:

> Configuring universities to allow for tuition/surcharges perpetuates, rather than corrects, the devaluation of the economic worth of a host of very important

> careers such as K12 teaching, counseling and social work… Students who have the resources to pay additional "costs" will thereby have greater access to some majors then those who do not have the resources. The consequence is likely that differential tuition reinstitutes a system of privilege that is already in place on too many fronts. (Document data, senate resolution13, pp. 2-3)

As a result, the faculty senate proposed a policy to prohibit differential tuition at SITEU. The changing disposition of the faculty senate revealed that it was under the influence of conflicting faculty interests. For example, faculty in the College of Business were influenced by business values and more accustomed to the economic framing of education than liberal arts faculty.

SITEU administrators executed university-level decisions through a hierarchical power structure, where SITEU leadership controlled the allocation of resources in each college. From the administrator's business perspective, decisions on academic programming were administrative and business decisions, while curriculum was a staffing problem as it involved faculty work. In practice, SITEU leadership had the final say on academic programming decisions, and "faculty own the curriculum". According to the provost:

> I tried to help one of our BOV members understand, I might want particular major or particular academic program, or something like that, I can't make it happen, the faculty own the curriculum. (Provost, p.1)

The provost was able to generate university-level academic programming changes, such as setting up a new degree program. However, his administrative power was not sufficient to influence faculty work. In order to push university-level decisions down to the faculty level, the provost leveraged financial power.

> A good example is increasing graduates in STEM fields. That's a goal the institution set. What I do is I work with the deans, in particular the deans and the department heads in those areas, in terms of saying OK if this is an institutional goal, as a team now how do we move this forward. We've got a strategy that we

> all agree on. The other way I influence is by putting resources, making resources available. So if there are programs we want to grow, we can put more resources toward this program, in terms of facilitating the growth. So where we put the resources is one very important way to influence it. (Provost 1, p.3)

Through budgeting, the provost was able to push university level decisions down to colleges and departments. SITEU leadership identified one way to increase graduates in STEM fields as increasing the number of STEM teachers graduated from COE's teacher education program. This decision was pushed down to college/department level through allocation of resources.

> Internally if the president's office for example say we really want to push on the area of diversity, say this is gonna be a big value of my administration, they might provide incentives either in terms of budget or in terms of allocating personnel or other resources. So if I want to ask for new positions, and to say I want to use them to prepare for more school administrators, and that's not a value of the University, it doesn't fit their goals and their mission, I'm not as likely to get as many positions, if any at all, or certain levels of funding. (COE Dean, p. 2)

By controlling COE's budget and hiring process, SITEU leadership controlled COE's academic programming. This interaction did not involve instructional faculty. The consequence of this administrative approach was a lack of communication between the top-tier administrators and the majority of the faculty. In some faculty's experience, the provost conducted himself in a way that he seemed to "exercise in irony to profess the value in this (running education as a business) but then to act in a way that is apathetic to that" (English faculty EF, p.4). As a result, these faculty did not feel that he truly "represented faculty interests", even though he was a long-term SITEU faculty member before he became an administrator.

In summary, as academic matters became business issues, faculty governance of curriculum gave way to administrative oversight. In terms of evaluating educational quality, the administrative yardsticks (economic outcomes) were prioritized over

faculty's academic values (quality in teaching and learning experiences) at the university level. When the faculty senate exercised its right to represent the instructional faculty and sought to improve faculty compensation by proposing tuition surcharge, the economic framing of education started to make sense in an academic setting for the faculty. The academic life on campus in general, including faculty's day-to-day experiences, was thus framed in economic terms.

Consequences

The administrative regulatory units (e.g., Assessment Center) exercised their administrative power when interacting with faculty. As they demanded compliance from the departments and the faculty, their administrative authority overrode faculty's academic interest and forced the compliance mentality upon lower levels at SITEU. The growing number of assessment professionals and their administrative authority resulted in an academic managerialism that allowed for growing administrative oversight of faculty work. For example, the assessment professionals required faculty to submit assessment reports for their academic programs and graded the reports as an evaluation of faculty work.

> We have this fabulous, if I may say so, MA exam that we developed, … we use that as an assessment tool in the way that it's holistic … the grading is done by the committee … So the actual learning objectives are legitimate, they are things that we want our graduate students to learn. So I wrote it out every year. We've gotten very good scores on particularly the parts that's most bullshitted on. But they assess our assessment report and they give a score on how we did in each section, and they give us comments. And the comments are things like, nice job, but they don't particularly like our MA exam because it's based on the standards of our discipline that is we see our committee as a body like an editorial board or review team who reads articles and decides whether they should go into a journal or not, and they assess the work in that way, and that's not precise, and not number driven enough for them. They want something much more codified. And I find the way they write up their comments, there are often grammatical errors, the prose is bad… So I told the Department head it's ironic, the people who are

> assessing our assessment aren't as good writers as our graduate students, aren't as good as understanding that writing is not something that you can reduce to numbers. (English faculty BK, p.10)

In the above quote, English faculty BK described her experience working with the Assessment Center administrators as the director and one of the faculty members of the graduate program in English. The administrators' desire for number-drive assessment resulted from the pursuit of accountability and measurable outcomes at higher levels. The administrators attempted to transfer higher level goals into faculty day-to-day practices. The faculty was frustrated by the conflict between the disciplinary academic values and the economic values embraced by the administrators.

> I know the number of people at SITEU who are in administration kind of mushroomed. It's being a deep concern for us that many of the administrative body do not come out of academic background. They do not really understand what research is, what it means, how it applies in the classroom, that you are able to bring insights that you have and influence students, not exactly the content but the ways in which you use your skills, the ways of thinking. So our frustration has been the inability to communicate effectively with people who have no frame of reference at all. (English faculty BK, p.8)

The faculty perceived the administrative economic framing of education as a lack of understanding of faculty work and disciplinary knowledge. The conflicting values led to frustration at the department/faculty level and potential conflicts between faculty and administrators.

The lack of faculty involvement in the university-level decision-making processes resulted in the lack of recognition of faculty contribution at the university level.

> There was surprisingly little interest above the dean's level in what we do. I would have thought the Provost would have noticed that I've got [a major award] but no. But I know the dean valued it very highly, and the Department head did. (English faculty BK, p. 7)

> We have an administration which continues to talk about the initiative, the innovative faculty, faculty's engagement with students, the fact that they have

> may be a functioning merit system, things like that. None of it is true. There is no merit system at all. The faculty are very clearly, regardless of their rank, starting to pull back. (English faculty NZ, p.1)

According to the above quote, SITEU administration was expressing its expectations for the faculty: to be innovative and to engage students. To translate, the faculty were expected to increase their use of technology (e.g., teaching online classes) and to increase student satisfaction (i.e., customer satisfaction). However, SITEU did not have a clear merit system to reward any additional faculty work. From a cost-benefit perspective, the faculty had to pull back in some way. For example, English faculty BK served as the graduate program director for many years.

> The Morale is just dreadful. Most of us have refused to respond to class additions or service, aside from what we have to do. Because, why, you are not rewarded for it … I've done my work, I've done so much service, I just can't ... There's so much research I want to do that's gotten delayed by [administrative responsibilities]. (English faculty BK 23061-25054)

> People want to be allowed to do research and not to be burdened with service. (English faculty EF, p. 6)

While teaching was the core function of faculty work at SITEU and research was considered as personal interest by many, service for the university became the additional workload that was never rewarded. After calculation, the faculty became reluctant to dedicate time to service, including participating in university governance (such as serving on the faculty senate and attending BOV meetings). The consequence was the lack of faculty presence in the governance of curricular matters at the university level. This in turn empowered the administrators and allowed them to treat curricular matters as management matters.

The faculty senate's proposal on tuition surcharge showed that SITEU faculty accepted the discipline status differentiation in the university. Faculty representation now

hinged upon revenue generating capability of their college/department. For example, English faculty pointed out the unequal status between humanities and business:

> There also are plenty of things going on that we have to just passively accept. That could be hard in the humanities because we don't have a lot of money. The school of business, if they are upset about something, they probably would be heard, because they pulled in a lot of tuition dollars. (English faculty CO 15892-16618)

The economic framing of education justified an academic stratification among disciplines. Higher earning colleges and departments were entitled to more authority and autonomy while the others "passively accepted" any decisions passed on to them. This coined how universities negotiated for administrative/financial autonomy based on their revenue generating capabilities during higher education restructuring process at the state level. As a result, faculty were forced to accept their status as determined by the economic output of their program. It discouraged faculty in less economically productive departments to participate in institutional governance, such as education faculty. It trained deans and department head to measure the values of their colleges and departments in economic terms, such as tuition income, teaching loads (credit hours), and faculty salary cost.

According to a recent faculty satisfaction survey at SITEU, the faculty were generally dissatisfied with SITEU leadership, particularly CLA faculty:

> Both the quantitative results and qualitative comments indicate significant dissatisfaction with senior leaders:
> SITEU faculty ranked in the bottom 30% on every single item associated with President/Chancellor pace of decision-making (3.13), stated priorities (3.13), and communication of priorities (2.98); and Chief Academic Officer (i.e., Provost) pace of decision-making (3.17), stated priorities (3.14), and communication of priorities (2.97) 4. Notably, these data were universally and significantly lower in College of Liberal Arts (ranging from 2.58-2.86). (Document data, faculty satisfaction report 2013, p.3)

These data showed that SITEU's top-tier administrators' priorities differed from those of the faculty and they made decisions without sufficient consultation or communication with the faculty. This behavior led to documented faculty dissatisfaction with SITEU's leadership and contributed to faculty's unwillingness to participate in service activities (such as serving on committees and the faculty senate).

In summary, SITEU instituted a series of administrative units at the university level to carry out university-wide neoliberal transformations. These transformations included endorsing student consumer mentality, deregulating the market of higher education (competition among colleges), increasing regulations of assessment and accountability through economic framing of education, etc. The administrators devised a set of administrative tasks to ensure faculty compliance with university agenda, particularly through assessment. SITEU's leadership (top-tier administrators and BOV) controlled university-wide academic programming through a hierarchical power structure and the control of college budgets. The interactions between leadership and colleges/departments, as well as between administrators and faculty, promoted a market culture and fostered compliance mentality at lower levels. The market culture encouraged SITEU to pursue a brand identity. It also encouraged colleges and departments to pursue profit with deregulated innovative initiatives, with online courses being the most promising approach.

In terms of future, the administration's goal for the university was to be more and more self-sufficient financially. To achieve this goal, colleges split up the workload. College deans were under pressure to raise funds and generate revenue for the university.

The next chapter examines two colleges and two departments at SITEU and their different experiences.

Chapter 7 Results at the College/Department Level

As described in the previous chapter, SITEU instituted a number of administrative units at the university level. These units and their administrators formulated and enforced university-wide rules and regulations with regard to educational accountability and knowledge applicability. Their regulatory activities embedded SITEU leadership's economic framing of education into college/department level curricular practices, as well as faculty work (e.g., designing curriculum to fit with assessment criteria, teaching with technology to increase enrollment). This chapter contrasts the neoliberal conditions, processes, and consequences at two colleges and two departments: College of Liberal Arts (CLA) and the English department, College of Education (COE) and the teacher education department (teacher education department). Table 9 shows a summary of results in CLA and English department.

Table 9: Mesodomain Analysis at the College/Department Level: Liberal Arts

	College/Department	College/Department to Faculty Linkage
Conditions	Declining status of liberal arts education in public opinion Inadequate funding Curriculum and assessment at university level	CLA dean's disposition College/Departmental culture Deregulation of faculty curricular activities
Network of Collective Activity	University leadership CLA Dean English Department head Faculty	CLA Dean English Department head Faculty
Major Tasks	Revenue generation Quality/Accountability demonstration	Fight increased adjunct hire Vocationalization/job preparation function
Interests /Intentions	Prove/justify the value of liberal arts Education/socialization of citizens	Maintain academic freedom Demonstrate accountability
Conventions /Practices	Balancing checkbook Internal assessments and evaluations	Formal meetings (departmental voting sessions) and informal communications

Power /Resources	Finance Dean's authority	Collegiality/voting system
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Missing brand identity	Outsourcing grading responsibility
Consequences	Faculty job insecurity College as business No standards and reward for faculty teaching	Prevailing consumer mentality Performative knowledge production

Conditions in the College of Liberal Arts and English Department

CLA and the English Department were under conditions created by neoliberal transformations at the higher levels. The following assertions summarize the college/department level conditions:

1. The general status of liberal arts education declined because of students' consumer mentality and insufficient faculty compensation at SITEU.
2. The curriculum in the English department contained two parts: General Education curriculum that was regulated and assessed at the university level, and English major curriculum that was loosely regulated.

The students and the university leadership had significant impacts on the organizational livelihood of CLA. The CLA dean was previously the English department head at SITEU. He was one of the faculty who designed the core curriculum for the English Department that was still in place. In his experience, the nature of liberal arts education has changed:

> When I came out of the graduate school … we were interested in hearing the professor who had a PhD had to say, that's how we learned ... There's been a demise of authority … the authority is now passed on to parents, and they want their bang for the buck, they think this is L.L. Bean rather than a University. If the customers are not satisfied, they want their money back. We've got parents who don't think professors are authorities; they think professors are just rubes who are liberal buffoons. (CLA Dean, p.7)

The view of education as a consumer product allowed the customers (parents) to monetarily judge the value of liberal arts education. The professors lost the power to

determine the value of their work. The consumer mentality led students to choose academic programs and majors based on economic prospects.

> Media arts design, essentially journalism, used to have accrediting body, but we've elected to opt out of that. There's no benefit for us in being an accredited journalism program…I mean nobody wants to go into print journalism now because newspapers are dying. Journalism is more broadcast journalism, that sort of thing. Newspaper journalism and print journalism, are going out of business all over the place. So nobody is coming out of journalism school and go directly to New York Times as a writer. They are gonna be in small conservative town, and there's no money in it. There's not a lot of money in broadcast journalism either. These television reporters, I might use the term loosely, on local TV, here and in Charlottesville, I think they start out here making $15,000, and over there they can't be making much more than that, 20-25 thousand. You can't live on that. (CLA Dean, p.7)

Students' consumer orientation forced CLA to adjust its academic programming. The previous journalism program was merged with other programs into the current media arts design program. In addition to the students, the university also influenced CLA's functions. The dean described how SITEU's leadership's choice of prioritizing spending on construction over faculty compensation increased the difficulty in retaining high quality faculty.

> If you could promise faculty that they would keep their job, and use bond money or state money to build buildings, those buildings would be there after some faculty had left… We lost an exceptional person in political science for example to Reed College in Oregon because they offered him $30,000 more than we were paying him, and tuition for his kids when reaching college age. I mean the person was 35, how are you not gonna do that? How are you not gonna leave? He wasn't gonna get anything like that here. I think he was making $50,000 a year and they offered him 80 and college tuition for two kids at Reed College which is a terrific little liberal arts college. Yeah I can't compete with that. (CLA Dean, p.3)

The dean and the faculty evaluated academic jobs in economic terms. CLA was not able to retain some high quality faculty due to insufficient funding for faculty salary from the university. SITEU administration provided poor support for faculty in general:

> I think what loses out in almost every case in universities is the integrity of academic programming. They're really not about that anymore; they're about almost everything else. The academic program is just a junior member of the table very often. In a sense they can. You can still have a very good university without a lot of attention to the academic program because, let's face it, especially the humanities are so cheap to do. You can have a very high quality humanities program without spending a lot of money. No equipments, and people in humanities have kind of gotten used to lower salaries, things like that. You can get a cracking good art historian for very little money right now. (English Department head, p. 3)

Here academic programming referred to general issues with regard to faculty, including faculty hiring, retention, and professional work. According to the English department head, the university leadership paid little attention to institutional support for faculty work, especially in the humanities. The general status of the liberal arts deteriorated both in the public opinion (e.g., students and parents) and in higher education institutions.

The curriculum in the English department consisted of two parts: Gen Education English curriculum and English major curriculum. Gen Education English curriculum was designed by the Gen Education Program based on SACS requirements for general education competencies. Gen Education English courses were offered to all undergraduate students on campus. SITEU Assessment Center regulated the Gen Education courses (e.g., provided course syllabi guidelines outlining desired assessment outcomes) and evaluated faculty teaching practices by assessing student learning outcomes. English major curriculum was designed by English faculty (e.g., CLA dean). English major courses were mostly attended by English majors including undergraduate and graduate students. Many students who intended to teach English upon graduation chose to double major in English and in education. These double major students, and occasionally students from other disciplines, attended English major courses.

> In a sense, SITEU still believes in, quote unquote, rounded education, that our department teaches non-majors for general education, but we also teach within our field. (English faculty VA, p.1)

> We are generally responsible for designing our own courses. My department in particular, which is probably a little bit by virtue being in the humanities, a little bit more focused on individual instructors, rather than others, like in economics where you really have to cover a body of knowledge to be responsible. (English faculty NZ, p.6)

Unlike professional schools such as Colleges of Business and Education, CLA and the English department was accredited by SACS as a part of the university. Because SACS did not enforce standards on student learning outcome from English major courses, the English major curriculum was loosely controlled at the university level.

> It's been done in the way much like in small liberal arts colleges over the last 15 years where people are just basically individual entrepreneurs. Faculty get together, four or five of them, decided that they wanted an emphasis, a focus. They often put their courses into something like a small minor, more some kind of interdisciplinary structure where people just take a group of related courses. (English Department head, p.1)

Here the English department head was discussing English major courses. Faculty's curricular activities were not only underfunded but also deregulated in the English department under the premise of "no budgetary implications".

Processes in the College of Liberal Arts and English Department

The neoliberal processes in CLA and English department took place in mainly two areas: revenue generation and quality/accountability demonstration. I make the following assertions to summarize:

1. CLA increased its revenue generation capability by increasing faculty teaching load in Gen Education classes, increasing enrollments in technology-enhanced courses (including online courses), and increasing adjunct hire.

2. A budget orientation dominated the administrative functions at college/department level, causing CLA to demonstrate its accountability through finance, equating cost-efficiency to quality.
3. CLA accepted the assessment mandates from the university, formulated and enforced an internal assessment system. The dean ensured certain faculty freedom in internal course assessments.

The network of collective activity in CLA and English department mainly included the CLA dean, English department head, English faculty, as well as university leadership (such as the Provost). The ultimate decision maker in CLA was the dean. CLA dean's major task and interest was to increase and demonstrate cost-efficiency and accountability. He accomplished this using a budgetary formula where the economic output of the college was monetarily more than the cost.

> It doesn't frighten me in a college like this, because I can prove it [quality]. I have the lowest paid faculty, some of the lowest paid faculty, who are teaching the highest loads … So I'm cheap, this college is cheap, and I can prove that we make a difference in general education and in all of the disciplines, and I can show that the money I spent either on full-time faculty or on part-time faculty is money well spent. In college of business, they can prove their value in a different way, what they can say is that our students graduate and go on to take jobs that are $10,000 more highly paid than people who are English majors, and they use that as an argument for differential tuition for example, and it's hard to argue with that. (CLA Dean, p.5)

According to CLA dean's calculation, program productivity was equivalent to tuition income, and program cost was equivalent to faculty salary. Therefore, low faculty salary and high faculty teaching loads were equivalent to high cost-efficiency. He demonstrated cost-efficiency of liberal arts programs mathematically. The competitive market of higher education forced colleges to compete amongst themselves inside SITEU. CLA dean was

forced to use the business cost-efficiency to prove the value of liberal arts education. However, the dean was fundamentally interested in educating the future citizen.

> I'm not interested in the business of education, I'm interested in educating people so they are empathetic, so they are willing to listen, able to listen, able to think critically, able to articulate ideas, not interested in always toeing the party line … we are trying to taint the values they inculcated in their children, values like racism and stupidity. (CLA dean, pp. 4&8)

The dean was interested in the philosophical value of education. When the higher education system no long endorsed such value and enforced a set of economic yardsticks to measure the value of education, the dean was forced to adapt. As the dean was interested in reaching students and keeping students involved in education, technology allowed this to happen.

> The loss of professoriate authority is two-edged, seems to me, to put kindly. But the fact that we can reach students over a long range with online courses is a positive. … If we wind up hiring 30 years from now professors for a mega University, everybody can stay at home. (CLA Dean, p.7)

Because technology such as online courses provided easy access for the students and allowed faculty to reach more students, the use of online course seemed to be positive to the dean. There was little to none consideration of the possible negative outcomes at the college level. In fact, online courses were highly economic productive.

> I spend a lot of time with budget. Particularly summer school, I can make money for the university. Partly because the Provost's office realizes that we generate a lot of profit, so I'm allowed to do certain things as a result of that, I suppose. (CLA Dean, p.6)

Because of the high financial yield of online courses in the summer, CLA dean was even able to negotiate for more independence/freedom with the university administration.

As the university pressured each college to generate more revenue, CLA dean adopted the following approaches endorsed at the university level: increasing faculty teaching load, using technology to increase enrollment, and increasing adjunct hire.

> When I first came to SITEU it has 9000 students, and now it's near 20,000. The general education class size went up, when I came they were 25, then went to 32, then 45, then 47, now 200. (English faculty BK 15683-16259)

The growing class size of Gen Education English classes coined the growth of SITEU student population. CLA's student population grew accordingly. To further increase enrollments, CLA adopted the use of technology in classrooms. For example, students were able to tele-commute to the classes reported below.

> The Department of Speech Communications received full approval and funding to implement the MA program in Communication and Advocacy in fall 2013. The graduate program is designed to enhance instruction in the large graphic communication classes. (Document data, Accomplishments 2012-13, p.4)

The large technology-enhanced classes added tuition income without increasing faculty hire. The above quote was an excerpt from an internal annual report CLA submitted to the Provost's Office. It indicated that these technology-enhanced large classes adopted by CLA were a major accomplishment in that year. Another example was courses offered entirely online. Online courses were a major source of revenue for CLA.

> Our online courses started only about eight years ago, I guess in the summer, and we offered about 30 of them in the summer, then, we get about 8000 people taking online courses this summer. And we offer online courses during the year as well in some departments. I don't think we do that so much because of the board of visitors, we do that because we are here, our summer enrollments sort of flat line at 2500, but now we enroll more people, about three times as many people online in the summer as we do in classes here. There are not a lot of jobs for our students in the summer. Most of them want to go home in the summer anyway. They can still take courses online, so it's been good for us. (CLA Dean, p.4)

Comparing to the tuition income, the cost of faculty salary was minimal, although faculty considered the salary for summer online courses highly reasonable.

> Some of our colleagues teach summer classes online because they have kids or they need money for things like summer camp. It's a good chunk of money. It could be a minimum time commitment. I don't know if faculty is getting a tiny slit of whatever the students are paying. (English faculty EF 18757-19270)

In the above quote, the English faculty perceived online courses as positive strictly from a financial perspective, speaking as an employee of the university. Faculty's possible minimum time commitment showed that the quality of teaching in those online classes might have suffered.

The dean adopted adjunct hire as a solution to the staffing problem, although he avoided discussing this issue in the interview. The English department head and English faculty described their experiences with adjunct hire in CLA.

> In English Department we have gotten up to about 30% of our classes are being taught by adjuncts. And when I came I thought that was high. (English Department head, p.2)

> 60 to 70% of these courses (Gen Education classes) were offered by adjuncts. (English faculty EF 2376- 3284)

> Foreign languages department is just a disaster. There are so many adjuncts. They (the administrators) are not gonna staff it. (English Department head, p.4)

In other words, adjunct faculty taught close to 70% of the Gen Education English classes. Near 30% of the English curriculum in general was taught by adjuncts. And departments other than English were in similar, if not worse, situation. The assessment/evaluation process did not capture the possible negative outcomes of increased use of adjuncts.

CLA complied with the university level assessments and enforced an internal assessment/evaluation system. The Provost's Office published the results of college reports on an annual basis, the main content of which reflected mainly external mandates and institutional growth. In 2010, the "academic program" component of the report included these sections: 1. high need and STEM programs, 2. liberal arts programs, 3.

innovation in program development. Starting 2011, a new section, academic program assessment, was added to it.

> The English Department created and improved assessment program and made the curricular revisions leading to streamlining the curriculum to better reflect current ideas on the study of literature, provide more flexibility for students and enhance academic rigor. (Document data, Accomplishment report 2010-11, p.8)

The goals of the curricular revision were to improve the relevancy/applicability of the knowledge content and allow students to choose more freely what courses to take. The assessment of student learning outcome was a comparison of pre- and post-course test results from the students.

> We have an assessment program in every department and of course one of the leading assessment programs in the world here in the center for assessment. Every year they judge our assessment for instruments, and we assess our students' progress. (CLA Dean, p.5)

According to the above statement, the assessment professionals at the university level had oversight of CLA's internal assessment instruments, such as tests used to assess English major courses. However, the CLA dean was in a position where university administrators did not challenge his authority.

> I'm old and I'm tenured ... Someone wants to talk to me about whether I'm doing my job correctly, let them come and talk to me, I'll talk to them. Nobody has ever pressured me to do anything that I felt was unethical, nobody has ever pressured me to do anything. I never felt pressure from the administrators above me at this university. (CLA Dean, p.5)

The dean considered faculty authority worthy of protection. The dean and the English department head allowed English faculty to carry out some assessments in their own way, in which faculty had an opportunity to work around the university's push for number-driven assessments.

The Dean's Office was in charge of quantifying test results and turning them into statistical reports that were easy to read for the audience, such as BOV members.

> Our assessment system is proven effective that we can say to the board of visitors that here's ours statistics on the improvement in critical thinking knowledge for example, here's the test they take when they come in, here's the test they take when they go out, here's the difference. We just did a study on all of the colleges: here's what it cost to get liberal arts education at U.VA. and here's what it cost to get liberal arts education at SITEU, here's the salary for grads coming out of U.VA., here's the salary for grads coming out of SITEU. (CLA Dean, p.5)

Quantified assessments of learning outcomes, accompanied with financial evaluations of students' educational costs and potential earnings, were accepted by CLA dean and BOV members as an effective way to demonstrate accountability and quality of education.

Additionally, college/department level assessment system included a set of personnel evaluations. Administrators in the college were evaluated as managers. The CLA dean was evaluated by faculty and staff as an executive officer on a matrix of criteria, where hiring and managing faculty, fund-raising and budget coordination were given priority. Associate Deans were mid-level managers evaluated by the Dean on the following 4 criteria:

1) leadership,
2) administrative effectiveness,
3) communicative skills, and
4) professionalism. (Document data, CLA evaluation, Dean's Office)

Department heads were evaluated by the Dean as both managers and scholars on the following 8 criteria:

1) academic leadership,
2) ability to articulate needs for resources for school,
3) ability to maximize faculty resources and capabilities,
4) administrative effectiveness,
5) communicative skills and abilities/human relations,
6) public relations,
7) professional and academic stature, and

8) affirmative action. (Document data, CLA evaluation, Dean's Office)

These criteria showed that the job responsibilities of college/department level administrators were framed in economic terms. Higher level administrators had less responsibilities associated with their academic identity (e.g., instructional ability was not evaluated at all), therefore separating faculty and administrators into two classes.

The dean's interest in preserving some of the liberal arts educational traditions competed with SITEU leadership's interest in branding its educational offerings. The university leadership's quest of a "brand identity" seemed to be lost at the college/department level. CLA dean, English department head, and their faculty were not actively pursuing a unique education that would appeal to the customers in the market of higher education. They chose to adopt the economic framing of education while maintaining the traditional functions of liberal arts education. In terms of course offerings, the dean resorted to allow his faculty to offer courses as long as they did not create budgetary implications that would show on a spreadsheet. For the dean, there was a financial bottom line that capped his flexibility in allowing faculty to teach what they wanted to teach.

> I'm pretty careful. During the year, somebody wants to offer a course that's under-enrolled, during the summer as well, I'm willing to let some courses go under-enrolled if you've got some classes that are over enrolled that balances out. So I do keep my eye on the bottom line … What we do is, if you can find a professor to give you independent study, at the Masters level or at the undergraduate level, I would pay that faculty member to do that. I'm not gonna pay them $1000, but I would pay the professor to offer an independent study. We have a lot of honors thesis here a lot of honors students here, and you know, ordinarily this comes off the back of the faculty, but I don't think that's fair, so I try to reward faculty by given them at least a little extra money for having done that, at the graduate level as well, in summer as well. If we get students interested in taking a course that we are only supposed to make money by having, say nine people, in the course and we only have five, I'll prorate the salary so that we are breaking even but at least the professor gets paid, maybe not as much as she wants,

> but if she's willing to teach five kids for $3000 instead of nine kids for $5000, I'm good with that. Normally our faculty members will do that, particularly in the summer—it's a 3 ½ week gig. You are gonna make $3500 in 3 ½ weeks, so yeah we work around that. (CLA Dean, p.6)

Sticking to a budgetary bottom line, the dean managed to give faculty and students limited curricular flexibility. The dean's main intention here was not to increase the marketability of the academic programs in the liberal arts, but to protect faculty's employee welfare.

Consequences in the College of Liberal Arts and English Department

CLA dean adopted the economic framing of education at the university level: using monetary input and output to measure quality and accountability. CLA and English department leveraged the university level enrollment increases to generate revenue for the university. CLA and English department passively accepted the assessment mandates from the university level, although CLA dean reserved room for faculty freedom in the internal assessment process. These college/department level transformations led to the following consequences:

1. CLA's increased use of adjunct reduced educational quality in General Education courses and exploited adjunct faculty, raising ethical concerns among the faculty.
2. CLA's adoption of economic framing of education at the university level turned college/department level administrators into business executives, fostered student consumer mentality, and promoted a labor market mechanism where faculty were mobile employees.
3. SITEU and CLA's lack of teaching standards and lack of reward left faculty teaching and research deregulated and unsupported.

From a financial perspective, using adjuncts to teach large classes was acceptable and positive, as it would save on faculty salary and increase tuition income for the institution. Increased adjunct hire led to a series of consequences, for example, its negative impact on the quality of students' educational experience.

> Quality adjuncts are hard to find. So we had some incidents of grade inflation, their pay was quite pitiful. So those were un-qualifying people who were not paid well. The grade inflation became the thing that was drawing students because they knew about it. (English faculty EF 2376- 3284)

The grade inflation was in fact created by students' consumer mentality. The students perceived their "best bang for the buck" as high grades with minimal work. The adjuncts inflated grades to increase customer satisfaction. It was a cyclical movement that exploited both students and faculty of all ranks.

> The system with the adjuncts seems to me exploits the adjuncts and it exploits students who don't really see the difference and often don't get a very good educational experience, and it's also bad for the existing faculty. (English Department head, p. 4)

The end result was deteriorating quality of the academic program.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, SITEU primed itself for "being friendly and a good deal". University policies geared towards being nice to the students, for example, allowing them to shop around for courses with no consequences. There was no resistance to this trend at the college/department level. For example, as reported in the previous section, the English department revised curriculum to allow for more student flexibility. Student consumer mentality prevailed at college/department level and increased faculty dissatisfaction.

> This University … needs to change its approach, to the student as individual intellect, and to stop being so nice to them, stop worrying so much about the financing, to really start educating again. Or else otherwise I'll just leave. (English faculty NZ, pp. 1-2)

English faculty NZ was a tenured senior faculty who spent his entire career at SITEU. In his experience, CLA and English department treated students as customers/clients, rather than intellects who needed to grow. Students' intellectual growth was one of the non-monetary rewards for the faculty. As this reward disappeared and the university lagged behind in faculty compensation, the academic profession of faculty seemed less and less appealing.

The future of the academic profession did not appear to be optimistic for some English faculty, senior faculty in particular, including the department head.

> I spend a lot of time, as chair, thinking about my younger faculty. We've hired about seven or eight people since I've been at SITEU, which is five years. And I keep thinking, what is it gonna be like for them in 5 or 10 years? And it's very difficult to think about it, and it's hard to advise them what to do because I'm just not quite sure which way things will go. We could very well have a president who thought well we could all buy Coursera and we could do general education from that, and we do have twice as many faculty as we need, so some people would have to be retired or let go. I just really don't know. I don't really know how to advised them in a sense, because I don't think it's a stable world, I'm not sure that if you are 35 or 40 now and you are fortunate enough to get a tenured position, I don't think that's something you can count on having now. The way things are going now, there are so many people who are not tenured, at a certain point it will be very easy for people at upper position to say this is an equity issue, there are all these people who are doing all these work, they are 60% and you are 40%, why should you have the insurances and pay and perks that they don't have? That'll sound like, you know, equality! That's a tough one. (English department head, pp. 6-7)

Because the percentages of adjunct and non-tenure track faculty were increasing on many campuses, the English department head hypothesized that administrators would no longer deem the tenure system equitable, once the majority of the faculty became non-tenure track, in which case the academic labor market would be completely market driven.

English major curriculum was not as rigorously regulated as Gen Education English curriculum, as the major curriculum was assessed using internal instruments.

Similar to the SITEU assessment system, CLA's internal assessment system was outcome-driven, although it allowed faculty to define course objectives for themselves. Because both assessment systems focused on outcomes in the form of codified results, the process of teaching and learning was only captured in student evaluation of faculty teaching.

> The demonstration of your research, teaching, and service is very hard to codify, a lot of that come from the assessment program. (English faculty EF, p.6)

English faculty's teaching practices in the classrooms were largely deregulated. SITEU did not have any philosophically sounding standards in place to evaluate faculty teaching quality. In addition, as a teaching-oriented institution, faculty research was not promoted at the university level. CLA enforced standards on faculty research only as a part of faculty promotion requirements. Faculty conducted research for promotion and out of passion.

> There is no merit pay for doing any extra work really. So you don't have to make a case in your annual report self-evaluation … Now there is no merit pay, and guess what, people are still writing books, producing scholarship, we're still doing it even though we're not being rewarded. (English faculty CO, p.4)

In the past, faculty could make a case in self-evaluation and negotiate for reward. Currently, the integrity of faculty work was entirely self-monitored and unrewarded. As mentioned in the previous chapter, SITEU instituted an ineffective Faculty Development Center that provided negligible support for faculty teaching. The lack of support for faculty teaching practice persisted at the college/department level.

College of Liberal Arts and English Department to English Faculty Linkage

How did consequences at the college/department level become conditions for the faculty in liberal arts? The administrators at the college/department level, their

interactions with the faculty, and the collective activities of the faculty at the department level served as the linkage between college/department and their faculty. In CLA, the administrators included fulltime administrators (such as CLA dean) and faculty who carried an administrative workload (such as the English department head and English faculty BK who was the director of the graduate program). To summarize how the linkage between levels worked in CLA, I make the following assertions:

1. The English department and its faculty increased educational accountability by accentuating the job preparation function of the English academic program.
2. The English department reduced its adjunct hire by outsourcing faculty's grading responsibility, creating a class of grading faculty.

Conditions

The local culture in CLA and the English department was collegial and decentralized, with the exception of CLA dean. As described in the previous sections, CLA dean was the ultimate decision-maker in the college. He had a top down control of academic programming and granted faculty curricular freedom when he could avoid budgetary implications.

> I think our Dean is very good at what he does. I think it takes a lot of creative thinking and ways of getting around. He's very good at getting around, deciding what really needs our attention, making calls … Whatever he does seems to be a mystery to me.… He was great at all the kinds of stuff that has to be done, but he wasn't interested in having Department meetings or community. It was very frustrating for those of us who were mid-ranked faculty, we were not being mentored. (English faculty BK, pp. 7-9)

CLA dean used to be the English department head, and acted as the head for a short period of time when the English department lost its previous department head. The current English department head was hired by the CLA dean. CLA dean approached his

faculty as a manager. During the process of becoming an administrator, his relationship with the faculty changed from a relationship between senior faculty (mentor) and junior faculty (mentee) to one between supervisor and employee. The English department head were interested in creating a collegial local culture. The English department had a custom where all decisions in the department were voted among the faculty, including faculty hiring decisions.

> In this department, almost every faculty is involved in some way in all these decisions. (English faculty EF, p. 6)

CLA dean reserved the right to reject decisions with financial implications, such as faculty hire.

The English department was in a financial and ethical conundrum. As the institution continued to take in more students, the department was faced with a shortage of faculty, increased teaching load for current faculty, and lack of funds to hire new faculty.

> When the legislature passed that sort of law, saying places who could not guarantee slots in basic courses in college to students, they would have to find a way to outsource it … My sense is that the idea of defunding, degrading, de-legitimating, that's a race to the bottom … The thing I face when I think about these large courses is I would have needed eight new faculty, we have 26 people but some of them are not full-time including administrators, we would need eight new people to staff these courses at the level of 25, to do it right. That's just a nonstarter, to think about that kind of money at this point. But that's how far we are from any kind of… just to have enough staff to teach courses at 25–this is not historically such a great goal to have for your academic program. But we are a long way even from that. (English Department head, p. 5)

This conundrum was treated with increased adjunct hire at the college level. The English department used to have a high percentage of courses taught by adjuncts, which was considered as unethical by the English department head.

> I did not want, as did many of my colleagues, I didn't want think back in 20 years and think I helped exploit adjuncts for 20 years, you know. It was really bad, $22,000 a year for eight courses is criminal. And no benefits, it's terrible. (English Department head, p.4)

It was a consensus in the department that hiring adjunct was unethical. As a result, the English department underwent a reform on Gen Education courses to reduce the amount of adjunct hire in the department.

The disciplinary characteristics of the English department determined that administrators and faculty in English had difficulty demonstrating accountability to non-academic audiences.

> The accountability is very hard in the humanities. What we do is not always valued by the culture at large. It's hard even inside SITEU to get funding for your research projects. I need $5000 for this project. Well why do you need it? I need it to sit at home and read a pile of books. When the sciences say they need $5000, they can say because labs are expensive. Somebody in media can say I need it because all these technology I use that I have to pay for. It is hard to say that I want the $5000 because I want you to pay for my intellectual labor, you can't say that. (English faculty CO, p.4)

The above quote showed two conditions among the liberal arts faculty. Audiences, such as BOV members and parents, evaluated liberal arts education against a set of economic yardsticks, which made it harder for academic programs to demonstrate quality. As a result, the general value of liberal arts education was declining. On the other hand, disciplinary stratification existed in institutional funding support for faculty research.

Linking Activities in the College of Liberal Arts and English Department

Under the above conditions, the English department identified two major tasks: 1) reducing the amount of adjunct hire in the department by increasing Gen Education class sizes, and 2) improving the demonstration of accountability by accentuating the job preparation function of the academic program.

The reform of Gen Education classes was considered a moral debate, a financial calculation, and a trade-off between the two. It was a collective decision at Department level, voted by all English faculty. The English faculty were responsible of teaching a set of Gen Education courses to all undergraduate students at SITEU.

> As a department we don't bring in grants. I don't think we make any money. What we do well is teach. We teach every student in the university in the general education class. We make the university money by teaching. (English faculty EF 18757-19270)

Because tuition income was a major source of revenue for the university, the English faculty were obliged to carry on an increased teaching load, as SITEU's enrollment increased. Some faculty believed that their heavy Gen Education teaching loads bought them academic freedom in the English major curriculum and they were willing to maintain this perceived dynamic.

> In terms of what we choose to teach, I think we're very lucky in terms of our Department head's trying very hard to allow us to teach what you want to teach, teach in our field. I'm very lucky to be able to teach within my field. I'm trying to think if I have ever been turned down when I put in a request for what I would like to teach. It is understood that we will teach some general education classes. (English faculty VA, p.1)

The amount of Gen Education English classes taught by adjuncts was as high as 70% prior to the reform. The English department head initiated a department-wide movement to resolve this issue.

> One of the nice things about SITEU is that nobody seems to care what you are doing at Department level as long as you are not spending any extra money. So I talked to my staff, interviewed the people, thought about the people we had, and who we were exploiting, and I went to large classes for general education courses. It's not a perfect world, but at least I thought it would be good to get the students in front of a full-time professor with a doctorate, and not just … an MA who had been ground down by years of routine teaching, sometimes doing six or seven classes a semester at various places. So that was the big adventure for me. It allowed me to pay greater, more or less living wage, they would make twice as

> much as they make doing eight courses a year as an adjunct. (English Department head, p. 4)

Because CLA dean operated the college with a budgetary bottom line, the English department was able to make certain policy changes freely. The department head proposed to increase Gen Education classes by four times, from 47 to 200. This proposal was voted and approved by the faculty.

> So we voted for large classes. The benefit for full-time faculty to teach these large courses is to move from three classes per semester teaching load to five classes per year teaching load. And also we don't need to do the grading because we then have the money to hire grading faculty. The benefit for the students, it's important for them to have qualified people in those classrooms. (English faculty EF 2376-3284)

After the reform, all classes were taught by tenure-track fulltime faculty. The faculty volunteered and rotated to teach these classes each semester. The budget freed up was used to hire grading faculty. One contingency was outsourcing instructional responsibility in this process. Because the department was able to pay grading faculty a wage much higher than adjunct salary, English department head and faculty considered the reform a success. However, this decision created the class of grading faculty, who were fulltime but did not have regular faculty status.

English faculty volunteered to teach Gen Education courses and the volunteer system posed a contingency. Some of them felt reluctant to do so. Following the reform, the department implemented a sabbatical policy to motivate faculty to teach these 200-student sessions.

> We instituted a sabbatical within the Department, essentially with a numbers game. If each individual faculty member taught 12% more students per semester, you can have two faculty member each semester go on sabbatical. I've been here for about six years, so my turn just came up. I was very grateful that they instituted this program because it wasn't in place when I was hired. They allowed pre-tenure sabbatical too, it's a great benefit. But it's from department to

> department. Some other departments have it, but not everyone. One of the colleagues got the idea, and got the support from the Department head, so we voted on it and put it in place. The college and the University didn't say anything. (English faculty EF 1123-1937)

One English faculty member conceived this idea, which was then voted and adopted by the department. This policy did not challenge CLA dean's budgetary bottom line and did not create budgetary implications for the university.

To better demonstrate accountability, the English department made efforts to accentuate the job preparation functions of the English curriculum. The most important project was the vocational component in the curriculum, including a career course and an internship program. This project was initiated by English faculty BK, who also served as the director of graduate program in English for many years. This faculty member had 15 years of working experience prior to her academic career.

> I was sort of uniquely positioned to do those because I've had several careers between my BA and graduate school. I had a number of different jobs in different areas. I don't believe universities are chiefly vocational. I think the liberal arts offers students particular kinds of skills that they can parlay into all kinds of careers, but I don't think it's necessarily obvious how to do that. So my goal has been to help particular English majors to understand how to evaluate the skills that they learn as English majors and liberal arts students, how they consider the ways their other interests can be dovetailed with those skills, which of those skills they'd like to use, they learned a lot of them and they don't necessarily like to use all of them, and the way they can design a career path instead of going out and say I need to find a job: where do you want to use the skills, what kind of environment, how would you like to see your life developing, what kind of life do you want. So I thought a lot about this, and the ways that they can be integrated into curriculum. (English faculty BK, p.7)

This faculty's basic intention was to help students out. She identified her task as imparting to the students her vocational knowledge that was not originally a part of her disciplinary knowledge, because the students sought it. This action showed the influence of the market culture on the faculty and the academic program at the department level.

Her initiative turned into a career course that was added to the catalog and an internship program that was proven more effective than the career service provided at the university level.

> The career part of it is enormously valued. That class generated huge amount of good press for the department. We would have parents call and say thank you thank you thank you, this is wonderful, I can't believe you are doing this. It trickled down from people in class to friends and classmates, they would help them to do some of those things. So that was very successful. (English faculty BK, p.7)

This project directly responded to student (customer) needs and was well received. However, the course and the program were not instituted in a way that anyone could operate them.

> Since I stopped doing it, it was taken on by someone who had gone straight through [from BA to PhD] and didn't have [work experience] and no particular interest in it. He was willing to do it, but just can't do it successfully. So I told the department head, it's better to have none than have a bad one. (English faculty BK 23061-25054)

When she was not available, the career course was not offered and the internship program was not effective because the faculty who took it over did not possess sufficient vocational experience and knowledge.

> That (the career course) was an attempt by the department to try to help them. There are a couple other courses that are specifically linked up with the journals, again trying to give them the skills to be able to work on magazines and journals, then also give them the feel that … thinking of themselves as professionals. (English faculty VA, p.4)

In addition to the career course which was specifically designed to prepare students for job searches, the department also provided courses that prepared students to work as editors for magazines and journals.

The discourse of economic productivity was translated into pressure on student recruitment and retention at the department level. English major student population did

not grow at the same speed as did the overall SITEU student population. The number of English majors stayed at around 300 while SITEU's undergraduate student body doubled over the past decade. In a way, it seemed the English major students were "falling away".

> The other problem with the program was there was a sense in which if there was any falling away of the students ... Retention is hard with any college now, because retention is so highly prized in terms of ratings and accountability … If you can't fill the class you can't retain the students, you're in trouble immediately, doesn't matter which you are teaching. (English Department head, p.2)

The English department head pointed out that rating was an indicator of quality for the liberal arts. Quantified measures such as retention rates factored into the rating system. The English department was forced to develop programs to attract and retain students. For example, open houses for prospective students.

> It's funny, I feel somewhat conflicted. We have a program, prospective students come after they are accepted in the spring, bring their parents, and they often come to the little dog and pony show I give in the English Department. When I talk to them about this, some will ask me what about jobs, I'll just say this is not professional route, we are not training anybody for any job in particular, here's what some students have done and here's how they've done it, but we are not in the business of giving those particular skills, students found them through other ways, through internships and things like that. I think the parents hardly get it, they just don't hear it much, because they hear all these other kinds of things about being job ready and things like that. (English Department head, p.9)

The students and parents were the audiences at such events. To better sell the English program, the department head was forced to elaborate upon the vocational aspect of the curriculum. English faculty also contributed to student recruitment. For example, some faculty collected data on student achievements such as job attainments.

> I did a sheet that we hand out now for open classes, for students coming by to look at majors. On the sheet it has a paragraph, a list of all the internships. … There's information tracking students going through graduate work… This is a list of publications that our students have done later on or films they have worked on or whatnot. So there's information that has been collected. There's more and more information being collected as we go through assessment. The report I handed in for a previous assessment was for student success rate. Internships and

> jobs and whatnot. That's why I had that to hand out for open houses. (English faculty VA 15207-16222)

These data were used in the department for student recruitment events and were submitted to the institution to meet assessment requirements.

Consequences

As the English department attempted to strengthen its job preparation capability, its academic programming adopted the economic framing of education. The English department failed to resist student consumer mentality. The prevailing consumer mentality on campus became a general atmosphere that dominated faculty's everyday life:

> If the general atmosphere for the students has changed from being a student in other words somebody who comes and remains by virtue of their diligence and their work, to someone who is basically a customer or a client with the university, then many of them would resist the idea that I can and should present them with ideas that they have to take some kind of final shape. In other words, knowledge is a commodity which they have purchased, versus I'm trying to integrate them into a larger conversation about something that's about to emerge. (English faculty NZ, 6234-7187)

Because SITEU allowed the students to behave like customers whose preferences should not be challenged, they resisted knowledge transmission in the format of intellectual inquiries. This shift in students' learning preferences influenced faculty's classroom teaching. The faculty might feel pressured to change their way of teaching in order to keep students engaged in the learning process and preventing them from falling away.

In general, the English department had a collegial culture where faculty collaborated as colleagues. Under the premise of balancing the checkbook, the department had reasonable freedom in terms of academic programming.

> As far as what individuals do in their courses, if you look at just individuals and courses, as chair, I encourage anyone to do, to follow their own ideas through. I haven't actually said no to a course yet, as long as there is any, but I have also been lucky to have people who are extremely competent and extremely careful

> about their teaching, and take a great deal of pains in thinking about how they are gonna construct a course. (English Department head, p.1)

According the English department head, he relied on his faculty to be self-responsible and spontaneously teach to a high standard. At the department level, there was no mechanism to monitor, evaluate, and reward faculty teaching practices. The overall integrity of the academic program was not assessed at SITEU. Faculty's curricular activities remained deregulated.

SITEU required faculty to split their time among teaching, research, and service, with teaching heavily prioritized. Within the English department, the majority of the faculty pulled back on service. For example,

> I try to do no more than 20% service, because I've seen other colleagues doing service and it sort of derailed them from their career, because they have to take on so much that they have no time to do research. (English faculty EF, p. 1)

Compared to teacher education faculty, English faculty dedicated more time and effort to research. Some faculty chose to carry additional service load when the department head gave them a teaching relief as an exchange. As SITEU leadership viewed faculty research solely as a tenure and promotion requirement, faculty's research activities in the English department were deregulated.

To summarize the neoliberal transformations in the liberal arts, CLA and the English department adopted the neoliberal approaches at the university level while attempting to preserve professoriate authority and academic freedom in teaching and learning. The market culture and consumer mentality influenced college/department level curricular practices, forcing CLA dean to demonstrate educational quality with cost-efficiency calculations, and forcing the English department to accentuate the job preparation function of its curriculum.

The second half of this chapter discusses the conditions, processes, and consequences in the College of Education (COE), as well as the linkage between COE/teacher education department and the teacher education faculty. Table 10 provides a summary of the content.

Table 10: Mesodomain Analysis at the College/Department Level: Education

	College/Department	College/Department to Faculty Linkage
Conditions	External regulatory pressures Internal financial pressures	College/Departmental culture
Network of Collective Activity	External accrediting and certifying bodies University leadership COE dean Department heads Faculty	COE dean Teacher education department heads Faculty
Major Tasks	Teacher preparation for Virginia Curriculum and projects that demonstrated compliance, attracted funding, or generated revenue	Carry heavy teaching loads Design curriculum that met all requirements
Interests /Intentions	Stay in business Prepare teachers for needy areas	Help future teachers to meet all requirements
Conventions /Practices	Compliance activities Outcome-based assessment	Dean appointed faculty to participate in college level projects Regular departmental meetings to learn and address accreditation needs
Power /Resources	Stature of COE's teacher prep programs	Faculty hiring process Compliance as departmental collective activity
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Competing interests: COE dean's agenda differed from legislative and SITEU agenda	Majority of faculty disconnected from college level activities Faculty research could potentially generate more revenue
Consequences	Unable to fulfill public service mission COE as business	Conformance and compliance among faculty

Conditions in the College of Education and Teacher Education Department

Different from CLA, COE was a professional school regulated by various accreditors and governing bodies at many levels. The professional schools of education and teacher training programs in Virginia and their conditions were closely related to the status of K12 education. I make the following assertions to summarize the conditions of COE and teacher education department at SITEU.

1. COE was aggressively regulated by a number of governing and accrediting bodies as resulted from the increased regulation of K12 education.
2. COE's day-to-day functions were shaped by the requirements and expectations from external and internal entities by means of political and financial control.

As a public service, teacher education was heavily regulated at the state level. COE and the teacher education department were under direct financial and political pressure from the national and state levels. The federal and state governments controlled teacher education through K12 education. For example, the No Child Left Behind act had a significant impact on the field of education in general.

> Under the current national administration, under Obama, I thought No Child Left Behind would be severely compromised, but he had not done that, he's continued, kind of the same pressure, same values, that was a surprise. Then when he picked Arnie Duncan to be Secretary of Education, we knew … he doesn't get what most teachers are feeling, what most schools are dealing with, and they still don't. It's been maybe, certainly in my lifetime, it's been the worst time for our profession, as far as the cultural and political zeitgeist has been. (COE Dean, p.5)

As the COE dean reflected, the current political culture in the federal government and in the country in general demoted the values shared by many K12 educators and demoted the teaching profession. The Commonwealth of Virginia embraced this attitude towards education.

> You hear the stories about some groups of teachers in other states going against standardized testing because they thought it was wrong. You don't hear anything like that in Virginia. (Teacher education faculty SH, p. 3)

A conformance mentality formed among teachers, as well as faculty in schools of education, allowing politicians to influence the field of education more than scholars.

> I think the politicians have much more influence obviously, they always have, than the scholars. …there's a lot of rhetoric about cost savings, the importance of giving all children an even kind of start toward learning, but I have yet to see any

> funding actually instituted. … I see a lot of programs and they are assuming what we are doing is putting children in public preschool programs so that we can push the curriculum down. That's not at all what early childhood education is meant to be. … I don't see people who know about early childhood education having the loud enough voice about what the President and Arnie Duncan are gonna fund and have go on in schools. I just don't see that connection being made. So it's very frustrating. (Teacher Education Department head, pp.2-3)

Teacher education department head specialized in early childhood education. She observed the lack of scholarly influence on her field and noted that politicians leveraged funding and finance to assert influence over preschool programs without sufficient knowledge about early childhood education. Increased regulations on K12 education at the federal/state level had a direct impact on schools of education.

> Probably more emphasis on outcomes, assessments, and accountability, which is the same thing you have in K12. That's the biggest change. (Previous teacher education department head, p.1)

The previous teacher education department head was on COE faculty for 35 years before she retired. In her experience, the biggest change in COE's day-to-day function in recent years was the increased efforts to respond to mandates on assessments and accountability.

In addition to heightened requirements for assessment and accountability, financial pressure shaped COE's functions as well. Within SITEU, COE as a college experienced faculty salary freeze like CLA did. COE dean considered faculty salary freeze as a result of SITEU leadership's decision on keeping SITEU's tuition competitive.

> When the state is cutting back on the base budgeting, that's the question, what are we gonna… How are we gonna replace these? …UVA would do double-digit tuition increase, whereas we might do a 4% one … The legislators aren't gonna get it, if we keep the tuition down and pay professors no more salaries... Legislature is not gonna feel the pressure to get us more from the state revenues … this university, has been reluctant to do that (double-digit tuition increase). I'm surprised that I'm saying that because I wish we didn't have to harm the students. The policy makers aren't gonna get the message if the only people get harmed are our faculty. (COE Dean, p.8)

According to COE dean, state level policy makers started the chain of actions by reducing state funding for institutions. SITEU reacted by cutting back on faculty compensation and increasing student tuition in small increments. This forced COE to seek ways to generate revenue for itself.

Financial and regulatory pressures combined shaped COE's day-to-day function. Such pressures came from external and internal entities.

> I mean we are out of business if we are not responding to the state regulations governing teacher education programs, if we are not in compliance with national accreditation issues … that's probably the primary driver for what we are doing day in and day out in our programs. Another influence of some note includes some state policymakers… There is also … the State Council for Higher Education. If they have certain goals and expectations that they value, they will filter down to the various institutions and we will feel that pressure and that influence and to try to be responsive to it ... And then we have strategic goals of the University as articulated by the president and his leadership team. (COE dean, p.1)

COE complied with federal level accreditation and state level certifying requirements in order to be considered as legitimate. In addition to political authority, these entities used funding to control the orientation of COE's curriculum and program activities.

> These are entities that help control the budgets, the allocations that we might get, so there's an incentive right there as well to respond. … If we do ignore it, there is some peril to doing so. The state, the governor's office and the state legislature. They control the base funding for the University and colleges. If we are not responsive to what they think is most valuable in terms of orientation of our curriculum, there is a chance that our budget could be reduced. [They] may have oversight over grants and external funding opportunities that we might seek and apply for. That might enhance our resource base. … Internally if the president's office for example say we really want to push on the area of diversity, say this is gonna be a big value of my administration, they might provide incentives either in terms of budget or in terms of allocating personnel or other resources. (COE dean, pp. 1-2)

In other words, various external and internal entities were above COE in the hierarchy of higher education system. They controlled funding for COE and used funding as an

enforcer and an incentive to influence COE's functions. The internal entity referred to SITEU leadership, who pushed their goals down to college/department level through control of purse string.

Processes in the College of Education and Teacher Education Department

Under the above financial and regulatory pressures, COE and the teacher education department underwent a series of transformations to make sure their programs would stay in business.

1. COE devised outreach and summer programs, as well as online courses, to increase enrollment and generate extra revenue.
2. COE and teacher education program developed an outcome-based assessment system to increase accountability.

The network of collective activity in COE and the teacher education department included external (such as VDOE, K12 schools) and internal (SITEU leadership) influencers COE dean, teacher head department heads, and teacher education faculty. COE had the primary function of training teachers for public K12 education in the Commonwealth of Virginia. This function was regulated by a number of external entities, according to COE dean.

> Our college, and the primary mission of our college, is one of the most aggressively regulated enterprises in probably any field of study including Medicine. The preparation of educators is regulated at the state level, it's regulated at the national level by a couple different organizations, it is regulated within different professions within education, and so that puts a great deal of pressure on us for designing programs and curriculum that respond to the expectations of those regulators and policymakers. So a lot of what we do is compliance work or compliance activity. (COE Dean, p.1)

The main task at the college/department level was to design programs and curriculum that met the requirements and expectations of external and internal entities. The

requirements and expectations that COE received reflected two neoliberal transformations at higher levels: economic framing of education and heightened accountability regulations. The economic framing of education required COE to demonstrate its contribution to the economy. For example, COE's programs and curriculum reflected a desire to increase the number of STEM educators at the state level.

> Some state policymakers, it could be legislators, it could be the governor's office, it could be the state department of education. Their expectations, their desires. If they want us, for example, to focus on preparing more STEM teachers, science technology engineering students, we are going to adjust what we're doing in our programs to the desires they express. It might be a desire for special education teachers, and so on… The president and his leadership team. And if they value for example diversity, we will try to be increasingly responsive to the kinds of influences around diversity, or STEM, or whatever it might be.

Increasing emphasis on STEM education was attempt to harness higher education's contribution to the economy shared at the federal, state, and university levels. One of COE's tasks was to increase its production of graduates in STEM education, even though COE's mission was not to prepare the next generation of STEM educators.

> In the field of STEM for example. We've done quite a bit of work in the area of robotics and we framed it in the context of accessibility to STEM on behalf of children of disadvantage or less privilege. … But we gave a lot of thought to what we could do that's STEM-related but doesn't take it to the level of preparing the next generation of math and science teachers. That's too hard to do, it's almost impossible to do that. The best mathematicians and scientists won't go into classrooms, so we struggle to find other ways to get more math and science teachers, but we can do things in the STEM fields that align with that mission and do it in the way that allows us to apply some things to the classroom. (COE Dean, p.4)

The COE dean commented that because preparing STEM teachers was not the primary mission of the college, COE was forced to frame projects and programs in the context of STEM education in order to gain funding support from higher levels. With the goal of increasing the number of STEM teachers, COE struggled with finding new students. COE

resorted to use outreach program, summer program, and online courses to increase enrollment.

> In some relatively modest ways, we have some programs that are almost entirely online, delivered online with just modestly sized cohort of students, 30 maybe.… Another thing is most of our summer revenue is generated through online courses, so we are on that train too. But I can't see us going so far in that direction of MOOCs (massive online courses), just piling out students and revenue. But the impulse is there, our outreach program, no one plays games about that, it's a revenue producer, let's go out and get as many students as we can get, and hopefully you will get them by offering good programs. That's not the first question asked. The first question asked is where we can get more students, new students … The extra revenue from our outreach and engagement program and our summer program, those are two important sources of revenue. (COE Dean, p.8)

Outreach and summer programs generated revenue for COE and allowed COE to show compliance at the same time. In addition to programs and initiatives, COE created an administrative position for the sole purpose of attracting external funding.

> We have someone new to the position, someone on the faculty that writes grants. She's new to that position, but before then she was a department chair, she's the grant writer now and she is very active. (Teacher education faculty RD, p. 3)

This type of administrative position was new in COE and did not exist in CLA.

COE's mission of public service was in conflict with SITEU's business agenda. SITEU leadership adopted the state goal of increasing enrollment in high need and STEM programs. The Provost's Office recognized COE's focus on preparing STEM educators as a major college level accomplishment.

> In collaboration with Outreach and Engagement, COE hosted the SITEU Content/Teaching Academy; an annual week-long residential professional development opportunity focused on STEM content and pedagogy for P-12 educators of the Commonwealth. The 2013 Academy included workshops on Children's Engineering, Robotics, Modeling and Computer Science. (Document data, Accomplishments 2012-13, p.3)

As the above report showed, SITEU considered serving the economic desire of the Commonwealth as an important responsibility of the university and of COE. SITEU's business agenda put restrictions on COE's activities.

> I set my goals—we set our goals in the college, and when we do that, we know the university has their goals too. There are four, say, and those four will certainly be added to the ones we have. We know what's important to the university. If we want to maintain a kind of legitimacy, we need to be connected with those goals too. But in addition to those, we will add a goal or two of ours and we will report up within the context of those goals, so we will have a goal that includes service. (COE dean, p.7)

In order to maintain its legitimacy as a college, COE was forced to combine SITEU's business agenda with its own public service agenda.

COE's stature in the field of teacher preparation led to COE's eventual success in increasing enrollment.

> I don't know if teacher education has quite the same stature at UVa as it does here. I don't think it does. Students just flock here to learn to be a teacher … We've been way too satisfied with people coming here from the whole nationwide. They come here to learn to teach. (COE Dean, p.6)

This stature was perceived as reputation among the faculty. Some believed it was a major proof of quality and accountability for COE. For example,

> Right now accountability is demonstrated through accreditation and reputation. It does us $1 million worth of good if my students go out there and they teach and they do well, and when people asked them where they were trained, they say SITEU, that helps our public opinion better than probably accreditation … So I think we do accreditation, but the other thing is word-of-mouth. Are we producing a good product? Is it a product that the Virginian system and even beyond are interested in? … If the answers are yes, and word gets out, we're covered. (Teacher education faculty RD, p. 5)

The faculty quoted above believed that pre-service teachers were products that COE produced to serve Virginia's schools. Therefore, employers' evaluation of COE graduates

was the most important demonstration of COE's educational quality. In fact, COE developed practices to identify employer needs.

> We work also with our partners in the schools, maybe some agencies as well, community service boards and so on, but primarily with our school partners, trying to gather from them, what their needs are, and to see what the qualities of our candidates are, what they seem to be better one less prepared to do, that might impact the changes we're making to our curriculum. (COE dean, p.2)

Through these communications, educational professionals in K12 schools and interest groups in the community had an influence on COE's academic programming.

At the curricular level, COE and teacher education department developed a system of outcome-based assessments to ensure their curriculum met all external requirements. COE as a school was accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) and was mostly exempted from SACS regulations. Teacher education department had several teacher licensure programs that was regulated by specialized accreditors, such as the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC). Additionally, COE curriculum addressed VDOE teacher licensure exam requirements, such as Virginia Standards of Learning (SOL) standards.

> All these agencies have guidelines. We have to comply with these accrediting standards … SACS in general don't look at the college of education. (COE dean, p. 4)

> There is a ton of assessments … A lot of it is triggered by NCATE, because NCATE says you gonna have an assessment system … so you gonna have a way to measure them (student learning outcomes)… Some data are required for DOE but not required by the professional accreditation. That's why you need to have an assessment system, so that you can produce all data needed to fulfill different requirement. Changes can occur from a lot of different issues or situations or changes in society … you need to have a system in place so that you can spit out reports whenever necessary. (Previous teacher education department head, p. 2)

The previous teacher education department head who recently retired was involved in the design process of the assessment systems for SITEU and COE. Similar to SITEU's

Assessment Center, COE had its own Assessment Office that coordinated all data collection and produced reports. However, due to COE's budget limit, many administrative tasks associated with assessments were distributed among education faculty.

> You have candidate (pre-service teacher) assessment data, you have program assessment data, you have operations data—how you operate as a unit in the administrative process, and advising, those things to make sure it's effective and works for all the departments. The candidate outcomes, things we say that the candidates have to be able to do, we're collecting data through classes, through assignments, through their fieldwork, through follow-up surveys, through career surveys. All of that is data you are looking at to see if you are effective. The faculty do that, different groups in the college do that. (Previous teacher education department head, p. 2)

Assessments were subsequently built into curriculum design and became a part of instructional responsibility for the faculty.

The economic framing of education was in conflict with COE dean's intended purpose of his school. This was a contingency that posed a significant challenge for the dean. As mentioned earlier, the federal, state, and university level interest groups shared the desire for higher education to serve economic needs (e.g., workforce development). The economic values threatened to discount other values shared by many educators.

> It's (STEM education) huge. It's almost moved everything else, every other consideration, off the table. It's such a force in influencing our thinking that it threatens to discount things that I value more personally and that I know a lot of faculty value more. STEM is probably the biggest influence right now. If we're not paying attention to those things, we're not being responsive to many many pressures, pressures from consequential sources. (COE Dean, p.2)

Political and financial pressures forced COE to train more STEM teachers than the dean desired. The dean intended for COE's programs to focus on its public service mission: preparing teachers to educate children of disadvantages. This public service mission was competing with the goal of increasing higher education's contribution to the economy at

higher levels. The dean's solution to this contingency was a balancing act, chasing money in order to underwrite the true mission of public service.

> So we think hard and carefully about trying to respond to those, and sometimes we do it almost shamelessly, in other words we chased the money. In a way you almost have to play that game out a little bit, you have to play it well enough to be somewhat successful, in order to underwrite or subsidize what you truly believe in and truly value. If we just set our own agenda, it's not very political and it's risky. We are not gonna be able to do good work, if we are not gonna do any work. We've got to play, got to be competitive. So I work quite hard trying to find the balance of effort within the college, to have enough people willing to explore external funding opportunities in the STEM fields, or in the field of literacy, those are the two main ones these days. (COE Dean, p.4)

COE invested efforts into two fields that attracted the most external funding: STEM education and literacy. After attracting sufficient funds through these two fields, the dean subsidized COE's efforts in other under-funded areas. COE dean specialized in child and family psychology and therapy before becoming a fulltime administrator. School violence was one of the issues the dean desired to contribute to.

> We've done a lot of work this year in the area of school violence and bullying, the school safety and so on. It's been very difficult to get resources to support these kinds of investigations that we would like to undertake. There's just not enough people paying close enough attention or care enough to invest in the question of how we treat each other, individuals, in this country and worldwide. The question of understanding each other, they don't think it's very important in the larger scheme of things these days. It's not fun, it's just not fun in our college. It's been a struggle to keep hope high among the faculty. (COE dean, p. 3)

Because the larger scheme of things was economic development, COE dean struggled to find resources to support educational investigations that did not focus on workforce development. As a result, COE was not able to fulfill its public service mission.

Consequences in the College of Education and Teacher Education Department

Legislature and policy makers forced COE to comply with the economic framing of education and increased accountability regulations at both federal and state levels. In

addition to political control, various institutions influenced COE's functions through control of funding. As the college's public service efforts were underfunded, COE and teacher education department demonstrated compliance and chased money in order to subsidize efforts in public service. This process led to the following consequence:

1. In the process of becoming a business, COE was unable to fulfill its public service mission.

Even though COE dean managed to subsidize efforts in school violence, COE was not able to fully fulfill its public service mission. COE's teacher education curriculum was designed to meet external regulatory requirements. As a result, COE was not able to prepare teachers for the most needy areas, for example, preparing teachers to serve disadvantaged populations in inner-city schools. As reflected by the Dean:

> It's my biggest challenge [as a Dean], so far biggest frustration. No one would notice. People in Richmond don't know that were thinking of them that we care about them. There's probably not that many people who care that we do. My Provost doesn't. …our candidates are not ready for inner-city when they leave here, so they avoid it, and that means, when we think about the biggest need in schools in this country, people working in the most challenging schools, what's SITEU doing about it? We are doing almost nothing about it. And that's frustrating to me. (COE Dean, p.7)

The Dean also felt the mission of public education was held back by the overarching political environment. The state level politicians and SITE leadership were not interested in funding programs and curricular activities that prepared teachers for the most challenging schools. COE's graduates also avoided serving such schools, as they were not prepared to teach in communities that served the poor. The overall environment did not support the public service mission of the school. For example, policy makers controlling the resources at the state level were not interested in funding educational efforts targeting disadvantaged communities, unless such efforts were STEM-related.

When asked about the status of public higher education being a public good, COE commented:

> There aren't too many people who would even ask that question, there's not enough people in the right positions to think about that question. Only if you asked them would they care about the poor, they say they care, they are not living their lives as if they do, I'm talking about the governor, I'm talking about the state department, the policymakers, the legislators … they're not thinking about the poor. So the fact that we may not be doing as much as we should to prepare teachers to work in communities that serve the poor. That's just our business. No one is gonna hold us to task. What I'm saying is that I'm holding us to task, I'm holding myself to task, and I'm not proud of what we've done since I've been here. I think we're failing the society. But I can't convince the Governor. I can't convince him enough for him to say that you know I'm with you and I'm gonna provide you some resources that's gonna help you do what you say you are gonna do. (COE dean, p. 7)

In COE dean's opinion, the state policy makers' economic agenda caused his school to fail the mission of public service and lose the status of public good. Currently monetary profit was the most important motivator in the field of higher education.

> It comes at the cost of the soul of higher education. It's almost a soulless enterprise. We're chasing the wrong thing, we're chasing treasure instead of the welfare of the humanity for example. I think we've kind of lost our way, if we had ever been a beacon of human dignity … We're going back to almost pre-history. We're just trying to get the next biggest bone. Is that what it's about? That shouldn't be what it's about, but in a sense that's what it's become. It's sad and shameful. And I worry that nobody cares. Nobody that I'm reporting to cares. The leaders of the institutions, the presidents, the boards, they care? They are looking for headlines of certain sort. They don't realize in gaining the headlines they seek, they've been diminished yet another little bit because that's the wrong thing. (COE dean, p. 7)

COE dean reflected that interest groups at higher levels in the higher education system were chasing profit. However, profit came at the price of the welfare of the humanity. For example, college-wide revenue generation effort (such as STEM teacher preparation) replaced the mission of preparing teachers for the most challenging schools, leaving some

of the most disadvantaged children underserved. The pursuit of profit rendered public higher education a "soulless enterprise".

Faculty also concluded that the nature of SITEU's mission had changed from service to business:

> I got the feeling, many years ago it wasn't like that, they knew that the state was going to do things and they would spend the money from the state, it wasn't so much seeking out money, being cutthroat in competing for it or going for grants, it was very, it was a service. (Teacher education faculty SL 18837-21051)

In summary, COE was in the process of transforming into a business that balanced its own checkbook. In order to subsidize public service efforts desired by the dean and education faculty, COE developed programs and curricular activities to generate tuition revenue and attract external funding. The public service mission was replaced by the mission of increasing economic output as a top priority at the college/department level. At the curricular level, teacher education department relied on outcome-based assessments to demonstrate compliance. In addition to accrediting/governing bodies, employer in the teacher labor market guided teacher education curriculum design.

College of Education and Teacher Education Department to Education Faculty Linkage

Financial and regulatory pressures forced a compliance mentality onto COE. The administrators in COE and teacher education department, primarily the dean and the department head, served as the linkage that transferred college/department level consequences into conditions for the faculty. The following assertions summarize the conditions, activities, and consequences of the linkage:

1. Teacher education department and its faculty worked collectively to develop a regimented curriculum that demonstrated compliance, leaving little room for faculty-generated curricular changes.
2. COE dean informally recruited certain faculty to participate in college level initiatives, leaving the majority of education faculty disconnected from college level activities.
3. Faculty salary freeze and heavy teaching load caused faculty morale to decline, contributing to COE's failure in performing public service.

Conditions

The teacher education department contained four program areas that trained teachers for different subjects, such as reading, math, and early childhood education.

> Within the department that I chaired, there were four programs, each needed to be in different roles, and each of roles had different values and the knowledge they require. (Previous teacher education department head, p. 2)

At the department level, faculty generated revenue by carrying heavy teaching loads. SITEU's emphasis on faculty research was perceived as almost non-existent in COE.

> As a department, we don't have to generate external funding. Not for this department. I think we have only one grant, and that's the state of Virginia, Department of Social Services. (Teacher education department head, p.6)

> Faculty who don't have a research agenda, they teach a lot, they serve on a lot of committees ... If you come in as a faculty member and your focus is teaching and service, you'll be fine … So faculty don't have a research agenda, they teach four courses in the fall, four in the spring, and some of them teach three or four in the summer, they just teach all the time. (Teacher education faculty RD, p. 4)

While English faculty typically taught two to three courses per semester and many dedicated their summers to research, education faculty taught four courses each semester and dedicated their summers to teaching as well. The heavy teaching loads could be

explained by COE's budget limit. New faculty positions were not created while student enrollment increased. Adjunct hire was not a common practice in COE, although COE offered non-tenure track teaching positions with one-year contracts. Only a small number of COE faculty was supported by external research funding and negotiated teaching relief.

Administratively, the teacher education department was a collective unit in which faculty took terms to carry department level administrative duties that typically involved coordination of compliance work, such as assessments. Within COE, the dean, teacher education department head, and the faculty formed the network of collective activity and served as the linkage between the college/department and the faculty.

Linking Activities in the College of Education and Teacher Education Department

As described in the previous section, COE developed college level programs and initiatives to increase enrollment and generate revenue. In the process of staffing these initiatives, COE dean made personal contacts with specific faculty members and recruited them to participate in these projects, leaving the majority of COE faculty unaware of some college level activates. These programs were typically associated with COE's outreach and summer programs. One example was the lab school project originally initiated by the Governor's Office.

> Another example would be the call from governor's office for the implementation of partnership schools, for us to have a lab school. Initially they imagined it to be a lab school on campus for children. Several of us testified before the Board of Education that they're going against what the best practices suggest in our field, that if we have partnerships, it should not be in a sheltered environment, on college campuses, but in the communities where schools exist. So we recommended that, and when they called for proposals to establish lab schools, we did respond and sent in the proposal that accommodate what we saw as the best way to do it, in if you're going to have it, place it not on our campus but place it in the schools in the communities, and we did get our proposal funded. So we do respond as well as we can without completely divested ourselves with conscience. (COE Dean, p.4)

This was an example of COE dean's attempt to chase money without entirely compromising his school's public service mission. Instead of placing the lab school on SITEU campus, the dean negotiated with the funding agency (the Governor's Office) and placed it in the outreach program located off-campus so that it could best serve the community. To staff this project, COE dean personally reached out to several faculty whose research might be benefited from participating in the project. The dean explained his consideration in this decision:

> If I'm going to faculty members and say I need you to… I know that person I'm sitting down with hasn't had a raise in five years. And I'm gonna do what? I'm gonna send them off and do new things? It's hard to do. I do that. But it's hard to do … So I work quite hard trying to find the balance of effort within the college, to have enough people willing to explore external funding opportunities in the STEM fields, or in the field of literacy. (COE Dean, pp. 4&8)

The dean suspected that education faculty were unwilling to take on more than what they were doing. Instead of paying faculty extra or offer teaching relief as an incentive, the dean chose to informally appoint faculty of his choice to participate in this project. This could be explained by COE's budget limit. Teacher education faculty RD was among the faculty recruited by COE dean to participate in the lab school project.

> I like my Dean. He's produced an environment that's productive to me. I'm not sure if everyone shares that opinion. If he wants for example a lab school and he wants it to be a college initiative, he would ask the faculty members to take the lead. That is nice because it's a college level initiative but he's tapped faculty who can use it in their own agenda. I know this because I am tapped. He catches the wind and says we want to do XY and Z, and picks a couple faculty members to take the lead. We submit the proposal, and we're the PI, run the project at college level with his support ... And there's this typical jealousy thing. Someone finds out about the lab school, and says oh I wish I was the one that's running it, well, the dean picked it, I don't know. (Teacher education faculty RD, p. 4)

The lack of communication between the dean and the majority of the faculty created a contingency in COE. The majority of COE faculty was not integrated into such college level initiatives.

Teacher education department's main task was operating teacher training programs. The department generated revenue by teaching. Curriculum design was a collective activity in the department. This process strictly followed an outcome-based principle which was implemented by the previous department head.

> I was there a long time. Department changed many times. Most recently, people who are there now, are all hired by me. We really spent a lot of time talking about curriculum. We talk about students and their performance, those are actually about curriculum … Curriculum design is a circle, it's never ending. You are always looking at your data, what's happening in the field, to make sure its current, preparing our students for what the reality is. (Previous teacher education department head, p.2)

The previous department head was interested in a curriculum that reflected the most current needs of the field. The new Department head came from another state and was interested in national policy changes. While getting settled into her new position, she was interested in a curriculum that reflected national movements in the field:

> I'm trying to get our faculty to look at their programs from a big picture approach, to make sure that we are giving teachers the expertise and preparation they need to go into schools and perform at a high level of quality. I feel like the national core standards are probably where I'd like to see us focusing than on the SOLs in Virginia, in particular the notion of helping children learn how to be critical thinkers and problem solvers and ethical decision-makers. That's really where I'd like to guide our programs to go. (Teacher education department head, p.2)

In other words, both department heads were interested in teaching to the most current and influential standards. Based on this principle, teacher education department tied its curriculum to an outcome-based assessment system. Course objectives and syllabi were documented and monitored for accreditation needs at both university and

college/department levels. In addition, assessment was incorporated into the course design:

> Course design has to have a number of components including assessment. We need to make sure they produce the outcomes we want. So the course activities have to be able to produce the same outcome we want. (Previous teacher education department head, p.2)

To ensure outcome, the department developed following practices: determining desirable outcomes, hiring faculty that shared similar values, and training faculty to operate in an outcome-oriented way.

> We have a view of what good education is each individual program, and that's informed by standards, research, knowledge base in the fields. From that, what we want our teachers to be like when they finish, what we want them to know and understand, their attitudes and dispositions, and then probably design a curriculum that will lead to those outcomes, then you hire people who value the same values. So it's part of the hiring process, it's part of the orientation process, it's part of curriculum design process. I'm simplifying. (Previous teacher education department head, p.1)

The department set course objective for the faculty and allowed faculty to share syllabi freely in the department. Faculty's course design process took place at the department level.

> When I was hired, I was handed over a syllabus from years back to help me start, and I used it for the very first semester to teach the elementary science methods class. (Teacher Education faculty RD 1811-2899)

> When I came into the program, the objectives are set for each of the courses. With those objectives, we share syllabus freely in the department. Seeing what they've developed and building on that, is how I see things work. So it's really about building the course around those objectives. (Teacher Education faculty SH 756-1044)

> What we look at first is the International Reading Association (IRA) guidelines for what makes a strong program. We make sure we have all those things covered. On the lowest level we look at Department of Education in Virginia and what is required for students to get certified as reading specialist, and certainly what they will need to pass the reading part of the practice exam. For me, it's about what do

> they need to walk out of the door and into a classroom. (Teacher Education faculty DG 22-767)

The above faculty members' experiences showed that curriculum and course design processes were collective activities.

Teacher education department was not pressured to attract external funding, although the department had started to explore the opportunities.

> As the state pulls back on the money, we are in the process of becoming a business instead of a service. And we are not prepared to be a business and not all faculty want to be in business. A lot of the faculty culture is that it is a service. So we have had discussions at some of our department meetings, about things like, you know, is there going to become pressure to bring in grant money and therefore focus your research on lucrative areas or timely areas, what do you do about faculty could do a great job with service in the professional organizations but they don't bring in grants, how much is that going to count as we move toward this new model (business model). (Teacher Education faculty SL 10164-11064)

As the teacher education department made department level decision collectively, the faculty discussed the possibilities of conducting lucrative research at department meetings. There was not yet any concrete proposal in the department at the time of study.

The transparency of the curriculum design process, combined with faculty morale decline, made it difficult for any faculty-initiated curricular changes to happen. For example, teacher education faculty ER was interested in offering a writing course.

> I've been pushing ever since I got there for us to have a writing course for undergrads, we only have it for the grad level and I never really understood that. The same was children's literature, I would like that to be a requirement, but it's not, so I'm still working on that. …in the summer, you can offer anything you want, and teach anything you want. Basically you want to give it to our Department Head, she would take it back to the teacher education faculty and to say do you all feel that this is a worthwhile course to offer. That's how I offered writing instruction last summer and I tried to use evaluations from the students to make a proposal so that it could be a required course. (Teacher Education faculty ER 11394-13508)

The only opportunity to do so was to offer the course as an elective in the summer. To make the course a part of the curriculum, the faculty must obtain approval from the whole department. This could be a challenge.

> One of the things is that it has to pass in the whole department. And everybody has their stake in, no no they have to take their social studies class, they have to take math methods, we only have so many hours, we can't add any more… And so it's enough of a battle to include a class… We only have seven people and all these classes to cover, do we really want to add one more? Because we don't have money for another position for somebody to teach all those courses, so it all comes back to money. The money is so tight and there are no raises. People don't want to take on more. (Teacher Education faculty ER 4132-4974)

Faculty salary freeze at the university level led to faculty morale decline in COE. Because the faculty were unwilling to take on more, course addition requests from the faculty were rejected by the department.

Consequences

The linking activities between the faculty and their college/department produced two consequences. The outcome-based curriculum design process in teacher education department created a conformance mentality among the faculty. Faculty had limited opportunities to generate curricular changes, and yet believed that they had freedom in teaching.

> During our academic year, we really have no room for new courses. (Previous teacher education department head, p.2)

> I mean we have to have the same objectives in the syllabus, but how we teach that is up to us. (Teacher education faculty AN, p.1)

Education faculty were accustomed to complying with regulations and teaching to standards. For example, teacher education faculty RD believed that showing compliance would not compromise academic freedom because regulations and standards defined only "what" to teach.

> Nothing is ever forced upon you unless it's an accrediting body … but the 'what' is a checklist, 'how' is academic freedom … I really don't care what they want me to teach, I'm gonna do what they want me to do. To be an accredited elementary science course, you have to do these, no problem, I'm gonna do it. (Teacher Education faculty RD 1811-2899)

Many education faculty believed that academic freedom entailed only "how to teach in the classroom". They were accustomed to complying with rules and standards forced upon their practice. Education faculty demonstrated a lack of interest in the governance of the school and the university.

> Of course they do (partake in university governance), but they may not get very far. I think it just a matter of the power of your voice depending on your position. I don't think anyone necessarily controls it, it's just the hierarchy that there is. (Teacher Education Department head, p.5)

> I just get excited about literacy. I sort of keep an eye on university level policies, but only things like average salary. (Teacher Education faculty SH 9018-9182)

> That's [SITEU finance model] above my pay grade level. There are some things we just don't have to worry about. (Teacher Education faculty SL 9846-10163)

> There is a faculty handbook in terms of if you are having any problems or if you need to report something. That's how you know what the policies are. I don't know any of the policies, why would I? But you can find out about anything if you want to. (Teacher Education faculty DG 19417-19796)

Teacher education department head and faculty showed an acceptance of the hierarchical power structure in SITEU and placed themselves at the receiving end of top-down decisions.

The previous department head believed that the best teacher education curriculum was one that trained teachers to effectively demonstrate compliance with whatever standards there might be.

> You can't prepare teachers who teach for a single set of standards, because sometimes they are common core and sometimes they are SOLs. So you have to be critically thinking about what they are going to do so that whatever comes

> down the pipe, next or 10 years later, they can make decisions about what's effective. (Previous teacher education department head, p.1)

The current teacher education department head shared similar believes in a slightly different way. For example, she suggested that academic programs need to cater to the public interest.

> If you are not able to attract more than two people into a discipline, then the discipline is dying or dead…. You have to think about how it can become more vital. At my previous institution, we had foundations of education that's withering. … What happened was that they got faculty who were really interested in more vital issues, like global education and diversity … and suddenly they are back in the game. So I think it really has to do with the need for the faculty who are in there to say, am I with it, am I up with the current place, where this needs to be. (Teacher Education Department head, p.7)

She believed that a vital program reflected the current interests found in the market of higher education, for example, globalization and diversity. When an academic program's interests did not align with market interests, the programs went out of business.

Coincidentally, misalignment of interests within COE contributed to COE's failure to fulfill its public service mission.

> It's hard to convince faculty, please think about maybe an alternative licensure program in needy area, say Richmond, offer a program there for maybe career-switchers or adults. It's just really hard to do that because what they'll say is we've got plenty to do here, I got all I can handle here, which is true on one hand but on the other… If they would think more carefully and seriously and thoughtfully about the Richmonds in the nation, about the Detroits, and so on, they would realize they could be bigger, bigger people bigger hearts, if they would think twice about it … There are things that we should be doing, that we are not doing because, I think there's a certain level of arrogance about what we do that keeps us from being better. We are too comfortable with what we do now, it keeps us from considering seriously the kind of change that I would like to see. (COE Dean, pp. 4&6)

Education faculty were primarily interested in compensation and requirements forced upon their teaching. Their interest in staying employed was competing with the dean's interest in serving disadvantaged children. COE's stature as an education school created a

sense of content and security among the faculty. The faculty were not motivated to stay in tune with COE's public service mission.

In summary, COE was faced with increased accountability regulations and declining funding support. To stay legitimate and maintain its functions, COE was in the process of transforming into a business. COE increased enrollments, generated revenue, and demonstrated compliance with initiatives that attracted external funding and systematic outcome-based assessments. Teacher education department used an outcome-based curriculum to demonstrate accountability and compliance. The regimented curriculum left few opportunities for the faculty to generate curricular changes. However, education faculty believed that increased regulations did not challenge their academic freedom.

Chapter 8 Results at the Faculty Level

Eluded by pedagogical complexities, SITEU faculty applied an instrumentalist thinking to teaching and learning in both English and teacher education departments, and subsequently acted as subjects in neoliberal transformations. Under the influence of the market culture and the rule of governmental regulations, the faculty were no longer enforcers of academic values and originators of curricular changes that reflected academic interests. This chapter discusses the neoliberal conditions, processes, and consequences at the faculty/course level. Table 11 shows a summary of the main content of this chapter.

Table 11: Mesodomain Analysis at the Faculty/Course level

	English	Teacher Education
Conditions	Students as consumers Missing teaching standards Large Gen Education classes	Mandates for compliance Student consumer mentality
Network of Collective Activity	Faculty University administrators Students/parents Professional societies and funding agencies	Governing/accrediting/certifying bodies Market of educational products K12 schools Professional societies Faculty Students
Major Tasks	Identify student needs Teach to meet student needs	Prepare students for K12 teaching Teach to meet student needs
Interests /Intentions	Respond to student needs Help students to get through Help students to grow intellectually Retain students	Help students to survive as teachers in the future Help students to get through exams
Conventions /Practices	Vocational content Diversified instructional approach Student satisfaction survey Experiential learning	Course content include learning standards and licensure exam content Modeling K12 classroom experience in COE classes
Power /Resources	Be innovative and entrepreneurial with teaching and research	Freedom (tweaks) in instruction Ethical considerations for the students

Contingencies /Opportunities	Outcome-based evaluation of faculty work Administrator oversight of Gen Education course design	Faculty lack influence on educational practice outside COE
Consequences	Economic framing of faculty work Sacrificed teaching standards Separation of knowledge production and transmission Gloomy future of the discipline	Market-orientation Compliance mentality Changing faculty responsibility

Conditions among English Faculty

The English faculty operated under a set of conditions created by transformations at higher levels. The following assertions summarize the general conditions among the English faculty:

1. The English faculty faced student consumer mentality and their pragmatic approach to academic study as resulted from K12 standardized testing.
2. SITEU's systematic lack of teaching standards left faculty's teaching practices deregulated, unsupported, and unrewarded.
3. Large classes resulted from the department level Gen Education class reform posed challenges for faculty teaching.

Instructional faculty interacted with students more than any other interest groups. The condition of student consumer mentality and learning habit had the most real impact on faculty's day-to-day practice. For example, standardized testing in K12 systematically changed students' approach to learning and reasoning.

> My concern is that we really do have a system, starting from the grade schools here in Virginia…doesn't understand the function of the university, or the function of education for that matter. … When I look around my culture right now, particularly the way most people earn their living, I see sad docility. It does seem to me to be where we've arrived. The fact is that people don't make waves, they don't organize into unions, they don't require more … they've been taught how to conform. This is the deepest disaster of standardized testing. It is that it does get reflected in that kind of very grim existential acquiescence, to the machinery of our being…Most of my students do not think I have a right to tell them that George Bush is stupid. The guy is an idiot, I've got evidence for that. Given that that's my thesis and I've got evidence for it, why shouldn't I say it? What I'm

> really modeling here is sort of the academic obligation, to say what is true and what is real. (English faculty NZ, p.6)

In English faculty NZ's experience, the standardized testing system created docility and a conformance mentality in the society in general. Students developed a habit of passively accepting knowledge content, rather than spontaneously making intellectual inquiries. This resulted in students' reluctance in discovering truth for themselves. The students were docile recipients of knowledge and desired knowledge as a consumer product.

> In a large general education class, it's something like, tell me if it's in the exam, and please don't endow me with anything difficult, anything challenging, or anything half-shaped, I want it already packaged and ready to go. That consumer mentality is part of the issue. (English faculty NZ, 6234-7187)

SITEU required all undergraduates to complete a set of Gen Education English classes in order to meet SACS's general education competencies requirements. The students described above represented the complete SITEU student population.

The English curriculum had two parts: general education courses and courses for English majors at undergraduate and graduate levels. SITEU's general education curriculum was designed to meet SACS accreditation requirements. SACS core requirement 2.7.3 reads:

> In each undergraduate degree program, the institution requires the successful completion of a general education component at the collegiate level that (1) is a substantial component of each undergraduate degree, (2) ensure spreads of knowledge, and (3) is based on a coherent rationale. (Document_SACS_001)

Based on this requirement, all undergraduate students took courses in a sequence designed to prepare students for assessment that included English courses. Various committees over a number of years had set these objectives as a means to ensure SACS accreditation. The university level assessment system was designed to capture desired assessment outcome, therefore it mandated the faculty to provide and meet course

objectives. English faculty understood the pragmatic importance of these measures and viewed these courses as an important departmental contribution.

SACS accreditation requirements left considerable latitude in English courses outside of the general education requirements, i.e., the English major curriculum. There were two consensuses established in the English department: the department was a collective body of faculty and there was freedom in teaching.

> We've been very lucky and we are able to teach what we want and that has kept our department very strong. (English faculty VA 18434-18539)

> My experience with curriculum development has only been positive. I have never felt for any instance that I was being asked to do something in my teaching that had to do with something other than what I want to do. (English faculty NZ 23006-23220)

> We've had a very open curriculum. Faculty can design their classes to coincide pretty closely with what they want to do their research on. I have been able to do that, not every semester, sometimes from talking to students about the text and getting ideas. Teaching and research are not as separate to me as to some other people. (English faculty CO, p.1)

The perceived freedom in teaching was derived from the deregulation of faculty curricular activities with regard to English major curriculum. Additionally, SITEU enforced an outcome based system, leaving faculty teaching experienced unchecked. The missing systematic check on faculty's teaching practice rendered faculty day-to-day classroom practice deregulated and unsupported. SITEU held faculty teaching accountable using primarily student evaluation:

> All modesty aside, my (student) valuations are such that they don't have anything that they will be able to get me on. (English faculty NZ, p.1)

Gen Education assessments were designed in a way that student learning outcome could be traced back to individual instructors. English major courses were not yet regulated in the same way. SITEU held English faculty accountable mainly with generic student

course evaluations. SITEU allowed each department to design their own evaluations (including student evaluation for the faculty and faculty evaluation/assessment of student learning outcome). The Assessment Center had authority to assess these instruments. In the English department, faculty were evaluated by students on the following items on a 1-5 scale (1 = very strongly disagree, 3 = somewhat agree, 5 = very strongly agree), in addition to a comment section:

> The instructor met classes and was prepared for class.
> The instructor was reasonably accessible outside of class (e.g., through email and office hours).
> The instructor provided useful feedback on written and oral work, and returned papers and assignments in a timely manner.
> The instructor challenged students with high standards/expectations. (Document data, English faculty, student eval)

The missing neutral point on the scale demonstrated the department's interest in protecting its faculty from student opinions. Confoundingly, this evaluation left teaching standards for the students to decide.

The Gen Education class reform at the department level increased the class size by 4 times. After reform, faculty instructed 200-student classes single-handedly, with grading responsibility outsourced to specialized grading faculty. The change of class size posed significant challenges for many English faculty, particularly senior faculty without prior experiences teaching such neoliberalized classes. For example,

> We are teaching students today who are very distracted, who are used to be saturated with media and technology, that you have to justify this activity of trying to teach them to read a poem. That's going to have some sort of payoff.… After finding myself being here for over 20 years, I'm used to teach English majors in classes of about 20 to 30 students. Now standing in front of 200 students in general education survey of British literature course, I find the adjustment really difficult. I find it emotionally hard, and professionally I wasn't sure how to teach that way. (English faculty CO, p. 2)

Technology made information more accessible to the students than before. This made the traditional ways of acquiring knowledge obsolete and unattractive. The English faculty quoted above had emotional difficulty adjusting to large classes. The university's Teaching Resource Office attempted to help faculty like her with instructions on how to use a clicker, which she did not find helpful.

Processes among English Faculty

The deregulated environment in the English department left the English faculty to their own devices to teach and conduct research. In this process, the faculty dealt with various issues with an innovative and entrepreneurial approach.

1. English faculty strived to meet student needs by tailoring courses to reflect student preferences, using methods including vocational content, extra credits, student satisfaction survey, and alternative pedagogy such as experiential learning.
2. English faculty passively accepted SITEU's outcome-based evaluation of faculty work. Some of them compromised their teaching standards to ensure satisfactory student outcome.

At the faculty level, the network of collective activity involved mainly faculty and students, as students had significant impact on faculty teaching practice. Faculty work was also under the influence of university administrators and other interest groups associated with faculty's research activities. Professional associations (such as Modern Language Association) had an influence on faculty research but had little to no impact on faculty teaching. External funders (e.g., grant-giving institutions and doners) influenced

both teaching and research. For example, English faculty VA specialized in Shakespearean literature and taught classes on Shakespeare.

> My class came about because some alumni gave a certain amount of money and said they wanted it to go to Shakespeare. My department head came and said what can we do with this, and I said we can do a teaching Shakespeare class. We took the money for that one semester, which was lovely because I had all the money I can put into pulling out speakers and actors. That class became a set class, especially since secondary education minors have to have a Shakespeare class, so now they have an opportunity to have a class that focuses on how to teach Shakespeare. So we have three classes specifically set up for education minors. (English faculty VA, p. 4)

The alumni donation enabled her to develop a course on teaching Shakespeare. This course attracted students in English and Education. It became a joint endeavor between the departments of English and teacher education as it was a source of revenue.

Under neoliberal influences, English faculty perceived teaching as a service for the students that responded to the student needs.

> The ideal circumstances where you are trying to make up new things, you're trying to respond to student needs, you are pushing your interests in the direction that might interest them, people are happy to do that. That's a good thing to do. (English faculty NZ, p. 6)

Student retention was among the top priorities in the English department. To improve student retention, faculty must respond to student needs and improve students' satisfaction with their courses. In order to reach these goals, the English faculty's task was to identify student needs and adapt their teaching practices to meet student needs. This involved taking innovative and entrepreneurial approaches to teaching.

One way to respond to student needs was to incorporate vocational content into the course. English faculty BK identified the key student need as the need for job preparation. As mentioned in the previous chapter, she initiated a career course and an internship program which were integrated into the department level curriculum. When

designing her own courses for English major students, she applied the same approach and added vocational content. For example, she designed a graduate course where the students were assigned with tasks applicable in the professional world.

> In our Masters level classes we have a required course that they have to take in their first semester. It's a research methods course. I instituted with that course, they do a basic orientation to bibliographic and textual research and they have to adopt a 15th or 16th century book in special collections, and they have to learn how to describe or document, they have to learn how to do some basic editing, what the editing theories are, so a lot of the archival work that I have done has translated into that class. (English faculty BK, p.4)

She brought into the classroom concepts and skills she acquired as a professional editor prior to her faculty career and tried to help students by training them to do some of the tasks that might be applicable for their future jobs.

Another way to meet student needs was simply to help students get through the class. The university favored numerical measurements of achievement, from the achievement of a college to that of a student. To adjust to an outcome-based assessment system, the students developed an outcome-based learning habit. In other words, they wanted to focus their effort on what they would be tested on.

> I used PowerPoint a lot. Some of my colleagues used the clickers. I imagined the course to not just teach them about literature but also about surrounding culture and history, and I was dismayed to find so many students were very pragmatic. They were not interested in the ideas. I had emails saying what is going to be on the test, I want to know what will be on the test and I want to study for it. I had complaints about … my presentations were works of art … they weren't bullet points like an outline, a business presentation PowerPoint would be better. Some students complained that I … didn't tell them what exactly they need to know that will be on the test … Those things just blew my mind … The next time I teach the class, I'm gonna have to do it differently, because I don't want students to just fail. (English faculty CO, p. 3)

The English faculty quoted above was a senior faculty in the middle of her career. She was accustomed to small classes and Socratic teaching methods. She volunteered to teach

the 200-student session for an English Gen Education course for the first time. In this class, the student need was packaged knowledge applicable for the exam. Even though directly responding to student needs would reduce the quality of students' learning experience, the faculty was forced to meet student needs to ensure student success. The faculty's intention here was to help students get through the class. She was not the only faculty faced with such challenge. For another example, English faculty NZ believed that high quality teaching was to intellectually challenge the students.

> What you are trying to do is trying to get them to be comfortable with being confused, and also give them the intellectual skills and the sense of discipline to work through that confusion towards clarity, because that's where knowledge comes from, and that's were intellectual improvements come from. (English faculty NZ, pp. 5-6)

> Most of my students do not think I have a right to tell them that George Bush is stupid. The guy is an idiot, I've got evidence for that. Given that that's my thesis and I've got evidence for it, why shouldn't I say it? What I'm really modeling here is sort of the academic obligation, to say what is true and what is real. (English faculty NZ, p. 5)

English faculty CO and NZ were interested in modeling and teaching a disposition rather than handing out packaged knowledge. They might be forced to compromise their teaching standards to ensure student success in exams and graduation and to avoid negative student evaluation of their courses.

Some faculty members sought to modify students' learning experience in their classes. For example, one faculty encouraged students' involvement with the study of English by offering extra credits.

> I run discussion and I say you are going out into the bad economy, you need to be able to communicate and to be able to shine, here's your opportunity… For students in my classroom, they get extra credits for participation. Even if they don't want to speak up in my class, fine, then you go see the guy who just want Pulitzer Prize that we've got coming in, and I will give it to you for participation. (English faculty VA, pp. 6-7)

This faculty modeled her classroom as a place for students to practice public speaking prior to entering the workplace. In her class, students were encouraged to participate and enrich their educational experiences in various ways, including attending guest speeches that were not a part of the course. This faculty also taught a large Gen Education English course. For this course, she brought into the classroom guest speakers who were professional actors.

> The general education program has its own administration that decides what needs to be taught and how it needs to be taught and what kind of requirements need to be fulfilled… It's not my idea, it's someone else's idea, that I'm going to teach a non-major Shakespeare class for one of the large sections. And it will be linked up with the actors coming into the classroom… It was an administrator that came to me and said what do you think about this. (English faculty VA, p. 3)

As Gen Education curriculum was regulated by the Gen Education Program at the university level, university administrators had an influence on faculty's course design. The faculty accepted the administrator's suggestion and invited actors to participate in classroom instruction.

Another English faculty used post-course surveys to identify student needs and modify students' learning experience accordingly.

> I realized students here were just not willing to be involved as much with each other, so I had to be more involved than I wished. Ask a question, wait for an answer, wait for an answer, wait for an answer … I also do online surveys that are voluntary, asking them questions like, what did you think is the most important text in the semester. I would ask this to my major students not general education students. And based on their feedback, I change everything … Between a third and a half of the class responded, and it gives me a sense, I get more from that because the students who are more engaged would think survey is important … Sometimes students lack passion. Some students would major in English while they don't like reading and writing. I sometimes use humor to keep students engaged. … Sometimes this is very hard for students to get invested in [reading and writing] because they don't see it, it's not about themselves. I don't know exactly what to do. (English faculty EF, p. 3)

English faculty EF was a junior faculty who used to work as an adjunct in another institution. He was seasoned in running large classrooms and online courses. He used voluntary online surveys to collected in-depth student feedback on his course and tailored his course content to student preferences. However, he was still grappling with teaching techniques to retain students in the study of English.

The third way to modify students' learning experience was experiential learning that allowed students to learn completely outside the classroom. For example,

> The biggest way I help our students with learning process is that we have lecture series. We bring in poets and lecturers. Some of the poets are so dynamic, so personable, so willing to open up their insides if you will, to the students, that they were moved to know more about their work … I am very much proponent to learning outside of the classroom. One thing I did was the [poetry] lecture series, every Wednesday for 12 years. …I want my students to do more than that, to read the primary literature, to also put them into practice, to hear a lecture and respond, to interact with the lecturer… So you practice good pedagogical techniques not in the classroom but also outside the classroom. I'm also a real proponent of groups, so I allow students to learn from each other. So I would do a mini lecture in my 75 minute class, a five-minute video clip, and then group work, where they take a theme or a question, in a group about 4 to 5 people, use their knowledge to deal with the question. (English faculty GB, p. 4)

English faculty GB was a senior faculty who specialized in African American poetry and ran a poetry research center. Through research activities, she established connections with many renowned poets, whom she invited to SITEU to present and interact with SITEU students. Her pedagogical techniques responded to students' interest in diverse sources and formats of information.

In the process of identifying and meeting student needs, the contingency was the evaluation of faculty work. SITEU used student evaluation to evaluate faculty teaching. The evaluation of faculty research involved quantified demonstration of achievements. For examples,

> My students do student evaluations. Those evaluations are quantified. That's fine. What I have to do with the [research] center, is I have to look at outcomes. I have to put numbers in all of my outcomes. I have to count how many people came to my event, how many positive evaluations or negative. This is a way trying to get at the quality of the event, by quantifying. However … how did someone feel, what did someone say in the comment, what was the atmosphere like. Those things you can't quantify. So we've only go so far with the number's game. (English faculty GB, p.4)

> You can't really measure the kind of scholarship we do in English Department the same way you can if it's very data oriented like in the sciences, you also can't measure outcomes. A colleague of mine who is a Dean was talking about he wanted his faculty to actually find out how often their articles were cited. That's the kind of data that they wanted to show that this is legitimate scholarship … I don't think that's the way we come to understand ourselves, our world, the relationships, the environment, spiritual matters, not by how many citations there were. (English faculty CO, p.1)

The evaluation of faculty work was similar to the assessment of student learning outcomes and the assessment of college/department achievements. The focus was on measureable outcomes.

Consequences in English

The process of teaching to student needs had a number of consequences. SITEU attempted to maximize cost-efficiency and meet student needs at the same time. The university leadership identified technology (such as online courses) as the solution. English faculty attempted to meet student need through their interactions with the students. They adapted their teaching practices to their perceived student needs in different ways.

1. The need to meet student needs and the lack of teaching standards moved faculty responsibility from serving as an authority figure in their knowledge areas towards a customer service role. This separated the production and transmission of knowledge in faculty work.

2. External funding bodies influenced academic knowledge production and transmission by funding courses and research.
3. Outcome-based demonstration of quality and accountability promoted the production of performative knowledge and compromised the liveliness of the academic field of English.

As reported in the previous section, English faculty identified student needs as: 1) job preparation, 2) success in exams and graduation, 3) specific course content, 4) diverse sources of information and activities. Faculty shifted their primary responsibility from knowledge production and transmission to identifying and meeting student needs. As student needs were framed in economic terms, faculty adopted similar economic framing in their work. For example, English faculty perceived fast-track programs as positive.

> I've been trying for several years to develop a parallel track undergraduate program where we could have our best majors come in and get a Masters in English and get their [teaching] certification in two years … we think it's a good idea. (English faculty BK 17842-20300)

This initiative was temporarily held back by the complex approval process that teacher education program had to go through.

The shift in faculty responsibility also led to an unnoticed gap between knowledge transmission and knowledge production at the faculty level.

> The transfer of knowledge production into the classroom, that has become increasingly fraudulent. … Whether or not that [faculty research] translates into classroom experience for the students depends entirely on us. There's no requirement that there is, the university sort of say hey we have those anticipations. One of those anticipations is not that you should, that it's the right thing that you make a tight connection between your research and your classroom performance. I do it. Some of it has to do just the nature of what you are interested in. And I can think of some others who do it diligently as well. But some others are just, so okay you share that idea with your students so what do you do for the other 50 minutes of the hour, right? (English faculty NZ 5035-6084)

In the process of imparting knowledge onto the students in classrooms, some faculty might not teach to the students the academic knowledge that they discovered through research, due to the lack of standards in the assessment systems and the need to teach to student needs. As a result, the assessment system failed to reflect the overall integrity of faculty work.

Limited institutional support for faculty research at SITEU forced English faculty to seek external funding support. As a result, external funding bodies had an influence on faculty research. For example,

> I have, through my own efforts and the efforts through my staff, we've gone out and sought other funding, funding from corporations, funding from foundations … We do a lot of collaborative, the collaboration with Virginia Foundation for the Humanities … The largest grant we've gotten was about $40,000. That's through Target [the Target Corporation] … The second biggest grant was given by Philip Morris, and I was not ashamed to take tobacco money at the time because I didn't have any other way to do this conference …That with a few other grants, like BellSouth, we were able to put on that conference that cost about $75,000. (English faculty GB 6740-10184)

These sponsorships sometimes came with strings attached. For example, the impact could be specificity on desired audience of research:

> Virginia Commission for the Arts wants to know that the community members are benefiting from what we're doing at the university. If the programs we do are only benefiting university students, then these funding agencies would say you don't need our funding. If you are benefiting a larger audience, your program would be looked on in a favorable light. (English faculty GB 15168-15522)

In the particular case quote above, the granting agency required academic research to benefit the local community, which was one of the missions of public universities. However, this mission caused English faculty GB to separate research and teaching. Through her research, she produced many publications that were marketed and sold online and physically, some of which were not peer reviewed. Her activist approach to

research gained acknowledgement outside academia and got attention from SITEU president. Currently SITEU allotted a small annual budget and office space for her center. Other English faculty carrying strictly academic research agenda did not receive such institutional support.

The declining status of liberal arts and the difficulty in demonstrating accountability led the English department head to question the quality of knowledge production in the higher education system.

> I don't think anyone on my faculty would encourage someone to go to graduate school in English…. Lyotard's book, the postmodern condition, I think he got it right when he said there are two kinds of knowledge, critical and performative. That gate has closed. He might have thought of it as a choice, but there is no choice now. It's all performative. You cannot show value. … Nobody wants to hear a sort of critical take. How do you make it better? It's the first kind of thing. I think that's a tremendous loss. There's no self-critique in the system. (English Department head, p.9)

The need for demonstration of economic outcomes forced the English department head to use the performativity aspect of the English curriculum (job preparation function) to legitimate his academic program and justify its value. The necessity of performative knowledge production in academic life overcast English faculty's outlook on their discipline.

> I often tell students I don't know what this discipline is gonna look like 10, 20 years, I don't know if I'm gonna want to be part of it. I've loved it, but I think it's losing the kind of beauty of life where you have the freedom to explore, to think, the kind of burden that's been placed on us to do things like assessment, like these make-work projects, is eating up the kind of contemplative time that both we need and our students need to grow. What we're giving up is a way to think about education. I think there needs to be thinking about why things are on a scale that is not number driven. (English faculty BK, p. 11)

To some faculty, the general environment of higher education no longer allowed for free exploration of academic/disciplinary knowledge among both faculty and students.

The second half of this chapter examines the conditions, processes, and consequences among teacher education faculty.

Conditions among Teacher Education Faculty

Due to the nature of the education profession, teacher education faculty were much more invested in teaching than English faculty. To summarize their conditions, I make the following assertions:

1. Teacher education faculty were subjected to complex rules and regulations and compliance work dominated their day-to-day practice.
2. Teacher education faculty experienced student consumer mentality in their interaction with the students and perceived it as an effect of standardized testing in K12 education.

As narrated in the previous chapter, English faculty taught on average five courses per year, and teacher education faculty taught eight or more courses each year. Many teacher education faculty were previously K12 teachers. They transferred many K12 traditions into COE. This work style, the compliance-oriented departmental culture, and the off-campus location of COE determined that the faculty were somewhat disconnected from the rest of SITEU and the overall higher education setting. In most cases, the content of Teacher Education courses was dictated by learning standards enforced in K12 education. For examples,

> Having the standards absolutely has an impact on how I design my course. Absolutely. Because I'm teaching my students to pass the exam that would give them license to teach in Virginia. I prepare them for the test for Virginia. So I'm looking at the standards for what third-graders in Virginia ought to know, then their teachers should know that too … So the standards absolutely impacts the content of my course. (Teacher Education faculty AN 9350-10228)

Under the condition of increased accountability regulations, it was K12 teachers' responsibility to help students meet standards. Therefore, it was teacher education faculty's responsibility to help pre-service teachers to learn the standards and pass certifying exams. Teacher education faculty's teaching practice was outcome-based.

Through interactions with students, teacher education faculty observed student consumer mentality in the form of an outcome-based learning style. Teacher education faculty perceived this consumer mentality as a changing student attitude towards learning resulted from changing conditions in K12 education.

> I'm finding this out with my juniors, because they are constantly saying, will you just check this too and make sure I'm okay, and would you go over this assignment again, and I'm thinking, this didn't happen until just 10 years ago. There has been a change that the students more recently seem more dependent, than the ones were 10 years ago. They are more dependent in checking and less confident and secured in taking initiatives, they just want to get everything just right and follow all the points, follow the rubrics exactly, not likely to take a risk. (Teacher Education faculty AN 2397-5700)

Similar to students that English faculty encountered, education students took a pragmatic approach to learning and preferred "packaged knowledge". The students as learners became more and more dependent. They were focused on the outcomes of their learning process and became dependent upon rubrics and faculty's clarification of expectations. This learning habit resembled K12 students' dependence upon learning standards and increased involvement of K12 teachers in students' demonstration of their competency.

Processes among Teacher Education Faculty

The discourse of market culture and accountability was reflected in teacher education faculty's day-to-day practices in the following ways:

1. Teacher education faculty prepared their students for the current demands and preferences in the teacher labor market, with an interest in helping students to stay employable.
2. Teacher education faculty resorted to keep themselves employable by staying up to date with standards and trends in the profession.

The network of collectivity at the faculty level included primarily the faculty and their students. Faculty practices closely reflected standards, regulations, and expectations from external bodies that influenced teachers and K12 teaching and learning practices. These bodies included accrediting, governing, certifying bodies that enforced standards, professional societies in the field of education that provided philosophical guidelines, K12 schools (teacher labor market) that expressed employer needs and preferences, and the market of educational products.

Teacher education faculty's major task was preparing students for K12 teaching. This task was evolved into many other tasks in their day-to-day practice. To make sure teacher training programs stay legitimate, the faculty demonstrated compliance with accrediting rules and regulations through outcome-based curriculum and course design. This was done collectively at the department level. To make sure their graduates stay legitimate in Virginia, the faculty taught their students to demonstrate compliance with licensing/certifying rules and regulations. It was a common practice among the faculty to incorporate K12 learning standards into their classroom instruction.

> Pedagogical ideas come from lots of places. I did teach kindergartners and second graders. From the publishers of the textbooks that have been adopted by the Commonwealth of Virginia school districts, there are teachers manuals, that say this is the content that has been adopted by your school system, here are some ideas that go with the map of the sequence and things like that. VDOE website where the SOL's are posted also provides resources, here are some ways you can

> teach, the skills or these content areas, etc. I also encourage my students to engage, at the beginning of school year, in what we call teacher Internet site review. We give them a few Internet sites for teachers to get ideas for lesson plans, I have them critique the sites, how did you find it, was it good, who wrote that, would you use it, why or why not. So that they start thinking about the source of the information. We also have our own textbook. It's particularly good for writing I think. We do a lot of labs in class. So I set up a learning center and say this is how it might look like in your second grade class, this is how the content might be addressed in the kindergarten class, activities are different, how children might do in different activities in different places. The students also have what we call clinical, they are given a topic area from SOL, and they model a lesson for appropriate grade level. So I would expect to see how they set up a class. (Teacher Education faculty AN 10230-11806)

In the above case, teacher education faculty AN trained students to demonstrate compliance in K12 environment. She trained students to identify sources of information, collect content for real world courses that were in compliance, and practice how to teach to the SOL standards.

In other words, teacher education faculty attempted to identify what their students needed to learn as pre-service teachers and modified course content to meet those needs. A second common practice among teacher education faculty was to model real world experiences in teacher preparation courses. For example, teacher education faculty SH worked as a reading specialist and a principle prior to serving on COE faculty.

> I was a reading specialist for a long time. Then I became a principal. As a principal, a lot of what I did was to try to look at K-7 and trying to get the teachers to think about what they were doing that were building on teaching literacy. A lot of what we developed in that school, I'm thinking about that too. I feel like sometimes those juniors who come in to do the program, they are so naïve. Literacy is my thing and I'm so excited about it. They take the literacy course and I tell them but you have to know the stages of development of the children, you have to what children need at each of those stages, and they are like, it doesn't make sense to them yet. So try to get them to begin to have any of that. (Teacher Education faculty SH 3124-4142)

In her teaching practice, she attempted to prepare students for the reality in K12 schools as she had experienced. The third common practice for teacher education faculty was to

include in their courses the content from the state standardized licensure tests that their students would have to take upon graduation. Reading for Virginia Educators test was one example.

> On the lowest level [of course design] we look at Department of Education in Virginia and what is required for students to get certified as reading specialist, and certainly what they will need to pass the reading part of the practice exam. For me, it's about what do they need to walk out of the door and into a classroom. (Teacher Education faculty DG 22-767)

The faculty felt responsible for students' employability and included licensure test content in the courses.

Teacher education faculty's philosophical teaching standards were informed by professional organizations in their respective disciplines. For examples,

> Staying up to date is just your job. Knowing what your professional organizations are saying, looking at the courses critically, reviewing, when our little tweak's sufficient and when do you really need to change the objectives on the syllabi. (Teacher Education faculty SL, p.6)

> My philosophy aligns much more with NCTE than it does with IRA. So I make sure there's lots of writing instruction. (Teacher Education faculty ER 4132-4974)

> [One] way that I have built [my courses] is professional Association standards, for example NSTA, I go there and see what their standards are for elementary science teacher preparation, NAEYC, or ACEI, it's those three bodies that I look at what they consider the standards and I make sure that I have every one of those in addition to SITEU's curricular and instruction documents. (Teacher Education faculty RD 1811-2899)

Teacher education faculty commonly incorporated their professional society's teaching standards into their course design. However, professional societies were increasingly influenced by political mandates at the federal level.

> The idea of control is an issue in the field of education, as we go to common core across the US. That brings up changes in what you are supposed to cover in your college courses. The top-down curriculum decisions, the idea that it's gonna be made by someone in Washington and that's gonna impact how I teach my reading course, that's a very hard thing for faculty to acclimate to. That's one of the

> changes that's going on right now… I get to see that from the outside. When I went to IRA conference this spring, I'm gonna say 75% of that program if not more, was helping teachers figure out how they were going to teach with the common core. (Teacher Education faculty SL, p. 10)

The above example was a professional society for reading teachers, IRA (International Reading Association). Teacher education faculty SL observed the impact of common core standards on IRA's activities at its annual conference.

In some cases, faculty's philosophical standards were in conflict with rules and regulations. Through instructional "tweaks", the faculty managed to stay in compliance without compromising their basic academic values. For example,

> It's completely developmentally incorrect. For example, teaching second graders about achievements of ancient Egypt civilization and how that impacts our society today. What I tell teachers in my class is that I want you to go a second grade class and find me a kid who can give you their complete address and tell you the difference between the city and state and town, and if they don't know that yet, why are you teaching them about ancient civilizations? What is it that you expect kids to get out of that? Do you really expect them to understand somebody who lives across the world and thousands of years ago, and what they did impacts you now? How can you possibly get that across? .... To be ethically fair to the kids, to pre-service teachers... Part of my class is brainstorm, what can you do? You have to teach this, the state says so, it's a ridiculous thing to teach, we know that, what do you do then to meet with both those goals. So we go through and create plans for those things because they will run into that. Whatever we teach them now, the SOLs, will not be here in 30 years when they are still teach and, so they need to learn a process in thinking it through ... Teachers will see a lot of the same types of problems over and over again, so now you've seen this type of problem, you are able to think it through, where do you go with it. So if education faculty can't do that, I think we are in big trouble. And that will change. It's very much up to the administrators to protect you, and make it possible for you to do that. (Teacher Education faculty SL 36948-37694)

In the above case, teacher education faculty SL was forced to teach in her class an item in SOL standards that she considered unreasonable from a developmental perspective. She recognized that in-service teachers must teach unreasonable content at times. She considered it a responsibility of education faculty to help students innovate and teach

developmentally incorrect learning standards enforced by the state. In addition, she recognized that when teachers failed to teach to the standards, it was the school administrators' responsibility to protect them. Teacher education faculty ER made the same observation and identified the increased expectations for K12 teachers as a real world challenge for pre-service teachers.

> As a faculty member, I feel my job is to empower my students by teaching them to negotiate for protection and support from administrators such as principals. There is a lack of support in general in the society for teachers, as well as an overall criticism coming from parents and society, and a lack of support from school administration…. Society needs to catch up a little bit. If parents and policymakers really went to school and saw what went on, maybe they wouldn't keep so much pressure on teachers, unrealistic pressure. (Teacher Education faculty ER 15840-16028)

K12 teacher's declining professional status was a challenge for in-service teachers. Teacher education faculty ER attempted to help students develop skills to deal with this challenge.

In one specific case, teacher education faculty modified their course content in direct response to students needs as identified by the students. For example,

> To get a good course outline, get everything in there that I need to cover, and to adapt to what the kids need. For example, I have a literacy class…I asked them the first night of the class, here's what we're going to be doing over the course, but what do you need to know, now that you are going to graduate? So they had discussion, and they came back to me and said they want to know more about English as a second language, they want to know more about another early literacy test, they want to know how to manage the classroom, they want to know so much. So we changed that course, and they got what they needed. We expanded the class to include the ESL: what do you do in reading for kids whose first language is not English. That was a great class. Students got a ton out of it and I did too. I like doing things like that. (Teacher Education faculty DG 16128-17167)

In the above case, teacher education faculty DG gave students an opportunity to identify learning needs for themselves. This approach typically applied to advanced level classes

and elective courses that were relatively loosely controlled by the assessment system, such as summer courses.

One important contingency in the field of education was teacher education faculty's lack of influence on real world practices in K12 education. For example, K12 teachers' need to demonstrate compliance was in conflict with teacher education faculty's academic values with regard to teaching.

> If you look at school system across the country, they are relying more on the program than on the teachers to teach kids reading, and that to me is tremendously frustrating. It's not that we were left a whole bunch of doubts, we know what the right thing is, and now we can't put the right thing into play. Everyone is doing it. You go into the basal and you go page by page in the basal. One thing we proved conclusively is that that doesn't work for the kids because they don't line up with each child's development. And yet, they continue to do it … The reality you are coming up against is that it's easier to have a Basal, and it gives you an appearance of accountability, which is one of those buzzwords right now. If you are a teacher teaching one kid out of first grade materials and another kid out of fifth grade materials, that today is making principles nervous. They don't see that as accountability. They see that as doing whatever you want. (Teacher Education faculty SL 39261-41406)

Teacher education faculty evaluated learning standards from a developmental perspective and suggested that enforcing developmentally incorrect learning standards may require flexibility in teaching. However, school administrators (such as principles) believed that flexibility would hurt accountability. As a result, in-service teachers chose to teach with regimented teaching materials such as the Basal reader.

Another reality that was in conflict with teacher education faculty's educational philosophy was the adoption of online teaching. One faculty reported that the online environment impeded learning among certain adult learners.

> I do some professional development with older adults and non-preservice teachers, through the Department of Social Services. So the daycare providers and child care providers who need to keep their license current. Just until last year they were still doing it face to face, now it's all online, so it's unfortunate. To pay me

> is expensive, to rent a room is expensive. It's unfortunate because many of them are struggling readers, which is why they are in a minimum wage job. (Teacher Education faculty AN 281-2396)

The faculty quoted above taught a COE course that was sponsored by the Department of Social Services. The sponsor decided to move the course online and outsource the teaching responsibility to part-time temporary faculty. As a result, students' learning experience and course effectiveness were both compromised.

Consequences in Teacher Education

As the faculty invested their teaching effort in helping students to pass exams, become employable, and be able to survive in the workplace, teacher education faculty became adapted to the market culture and adopted the framing of faculty work in economic terms. The following assertions summarize the consequences among the education faculty.

1. Teacher education faculty's orientation on employability required them to stay current with the labor market and the market of educational products. Their day-to-day practices were under the influence of the market culture.
2. Teacher education faculty were accustomed to compliance. Changing teacher responsibilities in K12 environment started to change teacher education faculty's responsibility in the higher education setting.

The concern of employability made teacher education faculty feel obliged to "keep up" with trends and "stay current". For example, technology-aided learning was one of the most popular practices in the market of educational products.

> Recently, as a result of the opportunities at SITEU, I started getting into blended teaching, hybrid classes, integrating technology—that right now in literacy is a huge topic. We are looking at kids who's as young as my daughter, at age 5 having access to iPads and iPhones and all the games, e-books, how is that

> impacting. To me, I'm doing a little bit with my students, how do you work was pre-service teachers with technology. And the other part is lining up with my interest in parents and young children, and looking at what do you find when you have all these games, you can buy apps that claim to teach your child the alphabet, how should parents use them, how should teachers use them. It's just a wide open field, so it's really neat. (Teacher Education faculty SL 3062-4976)

Through her research activities, teacher faculty SL identified technology-enhanced leaning as a current trend in the market that had an influence on people's learning behavior. She incorporated this concept into her courses. Keeping up with the trend also helped teacher education faculty to stay employable themselves.

> Keep an eye on the current trends and issues in the country, because those who are interested in the current trends and issues are gonna be the ones who can find jobs. You have to incorporate mixed methods and make yourself as useful methodologically as you possibly can so at the end of day when somebody says we need someone to study this, you can raise your hand, we need somebody to study that, who can do that, you can raise your hand. The more times you can raise your hand about answering the big questions in education, the more likely you are to find a job. (Teacher Education faculty RD 4776-5342)

Teacher education faculty RD, for example, observed the direct connection between public interests and funding sources. Faculty job vacancies were controlled by the demand in the labor market. Similar to English faculty, education faculty were increasingly mobile employees on the move for higher paying jobs.

Teacher education faculty were evaluated by SITEU primarily on their achievement in teaching and service. Many education faculty had no ongoing research agenda but had research interests. Most conducted research to meet tenure requirements. The institution did not provide financial support for these research activities.

> We're expected to travel and present and publish. …Traveling for conference is hard, because it's your own time, it's your own money. People have that joke about buying your tenure, because you have to belong to these associations and that costs, and then you have to go and present and that costs, and, I don't know, some people would say, but you make $50,000 or whatever it is, but, it's hard to do it all. (Teacher Education faculty ER 15233-15589)

Faculty's research interests sometimes fell in areas that did not attract external funding support. The following example showed one type of research effort that was not supported by any granting agency:

> I'm very focused on the children's literature… I am chairing a children's book award for books that promote equity and justice and peace through children's books. Do you know it? People don't even know it. Nobody cares about it. The granting agencies don't care about it. No. (Teacher Education faculty ER 9943-10055)

The lack of recognition from granting agencies caused knowledge production in certain areas to be neglected in the society.

Teacher education faculty demonstrated a passive acceptance of external mandates and criticism on education. For example, the following faculty observed an impact of K12 education on teaching and learning in higher education and perceived it as positive.

> When I was a teacher in the public school, it was very autonomous. You go into the classroom, close your door, and it was you and your children, and you did your business. Now you're supposed to be responsive to intervention in these inclusive early childhood classrooms, teachers need to be more collaborative, and they work with reading specialists, special educators, learning specialists, physical therapists, parents. There is just more of an expectation about teachers not being solely responsible of the children, this whole building is involved in supporting these kids. For university classroom to have the same change, I think is a good thing that I've seen. (Teacher Education faculty AN 2397-5700)

The education system's expectations on teachers and teaching responsibility have changed. This change had an impact on schools of education and education faculty in higher education institutions. Higher education classrooms were increasingly similar to K12 classrooms. University faculty were increasingly expected to help students get through programs and exams, hold their hands in the learning process, and respond to student needs. Such changes may infantilize students and create a generation of

dependent learners. For English faculty, this was a threat to the vitality of knowledge production and transmission in higher education. However, education faculty did not share the same feeling. This contrast in faculty perceptions was alarming.

In summary, teacher education faculty were conscientious about their students' future experiences and treatments as K12 teachers. Their teaching practices were adjusted to best prepare students for tasks and challenges existed in their future workplaces. Most faculty adapted their instructions based on faculty's preferences and concerns derived from faculty's experiences with professional societies and in K12 schools. A few faculty gave students the opportunity to design courses for themselves. Teacher education faculty's overwhelming focus on employability allowed the market culture to have a significant influence on their way of thinking.

Chapter 9 Discussion and Conclusion

The case of SITEU demonstrated a number of changes wrought by neoliberalism. The findings of this study confirm prior research on a number of neoliberal transformations in higher education, including academic stratification, consumerism, and managerialism, which are discussed and defined in the works of Deem (2001), Gumport (2000), Delucchi (1997), Rhoades & Slaughter (1997), Dale (1996), Bensimon (1995), Rhoades (1990), as well as academic entrepreneurialism (Deem, 2001; Clark, 1997; Louis et al., 1989).

The research identified two forms of academic stratification: the emergence of revenue generating ability as a determinate of status among colleges, disciplines, and faculty; and increased institutional resource distribution allotted to administrative units (such as administrator salary and university construction) and away from academic units (such as faculty salary and funding support for faculty research). Academic stratification discouraged instructional faculty's participation in university governance, particularly faculty in disciplines that were less economically productive.

SITEU's embrace of academic managerialism involved the enforcement of hierarchical power structure and the pursuit of accountability and cost-efficiency according to economic parameters. It defined accountability according to primarily accreditation standards (other standards included employer needs and preferences): measuring and controlling student outcomes at the university-level across colleges, and enforcing a form of curricular integrity that was defined by outcome measurability.

Prioritizing assessment increased academic stratification by justifying the expansion of administrator staff and the assignment of higher salaries. The regulating activities and governing power of the university-level administrative units and their staff separated administrators and faculty into two classes at SITEU, giving some administrators (assessment professional in particular) the authority to evaluate faculty work.

Academic consumerism inspired SITEU's quest to establish a brand identity, reflecting the values of educational marketability, vocationalization of curriculum (in the liberal arts programs; professional schools such as education prioritized employer needs as desirable teaching and learning outcomes), and students as customers. The emphasis on student tuition and alumni donations as sources of income led SITEU to emphasize the marketability of its undergraduate education and prioritize institutional spending on construction over faculty compensation. In both CLA and COE, the deans, department heads, and their faculty changed their academic programming to maximize tuition income and external funding base, allowing the market culture and pursuit of profit to override academic values and the reasonability to fulfill the public service mission.

Academic entrepreneurialism took two forms of entrepreneurialism: institutional entrepreneurialism, and the rise of entrepreneurial faculty. The former took the form of academic program offerings geared towards revenue generation, while the latter took the form of pressure on faculty to modify their courses to meet student needs and to structure their research around funding instead of pursuing their interests. At the same time, faculty saw themselves as mobile employees in a deregulated academic labor market, where they relocated for higher paying jobs, rather than better academic status.

The remainder of this chapter will summarize the specifics of these findings and provide further interpretations.

Application of the Transformation of Policy Intentions Model

National policies like defunding public higher education and increasing accountability regulations resulted from changes in economic conditions and political culture. At each level, actors with varying interests and intentions used a set of conventions and practices to shape the neoliberal transformations at their level and form linkages that connected them to lower levels. Tables 6 through 11 in the findings chapters summarized the conditions, processes, and consequences of the policy transformation activities and linking activities at each level. Table 5 provides a chronology showing how neoliberal transformations at higher levels impacted lower levels over time.

The federal government's adoption of neoliberal economic agenda started the economic framing of higher education at the national level since early 1980s. The federal level transformations led to general fund appropriation decreases in the following decades and deregulated business activities in the market of higher education. Through legislative activities, the federal government increased accountability regulations by authorizing national level accrediting agencies to directly regulate institutional curricular activities, in order to enforce the neoliberal higher education accountability standards.

The federal government's neoliberal economic interests aligned with Virginia government's economic interests and Virginia's political culture. Virginia's governmental agencies (e.g., Virginia General Assembly, Virginia Governor's Office) carried out a series of legislative reforms to modify the relationship (financial relationship in particular) between public institutions and the state. Virginia institutions became

individual competitors in the market of higher education. During this process, state legislature authorized SCHEV to govern higher education institution's educational activities using a set of economic standards. As a result, the market culture and the economic framing of education became the norms in the day-to-day functions of public institutions. "Technology" and "assessment" became the buzzwords when defining success and achievement at the institutional level.

Within colleges and departments, faculty's day-to-day practices were framed in economic terms. SITEU's systematic installation of an outcome-based assessment system and curriculum design put faculty and their professional work under the regulations of a set of university-level administrative units and their staff. Education school's curriculum and faculty curricular activity were particularly regimented, completely controlled by a compliance mentality, mirroring the compliance culture in the K12 system. English faculty were forced to be innovative and entrepreneurial with their academic programming. Both CLA and COE were forced to be aggressive and compete with other colleges/institutions for resources such as new students.

Accountability muddled the distinction between the service nature of faculty work and the economic framing of education. Both liberal arts and education faculty became convinced that doing what was the best for the students was performing public service.

SITEU's Demonstration of Neoliberal Governmentality

This study demonstrated how SITEU developed a culture where demonstration of accountability was primed as the major indicator of quality, as influenced by higher level forces. Davies and Bansel (2010) studied neoliberal governmentality in Australia and faculty work internationally. They pointed out three forces in the neoliberal university:

> Reconstituted through the mentalities of the market, the new university can be characterized as having three major lines of force... First, all products are redefined in terms of their dollar values and their exchange value… Second, through setting individuals against each other in intensified competitive systems of funding with clearly defined measures of success, those individuals are de-individualized and converted into the generic members of an auditable group... Third, the critical gap between the liberal subject and government is collapsed. Whereas the liberal subject, had as part of its responsibility the maintenance of a distance from government and a responsibility to call it to account, the neoliberal subject does not. (Davies & Bansel, 2006, p. 6)

This study identified these forces at one teaching-oriented institution in the US: the dollar values of academic programs, economic definition of success, and increased regulations of the liberal subject.

Following SCHEV's mandates, SITEU used resources and fiscal measures to demonstrate the institution's financial efficiency. Leadership embraced a modern higher education finance model (shown in Figure 4) as a benchmark that identified appropriation and grants from government, donations from the general public, and student tuition as revenue sources.

CLA Dean responded to demands for accountability by emphasizing return on investment. The English Department started to collect data on graduate placements and professional development, using student success data to recruit English majors and to demonstrate program quality. This led to an emphasis on the vocational component of the curriculum as a tool to increase student professional success. Here the pragmatic aspect of education outweighed the intellectual aspect. However, none of the faculty participants raised any questions about the validity of these measures.

CLA Dean also focused on expenses and income. The largest expense was faculty salaries. The largest source of income was student tuition from courses offered online during summer. To improve the college's return on investment, it gave the faculty it

could pay the least the heaviest teaching loads. CLA actors demonstrated accountability using this approach, but CLA dean found faculty recruitment difficult in disciplines that support a high faculty salary, such as accounting and media arts, and depressed faculty retention. Thus, academic programs and faculty work were converted into dollar values at the college level.

CLA actors (administrators and faculty) replicated some aspects of the financial model SITEU had adopted for the university as a whole. Accordingly, CLA administrators asked their faculty to provide online course offerings that had proved lucrative. Like SITEU leadership, CLA administrators took on business executive identities. The CLA Dean devoted most of his time to budgeting and fund-raising activities. The Dean dedicated much of his time to human resources and financial management. Faculty research was viewed as a human resource issue (versus an academic concern) when the Dean made hiring and firing decisions.

Unlike the CLA, SITEU administration often exempted the COE from SACS reviews, citing accreditation by a number of specialized agencies. The previous department head of the teacher education program was involved in the designing process of the assessment system at both the college and university levels, which made it easier for COE Dean to demonstrate accountability and curricular integrity at and above college-level. With a complicated assessment system in place, all COE faculty and administrators had a strong compliance mentality. With an outcome-based curriculum design in place, courses and faculty were de-individualized, as COE curriculum served the same set of predetermined outcomes regardless of who offered those courses. The de-

individualization was translated into meeting the same outcomes with different courses taught by different faculty.

Compliance work in teacher education department entailed the need to meet different sets of standards and requirements with one course, which at times proved challenging, particularly in cases of conflicts between standards. For example, one big challenge was how to help pre-service teachers to teach to their student's developmental needs while meeting the standards that disregarded developmental differences among students. The teacher education faculty described incorporating strategies for improving teaching in their courses. Confoundingly, teacher education faculty did not consider teaching to developmentally incorrect learning standards as a challenge to academic freedom. Without questioning the validity of the imposed standards, the faculty became neoliberalized. As a teacher training institution serving the state and a college within SITEU, COE were required and incentivized by both the state (such as Virginia Governor's Office) and SITEU administration to carry out STEM-related college-level initiatives, for example, university-school partnership projects, because they attracted external financial support. The COE had a good reputation in Virginian public schools (the employer), and COE's teacher preparation program had the largest enrollment in the whole university, making it possible to assume it would retain student recruitment and retention. The COE's success in accreditation and reputation allowed it to maintain its membership with both the state and SITEU. However, it failed to define its mission as public service in terms of serving poor populations and areas, such as inner-city schools.

The nature of compliance varied in different fields. Professional schools and programs often need to demonstrate compliance in order to maintain their legitimacy. As

a professional school, COE institutionalized and systemized its compliance activities. As a result, COE administrators and faculty aligned their work with neoliberal ideologies to an extent (e.g., the pursuit of faculty and student employability). CLA administrators and faculty, however, did not rely on compliance activities to obtain CLA's legitimacy as a college. Faculty's compliance activities in the English department were symbolic. For example, English faculty were not genuinely invested in the quantified program review process that the university-level administrative unit reinforced.

Faculty in both departments adopted a compliance mentality shared by SITE administration and SITEU students. This reflects in part the focus on standards carried over from students' K-12 education. Students, faculty said, wanted to learn whatever would be on the test. Faculty's compliance behavior in higher education mirrored that in the K-12 system. The university administration had a desire to meet political mandates, reflecting the greater influence politicians are gaining in higher education without much resistance from the faculty, as one research participant (Representative of SCHEV) noted: the faculty had been silent during the legislative reforms in the state.

The pursuit of accountability has impacted the nature of teaching at the K-12 level, as:

> Teachers are placed under performative pressures that tend to narrow the curriculum in schools, and make the sector's workforce more insecure. Even the knowledge base of education is impacted, with technicization of professional knowledge and a growth of cultural fakery around education. (Connell, 2013)

While policy makers continue trying to bridge P-16, the assessment methods used by K12 schools to evaluate teacher effectiveness may be adopted by schools of education in universities. For example, education faculty might expect to be evaluated by their graduates' teaching results in K12 schools, because in-service teachers are evaluated by

their students' learning outcomes. It is reasonable to expect education faculty to narrow their teaching and knowledge base accordingly in pursuit of measurable outcomes.

The Student as Consumer

The pursuit of accountability puts a price tag on college education and what it may offer students. SITEU actors pursued educational marketability through tuition affordability, the college experience, and student post-graduation success. They began to approach courses on a cost-efficiency basis, for example, allocating resources for courses based on their ability to attract students. Faculty were held accountable for student's lack of interest in a topic area, especially in the English Department. English faculty found students' pragmatic approach to learning (i.e., outcome-orientation) to be strong and corrosive in the classroom. They reported that they had to alter their approach to teaching to discourage consumer mentality among students and help them to realize the intellectual goals of the classroom. In some cases, faculty catered to student's consumer identity. Faculty felt information technology had created a generation of distracted students who were not interested in taking intellectual risks and who took a pragmatic approach to learning.

Teacher education faculty placed their students and themselves in the labor market and structured their professional work around the needs of the employers. They described adjusting their teaching styles to accommodate the demands of student consumer mentality. They sought to prepare students for their future workplace by teaching them ways to demonstrate compliance. They described students' pragmatic approach to college learning as a result of changing teaching style in K-12, and sought to accommodate their students' expectations and needs. Unlike English faculty, education

faculty felt that student consumer mentality did not pose a threat to the quality of teaching and learning.

Through the pursuit of brand identity and the treatment of classes as products that can be easily returned, SITEU administration encouraged an approach that regards the student as a consumer. Faculty described students as less keen to the intellectual benefits of higher learning and focused more on immediate benefits, such as inflated grades and social events (e.g., travel and sporting activities). Students are becoming less and less likely to see the "big picture"—e.g., what a college education and hard work can truly offer, their potential intellectual growth, and their future contribution to the society. Because they are less likely to see these outcomes, they are less likely to take risks in learning, and perhaps in life in general.

In another manifestation of academic consumerism, as a residential college, SITEU offers undergraduates experiences both inside and outside the classroom, and it began to emphasize interactions outside of the classroom as a means to enhance marketability. It therefore pressured faculty to offer faculty-student interaction outside the classroom without offering additional compensation.

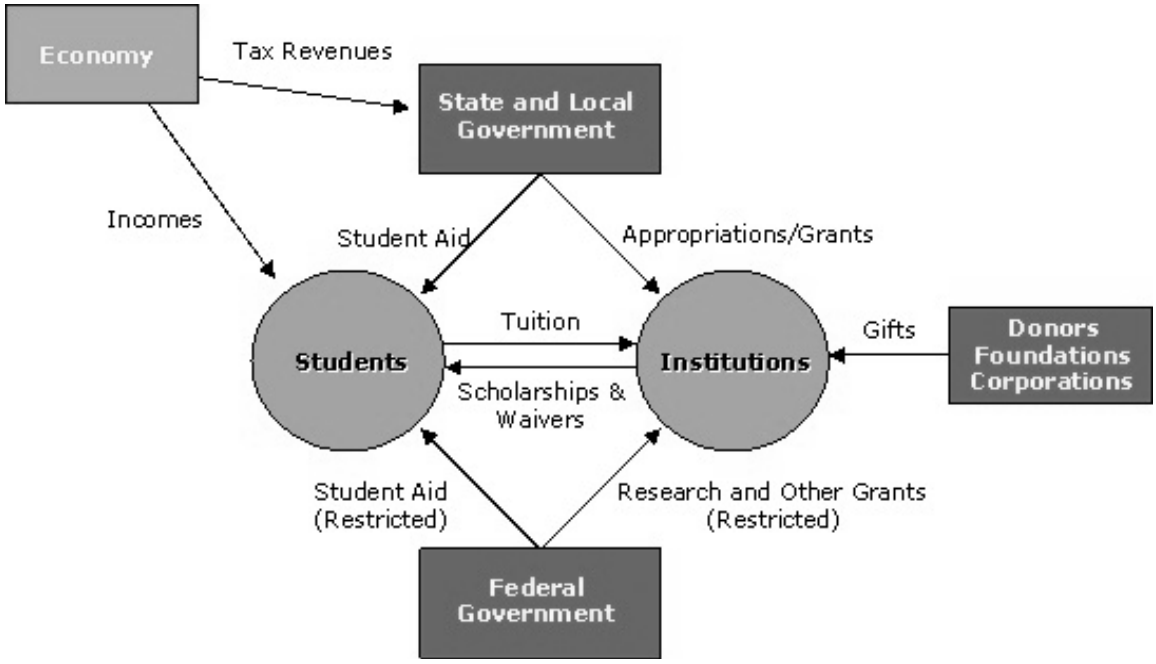
Both English and Education faculty reported that SITEU administration's decision to differentiate tuition based on the future earnings students might expect contributed to academic stratification. Tuition differentiation encouraged students to conceptualize the value of each discipline by linking tuition charges to future earnings, which in turn, gave a monetary value to faculty work in each discipline.

The Changing Nature of Faculty Work

As described in Chapter 8, faculty applied an instrumentalist thinking to teaching and learning in both English and teacher education departments, and thus acted as subjects in neoliberal transformations. Faculty's professional practices were under the influence of the market culture and political regulations. Both English and teacher education faculty have adopted the economic framing of education, judging the value of their work in terms of student gain, such as student employability and student/parent satisfaction with the degree program and the courses. The Faculty were no longer enforcers of academic values and originators of curricular changes that reflected academic interests.

Faculty described a number of changes that reflect the influence of neoliberal ideas at SITEU that were outside their own departments. SITEU administration increasingly required its faculty to tailor academic offerings in specific ways to attract government grants and additional tuition income, such as outreach programs and online courses. The modern higher education funding model (Figure 4) has a fundamental influence on faculty's sensemaking processes and ultimately shaped what faculty taught. SITEU administration adopted this model as well. As a teaching-oriented institution, SITEU president and provost reported that student tuition and alumni donation were among the most important sources of revenue. This put serving student needs at the core of faculty work.

Figure 4: Modern Higher Education Finance Model



(Source: NCHEMS Information Center for Higher Education Policymaking and Analysis)

In university-level decision-making process, SITEU administration placed their faculty at the receiving end. SITEU faculty reported that they were well informed about curriculum and instruction policies through formal and informal channels, for example, faculty meetings and policy documents listed on SITEU website. Through routine practices (such as the new faculty orientation), SITEU administration systematically removed faculty from the university-level decision making processes. The university designed sequences and rubrics to characterize the process for forming new curricula, such as the sequence of command (provided in Chapter 6, Figure 2: Administrative Power Structure: Command Sequence,), the sequence of curriculum approval (provided in Chapter 6, Figure 3: Academic Power Structure: Approval Sequence), rubrics for course syllabi, course assessments, student evaluation of courses, and faculty self-evaluation. Because university administrators sometimes had more power than the faculty

to allocate institutional funds, the administrators gained power to influence faculty teaching, especially in courses that raised budgetary concerns.

Neoliberal conditions have complicated the relationship between faculty and their institution, with finance as the overarching theme. Faculty in English at SITEU perceived a high level of job insecurity. They made sense of and adapted to neoliberal transformations by weakening their commitments to the institution and generating change in their actions: reducing service load for the university, looking for other jobs, thinking about retirement, adjusting their teaching style and program offerings to better attract students, and seeking grants to support research. Education faculty did not perceive the same level of job insecurity. However, their overwhelming focus on employability determined that the market mentality dominated their sensemaking process. At the time of data collection, SITEU's faculty have not had a raise in five years. This has increased the spread between faculty and administrative pay scales as well as insulating SITEU from financial risk. Both English and education faculty were aware of faculty welfare issues, the condition of faculty labor market in a national context, and the possibility of finding other jobs. Academic managerialism has replaced the traditional model of university administration, and faculty no longer have their traditional power in university governance. As the English Department head pointed out, universities were moving into a stage of systematically infantilizing faculty in the processes of policymaking. Faculty were more exposed to the labor market dynamics than before. English faculty were deeply engaged in college-level teaching and learning. Some of them theorized about societal impacts on higher education. They demonstrated an understanding of how

neoliberal trends on and off campus might impact higher education and professoriate, without realizing that they have adopted a neoliberal approach to teaching and learning.

Teacher education faculty and English faculty were equally susceptible to neoliberal trends in the society. However, they made sense and reacted in very different ways. COE's successful accreditation and good reputation created a sense of security, which caused education faculty to be less mobile. Teacher education faculty were more involved in K-12 education and departmental micro-politics than English faculty. They had not theorized about consequences of neoliberal reforms at the university level, about how it might affect the school of education. Compliance-oriented, they might refer to frustration with standardized testing in K-12, but they accepted it. Serving their students as well as they could and helping them learn to survive the contemporary K-12 environment gave vent to their frustration. They had less concern about the status of the professoriate in general, viewing a college classroom as a place to model a K-12 classroom.

Neoliberal reforms have affected academic programming and faculty conceptualization of their professional identity. The pursuit of efficiency moves institutions into a modern finance model where cost-efficiency dominates the decision-making and policy-making processes. It is impacting the status of academic fields by imposing a price tag on faculty and their academic programs. In the English department, faculty positions are more mobile but less stable, which causes faculty to be less willing to take risks and less creative. This impact imperils critical knowledge and ground-breaking knowledge.

Baltodano (2012) refers to the creation of a "managerial middle class" within educational institutions, describing "fast-track doctorates in educational leadership" emerging in schools of education as a result of neoliberalism. SITEU created a fast-track PhD program, which was one of their first PhD programs and could contribute to an upgrade of their Carnegie Classification rank. However, the only achievement of this program was to award its own university administrators terminal degrees in the first few years. The program legitimized their managerial work and supported the continued elevation of administrators above faculty members. In an additional indicator of the power of administrators, faculty described the assessment center and general education program, both of which employ administrators but no faculty, as "powerful" within SITEU, with a lot of authority and financial resources.

Faculty typically felt that university-level initiatives focused on assessment and technology, to the exclusion of supporting teaching and learning. SITEU provided no philosophical standards for good teaching and did not reward efforts to improve teaching. This lack of standards and lack of compensation for good teaching caused morale to deteriorate among some faculty members. In keeping with the emphasis on assessment and academic consumerism, SITEU evaluated teaching quality through university-run assessment of student outcomes for accreditation purposes and through student evaluations.

An institution can seek to improve teaching in two ways: teach more to the objectives in a model that measures teaching effectiveness through student outcome, and use technology to make teaching more effective. Most faculty felt SITEU had not used technology to improve teaching, with one teacher education faculty reporting the use of

blended learning in her courses. In this case, the faculty were consumers of educational technology. The influence of the market place traveled top-down within SITEU. While the administrators (e.g., SITEU provost) were highly responsive to the impact of technology, the faculty were less so. Market influence in the English department, on the other hand, traveled bottom-up, from students, to faculty, and then to department and college leaders. English faculty described courses, and sometimes programs, being entirely redesigned to address student demands. English faculty, junior faculty in particular, treated students more like customers than Education faculty did. Teacher education faculty felt their own experience as K-12 teachers, as well as academic research results should inform their teaching. They felt the need to stay current not only in education as an academic field but also in policy and public interests about K-12 education in general. Hence their relationship to student demands differed from English faculty.

Teacher education faculty were in a conflicting situation where faculty's perceived job responsibilities deviated from the public service mission of COE. The COE dean viewed COE's core mission as to serve the most disadvantaged students. Under financial pressure, this public service mission was transformed into the mission of keeping the COE in business so that some public service activities could be subsidized. Evidence showed that a compliance mentality dictated faculty's approach to teaching. SITEU's education faculty had a strong desire to comply with increased accountability regulations and to maximize employability of both their students and themselves. From faculty's perspective, the core mission was to meet various assessment requirements and to prepare their current students for future assessments.

In both disciplines, senior faculty and junior faculty responded to neoliberal transformations differently. Junior faculty tended to accept and normalize market influences more easily and quickly than senior faculty did. For example, junior Education faculty incorporated educational technology products in the market in classroom teaching; junior English faculty adopted a commercial approach and used satisfactory survey to modify teaching to student preferences. The nature of faculty work became increasingly market and student oriented at SITEU. Some senior faculty attempted to maintain their traditional way of intellectually challenging students without quantified assessments.

The most significant change in the nature of faculty work was the increasingly maternalistic character of the faculty. While the faculty taught to prepare student for standardized tests, future employment, or intellectual challenges, the federal and state governments expected the faculty to increase the success rate of the students, currently measured by graduation rates. The federal and state level actors (such as SCHEV) inexplicitly expected the higher education faculty to assume a maternalistic role and help students get through college education successfully. It is possible that this desire will become a legitimate mandate.

SITEU's Approach to Research

There were two types of academic research at SITEU: faculty-initiated research and administrator-initiated research. Most teacher education faculty did not have a funded and ongoing research agenda. One said publishing one conference paper per year would be considered as productive in their department. They mostly published and presented to meet minimum tenure requirements. Several local factors contributed to the heavy teaching load in teacher education: limited to none new faculty hire, expanding

enrollment of students, and institutional emphasis on the mission of teaching. The heavy teaching load may have reduced faculty's capability to maintain an active research agenda. The downside of this trade-off is obvious, as Duemer and Phelan (2012) argue:

> Measuring department success on the basis of student revenue has negative consequences on [undergraduate] student learning and opportunities to pursue intellectual interests.... As curriculum is aligned with revenue faculty members will risk losing control of their research efforts and service agendas, as efforts are aimed at producing revenue. (p. 91)

A couple of exceptions were research faculty with ongoing research agendas in STEM fields that carried external grants, which enabled them to purchase teaching relief. Some teacher education faculty members were required by senior faculty and administrators (i.e., department chairs and the dean) to build their research agendas by following topics that represented public interests, expecting it to attract external funding. Teacher education faculty had adapted SITEU's outlook that research should occur in lucrative areas.

Research was a fluid term in the COE that entailed more than conducting research and publishing articles. Teacher education faculty viewed service for professional organizations as a form of research activity, for example, faculty serving on committees to facilitate teaching and learning in local K-12 schools. These services reflected their scholarly interests (for example, literacy and literature). Education faculty typically did not receive financial support for such activities from either SITEU or external funders.

English faculty had the freedom to offer courses they wanted to teach and conduct research on topics that interested them, but they felt SITEU administration tolerated, rather than providing sufficient financial support for, these interests. One symptom of this was that the department expected them to self-finance their research activities. Academic

entrepreneurialism applied in English to all types of research activities. Whether it was running a research center or conducting an independent research project, faculty members were expected to be the managers of their own projects and fund-raise by themselves.

English faculty, however, felt SITEU's new approach to funding deeply. The school was in the process of developing what Kandiko (2010) calls "cash cow educational programs" (p. 163), such as the online courses that had proven to be a major revenue generator. Funding sources were shifting towards the hard and applied sciences and away from the social sciences and humanities (Bok, 2003; Slaughter, 1998; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), increasing the pressure on these less-lucrative academic departments to demonstrate relevancy to the market. SITEU rewarded faculty who pursued research with high potential financial return rather than following their own academic interests.

Two different stories of English research faculty illustrate these dynamics (relevant data reported in Chapter 8). The faculty members were in the same faculty cohort, and the same department; both had put a lot of effort into administrative work, both had an ongoing research agenda, and both had self-financed their research. However, they differed in the nature of their research, the type of funding they managed to gather, their life experiences, their philosophy, ideology, and personality, and consequently their perceptions of and judgments of the quality of the organizational environment. One did research that did not produce additional economic or social capital for the university. Her work targeted academic audiences exclusively. The other faculty's research activity was a form of academic entrepreneurship (Louis et al. 1989) that has deviated from the goal of producing knowledge. Her research results included on-campus activities such as workshops, lectures, and conferences that attracted audiences from all over the country,

as well as publications and materialsthat were approachable for the general public and sold for profit, many of which were non peer-reviewed. Her research activity had an immediate result in increasing SITEU's public influence and prestige. In essence, research activities that are financially self-sustainable thrive in the neoliberal university.

Academic Freedom in the Neoliberal Institution

The faculty senate traditionally safeguards academic freedom and faculty governance of academic matters. The professionalization of higher education faculty institutionalized the tenure system as a protection of academic freedom and the faculty senate as a governing agency of faculty rights and responsibilities of academic matters. SITEU was an example of the erosion of this system. SITEU administrators centralized power and control over academic matters. By appointing committee members and institutionalizing the committee system to approve/disapprove curricular changes, SITEU administrators eroded the professional traditions and set the faculty senate up as an advisory board. Their institutionalization of university-level administrative unit that graded faculty review of academic programs demonstrated a distrust of the faculty profession and has started to deprofessionalize the faculty.

SITEU's faculty senate served as an advisory board for the top-level administrators and a messenger between the administrators and the faculty. The senate represented all instructional faculty at SITEU primarily by disseminating information about administrative decisions among the faculty. The characteristics of each faculty senator determined the quality of such connection between the administrator and the faculty. For example, COE's faculty senators had little communication with COE faculty; and CLA's faculty senators actively fed CLA faculty information about faculty senate's

activities and university-level decision-making process. Besides faculty senators, SITEU faculty had no other informal networking activities to govern knowledge traditions. The administrative centralization and hierarchy of power, the teaching orientation and heavy teaching loads have prevented SITEU faculty from attempting any informal governance. The faculty senate's limited power over academic matters eroded the traditions of faculty governance and the quality of education.

At SITEU, the quality of college education is changing from "food for thought" to "thought for food." In this process, the meaning of academic freedom is shifting. The omnipresence of a neoliberal agenda has even muddled faculty's understanding of academic freedom. Teacher education faculty believed that they were granted academic freedom even when they could not choose what to teach. English faculty associated freedom with the ability to help students graduate faster and spend less in tuition. These findings resonate with Davies and Bansel's (2007) argument:

> Neoliberalism functions at the level of the subject, it functions at the level of the subject, producing docile subjects who are tightly governed and who, at the same time, define themselves as free. Individuals, we suggest, have been seduced by their own perceived powers of freedom and have, at the same time, let go of significant collective powers, through, for example, allowing the erosion of union power. Individual subjects have thus welcomed the increasing individualism as a sign of their freedom and, at the same time, institutions have increased competition, responsibilization and the transfer of risk from the state to individuals at a heavy cost to many individuals, and indeed to many nations. (p. 249)

In an era of financial uncertainties, Virginia's universities and colleges are fighting for institutional freedom and have transferred job security from the state to the institutions themselves. In turn the institutions have transferred a significant amount of the risk to faculty in both teaching and research, with tuition and external research funds constituting a major revenue source for many institutions. At the same time, SITEU

faculty no longer have the right of governing the university; they must fend for themselves against university management and external criticism. In a complementary dynamic, the nation-state transfers risk to citizens, forcing citizens to be conscious about the costs and benefits of education at the very personal level. The diminishing collective identity of public education explains the demise of public education as the public good from a neoliberal perspective.

However, the preservation of knowledge tradition does not have to be constrained by market orientation, as Miller (2014) claimed:

> There is no philosophical reason why the market model should operate against critical thinking. Indeed, the market model would suggest that in times of austerity individuals who can think in an innovative and creative way are best placed to adapt around the economic difficulties that face them. Far from devaluing critical thinking neoliberalism, and its focus on market-based solutions, will create opportunities for original thinkers, innovators and entrepreneurs. In this case, it is not managerialism that has suffocated creative thinking but the particular way that it has been operated in some of our universities. (p. 150)

As the public higher education system continues to evolve, academic freedom will likely be redefined, especially in the sphere of knowledge production and transmission. Public higher education may need higher education professionals to work together and reforge a collective identity for their institutions, their disciplines, their knowledge traditions, and public education in general. Federal support for higher education is not projected to grow in the foreseeable future:

> Since 2011, more than $23 billion in financial aid has been eliminated, and over $5.6 billion of this has been used solely for deficit reduction.… [D]ecline in support for student aid has been matched by reduced funding for the research programs that generate the new technologies and products that power our economy. While the FY 2014 omnibus appropriations measure did restore some of the funding for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) that was cut by sequestration, the NIH remains nearly $1 billion below its FY 12 funding level. (Letter to House and Senate Appropriations Committee leaders on higher education funding for FY 2015, from higher education associations)

The movement to decentralize higher education in Virginia has not yet pulled institutions out of financial turmoil. The findings of this study will likely spread to other institutions and deepen.

Implications for Research on Higher Teaching and Learning

The study revealed that faculty's perception of the extent to which leadership represents their interests influenced their sense of job security and their judgment of the quality of the institutional environment. Future research might explore this perception and faculty's identity as neoliberal academic employees in more depth.

The head of the teacher education department pointed out that programs need to "stay vital" to survive. The department head appeared to define this narrowly as attracting students. Future research might address the role faculty plays in determining what is vital, and how higher education might not rely exclusively on student judgment to determine which departments receive funding.

This study touched on the neoliberal discourse of technology, in the aspects of the "economization" (Berman, 2014) of higher education institutions and faculty's impressions of online teaching and learning. Technology-aided teaching and learning was positively framed by neoliberal rhetoric. This study demonstrated how traditional academic values were in conflict with neoliberal values. The concerns that faculty raised about the quality of technology-aided programs suggests the need for further research into their effects.

This study revealed that in a neoliberal context, financial resources vary across departments and colleges. It suggests the need for further research into evaluating performance relative to financial resources (Kelly and Jones, 2007). Whether different

levels of financial support influence a department's performance is an urgent question. This study suggests the importance of budget in a neoliberal context, but it did not thoroughly explore the sources of funds and how they were spent. Such research might analyze budgets at the institutional level, and even compare institutions' budgets and approach to budgeting.

This study was initially inspired by my experience as a junior faculty member in a public Chinese liberal arts college. Globalization has introduced neoliberalism to public Chinese institutions and is challenging their faculty's professional identity, and even legitimacy, financially and culturally. The general society is losing its historical respect for teaching as a profession and now tends to discriminate against liberal arts faculty because of their lack of purchasing power. Future research would address whether this transformation narrows and utilitarianizes knowledge production and transmission in economically developing regions. More data on the rise and fall of disciplinary knowledge should be collected globally.

This study focused on one teaching-oriented institution and did not address graduate education that prepares the next generation of knowledge workers. When institutions pursue quantity and speed in degree completion, researchers have reported limited learning at the undergraduate level (Arum and Roksa, 2011). Time to degree and future earning potential lent participants in this study little confidence in the future of academic research in English. Observation of educational outcomes at the doctorate level to reveal whether this bears out will be valuable.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter Approving Access to the Research Site

Confidential

February 11, 2013

Feng Raoking
Doctoral Candidate
Social Foundations of Education
University of Virginia
FR3P@virginia.edu

Dear Ms. Raoking:

Presiden Confidential ded to me your request for access to our institution for interviews in collecting data for your dissertation research. We have found this request to be acceptable and it is approved. The next step would be for you or the UVA IRB to submit its review and approval, along with this letter of approval, to our IRB for review and approval. Information about IRB submission may be found at Confidential If you should have questions or desire consultation regarding this process, please contact Ms. Confidential

If I may be of any assistance, please do not hesitate to contact my office.

Sincerely,

Confidential

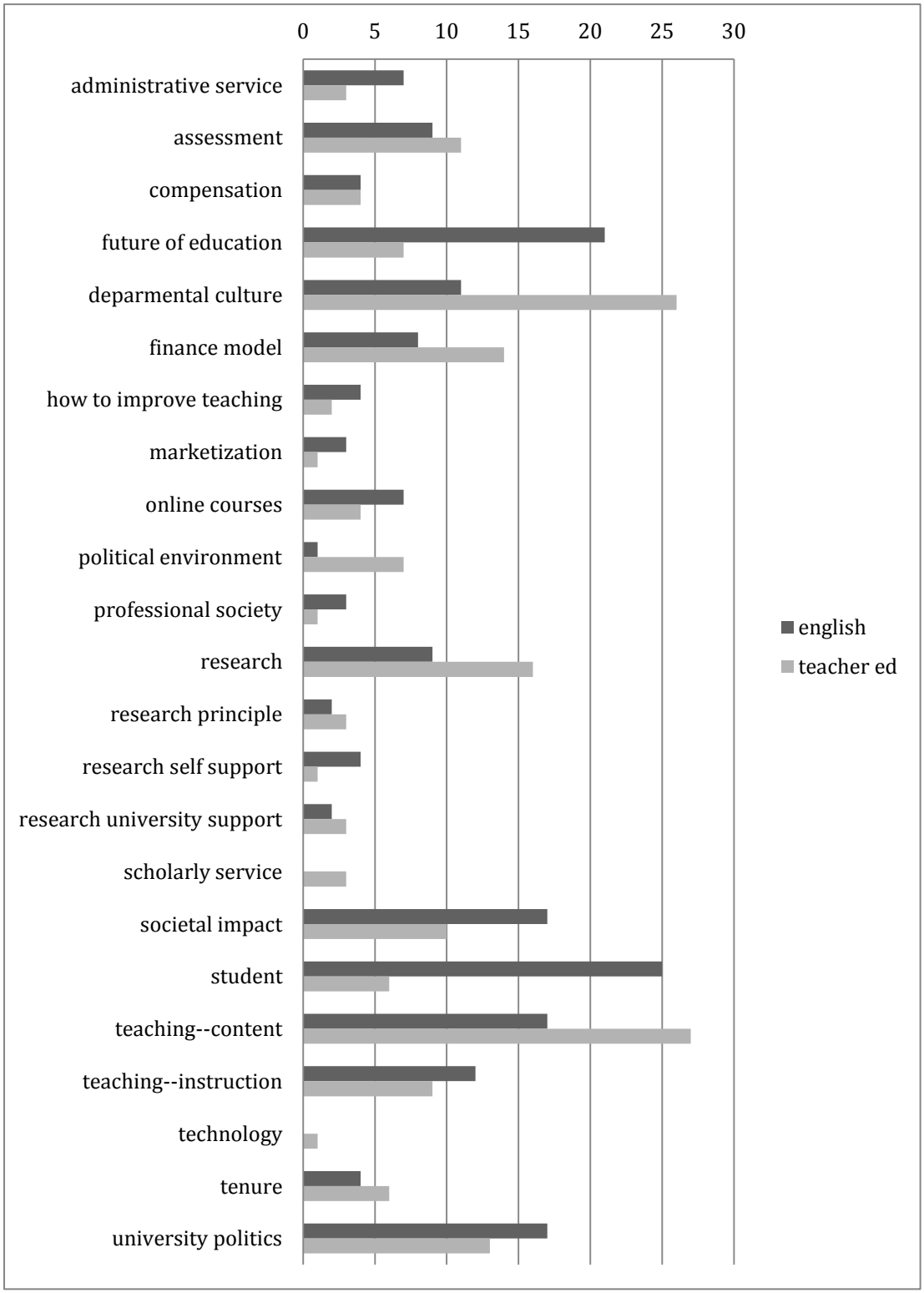
Provost and Senior Vice President

Confidential

cc: Confidential

Confidential

Appendix 2: Example of Data Management and Preliminary Analysis



Appendix 3: Sample of Analytic Memo

Research Faculty Stories—A Comparison

BK was a research faculty who had worked in industry for years before entering academia. Her current research project was focused on an old English dictionary that barely anyone knew about. Her research served only academic purposes, discovering knowledge—the kind of knowledge that may not interest anyone else. Her research targeted academic audiences. What she brought into her classroom were research methods, analytic skills, writing skills, and a very small portion of her research that did interest students and inspired their thinking.

She was conducting archival research that required frequent international trips. Because the materials she was studying were kept at specific locations, she had to physically be with the materials and spent time there to study them. This was entirely independent work. In order to do this, she had to take time off from the University.

To cover all costs, BK financed her research project by herself through non-stop grant writing and award application. Her grants and awards came from granting agencies that mostly funded academic research projects, with some small amounts from SITEU that she applied for. These money combined was enough to give her a whole year to work on a book. The process of getting the money, as she recalled, was "dreadful", with steep competition and huge investment of time and effort.

BK did not feel the level of support from the University for her research was satisfactory. She did receive some small funds from the University to cover travel expenses, without having to spend time on applications. From years of doing administrative work, working as the graduate program director, she felt she devoted her most productive years to the Department without receiving much recognition or compensation from the University. She was looking forward to going back to teaching and setting up new courses and programs once her book draft was done, but never to do administrative work again.

GB was a research faculty who started out as a journalist. Soon after becoming a faculty member, she took on a large load of administrative work, working as the director of the honors program for the College. She taught one course per semester ever since. 19 years later, she had the opportunity to establish her research center on African-American poetry. The type of research she did was collaborative and activist. She was discovering knowledge almost exclusively for empirical purpose—as teaching materials to be used in classrooms. The targeted audiences of her research included anyone that was interested in poetry, or poets and aspiring poets to be exact.

She and her research center were housed in a temporary building on the far end of the campus. Students would rarely walk over there and meet with her unannounced. There was a sense of independence and isolation with that setting. She did feel that her work received more recognition from the society than from the University. She was not alone in the center—she had a small staff. As a team, they set up a website, raised funds from all over the place, hosted conferences, published collections of poetry. They worked together as a small startup company, or a non-profit organization.

The housing of her center was provided by the University, who also gave her a small operating budget. The institutional support was small enough but it was stable income

and provided a sense of security—something to fall back on. Starting from there, she raised money from foundations, corporations, and from other departments in the University who had left over money in their annual budget.

She had the impression that her professional life at SITEU was gratifying. She thought everyone in SITEU was nice. She believed that the institution provided good support for her center and her research activities. She did not think that she could have done better in any other institution, and the overall environment at SITEU was more than satisfactory. (Analytic Memo 406)