**A Case Study of Academic Program Development in Higher Education:
Examining Implicit Cultural Patterns and Influences**

by

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Abstract

This case study explored curriculum development in a complex university, providing a cultural analysis of a largely hidden process: the creation of new degree programs. The primary research question guiding the study was: How do members of a curriculum development team understand and accomplish their work? The study examined the work of academic program development through a culture and cognition lens, seeking to identify cognitive frames that tacitly shaped the committee's process and decision making, and utilizing sensitizing concepts from expectations states theory, to examine the role of status hierarchy and performance expectations in group processes and decision-making. Data came from observations of team meetings during a 16-month period and individual interviews with team members.

Findings suggest that while the curriculum team benefitted from positive leadership and camaraderie, they lacked needed institutional support for developing new academic programs. The analysis supported theoretical assumption that socially weighted status characteristics (i.e., faculty rank and professional roles) shaped patterns of interaction and influence in this task-focused group. Variations in members' motivation appeared to influence the nature and extent of members' participation. The committee's processes were strongly influenced by multiple deans inside and outside the unit through the organizational hierarchy.

The analysis identified several cognitive frames that tacitly shaped the committee's process and decision making. The frame of "parallel process" organized the committee's thinking about their work, allowing them to develop a program proposal while planning the launching the program. The frame of "quality trumps innovation" reflected a stated prioritization of academic quality while managing expectations regarding innovativeness. The cognitive frame of "in-the-moment conceptions of imagined students" revealed inconsistent, fluctuating, and conflicting views of students due to a lack of evidence-

based discussion of student development, diversity and attributes. Additional cognitive frames reflected the committee's confidence in their process but also their avoidance of warning signs that the time frame for launching the program was too ambitious.

Building on these frames and the analysis of status hierarchy, integrative themes included "extrapolation of expertise," which captured the committee's perceptions of its knowledge and experience as extending to areas that were not, in actuality, well understood; and a "mirage of faculty control of the curriculum," which orchestrated faculty buy-in and thus upheld the belief that faculty own the decisions, process and enactment of degree programs. The committee could be construed, alternatively, as an organizational change lever, a mechanism to enact the will of deans, or as fulfilling an organizational need to move a particular agenda forward while giving that agenda legitimacy and credibility. Implications of this study suggest a reimagining of academic program development in higher education to include multiple sources of expertise commensurate with its complexity and resources and support commensurate with its centrality. Awareness of cognitive frames and status differences that shape committee work may lead to approaches that unlock creativity, maximize the benefits of diverse teams, and open the process to include more voices and new methods. By recognizing three intertwined elements: curriculum design, course development, and organizational systems that enact the curriculum, we can move academic program development away from outdated approaches and into the 21st century.

Chapter I. Introduction

Scholars have come far in their efforts to understand critical issues in higher education including college access, recruitment, retention, persistence, teaching and learning, student engagement, and student development. However, research on the curriculum - the center of higher education itself - has received less attention (Lattuca & Stark, 2009). As a result of research advances and investment in professional practices, areas such as recruitment, retention and persistence benefit from expansive research and well-tested professional practice methods. Yet, as demands for more and faster curricular change increase, curriculum development methods - and assumptions - have remained largely the same. The primary method for curriculum development in traditional colleges and universities is the curriculum committee; a group of faculty members at the program, department, school or college level which presides over curriculum decisions and plans, from course prerequisites to grading policies, from curriculum design to evaluation, and from curriculum reform to new academic program development. A prevailing assumption around curriculum development is that faculty know how to do it.

While many faculty members are good teachers, or learn to be good teachers, most faculty are not taught about course design, pedagogy, or assessment of student learning as they achieve the PhD in their discipline or field of study and undertake their careers. Likewise, most faculty have little preparation for academic program curriculum design and development, or in how to navigate these processes in the context of a complex university. Staff members assigned

to curriculum development teams are often there to provide administrative support or to give insight on specific topics such as program marketing or career services. Administrators and faculty often underestimate the time and effort involved in curriculum development work.

In reality, academic program development involves not only a curriculum plan, course design, and program objectives - each difficult to achieve in and of itself. It also involves decisions and plans for enrollment management, budget forecasting, marketing and recruitment, admissions, prerequisite courses, academic advising, academic support, course scheduling, experiential learning, and career services. In addition, admissions criteria, academic standards and rules (such as grading, incomplete courses, etc.), instructional coverage (often including faculty hiring) and staffing plans (often including staff hiring) require careful attention. The process of curriculum development also involves managing relationships, collaborations and communications, and leading cultural and organizational change. The timing, interaction and coordination of these many factors are important to both the development and implementation of new academic programs.

The paradox that I observed in my own professional practice, which includes working with faculty curriculum committees engaged in curriculum development and change over a ten-year period, is that higher education leaders expect that faculty members know how to engage in and lead curriculum development work, while in reality, many do not. Faculty and administrators alike tend to think the work is more straightforward than it is in reality. I have worked with numerous faculty who experienced significant stress while leading or serving on a curriculum committee, especially when the work involved significant curriculum reform or new program development. At times things went well, and other times they did not; in those cases, significant effort ended in stalemate or minimal change; or a significant change was made only

to face major obstacles in implementation. When I described my dissertation topic to a visiting professor presenting on campus, he visibly shuddered, and immediately recounted the terrible experience he had as an assistant professor serving on a curriculum committee in his prestigious, well-resourced university. An anomaly, perhaps? I think not.

While it is uncommon to see news about curriculum development failures, a *Chronicle of Higher Education* article, "How UT-Austin's Bold Plan for Reinvention Went Belly-Up," (Ellis, 2019) did just that. The UT-Austin Development Office highlighted the expansive initiative's vision with a *Star Trek* angle: "Project 2021 will explore new technologies, seek out better ways of teaching and learning, and boldly go where no university has gone before in the development of next-generation undergraduate programs." The University President stated that half of students on campus could enroll in a redesigned program in 5 years. Two years later, a new Provost ended the initiative, citing lack of clear goals, little progress, and budget constraints. The psychology professor who led Project 2021 had significant leadership and curriculum development experience; he had been a department chair for nine years and had navigated launching a successful massive online course. Ellis (2019 writes, "He thought he understood how the university worked. After hundreds of hours of meetings, he realized he was wrong. 'I didn't know anything about how the university functioned,' he remarked."

One striking aspect of this story is the derailing of a significant curriculum innovation due in part by a conversation the project leader had with the University Registrar, who indicated that the complex and aging technical system underpinning course registration would make moving to a "fractional credit" option for short courses untenable. With the President behind a huge effort to reinvent key aspects of the curriculum, why not tackle the problem of information technology and credit-counting? Although the issue of fractional credits removed an innovative

idea from the project, the change in university leadership and the complexity of the campus combined with the scale and scope of the project brought the overall initiative to a halt.

The Chronicle article was well grounded, claiming "the story of the program's rise and fall, based on more than 20 interviews and a review of emails, reports, and other documents, shows how universities too often pursue the elusive act of transformation: promising too much while investing too little" (Ellis, 3/3/2019). It shed light on the experience of staff and faculty involved in the project and the layers of bureaucracy impeding the process. Reader comments reflected some of the experiences and perspectives they brought to the topic, yet did not identify the underlying cultural structures that not only impacted UT-Austin, but impact all of higher education.

UT-Austin President Gregg Fenve's opinion article (Fenve, 2019) in response to the stories about his campus pointed to the need for bold innovation and that part of innovation is learning and redirecting efforts. He ties the situation up neatly as a story of a campus that did something bold, realized where it needed adjustment, and ultimately achieved multiple innovations, though not on the scale initially proposed. What he does, also, is use his status to re-tell the story in a way that supports the image he wants his university to portray; innovative yet fiscally responsible. Neither the article nor the responses to it identify the very large elephant in the room – that current culture and systems on campuses across the country need a major overhaul to support and strengthen academic curriculum development now and in the future.

Few would argue that academia is a strongly hierarchical system, with elaborate delineation of rank and role, position and power, as well as what some refer to as a caste system between faculty and staff with staff members secondary to faculty members. Many people in academia (both faculty and staff), however, hold highly specific areas of expertise, and

specialized expertise is a salient aspect of power. When we go to the dentist, we trust s/he is right in telling us we need a new crown. When we go to a mechanic, we might worry we are being told we need a $600 repair rather than a $30 repair, but we are in a tight spot to argue if we do not know about car engines. Depending on our view of situations and the people we are interacting with, we have different perceptions of our influence and control in any particular context. Did the UT-Austin faculty member leading the change effort defer to the expertise of the Registrar rather than advocate for change? Did the President's re-cast of the reform project reflect reality or reframe it?

Long ago, faculty roles extended across many aspects of student life, such as supervision of students in residential housing, registration, and student conduct. As higher education expanded both in terms of fields of knowledge and wider access in the 1900s, faculty roles increasingly focused on teaching and research, with professional staff roles evolving across many higher education functions including admissions, academic services, student affairs, development, research administration and more (Thelin, 2013). While faculty expertise continues to be essential to curriculum development -- in particular for content knowledge -- there is a gap in university systems and support for fast-evolving curricula, curriculum innovations, and new academic program development. Faculty remain steadfast in their desire to control the development of the curriculum. Yet how can faculty have real agency and control over a process and system in which they have little knowledge, experience, and expertise?

Context

From the founding of the first European University, the University of Bologna, in 1088, it was hundreds of years before new models of universities began to emerge, and they did so roughly once a century (Glisczinski, 2007). The British model emerged in the 19th century with

an emphasis on liberal education and developing character, followed by the German model at the end of the 19th century which established academic freedom and freedom of learning while introducing research as a key component in addition to teaching (Bastedo, 2011; Glisczinski, 2007; Rudolph 1977). The 20th century American model blended the British and German models, with an undergraduate curriculum focused on liberal education and a research-oriented graduate education (Bastedo, 2011; Glisczinski, 2007; Rudolph, 1977). During the 20th century there were shifts from rapid expansion to diversification and a market-driven system. Economical education and technology transfer emerged at the dawn of the knowledge economy. With the rate of change quickening in the world around us, new model(s) of higher education curricula are emerging more rapidly (Glisczinski, 2007).

Thelin (2013) provided a thoughtful summary of key trends and developments in higher education since 1960. While he portrayed American higher education as mainly successful and more capable of change than often credited, he stated: "My central argument is that in the United States our ability to build structures and policies that provide access to higher education surpassed our abilities to then provide subsequent attention and effectiveness in the substance and innards of undergraduate education…" (Thelin, 2013, p. 106). Multiple national reports and expert analyses have lamented the lack of innovation, coherence, and evidence of impact in higher education curricula (Bastedo, 2011; Lattuca & Stark, 2009).

However, it would be incorrect to suggest that higher education institutions have not made significant changes in their curricula; there have been numerous shifts and innovations over time (Bastedo, 2011). The nature and content of general education, the increase in specialization as indicated by the growth in major fields of study, and movements such as interdisciplinary education and experiential education exemplify some of these changes

(Bastedo, 2011). There have been numerous periods in history during which the field of higher education was under pressure to become more accountable for student learning and student outcomes (Lattuca & Stark, 2009). However, calls for reform and accountability have intensified in recent decades, as higher education shifted from elite to mass education, and has moved towards universal education in the midst of the information revolution and globalization (Barnett, 2002; Glisczinski, 2007; Luddeke, 1999).

The press for change in higher education curricula belies the challenges institutions have with making it happen. Curriculum decision-making is complex and influenced by numerous internal and external factors (Lattuca & Stark, 2009). Many of these factors relate to organizational culture, which, according to Tierney (2008) "reflects what is done, how it is done, and who is involved in doing it (and) concerns decisions, actions, and communication on both an instrumental and symbolic level" (Tierney, 2008, p.3). According to Cameron, Quinn, et al (2006, p. 5), "Understanding organizational culture is important because it is the single largest factor that inhibits organizational improvement and change." Cultural factors identified as important in the curriculum decision-making literature include interest groups, power, leadership, collaboration, disciplinary differences, faculty dynamics, generational differences, faculty rank/role, institutional climate, and resistance to change (Briggs et al, 2003; Conrad, 1978; Harper & Lattuca, 2010; Lattuca & Stark, 1994; Oliver & Hyun, 2011; Stark et al, 1997).

Curriculum decision-making processes at the program level are typically sporadic and rather hidden, primarily handled in committees and task forces at the departmental and school/college levels (Harper & Lattuca, 2010; Lattuca & Stark, 2009; Luddeke, 1999; Stark et al, 1997). While limited in number, the studies that have examined curriculum development teams have found they can build a shared sense of mission, cooperative behavior, mutual respect,

and trust (Oliver & Hyun, 2011), yet can be fraught with politics, interest groups, and power struggles (Briggs et al, 2003; Conrad & Pratt, 1983, 1978; Dubrow, 2004; Oliver & Hyun, 2011). Research indicates that efforts to significantly change or innovate the curriculum can result in compromise that brings only incremental change, or in significant change that diminishes collegiality, or both (Conrad & Pratt,1978, 1983; Dubrow, 2004; Stark et al, 1997). To advance capacity for curricular innovation and reform, we need to better understand the curriculum decision-making process, especially the organizational infrastructure and institutional culture that drives the process. Further research examining the inner workings of curriculum committees could increase our understanding of how these groups operate, and their role and impact on curriculum development efforts.

Statement of the Problem

It stands to reason that the press for reform and accountability in the college curriculum would lead institutions, schools, colleges and departments to invest in on-going, multifaceted curricular planning and innovation efforts. However, research suggests the opposite. Externally mandated curriculum reform is often pro-forma and few departments and institutions have developed expertise in curriculum decision-making processes (Briggs, Stark & Rowland-Poplowski, 2003; Harper & Lattuca, 2010). Faculty members are less inclined to invest in program or institutional level planning than in changes to their own courses and indicate a dislike for curriculum planning (Lattuca & Stark, 2009; Stark, Lowther, Malcolm, Sharp, & Arnold, 1997). Provosts had difficulty identifying departments that fit the criteria of "continuous planning" when requested to do so for a curriculum research study (Briggs et al, 2003). Teaching and learning centers on college campuses typically focus on course design or re-design and instructional methods rather than academic program design or development (Wolf, 2007),

leaving faculty and administrators with few supports for curriculum planning and implementation efforts.

The prevailing process of curriculum development and specifically, new academic program planning, leaves faculty and higher education administrators alike with little knowledge about the process and impact of such curriculum decision-making on the teaching and learning environment, or about the benefits and challenges that curriculum planning affords the individuals, departments, and institutions that engage in it. The rapid growth of knowledge and technology in society along with increasing competition and demands for accountability in higher education create added pressure for curriculum development and reform in post-secondary education (Bastedo, 2011; Glisczinski, 2007).

Curriculum development and reform occur at the program, department, school, college and institutional levels. Whether organized as disciplinary working groups, department, school or college committees, general education task forces or university initiatives, a committee structure with a chair or co-chairs and representative members serves as the primary vehicle for decisions about academic curricula (Lattuca, 2009). Yet the curriculum committee in higher education has been a largely unexamined, unquestioned and unchanged modus operandi of curriculum decision-making for over a hundred years. Meanwhile, many, if not most academic programs have not advanced their capability to support an agile, innovative, and accountable curriculum (Bastedo, 2011; Lattuca & Stark, 2009). By the early 2000s, curriculum scholars were already noting that this seemed unsustainable, given the need for universities to be responsive to a fast-changing environment. The advent of for-profit institutions and massive open online courses made clear the need for rapid change and flexible curricular structures. Calls for innovation in higher education practices have not led to widespread change. How might an

in-depth study of academic program development in a university setting help to identify the constraints as well as the affordances of a typical curriculum development committee's work?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of my research was to better understand how a curriculum development team accomplishes its work: what is involved in doing the work and how members of the committee understand, engage in and complete the work. To provide sufficient depth in this endeavor, I conducted a single-site case study, observing meetings of a curriculum development team over a period of 16 months and conducting individual interviews with team members. This case study inquiry provided an opportunity to observe and analyze the organizational and cultural forces underlying a process of curriculum development and decision-making. It provided access and insight to a primarily hidden function that is nonetheless central to higher education broadly and ultimately, to the quality of students' educational experiences.

In my professional work, I served as director of admissions and student affairs in an academic unit within a large research university. As part of my work, I supported and contributed to curriculum committees over a ten-year period. I observed and participated in many discussions and decisions with these committees. I was involved with committees that developed new academic degree programs, restructured existing program requirements, and some that were conducting more "regular" business of course proposal reviews, policy revision, and other curricular matters. When I returned to school for a PhD in higher education administration, I decided I wanted to better understand the work of curriculum development teams. I wanted to make this "hidden" work more visible and help others understand the role and impact of these working groups. I also wanted to encourage more discussions and research about how curriculum

development and decision making occurs, how it might change and how the systems and support for this essential activity could be improved.

Rather than focus on the curriculum teams in the academic unit in which I worked, I observed a curriculum team in a setting outside of my workplace. This allowed me to utilize the informed perspective of my professional experience, while maintaining a more objective lens to conduct the case study. While a few curriculum groups declined my request to observe their meetings, citing concerns for ensuring the privacy of their discussions, I was fortunate to find a group who supported my research. I became a fly on the wall in this team's meetings over 16 months, and through individual interviews, collected the team members' perspectives on their own experience with this process. I observed their interactions, discussions and decision making in relation to their work as a team and in relation to their individual roles and contributions. I looked for patterns in how they were thinking about and understanding their work (what Bensimon, 2005 refers to as cognitive frames). I explored how status characteristics such as role, rank, gender, race, skills and experience impacted their interactions and contributions and how influences from outside the committee impacted their team and process.

Research Questions

This study addressed the overarching question: How do members of a curriculum team understand and accomplish their work? Additional questions guiding the study included:

1. What cognitive frames does the curriculum team demonstrate or develop that shape and focus their work?
2. How do the curriculum team leader (committee chair) and others in leadership roles outside the committee shape and influence the curriculum team's work?
3. How do curriculum team members perceive, shape and influence the team's process?

Significance

The contributions of this study are fourfold. First, my dissertation contributes to the curriculum development literature in higher education. Multiple researchers including Lattuca (2009) and Conrad (1983) have called for more evidence-based curriculum development practice that attends to multiple aspects of curriculum in its context. Bordage and Harris (2011) make a case for grounding curricular reform efforts with theory and research, and for incorporating assessment efforts into the reform process in a way that will help inform the field of curriculum development overall. They also call for effective implementation strategies for reform, drawing on organizational literature to emphasize the importance of intentional efforts from the composition and process of curricular design groups, to the involvement of stakeholders, to the leadership that provides support for reform in order for change to be successful and enduring. This dissertation is one-step in addressing this need.

Moreover, this study is one of the few qualitative examinations of curriculum development work that relies primarily on observation of a curriculum development committee's meetings over time, augmented by individual interviews with committee members. Other qualitative studies of curriculum development have relied on interviews alone (Conrad, 1978), observation at national meetings where curriculum teams were assembled combined with interviews (Kezar, 2015) or have involved participant-observation (Oliver and Hyun, 2011). I have sought to open the closed doors of the curriculum development committee so that the realities of curriculum development work can be better understood. As an exploratory study and as a single site case study, this research seeks to identify processes and activities of theoretical interest that can inform future studies of curriculum development while making visible to faculty and administrators how such processes and activities can affect professional practice.

The study brings a cognition and culture lens (Bensimon and Neumann, 1993; DiMaggio, 1997; Ridgeway, 2006) to the study of curriculum development, focusing on the work of a curriculum team as a cultural process. In addition to themes depicting the committee's process, it identifies cognitive frames that serve to shape and screen the team's thinking, areas of focus, and decision-making, incorporating Bensimon and Neumann's perspective of teams as cultures (Bensimon & Neumann, 1993) and Bensimon's (2005) discussion of cognitive frames. Drawing from the social psychology arm of the culture and cognition literature, this study also introduces sensitizing concepts from Expectations States Theory for use in qualitative analysis. Expectations States Theory comes from a body of experimental research that explains status hierarchies, or the power and prestige patterns, of task-focused groups (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). The more commonly known theory of stereotype threat, which explains how identity status can impact individual performance, is an extension of expectations states theory. Examining the work of a curriculum team in terms of power and prestige structure supports my effort for a deeper, cultural understanding of how the team approached and conducted its work.

Thirdly, my dissertation provides insights that stand to benefit professional practice. The findings of this case study have implications for how members of a curriculum team are selected, how the team is oriented to its work, what experts are consulted and involved, what issues are addressed, and how experience on a curriculum team can benefit individual members' learning and professional development. It provides insights that could lead to new ways of approaching curriculum development and decision-making that are more inclusive than the existing curriculum committee structures often afford. Moreover, given that committees are a common decision-making structure used across many functional areas of our universities, my findings suggest the critical importance of advancing efforts to reduce status inequities among faculty and

professional staff (and across faculty rank and other status characteristics such as gender). Finally, examining how the committee's thought processes shape their work can increase intentionality by helping teams understand and navigate issues and barriers while augmenting beneficial and effective approaches.

Definition of Terms

In my dissertation, I use the terms "curriculum planning," "curriculum development," "curriculum change," and "curriculum decision-making." The terms curriculum planning, curriculum development and curriculum change pervade the literature and are often used synonymously with examination of decision-making processes. The literature often approaches planning, development, change, and innovation as proxies for decision-making. A clear definition of curriculum has been elusive (Lattuca & Stark, 2009).

Some define curriculum as the set of courses students take to receive a degree, while others view it as the overall learning experience that a college or program provides, both in and out of the classroom (Lattuca & Stark, 2009). Lattuca and Stark (2009) describe the curriculum as an academic plan that includes the following elements: "purposes, content, sequence, learners, instructional processes, instructional resources, evaluation, and adjustment" (Lattuca & Stark, 2009, pp 4-5). Germane to this study, the academic plan concept affords a view of curriculum development and change at many levels; changes can occur in courses, in a sequence of courses in an academic program, in a set of academic requirements or structures across many academic programs, or in the entire educational experience a college or university offers. Also relevant to this study, the academic plan concept recognizes that the elements of the academic plan are impacted by the surrounding sociocultural contexts, both internal (e.g. faculty, resources, governance) to the organization and external (e.g. market forces, government, accrediting

agencies) to it. Lattuca and Stark's academic plan model of the postsecondary curriculum provides guidance on the elements essential to decisions about curriculum while emphasizing "the influence of sociocultural and historical factors by embedding the academic plan in this temporal context" (Lattuca & Stark, 2009, p. 6).

Culture is another difficult concept to define and that is central to my research focus. Multiple researchers have noted the problem and the challenge of the multiple definitions and conceptions of culture in the literature (Kezar, 2002; Sackmann, 1992; Tierney 2008, 1988). Early conceptions of culture describe it as shaped by values (Weber, 1958; Parsons, 1937), and later, as a "tool kit" (Swidler, 1985). The literature offers multiple conceptions of organizational culture (Tierney, 2008; Sackmann, 1992) and of the existence and functions of subcultures (Schein, 2004; Hofstede, 1998; Sackmann, 1992). Peterson and Spencer's (1991) definition emphasized shared values and beliefs, while Schein (2004) identified artifacts, espoused values, and underlying assumptions as levels of cultural analysis. These conceptions do not provide an understanding of the mechanisms of culture in action or the complexity of individuals' interactions with the multiple contexts they inhabit through experiences, relationships, roles, and organizational affiliations. My use of culture as a central aspect of the framework guiding my dissertation does not rest on traditional conceptions of culture as deeply inhered within an organization as a whole through shared norms and values. Rather, it draws from research at the intersection of sociology and psychology which has evolved the understanding of culture from a set of consistent and coherent values and norms within groups and across situations to a repertoire of dynamic, contextually cued and mutually reinforcing interactions between the individual and the sociocultural environment (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Markus & Kitayama,

2010; Ridgeway, 2006; DiMaggio, 1997). It is this heterogeneous, dynamic, and contextual definition of culture that underpins the thinking and conceptual framework of my dissertation.

Conceptual Framework

Culture and Cognition

This case study is grounded in the body of theory and research on culture and cognition. While the work of sociologists and psychologists has traditionally been in opposing domains, with sociologists taking a humanistic approach to the study of groups, and psychologists taking a positivist approach to the study of individuals (DiMaggio, 1997), a convergence between sociology and psychology has developed related to the connections between culture and cognition (DiMaggio, 1997, DiMaggio & Markus, 2010). A growing number of empirical studies in social psychology have explored this connection, examining dimensions of culture such as individualism vs. collectivism; the construction and perception of meaning; networks of knowledge and mental structures; and cultural models or schemata (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Kitayama & Cohen, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Ridgeway, 2006).

The shift to a more complex view of culture has emerged from both fields, with psychologists turning from behaviorism to recognizing the existence of mental models or structures, and sociologists recognizing the individual dimensions of culture formation and transmission (DiMaggio, 1997). As a result, individuals and the social systems they inhabit are characterized by beliefs and understandings of appropriate and reasonable thoughts and behavior. The emerging view of culture as explicit and implicit cultural patterns emphasizes that individuals are not separate from their social contexts and that social contexts do not exist apart from people. Social situations or contexts are the product of human activity, the repository of previous psychological activity. Further, social situations do more than influence behavior. They

constitute (as in create, make up, or establish) these psychological tendencies (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010). Building on Swidler's (1985) "toolkit" concept, cognitive psychologists have provided evidence that people retain a large array of cultural material, much of which is "untagged" until it is needed to make sense of a situation. Some cultural material clusters into schemas that enable automatic response to situations, while some requires environmental cues to be activated (DiMaggio, 1997; DiMaggio & Markus, 2010).

Teams as Cultures

My study draws inspiration from Bensimon and Neumann's (1993) conceptualization of teams as cultures, the functions of teams, and their conception of cognitive frame, which are rooted in scholarly work on culture and cognition. To augment Bensimon and Neumann's (1993) attention to patterns of inclusion and influence, I also drew on sensitizing concepts from Expectations States Theory (described shortly).

Bensimon (2005) and Bensimon and Neumann (1993; 1989) applied the concept of cognitive frames, which they noted is alternatively referred to as lenses, mental maps, mental models, images, and personal theories, as a means to examine team functions and leadership and to understand the achievement gap in education. Cognitive frames operate to shape, screen, limit or give attention to a wide variety of inputs and ideas that allow us to make sense of or interpret situations, information, or events (Bensimon, 1989; Neumann, 1991). In depicting how individual perceptions impact an organizational process or outcome, Bensimon (2005, p. 101) describes cognitive frames as the interpretive frameworks through which individuals make sense of phenomena:

> "A cognitive frame is the way in which an individual understands a situation. Cognitive frames can be understood as individuals' conceptual maps that determine what questions may be asked, what information is collected, how problems are defined, and what action should be taken."

Using implicit theories of change as a mental model framework, Kezar, Gehrke, and Elrod (2015) studied STEM curriculum reform teams on 11 campuses. Drawing from Connolly and Seymour (2003), a theory of change is defined as "a predictive assumption about the relationship between desired changes and the actions that may produce those changes" (Kezar, Gehrke & Elrod, 2015). Through interpretive analysis of observations and interviews, they identified implicit theories of change and then introduced interventions to determine if presenting explicit change strategies or actual experience with the change process, or both, led to implicit theories becoming explicit. Since many of those involved in the reform were new to the process, it was assumed that their implicit (and often faulty) beliefs about how to enact change would have a significant impact on their process. Presenting change strategies alone was not sufficient; experiential activities (case studies, role plays, and simulations) and continued experience in with their change processes led reformers to become aware of their implicit theories (Kezar et al, 2015).[1]

Bensimon's description of cognitive frames appears more suitable for exploring issues and patterns that shape a team's thinking and process. The concept of cognitive frames has some similarity to the concept of cultural models found in the fields of anthropology, cognitive psychology, and sociology (D'Andrade, 1995; Fitouri, 1986; Gatewood, 2012; Holland & Quinn, 1987; Shore, 1999). Cultural models are defined as shared representations of meaning. Research on cultural models primarily compares how different cultural groups understand and approach a social activity or concept. Whereas individual schemas about ways of feeling, thinking, and acting are reflected in cultural models, artifacts of the environment including policies, practices,

[1] While Kezar's study is of interest, and her focus on implicit theories of change is a potentially important sensitizing concept, the focus on change grounded in organizational learning theory was too narrow to support my interest in deeply exploring the functions and functioning of a curriculum team.

and social interactions serve to prime and preserve their contextual framing (Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Ridgeway, 2006).

Cultural models have deep cultural contexts and are pervasive; cognitive frames, in contrast, connect to a more fluid view of culture and cognition. According to Bensimon and Neumann (2005, 1993) cognitive frames can represent personal theories (Bensimon, 1990; Bensimon and Neumann, 1993) or may exist on both the individual and group levels. In my study, then, I used the concept of cognitive frames, defined as patterns of thought that shape and screen attention and understanding, rather than cultural models or theories of change. In particular, I sought to identify group-level cognitive frames, exploring the basis for those frames while considering their context as they emerged and/or shifted and, finally, how they impact the work of the curriculum team.

Expectations States Theory

Expectations States Theory, rooted in theory connecting cultural schemas and social relations, offers an opportunity to connect cognition and culture with my examination of the committee's work. Specifically, Expectations States Theory provided concepts related to status hierarchy, or the power and prestige structure, of a task-focused group (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). This opened the analysis to include interaction patterns and team dynamics similar to those discussed in Bensimon and Neumann's (1993) cultural analysis of leadership teams. For example, Bensimon and Neumann (1993, p. 123) suggests that a team leader examine the "taken for granted processes that compose the team's reality" asking questions such as "Who in the group talks and who remains silent? Who in the group influences what is talked about?" Expectations states theory along with its sub-theory, Status characteristics theory (which added a

set of operational principles for how beliefs about status characteristics are translated into performance expectations), and general concepts from Status construction theory (which discusses how status beliefs take hold and spread) provided sensitizing concepts that helped explain interaction, communication and influence patterns of the curriculum team.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation proceeds with a review of literature based on the conceptual framework guiding the study in chapter two, followed by a discussion of methods in chapter three. My findings are presented in chapters four, five and six. In the first of the findings chapters (Chapter Four), I present a case chronology and themes that I identified during my analysis. Chapter Five discusses concepts from status hierarchy and the insights these provide on the team's process and culture. Chapter Six presents five cognitive frames that I identified as shaping the attention and thinking of the curriculum team and discusses the impact of these frames on their work, as well as two integrative themes. Chapter Seven presents my conclusions including a summary, contributions to theory, implications for practice, and areas for future research.

Chapter II. Literature Review

The literature presented encompasses the four areas that comprise my theoretical framework for the study. My review begins with an analysis of select research and frameworks from higher education literature on curriculum development, focusing on curriculum development teams and processes and covering both conceptual and empirical studies. Framing curriculum committees as teams with particular cultural features, I examine the culture and cognition that underpins the perspective of culture as fluid, socially constructed and connected to situational and social identity contexts. This focus on cultural perspectives of teams supports my theoretical framework utilizing the concepts of cognitive frames and sensitizing concepts from Expectations States Theory to analyze the work of this task focused group.

Curriculum Development: Conceptual Literature

In the past three decades, two themes are clearly represented in higher education literature on curriculum decision-making and curriculum planning. The first theme is the increased external demands for accountability regarding the effectiveness of college curricula for student learning and student outcomes (Conrad & Pratt, 1983; Glisczinski, 2007; Harper & Lattuca, 2010; Ho et al., 2006; Lattuca & Stark, 2009; Lueddeke, 1999; Virkus & Wood, 2004). The second theme is the quickening pace of societal change driving the press for curriculum reform and innovation (Barnett, 2002; Glisczinski, 2007; Lueddeke, 1999; Oliver & Hyun, 2011).

Scholars have identified several factors as important in curriculum decision-making and change processes, including context and external influences (Briggs et al, 2003; Glisczinski,

2007; Harper & Lattuca, 2010; Lattuca & Stark, 2009; Luddeke, 1999), leadership influences (Bordage & Harris, 2011; Stark, Briggs, & Rowland-Poplowski, 2002; Stark et al, 1997), the use of change management strategies (Borin, 2007; Oliver & Hyun, 2011; Roy, 2007) and a supportive climate or community (Briggs et al, 2003; Roy, 2007; Stark et al, 1997; Wolf, 2007). Each of these factors is salient in terms of cultural dynamics, yet the means and methods by which cultural dynamics manifest in curriculum decision-making are not well understood. Curriculum decision-making occurs at various levels of the institution, including disciplinary faculty groups, school or college committees, institutional review boards and general education task forces (Lattuca, 2009). While limited, research on curricula has examined different dimensions of culture at the institutional (Conrad & Pratt, 1983; Kezar, 2002; Kuh, Kinzie, Whitt & Associates, 2005), program (Briggs et al, 2003; Harper & Lattuca, 2010; Lattuca; Stark et al, 2002) and course levels (Ferrare & Hora, 2012; Hora, 2010).

Conrad and Pratt (1983) propose a conceptual model of curriculum decision-making focusing on environmental inputs, curricular design variables, and relationships among the inputs and variables. This work was prompted by the mounting pressure in the 1980's to provide accountability for the curriculum. Upon review of existing curriculum planning models, the researchers aimed to create a model that would give more attention to the environment and reflect a less linear and prescriptive approach. Stressing the importance of past experience in shaping and impacting the decision process and human aspects of group decision-making, the model embraces the behavioral and political aspects of curriculum decision-making.

Conrad and Pratt suggest that a curriculum decision-making model should mirror the essence of the entire process rather than a linear, stepwise format. They propose a metaphor of a hologram to depict the process. While the process may seem to follow rational steps, humans

make decisions based on a complex set of information that generates an "all at once" understanding of the situation. Conrad and Pratt (1983, p. 22) outlined the following core premises as underlying their curriculum decision-making model:

1) The curriculum operates as an interactive subsystem of the larger college or university

2) Environmental input variables, curricular design variables, and the interaction of these in conjunction with the influence of decision-makers are the essential aspects of curricular decision-making and essential to interpreting such decisions.

3) Curricular decision-making usually proceeds in a non-linear fashion.

Conrad and Pratt (1983) also proposed a series of continua that need consideration and alignment in a curriculum design blending organizational and instructional elements. These include: content coverage (depth---breadth), time dimension (past--present--future), locus of learning (campus---field), instructional strategies (traditional---nontraditional), faculty expertise (cognitive---affective), and student development (cognitive/affective --- traditional/nontraditional). Delivery systems for the curriculum are also highlighted with a set of continua, including flexibility of the program, design of program sequence, evaluation procedures, academic calendar (semester vs. quarter or other), and credit options (Conrad & Pratt, 1983, pp. 27-28).

This model emphasizes the role of the decision-makers' values and perspectives leading to choices among curricular options. From those decisions, the environment is shaped, not only in terms of the academic program, but the academic environment overall in terms of orientation and focus. The complexity of the curriculum is clear in the numerous factors, influences, and dimensions it comprises.

Building on the work of seminal curriculum researcher Paul Dressel in the 1970's and 1980's and the curriculum frameworks of Conrad (1983, 1986), and Toombs and Tierney (1993), Lattuca and Stark (1997, 2009) developed a comprehensive model of influences on postsecondary curricula. Defining the curriculum as an academic plan, Lattuca and Stark's (2009) model depicts the major elements of a curriculum but also identifies the influences and points of decision making required in a curriculum planning or reform process. The major elements of a curriculum can reflect both intentional decisions and unintentional choices about the following elements:

1) Purposes: knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be learned
2) Content: subject matter selected to convey specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes
3) Sequence: an arrangement of the subject matter and experiences intended to lead to specific outcomes for learners.
4) Learners: how the plan will address a specific group of learners
5) Instructional Processes: the instructional activities by which learning may be achieved
6) Instructional Resources: the materials and settings to be used in the learning process
7) Evaluation: the strategies used to determine whether decisions about the elements of the academic plan are optimal
8) Adjustment: enhancements to the plan based on experience and evaluation"

(Lattuca & Stark, 2009, pp. 4-5).

The model can be applied at the course, program, school/college, or institutional level.

Most germane for my study, the model outlines the internal and external influences that impact the process and outcome of designing an academic plan. Influences internal to the university are identified at the program level (i.e., disciplinary beliefs, student profile, connection

to other programs) and at the institutional level (i.e., governance, resources, mission, leadership). Influences external to the institution include employer perspectives or the labor market, accrediting agencies, state or federal policies, societal trends, and more. Lattuca and Stark (2009) also identify the importance of the historical context that has shaped the sociocultural influences (internal and external) that impact the decisions made about the various plan elements. Internal and external influences are proposed to have differing levels of influence on the academic plan. Content, learners, and instructional resources are impacted more so by external influences, and instructional and evaluation approaches are subject more so to internal influence.

Curriculum Development and Decision Making: Empirical Literature

Clifton Conrad's 1978 qualitative study of curriculum decision-making laid a foundation that has not yet fully been explored in the research literature. Conrad studied curriculum change processes on four college campuses. Using interview data and document analysis, he developed a grounded theory based on actual change processes, focusing on the sources of change, the decision-making process, and the factors that influence those with decision-making power. Ultimately, Conrad proposed the following theory:

1. Social structure. Internal and external forces against the status quo prompt the process of academic change.
2. Conflict and Interest Group formation. Conflict emerges across interest groups with competing interests and goals.
3. Administrative intervention. An authority figure provides structure and process for evaluating the issues and determines a decision-making mechanism for change.
4. Policy recommending stage.
5. Policy making stage.

(Conrad, 1978, p. 111)

Conrad compares his model with others' as follows: "…by viewing change as either planned and rational or simply the accommodation of stresses and strains within an institution, the existing literature fails to account for the processes through which pressures are translated into permanent program changes" (Conrad, 1978, p. 112). A limitation for Conrad's study is the small number of institutions studied (four). While he helps clarify the process of change, his study did not address how or why this process occurs as it does. Yet his emphasis on interest groups and power along with the reality of a non-rational process was a strong addition to the literature and continues to be a seminal work for academic curriculum research.

Over 30 years later, Oliver and Hyun (2011) conducted a qualitative study of curriculum reform utilizing participant observation, as they were both researchers and administrators internal to the process. Taking a grounded theory approach as Conrad (1978) did, they analyzed a four-year curriculum reform process at a small private college. Framing their study with a view of the postmodern curriculum, which "is not seen as permanent but as creative and fluid" (Oliver & Hyun, 2011, p. 3), the researchers focused on process and collaboration among faculty and between faculty and administrators.

A primary conclusion was that the curriculum team "engaged in organizational learning by creating a culture known as a 'community of practice' (Bauman, 2005)" (Oliver & Hyun, 2011, p. 14). Fostering a culture of learning in a reform team is recommended as a means to avoid a task approach to the process. Key attributes of this 'community of practice' included a collectively shared vision, a view of the curriculum as a shared responsibility, collaborative behavior, and a sense of community among the curriculum committee members.

Three studies connect with the continuous quality improvement movement of the 1990's and are grounded in Stark and Lattuca's (2009) academic plan model. Stark et al (2002) utilized data from Project CLUE (Curriculum Leadership for Undergraduate Education). This qualitative study involved 44 department chairs from diverse departments and institutional types identified as having effective undergraduate curricular planning practices. Analysis of the interview data resulted in identification of seven leadership roles: sensor, facilitator, initiator, agenda setter, coordinator, advocate, and standard setter (Stark et al, 2002). The more common role of sensor was associated primarily with curricular development, and the least common role of standard setting was associated with curriculum evaluation. The researchers noted the absence of leaders strong in evaluation as an area needing attention. One area not addressed was the relationships of the chairperson and committee members, which could influence the leadership role assumed.

Cultural Concepts and Assumptions in Curriculum Literature

Current academic culture typically supports a lack of systematic and intentional curricular planning, despite the centrality of the curriculum to academia (Lattuca & Stark, 2009; Stark et al, 2002; Stark et al, 1997). Much of the literature on curriculum decision-making emphasizes or acknowledges the importance of sociocultural context and/or organizational culture, yet does not address cultural factors directly. Oliver and Hyun (2010) reported organizational structure and individual dynamics as barriers in a curricular reform process, while sense of community within the team of decision-makers was instrumental to success. Culturally relevant factors identified as important in curriculum decision-making include interest groups, power, leadership, collaboration, faculty dynamics, generational differences, faculty rank/role, climate, and resistance to change (Briggs et al, 2003; Bordage, 2011; Conrad, 1978, Lattuca & Stark, 1994; Stark et al, 1997).

There is an implicit assumption in the literature that sociocultural influences are to be adapted to rather than challenged, modified, or exploited. The tendencies for curriculum planning to be sporadic and for faculty to engage in course level rather than program or institutional level curriculum planning are assumed unchangeable. Strategies to explore the cultural forces creating this situation or the actions that could lead to systemic change are absent, and studies that question whether frequent planning is in fact better than sporadic planning are few. Cultural issues are assumed to require extensive time and effort to understand and change.

Finally, there is an assumption that we just need to find the right model and get faculty to follow it, within the existing decision-making structure, rather than creating alternative approaches and institutional structures to support more effective curriculum decision-making and academic program development.

Culture and Cognition Literature

A growing number of empirical studies in social psychology make a connection between culture and cognition. Studies have examined dimensions of culture such as individualism vs. collectivism; the construction and perception of meaning; networks of knowledge and mental structures; and cultural models or schemata (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Kitayama & Cohen, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Ridgeway, 2006). This approach to understanding culture allows for the great complexity of individuals in relation to social systems and situations they encounter and avoids assumptions that all individuals experience a social system or situation in the same way. It focuses on culture as mutually constructed realities rather than culture as a specific set of norms and values. Thus, when speaking of culture, rather than a description of something viewed as a culture I am speaking of the term culture in an active sense, as representing the cultural interaction of individuals in context.

The shift to this more complex view of culture has occurred from both fields, with psychologists turning from behaviorism to recognizing the existence of mental models or structures, and sociologists recognizing the individual dimensions of culture formation and transmission (DiMaggio, 1997). Individuals and the social systems they inhabit are characterized by beliefs and understandings of appropriate and reasonable thoughts and behaviors:

> The emerging view of culture as explicit and implicit cultural patterns emphasizes that individuals are not separate from their social context and that social contexts do not exist apart from people. Social situations or contexts are the product of human activity, the repository of previous psychological activity. Further, social situations do more than influence behavior. They constitute (as in create, make up, or establish) these psychological tendencies" (DiMaggio and Markus, 2010).

Building on Swidler's (1985) "toolkit" concept of culture, cognitive psychologists have provided evidence that people retain a large array of cultural material, much of which is "untagged" until it is needed to make sense of a situation. Some cultural material clusters into groups or schema that enable automatic response to situations, while some requires environmental UECs to be activated (DiMaggio, 1997; DiMaggio & Markus, 2010).

Scholars have explored a number of cultural concepts from a cognitive perspective, including institutional scaffolding and identity (DiMaggio and Markus, 2010). Research on institutional scaffolding demonstrates how visual cues and background knowledge can influence perceptions and behavior (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010). For example, images of money cued schemata associated with market institutions, decreasing cooperative behavior in a study conducted by Vohs, et al (2006). Deaux and Martin (2003) explored networks as a mechanism for cultural diffusion and identity construction. McDonnell and Fine (2007) examined the concept of collective memory. These studies lend support to the shift from viewing culture as coherent and stable to accepting it as domain-specific, contextually cued, and fractured

(DiMaggio & Markus, 2010). Individuals have multiple roles and identities and operate in numerous contexts, drawing on a repertoire of cultural capabilities to function within and influence the environments and communities they encounter (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010).

Cultural Schema and Social Structures

Researchers have provided a foundational understanding of how the interactions of social actors reflect and modify larger social structures (Fiske, 1992; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Ridgeway, 2006). Social relational contexts create, and then reinforce or uphold, cultural norms and social structures through individuals' daily interactions with one another. Changes in a typical pattern of interaction can then influence change at a larger level, creating shifts in cultural norms or social structures (Ridgeway, 2006).

Humans are cognitively wired to interact with one another, and in doing so, to share and align behavior and feelings with one another (Fiske, 1992; Ridgeway, 2006; Sewell, 1992). These shared understandings of situations are described by Ridgeway (2006) as ordering schema: "a shared, socio-cognitive, and affective schema concerning social relations; which when acted on, results in what we would commonly call an observable social structure among the actors – that is, a patterned distribution of behaviors and resources" (Ridgeway, 2006, p. 6). According to scholars including Ridgeway (2006) and Sewell (1992), social structures such as gender inequality or work role stratification are created and maintained through shared ordering schema.

DiMaggio (2001) outlines two primary means by which cognition operates to enact cultural information or schemata: automatic cognition and deliberative cognition. Schemata help individuals make sense of situations they encounter and can form around common activities (such as behavior in school) to beliefs and morals (such as appropriate social roles). Automatic

cognition refers to the many tacit schemata that are enacted without conscious thought (DiMaggio, 2001). Research has demonstrated a number of effects of automatic cognition, including the tendency of individuals to interpret new information in ways that supports existing schemata (Zerubavel, 1992), to recall schema-consistent information more accurately (Freeman et al, 1987), and to incorrectly remember details of an event shortly afterwards in alignment with patterns from previous experience (Freeman et al, 1987). "The parallel with sociological accounts of institutions is striking…the psychology of mental structures provides a micro-foundation to the sociology of institutions" (DiMaggio, 1997, p. 271).

In contrast to automated cognition, deliberative cognition is intentional and contemplative. Research in psychology mirrors findings in sociology in supporting three primary means by which deliberative cognition overrides automated cognition: attention, motivation, and schema failure (DiMaggio, 1997). Focusing attention to specific issues or desired outcomes, increasing levels of discontent with the status quo, and experiences that demonstrate the ineffectiveness of current schema can activate individual and group agency through deliberative cognition. This can result in new schema representing new attitudes and behaviors (DiMaggio, 1997).

Generative models of behavior further help to explain why ordering schema do not result in repeated and scripted behavior without deviation (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1994). While shared cultural information in the form of ordering schema often result in similar patterns of behavior, variations in the contextual cues, actors, and other features of an environment can produce new or unexpected patterns (Ridgeway, 2006). The variation in behavior in a generative model is the result of modular ordering schema, which form from disaggregated cultural information about abstract actors and abstract identities (Ridgeway, 2006). Generative theories

involve actors using one set of ordering schema (consisting of deeply embedded rules of thought) to select and combine modular ordering schemas to determine behavior in social situations (Ridgeway, 2006). Status roles, demographic characteristics, and resource distribution form structural constraints that frame expectations for behavior. These constraints may directly shape behavior by making particular modular ordering schemas more salient than others (Lawler, Ridgeway, & Markovsky, 1993; Ridgeway, 2006):

> Viewed this way, the continuing enactment of larger social structures depends heavily on the cultural ordering schemas that individuals use to organize local relational contexts...The most important modular ordering schemas…are cultural representations of central features of the macro structures such as gender, race, or occupational stratification as well as tools by which people enact those structural features" (Ridgeway, 2006, p. 9).

When interactions among actors combine modular ordering schema in new ways and new ordering schema are created, these can create local-level shifts in the cultural norms and social structures. For these shifts to spread on a larger level, Ridgeway (2006) suggests that similar groups of actors in other local situations might create similar shifts, or that new ordering schema might diffuse through the social networks of the actors involved the creation of the new schema.

Ridgeway's (2006) empirically tested theory of status belief construction furthered the understanding of expectations states theory by demonstrating the development and diffusion of modular ordering schema. When social structures enable the creation of at least two groups of individuals that have an interdependent relationship, status hierarchies tend to develop through ongoing interaction towards mutual goals. In time, beliefs about capability or competence become associated with the difference in the groups, in the form of an ordering schema. As continued interactions validate the schema, it becomes stronger and carries across situations (Ridgeway, 2006).

Take, for example, senior (tenured) faculty and junior faculty (not yet tenured). These two groups have an interdependent relationship, with senior faculty often working hard to recruit and retain top new faculty, and junior faculty seeking approval and support from senior faculty in their quest for tenure. While actual capabilities (intellectual, leadership, etc.) may cross the boundaries of their status, strong status beliefs typically exist both from the faculty themselves and from others (such as administrators or prospective graduate students). Structural conditions, such as the tenure process, reinforce the ordering schema. The status beliefs of junior faculty and tenured faculty, who often serve on curriculum committees together, may then have an impact on the roles they assume and the nature of their interactions in the curriculum decision-making process.

Culture as Patterns vs. Entities

With a more modular and co-constructed view of culture, scholars have called into question the tendency of researchers and others to "reify" culture by naming groups and in doing so, framing them as static and homogenized entities (Adams & Markus, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). According to Adams and Markus (2001), the reification of culture may be connected to the practice of naming itself:

> By naming or describing an observed pattern as 'American or 'Dutch', one takes something that was dynamic and flowing and renders it - at least for a moment - static and fixed. One proposes a baseline or implicit standard against which deviations or innovations appear 'un-American' or 'not Dutch'. This sets up a tendency toward homogenization since individuals who fit the view of what is "American" will be ascribed more credibility and influence in the continued definition of the category than those who would broaden or change the definition" (Adams & Markus, 2001).

Rather than defining culture as group entities, Adams and Markus (2001) offer a conception of culture as implicit and explicit patterns, in which individuals engage with or negotiate a range of tacit patterns "embedded in local meanings, institutions, practices and

artifacts" (p. 288) in addition to recognized entities such as group affiliation and belief systems. Instead of focusing on the content differences of cultural groups, the view of culture as patterns brings a focus on the social and cognitive process by which differences from one group to another are identified as meaningful and ascribed broader meaning (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010). Adams and Markus (2001) extend the work of Hermans and Kempen (1998) to propose a model of identity construction that aligns with their view of culture as patterns. The model encompasses the concepts of multiplicity, agency, and the 'zone of proximal development" (Adams & Markus, 2001).

The first aspect of the model involves the multiplicity of the self and identity. Rather than a traditional view where bicultural or multicultural identity is viewed as an exception, patterns associated with a number of identities influence or shape an individual, including identities that are inconsistent or that the individual is not directly engaged with (Adams & Markus, 2001). The second component, agency, recognizes the role of individuals in synthesizing multiple identities and creating new identities, which in turn influence and is constrained by the sociocultural context the person inhabits (Adams & Markus, 2001). The third component retains Hermans and Kempen's (1998) view of the self as a 'zone of proximal development', in which personal-identity and cultural identity categories are mutually constructed (Adams & Markus, 2001). This approach resembles key aspects of Ridgeway's (2006) conceptions of social relational contexts and generative behavior models.

Summary of Culture and Cognition Literature

Conceptions of organizational culture presented in higher education literature is primarily derived from anthropologically based views of culture as the study of values, norms, and

behaviors within and across groups (Peterson & Spencer, 1990; Tierney, 2008). The convergence of sociology and psychology around culture and cognition has led to less coherent and more dynamic views of culture (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Ridgeway, 2006). Rather than a focus on culture as consistent within groups, "this perspective raises the salience of identities (self-schemata that serve as organizational foci for cultural material characterizing the self and its relationships), institutions (environmental scaffolds that organize cultural material around places and symbol systems), and networks (which replace groups as the social carriers of cultural elements)" (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010, p. 347-348).

Culture emerges from implicit and explicit patterns that individuals enact in the context of environmental situations and social structures (Adams & Markus, 2001). Social relational contexts create ordering schema, which then support and are supported by larger social structures (Ridgeway, 2006). Structural constraints such as role, status, and resources can make certain ordering schema more salient and perpetuate behavioral patterns and related social structures (Ridgeway, 2006). The generative nature of ordering schema enables changes in actors and environments to produce new ordering schema, through deliberative cognition driven by motivation, attention, and/or schema failure (DiMaggio, 1997; Ridgeway, 2006). From disaggregated pools of cultural material (images, meanings, practices, etc.), individuals bring to bear multiple identities as they negotiate implicit and explicit cultural patterns that take shape in social structures such as groups, organizations, roles, belief systems, etc. (Adams and Markus, 2001).

The challenge of applying these conceptions of organizational culture to research and practice in higher education lies in their complexity. Yet ignoring the complexity of organizational culture does not bring us closer to fully understanding it, no less capturing its

energy to produce positive change. With a better understanding of the agency of individuals in the creation and change of organizational culture, there is great potential for empowering broad change through local-level initiatives. The goal is to translate key aspects of cultural theory into cogent concepts and actionable methods shape a new conceptualization of curriculum decision-making and to chart new approaches to research and practice.

Theories of Cultural Schema

As multiple scholars have noted (Ferrare & Hora, 2012; Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Gallimore & Goldenberg; DiMaggio, 1997), there is not a consistent, well-tested methodology for evaluation and analysis of cultural concepts in applied settings. Still, concepts from cultural theory enables new understandings of individuals and groups in the context of organizational settings. The continuing scholarship provides avenues for future research focused on culture, educational reform, and learning outcomes. Over 20 years ago, DiMaggio's (1997) review of the then budding field of culture and cognition pointed to the need for tools and methods to operationalize cultural theory:

> Before the study of lived culture can become a cumulative enterprise, scholars must clarify the cognitive suppositions behind their theories of what culture does and what people do with it and the fundamental concepts and units of analysis (Jepperson & Swidler 1994, Wuthnow 1987) DiMaggio, 1997, p. 263).

Progress has been made in some respects, yet researchers have not yet achieved clear definitions of concepts nor have they developed a cumulative and consistent methodology. For studies that focus on lived culture, the necessary work of defining units of analysis and building methods to study them continues. Below I highlight some of the work applying concepts of cultural schema.

Cultural Models Theory

Cultural Models theory is grounded in the fields of anthropology, cognitive psychology, and sociology (D'Andrade, 1995; Fitouri, 1986; Gatewood, 2012; Holland & Quinn, 1987; Shore, 1999). Cultural models are widely shared representations or "tools of thought" that mediate the interaction of an individual with the environment through tacit patterns of ideas and practices (DiMaggio, 1997; Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001). While individual schemas about ways of feeling, thinking, and acting are reflected in cultural models, artifacts of the environment including policies, practices, and social interactions serve to prime and preserve their contextual framing (Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Ridgeway, 2006). Researchers have studied how cognitive processes (attention, judgment, memory, etc.) vary as a result of underlying schema that provides implicit or explicit framing for thought and behavior (Adams & Markus, 2001; Ridgeway, 2006).

Cultural models provide a means to study the content differences in attitudes, beliefs, and practice these schemas produce and how these may impact motivation, choices, and behaviors (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). Studies have explored cultural models of constructs such as intelligence (Grant & Dweck, 2001) and social institutions such as marriage (Shore, 1996). Focusing on cultural models provides a unit of analysis to examine differences in behaviors, structures, and processes and has been found to be a useful approach for researchers integrating perspectives from cognitive psychology, anthropology, and sociology (Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2003, 2001).

In the field of education, cultural models theory has been utilized primarily in studies of K-12 literacy development, as well as instructional methods and school reform (Curry, 2002; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001). In higher education, the use of cultural models has been

limited. Fryberg and Markus (2007) explored cultural models of education across racial/ethnic groups and Ferrare and Hora (2012) explored cultural models in instructional decision-making. Given the limited body of research using cultural models, I have selected three of the more recent and relevant studies to describe in some detail in terms of purpose, methodology, outcomes and implications, and limitations.

Gallimore and Goldenberg (2001) utilized longitudinal data from mixed-method studies of home influences on learning and on school performance improvement to support their proposition for the use of cultural models and cultural settings as units of analysis in educational research. Specifically, they sought to identify new ways to understand cultural aspects of minority student achievement gaps and barriers to school reform. In addition to applying the concept of cultural models, they identified cultural settings as a second and related unit of analysis. Reminiscent of Ridgeway's (2006) depiction of social relational contexts, Gallimore and Goldenberg (2001) define cultural settings as "those occasions where people come together to carry out joint activity that accomplishes something they value" (Gallimore and Goldenberg, 2001, p. 48).

While the researchers identified commonly held beliefs and behaviors supporting cultural models of literacy development in immigrant Latino families, factors including parents' education level, exposure to different social settings, and experience with alternative cultural practices were found to create variations in behaviors and beliefs. This is consistent with research on culture and cognition in terms of the complex and multifaceted ways that schema and models are enacted and shaped (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Ridgeway, 2006). While there is no direct evidence that cultural models changed, the use of cultural models and cultural

settings as frameworks for analysis helped with both the design and evaluation of interventions for literacy development (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001).

Cultural models and settings were also applied to data from a study of school reform, which involved a 5-year effort to foster a collaborative teaching environment and improve learning outcomes for students. While teachers often worked independently and avoided extra committee work, an intentional change process created new settings including work groups and meetings and provided a basis for shifting the cultural model from cellular (isolated) to collaborative (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001). Standardized and performance-based measures of achievement showed improvement within the school as well as in comparison to other schools in the district (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001).

The settings changed what teachers did and on what they spend their time, but they also changed how teachers thought about their professional activities, in other words, their cultural models. Teachers focused on their classrooms, certainly; but it was generally understood that part of what they did would involve working with other professionals on issues that had direct implication for teaching and learning at the school…The settings counteracted the centrifugal forces of teaching and provided common pathways for collaborative work" (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001, pp. 52-53).

As a result of their evaluation, Gallimore and Goldenberg (2001) identified the following benefits of using cultural models and cultural settings as units of analysis for culture-focused educational research:

1) Provides a means to empirically explore the expected variations within groups and environments rather than assuming homogeneity.

2) Enables identification of the cultural impact of differences or changes in the environment.

3) Helps to identify commonalities as well as differences across distinct groups, such as teachers and parents (Gallimore & Goldenberg (2001).

Greater awareness of cultural models and cultural settings can lead to more informed and strategic interventions and can help explain differing impact of the same intervention in different environments (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001).

Fryberg and Markus (2007) conducted a trio of studies to define and examine cultural models of education across racial/ethnic groups in college students. Focusing on the content of cultural models of education, the researchers explored different ideas about what it means to become educated, the role of the student and the teacher, and the ways education shapes values or morals (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). As students come from diverse backgrounds that have fostered particular views of education, they may enter a university environment that supports a different cultural model of education than their own.

Challenges may emerge as students navigate unfamiliar norms and practices and instructors may misinterpret students' intentions and abilities (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). Drawing from the research literature, the studies' authors first hypothesized the purposes, student-teacher relationship, and self (individual) components for cultural models of education for European-American contexts, for Asian American contexts, and for American Indian contexts, and identified the features hypothesized as common across these contexts (Fryberg & Markus, 2007).

With no standard methodology to guide them, the researchers utilized unstructured and structured methods to uncover tacit as well as explicit aspects of educational cultural models, with responses to open ended questions guiding development of more structured instruments (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). In the first study, the purpose of education was explored using two

open-ended questions, with 148 undergraduate subjects participating. Students were asked to write down the thoughts and ideas they had when they thought of "education" and when they thought of "teacher." Common response patterns were identified using a coding scheme. The second study, 166 undergraduates were asked what they would do in situations described in three vignettes related to educational and family or community issues. The third study used a formal scale of independence vs. interdependence along with an assessment of the student-teacher relationship in terms of trust (Fryberg & Markus, 2007).

The results of these studies provide support for the existence of differing cultural models of education among American Indian (replace with Native American or Indigenous American?) , Asian American, and European American college students. While there were commonalities across the groups, notable differences included stronger representations of self in European American students, while American Indian and Asian American students embraced interdependent and independent representations of self. The American Indian cultural model of education was divergent from the other two groups, and included a close connection between cognitive and interpersonal domains. Thus, community relationships are often viewed as equally important if not more important than formal education, and a trusting relationship with a teacher is important for educational success (Fryberg & Markus, 2007).

While many studies of academic performance focus on internal variables such as motivation, the use of cultural models brings attention to the sociocultural context in relation to the individual (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). "Extending a cultural model approach will require detailing how specific models mediate academic performance, and demonstrating that the institution of one cultural model or another in a given context can have a systematic effect on

individual performance" (Fryberg & Markus, 2007, p. 241). Based on identified effects, it would be possible to design interventions that take distinct or differing cultural models into account.

In a study of 41 math and science instructors from three research universities, Ferrare and Hora (2012) explored cultural models of teaching and learning to inform pedagogical improvements. They explored the cultural models of math and science instructors regarding how students can best learn essential concepts while identifying perceived and real organizational affordances and barriers impacting decisions about instructional methods (Ferrare and Hora, 2012). Interview and classroom observation data were analyzed using cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling (Ferrare & Hora, 2012) to identify distinctions in perspectives on teaching and learning. In classroom observations, researchers used a coding scheme developed for the study to encode specific teaching methods. Three cases were selected for in-depth analysis to provide a fuller description of the connections between the cultural models and decisions about instructional methods. Social network analysis provided a visual analysis of teaching methods, student/teacher interactions, cognitive approaches, and instructional technologies (Ferrare & Hora, 2012).

As the range of themes identified for "views of learning" and "introducing new topics" were clustered into cultural models of teaching and learning and further explored in the case analyses, it is important to note that the researchers found the boundaries between the cultural models to be more fluid and spatially proximal than rigid and absolute (Ferrare & Hora, 2012). This study provides examples of methods that could translate to other research using cultural models. However, it raises some questions about the definition and use of cultural models in research. Based on other literature, individuals do not have their own cultural model, but rather, cultural models represent widely shared schema of one sort or another. Other scholars studying

cultural models have identified groups and looked to see if there were differences across groups in terms of cultural models.

Certainly, a challenge of cultural models research is to avoid the "reification" of cultural groups that tends to overstate homogeneity in any particular category of individuals (Adams & Markus, 2001). Cultural groups do exist - they can be based on national origin, race/ethnicity, gender, occupational status, etc. This sociocultural view of culture places a focus on the patterns of beliefs and behaviors that develop through exposure to diverse sociocultural contexts (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). In the analysis of cultural models, the point is to identify similarities and differences, rather than to use the approach to create static views of cultural groups.

Implicit Theories of Change

Using implicit theories of change as a mental model framework, Kezar, Gehrke, and Elrod (2015) studied STEM curriculum reform teams on 11 campuses. The study was framed with Weick's (1995) theory of sensemaking and relied upon Connolly and Seymour's (2003) definition of a theory of change "as a predictive assumption about the relationship between desired changes and the actions that may produce those changes" (p.481).

Through observation and interviews, implicit theories of change shaping the group's thinking or process were identified using a grounded theory approach. Researchers then introduced interventions to determine if presenting explicit change strategies or actual experience with the change process, or both, led to implicit theories becoming explicit. Since many of those involved in the reform were new to the process, it was assumed that their implicit (and often faulty) beliefs about how to enact change would have a significant impact on their process. Presenting change strategies alone was not sufficient; experiential activities (case studies, role-plays, and simulations) and continued experience in with their change processes led reformers to

become aware of their implicit theories (Kezar et al., 2015). Kezar and her colleagues chose not to use predetermined or hypothesized theories of change, stating:

> We were interested in inductively understanding the implicit theories of change provided by individual change agents and groups of change agents (Charmaz, 2006). Rather than impose metaphors from earlier studies of implicit theories of change, we allowed the data to inform us about participants' specific implicit theories (p. 488).

Cognitive Frames

Bensimon and Neumann (1993, 2005) have discussed cognitive frames (noting this as a concept alternatively referred to as lenses, mental maps, mental models, images, and personal theories, 1993, p. 23) as a means to examine team functions and leadership and to understand the achievement gap in education. Building on the cultural analysis work of Smirchich (1983), Bensimon and Neumann (1993) proposed a holistic approach to understanding teams that involves questioning assumptions, considering the contexts in which teams operate, and examining not only integrative and sense making processes but cultural fracturing "whether in the form of communication breaks, power inequities, gender biases, status differences, or a host of other imbalances, tensions, and contradictions (Bensimon & Neumann, 1993, p. 25).

In their study of 15 presidential leadership teams, Bensimon and Neumann (1993) presented a cultural perspective of teams and teamwork, in a study of how teams "think together." This cultural lens moves away from a functionalist view of teams as it "gets behind behaviors, externalities, and outcomes and probes instead the thinking, knowing, and feelings of people's experiences within their organizational worlds" (p. 29).

Through a qualitative analysis of interview data, Bensimon and Neumann (1993) identified of three functions of leadership teams: utilitarian (formal, task related, rational approach with focus on coordination, decision making, etc.), expressive (social, integrative,

focusing on connectedness and mutual support), and cognitive (sense-making, enables group to evaluate multiple perspectives and operate as a creative and corrective system) (Bensimon & Neumann, 1993, p. 62). Teams that achieve all three functions operate as “real” teams while those that have only a utilitarian function are viewed as “illusory” and miss the power of the team’s diverse perspectives and combined thinking. This examination of team functions, including the team’s focus, activity, decisions, and coordination efforts, supports my interest to broaden the lens, including evaluation of the content and process of the team’s work in relation to their interactions and group culture.

Cognitive frames operate to shape, screen, limit or give attention to a wide variety of inputs and ideas that allow us to make sense of or interpret situations, information, or events (Bensimon, 1989; Neumann, 1991). In depicting how individual perceptions impact an organizational process or outcome, Bensimon (2005) described cognitive frames as the interpretive frameworks through which individuals make sense of phenomena:

> A cognitive frame is the way in which an individual understands a situation. Cognitive frames can be understood as individuals’ conceptual maps that determine what questions may be asked, what information is collected, how problems are defined, and what action should be taken” (Bensimon, 2005, p.101).

Bensimon’s description of cognitive frames bears some similarity to the concept of cultural models, described earlier as widely shared, tacit representations including attitudes and beliefs that mediate the interaction of an individual with the environment through behavior or common practices (D'Andrade, 1995; Fitouri, 1986; Gatewood, 2012; Holland & Quinn, 1987; Shore, 1999).

Foundational theory and research on the concept of frames is attributed to the renowned sociologist, Erving Goffman. Goffman’s work on frame analysis (1974) focused on culturally

constructed realities that enables people to make sense of their interactions and surroundings, and the rules by which organize experiences and constrain and shape social interaction. His dramaturgical perspective viewed social life as a dramatic performance. He posited that ethnographers could deploy frame analysis to understand situations or “strips” of human behavior and interpret the underlying frames that shaped and supported beliefs and actions (Goffman, 1974).

Bensimon and Neumann (2005; 1993; 1989) discussed cognitive frames as well as personal theories (Bensimon, 1990; Bensimon & Neumann, 1993) as existing on both the individual and group levels. As further explained in Chapter 2 (Methods) I use the concept of cognitive frames, defined as patterns of thought that shape and screen attention and understanding to explore the implicit patterns of thinking shaping the work of the curriculum team. I aim to identify both individual and group level cognitive frames, exploring the basis for those frames while considering their context as they emerged and/or shifted and, finally, how they influenced the work of the curriculum team.

Expectations States Theory

A robust body of research, primarily experimental, establishes expectations states theory as a means of predicting and explaining the "power and prestige" structure of a task or goal-oriented group. “Expectations states theory seeks to explain the distribution of participation and influence in task-oriented situations. It examines how this distribution arises in groups...and how prior status differences rooted in the larger institutional and structural context enter this process” (Balkwell, 1995; Berger, Cohen & Zelditch 1966; Berger et al. 1977; Ridgeway, 2019, 2003). The scope conditions that provide parameters for situations in which expectations states theory

applies includes a collective orientation, that individuals view contributions of others as important for completing an assigned task, and a task orientation, such that individuals are motivated to solve a problem or complete a complex or ambiguous task (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Project teams, juries, and committees are prime examples of situations where expectations states theory applies (Balkwell, 1995; Correll & Ridgeway, 2003).

Research foundational to expectations states theory focused on the behavior of groups of social equals (Bales, 1950, 1970). Bales' research uncovered that homogeneous, leadership groups quickly establish status hierarchies with some individuals having more influence in the group's process than others. He then posited that social hierarchy was likely to form in any group. "The inequalities Bales observed consisted of four correlated behaviors: participation initiated, opportunities given to participate, evaluations received, and influence over others" (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003, p. 30). Subsequently, scholars demonstrated that talkativeness led to greater influence and that performance estimates were higher or lower depending on perceived status of a group member (Riecken, 1958; Sherif, White, & Harvey, 1955). Studies showed that gender and professional status was related to interaction and influence in mock juries (Strodtbeck, James & Hawkins, 1957), and professional status impacted interaction at a conference (Hurwitz, Zander & Hymovitch (1953) established generally that status structures in groups charged to complete a task follow distinguishable differences among members (Strodtbeck, James, & Hawkins, 1957). Zander and Cohen (1955) documented interaction and influence patterns aligned with academic status in mock committees including university students and a person designated as a dean. When the person with the role of dean was introduced to the experimental group, deference to the dean's ideas and influence was shown by

the students; in other words, the dean upended the status hierarchy that was operating among the students.

With status hierarchy well established for both homogenous groups and for groups including differences in status, the research team of Berger, Cohen and Zelditch (1965) presented their case for a theoretical explanation: “It is our purpose to present a theory that explains the way in which prior status factors determine the emergent power-prestige order in the group. The phenomenon itself has been demonstrated repeatedly; the results have been remarkably consistent; but there is not yet a theory that will explain these results (p. 1). The research continued to build its understanding that in groups that were differentiated by status characteristics such as gender, race, or occupation, these factors determined the power and prestige order of the group. In particular, the researchers noted that the impact of status characteristics played out even when the task at hand did not relate to the status differences (Berger, Cohen & Zelditch, 1965). The experimental methods allowed for the development of models for predicting the performance expectations resulting in a group’s status hierarchy. Balkwell (1995) writes:

> The heart of the theory they constructed for this purpose is a set of postulates that may allow an investigator to calculate a set of performance expectations values, el, e2, . . ., e.g., for the members of a k-person group (Berger et al 1977: 91-134; Fisek, Berger, & Norman, 1991: 122-26). These e-j quantities are comparative; they reflect features of actors, of the setting and of the task. Each must fall between -1 and +1 in numerical value.

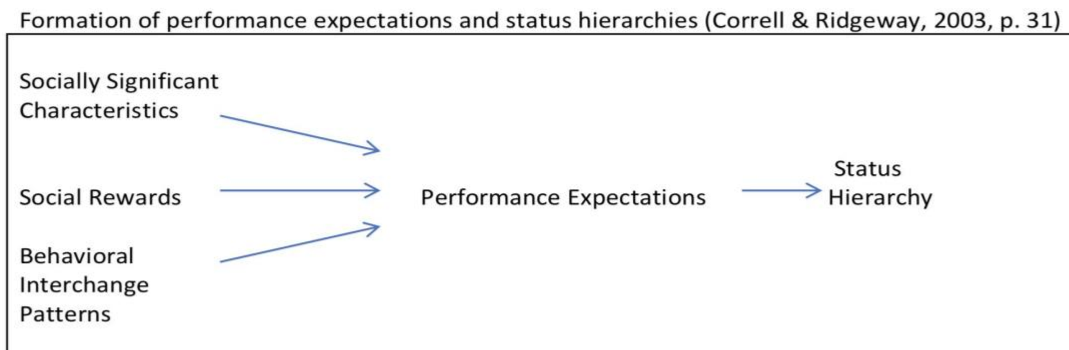
The body of research and theoretical concepts advanced to a point that Berger, Conner and Fisek (1974) revised the name of their theory to expectations states theory. The accumulated research had established why and how status hierarchies developed in both homogeneous groups and in groups that reflected the stratification of society at large (Berger et al, 1974; Berger, Fisek, Norman & Zelditch, 1977; Berger & Zelditch, 1998). Figure 2 provides a visual

representation of the formation of performance expectations and status hierarchies (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003, p. 31). Expectations states theory proposes three primary ways that differentiated performance expectations are formed:

1) Socially significant characteristics (status characteristics)
2) Socially valued rewards (e.g. salary, premium office) and
3) Behavioral interchange patterns (e.g. talkativeness, initiating speech, giving verbal directive, resisting influence)

Note that while behavioral and interaction patterns are the variables by which researchers identify patterns for comparison against individual actors' status characteristics to predict or confirm the status hierarchy of a group, behavior and interaction patterns also have a direct role in the formation of performance expectations. Thus, assertive communication (e.g. speaking up, speaking confidently, and speaking often) can raise one's status in a task focused group (as found in studies of homogeneous groups), yet as research suggests, behavioral interchange patterns have less impact on status hierarchy in the face of socially weighted differences in status characteristics (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003).

Figure 2.1



Status Characteristics Theory

Early research had not fully explained how performance expectations are formed from beliefs held about status characteristics (Berger, 1971). Questions such as "how do performance expectations account for multiple status characteristics with different social status values?" needed to be clarified and empirically validated. Researchers developed status characteristics theory (also referred to as status generalization theory) as a sub-theory of expectations states theory to explain the processes through which beliefs about status characteristics are translated into expectations for performance (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003; Ridgeway, 2019). As proposed by expectations states theory, status characteristics can be specific (impact is activated if relevant to the situation) (i.e., computer skills) or diffuse (impact is generalized across situations) (i.e., gender, race, socioeconomic status etc.). Correll & Ridgeway (2003) wrote: "The greater the performance expectation advantage of one actor over another, the more likely the first actor will be to receive opportunities to act, the more likely she will be to accept the opportunity to act, the more positive will be the evaluation of her action, and the more likely she will be to reject influence when the two actors disagree" (p. 31).

Status characteristics theory posits the links between performance expectations and behavior in task-oriented groups (Berger et al, 1977, 1971; Webster & Foschi, 1988), and specifies the implicit cognitive activity that occurs when interaction in a task focused group is taking place. The theory consists of the following five assumptions that are grounded in experimental research:

1) Salience: for any attribute to affect performance expectations, it must be socially significant for the actors in the setting, either by differentiating the actors or as a result of the actors

believing the characteristic is relevant. Thus, a status characteristic can influence performance expectations in one setting and not in another, depending on the context.

2) Burden of proof: actors behave as though the burden of proof rests with showing that a salient characteristic should not be considered when forming performance expectations.

3) Sequencing: no status or competence information is lost; when actors enter or leave an existing social situation, the performance expectations formed in one encounter carry over to the next encounter.

4) Aggregation: provides a method for explaining how information associated with multiple characteristics is combined to predict the order of performance expectations actors will construct.

5) Aggregation and behavior: Relative aggregated performance expectations for any two actors are compared; the higher the expectations that an actor holds for themselves compared to another actor, the greater the performance expectation advantage she will have over the other actor. (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003, p. 33).

Status characteristics theory suggests that aggregation of performance expectations and the resulting behavior does not happen consciously, but automatically. This lends support to the notion that the patterns predicted by the theory are not due to overt stereotypes or prejudice, but rather are pervasive, impacting even those disadvantaged by status differences that are activated in a task-oriented group (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). The cultural vocabulary individuals carry enables them to combine and interpret multiple status characteristics in a given situation.

Status Construction Theory

Ridgeway (2001, 2019) further advanced expectations states theory by developing status construction theory (also referred to as status beliefs theory) to help explain how differences in status characteristics (such as race, gender, or sexual orientation) are connected to beliefs of differential competence or worthiness in broader society. "The theory seeks to explain how

inequitable (status) structures emerge and are maintained (or changed)" (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Status construction theory builds on the idea that when people work on a shared task and are different on a socially recognized characteristic, a status hierarchy will emerge as proposed by expectations states theory.

Status hierarchy is constructed when participants involved associate a positive performance evaluation to one characteristic or another, and if this pattern repeats in other situations, the performance evaluation can attach to the status difference. In order for the status belief to become widely held in society, however, the status beliefs must be learned and spread through interactions in social settings over time. Experimental studies support the theory's suppositions (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Certainly, some status characteristics have deeply embedded social histories that fostered profound differences in status and rewards, such as race and gender. Status construction theory does not fully attend to these histories, but rather, focuses on how status differences attach to beliefs that undergird status hierarchy through task focused group interaction, and suggests how these interactions might also change such beliefs over time.

Research supports that performance expectations are formed through the influence of socially significant characteristics (e.g. gender, role/rank, etc.), through social rewards (e.g. higher pay, a larger office, etc.) and through behavioral interchange patterns that occur in the course of group members' interaction (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Through task focused groups, then, socially constructed status hierarchies allow implicit beliefs about the value of contributions to shape the interactions and performance expectations. Ridgeway (2001) considers task-based groups "factories" that create and sustain status driven beliefs – and views them as offering opportunities for changing those beliefs.

> Instead of seeing individuals as following rigid social scripts that dictate status relations, expectation states theory envisions individuals as possessing a basic vocabulary of

> cultural beliefs about the socially significant categories by which persons, settings, and events can be classified. When some of this cultural information is made salient by the particularities of a given situation, the theory assumes that individuals also possess shared rules for combining this information to generate a course of action toward self and others that is predictable, but nevertheless flexibly adjusted to the specifics of the situation at hand (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003, p 40).

Applied Research using Expectations States Theory

A limited amount of research has applied expectation states theory to real settings and contexts. A study of 224 research and development teams in 29 large corporations looked to extend the application of expectations states theory from the lab to an organizational setting and from ad hoc groups to enduring work teams (Cohen & Zhou, 1991). Unlike short term experimental groups, the status influences impacting ongoing work teams may come not only from the individuals in the group but may also reflect cultural norms and values from the organizational or societal context in which the group operates. “Dealing with groups in their organizational environment requires examining individual, group, organizational, and institutional properties" (Cohen & Zhou, 1991). Measures of team status and expert status were used to reflect internal status characteristics. External status characteristics included gender, education, leader status, seniority, and company status. The effects of status on team interaction were measured through a questionnaire, with 2,077 survey respondents for a response rate of 91% (Cohen & Zhou, 1991).

The dependent variable of interaction received from others was significantly associated with all seven of the identified status characteristics. Additional analysis indicated that external characteristics (gender, education, leader status, etc.) indirectly impact interaction received through team status. Team status was significantly related to gender (with men having higher status than women) and leadership status affected interaction independent of team status. The results indicate that gender continues to play a role in perceptions of performance and

competency, and that formal leadership carries more weight in team interaction given it involves both an assigned role with expected interaction as well as a role that others evaluate as a status characteristic (Cohen & Zhou, 1991).

Expectation states theory provided the basis for interventions used to address status inequalities in academically heterogeneous elementary school classrooms. The approach was driven by research that connects participation with achievement. Results supported that the participation rates of low-status students were influenced by teachers' use of status treatments that positively modified their performance expectations, without negative impact to high-status students (Cohen & Lotan, 1995). In a study that orients status differences towards their positive effects, high status contributors to collective action efforts were shown to initiate giving more readily and to influence low-status contributors to give more (Simpson, Willer & Ridgeway, 2012). Thus, the application of expectation states theory can provide a basis for understanding as well as intervening in individual behavior and group functioning, in ways that both addresses harmful inequities and potentially beneficial effects of status hierarchies (Simpson, Willer & Ridgeway, 2012).

Application of Expectations States Theory in this Study

In my dissertation, as with the applied research studies cited above, I do not seek to formally test the principles, assumptions or mathematical formulas from the experimental research literature on expectations states theory. Instead, similar to Cohen and Zhou (1991) I presume the major tenets of the theory to be sound. I draw from the theoretical concepts of expectations states theory to help shape my inquiry and help interpret my findings. While Cohen and Zhou (1991) sought to evaluate the impact of a set of status characteristics on interaction patterns in long-term work groups, I explored how patterns of interaction and influence shaped

the process and work of a curriculum team charged with developing a new academic program in the context of a large research institution. Expectations states theory as well as its sub-theory, status characteristics theory (and to some extent, status construction theory) provided sensitizing concepts to help explore the sources and patterns of influence that shape the work of the committee that was the focus of my case study.

Chapter III. Methods

Introduction to the Case Study

My dissertation examined curriculum development work in action and specifically, studied the interactions and process of a curriculum team charged to develop a new academic program. The case study centered on a Task Force – which later became a committee – charged to develop a new undergraduate program. The site was intentionally selected within a large research institution, to capture the complexity of the environment and the challenge of engaging faculty on curricular development when incentives for time and energy favor research. According to Yin (2009), a clearly stated purpose with solid theoretical framing and well-constructed research questions can provide sufficient direction and focus for a case study,

The overarching research question I addressed was "How do members of a curriculum team understand and accomplish their work?" Additional questions guiding the study included:

1. What cognitive frames do members of the curriculum team hold or develop that shape and focus their work?
2. How do the curriculum team leader (committee chair) and others in leadership roles outside the committee shape and influence the curriculum team's work?
3. How do curriculum team members perceive, shape and influence the team's process?

Yin (2009, p. 18) defines the case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." The complexity and

ambiguity involved in exploring how a curriculum development team approaches its work and accomplishes its task in the context of a school within a large research institution is well suited for qualitative inquiry and case study methods. My ability to gain access to a committee, including meeting observations over an extended period of time, supports my decision to focus my dissertation as a single site case study.

While this case study's purpose and research questions provide direction, a topic can be studied at many levels and from different perspectives. The units of analysis will guide what data is about the phenomenon of the case itself, versus data that is contextual to the case (Yin, 2009). A case study about curriculum development could be primarily about state or federal policies that shape curriculum development work, or about the way individual faculty members view curriculum development. In this case, the main unit of analysis is the curriculum committee's process. An embedded unit of analysis (a focus of inquiry within the case) is the impact of group interaction and status hierarchy on the committee’s process. Thus, while the case could be defined as being about small group dynamics illustrated by a curriculum committee, the case is instead defined as being about curriculum development work, examined through the process of a curriculum development team.

Methods for operationalizing culture and cognition concepts are limited. Definitions and methods to apply concepts including schemata, cultural models, implicit theories, cultural schemas and cognitive frames are described similarly yet are not clearly defined nor clearly distinguished from one another in the literature (DiMaggio, 1997; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001; Ridgeway, 2006). These concepts do provide avenues for examining culture in social systems and in social relational contexts, however (DiMaggio, 1997; Ridgeway, 2006). My study

aims to add to the continuing methodological work on applying cultural theory in qualitative analysis.

Research Site

The case study site is within a large research university in the Midwest. There are a number of colleges within the university, and the case study is embedded in one of these colleges, which I will refer to as a school. I intentionally do not disclose the field or disciplines this school includes to protect the confidentiality of the site and informants. The school is organized by numerous departments and is led by a dean and multiple associate deans, with over 200 faculty members. There are well over a thousand students, most at the master's degree level. Nearly 75% of students are women and nearly 20% are international students. The faculty consists of tenure track, lecturer and clinical research faculty members. There is an accreditation body that influences the professional degree offered. The School is highly regarded within the institution and (in its field of study) nationally. Applications and enrollments at the graduate level allow for highly selective admissions.

Site Recruitment and Selection of Case Study Site

I secured IRB approval for my proposed study in October 2014, with an indication of "no more than minimal risk." While finalizing my dissertation proposal, I undertook a pilot study to further inform my research design. During the next three months (October - January) I worked to identify potential case study sites. I focused on securing a local site for my research since my goal was to have a sustained period of observation with a curriculum development team. Given my professional experience included substantial involvement with curriculum committees whose work included curriculum reform and new academic program development, I had knowledge and

experience with the research topic and avenues to identify curriculum teams that could be a fit for my study.

To manage subjectivity in my interpretations and retain openness to uncover new or unexpected findings, I selected a research site outside of my own work setting. To identify potential sites, I reached out to campus contacts and researched the university's website. A contact at the university's center for teaching and learning provided leads to departments believed to be engaged in curriculum change, as did an assistant dean at the university's College of Arts and Sciences. Searching the university website, I used keywords such as "curriculum committee," "curriculum reform," and "curriculum task force" and uncovered a few more leads. I also searched the websites of academic units and the university news site, in case a new program or reform project was announced there.

Overall, I found it was challenging to identify curriculum development teams. There was no central source of information to confirm which units were engaged in curriculum development and what stage they were in their process. In a few instances, my research confirmed that committees of interest were too far along in their curriculum work or their work had already ended. Based on my research and leads, I sent a formal request inquiring about curriculum committees engaged in reform or new program development to a college dean and one to a department chair (whose units were engaged in curriculum development work) and never heard back. I made another request directly to the chair of a curriculum committee and the initial response was promising. After an email exchange and a phone conversation, he checked with his committee members and then let me know they were not comfortable having me present in their meetings. In summary, I researched seven potential sites: two did not respond to my initial email invitation, one did respond but ultimately declined, and three others were too

advanced in their work or had completed their work. Fortunately, the seventh potential site I pursued was willing to participate in my study.

I utilized a three-step process to secure the pilot case study site. First, I emailed an invitation to participate in the study to the associate dean (see Appendix A), who oversaw both the school-wide curriculum committee and the task force. I offered to discuss the project further over email or by phone. Second, after the associate dean consented to potential participation in the study, I contacted the task force chair who gave approval for the study. Third, after the associate dean and the task force chair had checked in with both groups and had not heard any major concerns, I emailed the chair and each member of the schoolwide curriculum committee and Task Force inviting participation in the study (see Appendix B) and providing a consent form (see Appendix C). This process started in November and ended in February, but was staggered, since the associate dean readily gave approval for me to contact members of the schoolwide curriculum committee, and it took a few more weeks for me to obtain approval from the task force chair.

I attended my first meeting of the school wide curriculum committee in December, and a second meeting in January. I attended my first meeting of the task force in February. While I observed both committees through that winter term, at the conclusion of the semester, my advisor and I discussed my interest in focusing solely on the task force, given their work was aligned closely with my study's central purpose and I was gathering rich data, and since the school wide committee, while interesting in other ways, handled more routine curriculum matters. That said, my observation of several school wide curriculum committee meetings, and in particular the contrast between the two groups, helped to develop my understanding of the task force in the context of the School in which it was situated. My advisor and my committee

supported my decision to focus on the task force as a single site case study, and the task force chair and members readily agreed to my continued study of their group. From here, then, I will focus my description on my process with the task force (later referred to as a committee or curriculum development team).

At the first meeting I attended to observe the task force, I verbally reviewed my request for participation and the consent forms. Those who had not emailed a consent form back to me completed them at the start of the meeting. I made it clear if anyone opted not to participate, I would not include their contributions in my data analysis; and if multiple committee members decided to decline, I would seek a different group to observe. Every member consented, and two new members who joined mid-way through my data collection consented as well. All task force members consented to both my observations and recording of meetings as well as individual interviews. One member left the institution before we were able to complete an individual interview, and another did not respond to requests to schedule an interview, which I took as a decline despite his having consented to an interview.

Within a few months, I had confirmed my plan to propose the task force as the center of a single site case study and to further focus my inquiry on a curriculum team engaged in academic program development. In "How many cases do I need?" Small (2009) argues against efforts to adopt or adapt quantitative research logic and methods into the practice of ethnographic fieldwork. He describes the distinctly different approach that qualitative researchers employ: “Generally, the (ethnographic) approaches call for logical rather than statistical inference, for case- rather than sample-based logic, for saturation rather than representation as the stated aims of research” (Small, 2009, p. 28). Aside from Oliver and Hyun’s (2015) participant-researcher study, I had not found studies that involved direct observation of curriculum team meetings

combined with individual interviews with a focus on team interaction and process, and was pleased to be in a position to conduct this study and begin to fill this gap.

Participant Confidentiality

The need to safeguard the confidentiality of participants was heightened given the use of a single case study, the detailed description of which could lead to the site or individual subjects being identified. Thus, I took great care to secure the confidentiality of the site and my research subjects. I have limited the description provided of the research site to include facts that provide some context for the case while protecting the site from being identified. I used pseudonyms to protect individuals' identity and altered certain details about the case study site to inhibit its identification. I did not disclose the case study site to anyone other than the dissertation chair and dissertation committee members. Given I was working full time during the collection of data and multiple people had access to my calendar, I never used the name of the institution or school where the case study was situated, nor did I use any names of committee members in scheduling their interviews on my calendar. In the course of writing, I removed certain facts such as their departmental affiliation and job title, and omitted descriptive information that I thought could lead someone to identify committee members or the site, such as work history or the titles of courses the committee was developing. In some cases, I altered aspects of role or identity to protect individuals' identities and altered the official names of offices within the school (such as admissions or career services) as well as the names of campus offices with which the committee engaged (such as the central admissions office and central advising office).

Case Study Participants

The case subjects, or informants, by nature of the study, were members of the task force selected for the case study site; thus, I did not have control over the selection of individual informants. Their backgrounds, levels of experience, professional position, academic rank, and identity characteristics (such as gender and race) were a matter of chance, yet were a part of what my study considered relevant. There was some gender diversity on the task force, but almost no racial/ethnic diversity. With the departure of two committee members after the first year (one of whom was from an underrepresented minority group, all members of the committee including two new members who joined it, where White (this is based on my observation vs. confirmation by committee members of their race/ethnicity). The two departing committee members were male, and the two new committee members were also male. Task force members included both staff members and faculty members at differing lengths of professional experience, seniority, and rank or level in terms of job classification. Task force members also differed on their past exposure and experience with curriculum development work. This variation is in my experience, common in the composition of task forces and curriculum committees (though some only have a staff member assigned for administrative support), and thus affords relevance to those interested in what was learned from this inquiry.

Known status characteristics including rank, role/level, and sex of each committee member are summarized to provide context for the subjects in this case study (see Table 3.1). The committee included four women (the senior associate dean who was an associate professor; an assistant professor, and the two staff members on the committee, one at a senior level and one in an administrative support role), and five men (the chair who was a full professor, and four

additional full professors). When two male members of the committee were replaced in the second year, they were replaced by two male, full professors.

I considered each individual's approach to the committee and the context that shaped this approach. I studied the ways each group member contributed, what their interests or motivations were as committee members, their assigned roles, areas of expertise and viewpoints expressed in individual interviews. Through my observations and analysis, I came to view committee members through a broader lens, one that captured the essence of individual roles on the committee. The following committee member descriptions are intended to give the reader a sense of the people about whom I am writing by sharing the impressions I formed over 16 months of observing each person's behavior and speech. This section thus provides a contextualized understanding of the individuals at the center of this study.

In the following section, I describe the role each committee member played and the nature of their contributions, interactions and participation:

<u>Glenn Evans</u>

Dr. Evans, the committee chair, he had led curriculum development for an undergraduate program at a previous institution. He had joined a School that had long focused on graduate education, in an institution in which the Dean had indicated his intention to offer undergraduate programs. I view his role as a cultural change leader, since he had not only the professional experience with leading the development of an undergraduate program, had strong insight into interpersonal and organizational dynamics. He also had a very affable and likable personality that served an important role both in bringing the committee together and with navigating the organizational landscape.

Table 3.1: Listing of Case Study Participants

Pseudonym	Role	Rank/ Level	Sex	Short Description
Glenn Evans	Chair	Full professor	Male	Experienced in undergraduate education and curriculum; positive and well-liked leader
Dorothy Palmer	Associate Dean	Associate professor	Female	Provided guidance and advise, held administrative role in dean's office
Heather Carter	Staff Member	Administrative support	Female	Early in career, motivated and committed, interested I career growth, student focused
Marcy Danforth	Staff Member	Director	Female	Experienced project manager, helped manage process behind the scenes
Curtis Butler	Faculty Member	Full professor	Male	Experienced with undergraduate teaching and advising, program development and graduate admissions; nearing retirement
Jerry Alexander	Faculty Member	Full professor	Male	Solid contributor. Good ambassador to faculty
Ned Price	Faculty Member	Full professor	Male	Joined in second year of committee's work, solid contributor, good ambassador to faculty
Maggie Reed	Faculty Member	Assistant professor	Female	Role limited as junior faculty member to assure focus on research; invested and thoughtful
Marcus Smith	Faculty Member	Full professor	Male	Raised issues and questions with light hearted style; brought comic relief, left institution after first year of committee's work
Kurtis Mathis	Faculty Member	Full professor	Male	Spoke very little; helped with parts of proposal; did not return to committee for second year
Paul Davidson	Faculty Member	Full Professor	Male	Joined in second year, contributed infrequently, interested and supportive

Dr. Evans' positivity was infectious, and described what seemed a measured approach when confronted with naysayers on the faculty who felt the undergraduate direction would negatively impact the graduate program or have other negative impacts. He remarked:

> I still hear some people like, "Yeah. I'm still not sure about that." And so, I always say, "Okay. Well, let's talk about it." And I just sit down and talk to them about some of the benefits of this, and yeah, it is gonna be a challenge and there's gonna be growing pains, but change is never easy. So, we'll just work through this.

In our interview, he divulged that he often felt stressed and uncertain, especially with the initial launch date, but largely hid this from the committee and worked to focus on the positive and doing what they could to make it work. At one point he considered walking away from his role as chair, but that he had kept that to himself. While he expressed being so concerned about

the timeline it made him consider withdrawing as chair, yet during this entire time was working to move the organizational mindset towards accepting and even embracing the idea of an undergraduate program. While he initially led the committee in discussions to consider whether and how the school should engage in undergraduate education, the dean and senior associate dean had already indicated to him that an undergraduate program was strongly desired. Rather than starting with this conclusion (which I suspect he may have known was the expectation of the dean and best scenario for the school) he ensured the committee felt ownership of the discussion and the decision. He worked with faculty members at the individual, department, and school level to continue to seed support, identify concerns and then work at addressing those concerns via the committee. He was indeed the cultural change leader that the School needed.

Dorothy Palmer

Dr. Dorothy Palmer, the associate dean for academic affairs, sat on the committee ex officio. She had helped launch a new graduate program a few years earlier. She had a status advantage given her role as associate dean. Yet in our interview she indicated she was actively trying to avoid overly influencing the committee; rather she wanted to steer them when she thought they were going too far astray. She described the chair as quite influential in an individual interview, and indicated that she was overwhelmed with other responsibilities. She expressed concern that she wasn't able to represent her department that well on the committee or provide the larger oversight. Nonetheless, she ended up writing a good part of the draft proposal, but in the committee process, she seemed to act as a gentle and wise guide for the group. She spoke up when she could bring insight from the deans' office or her role as associate dean, regarding school policies or timing issues with, for example, course approvals. In our interview,

she said that at times she would have addressed some issues differently, but was mindful of not getting in the way of the chair.

Heather Carter

Heather Carter, the most junior member of the committee and a staff member, initially acted in the capacity of an administrative support person for the committee, scheduling meetings, preparing agendas, and taking notes. Her perspective as a recent graduate was noted as valuable in some cases by other members of the committee, and the chair often remarked positively about her contributions. As the committee's work continued, it was clear that Heather was very motivated and energized by the work, and that she was finding ways to bring added value to the committee, by trying to manage the many details of the process, uncovering information that the committee needed or wanted, and helping solve problems the committee was facing. Her confidence seemed to grow in terms of her contributions in the meetings.

At first, Heather rarely spoke unless asked to contribute. She was pleasant and upbeat, passing out agendas and taking minutes. At later points, she was helping to set and guide the meeting agendas and was actively contributing knowledge, mostly about administrative issues but also about student interests and needs, advising issues and procedures, university policies and so forth. During the second semester in which I observed the committee's meetings, Heather received a promotion, though for some time the nature of the promotion wasn't very clear. This created an awkward moment, when the chair indicated that she was getting a new title, but Heather clarified that wasn't settled yet. The new role was eventually confirmed, and Heather continued to bring increased confidence to her interactions as she gained knowledge and experience that benefitted the committee. This said, at times her input was minimized and at other times she was interrupted repeatedly. I observed that she tended to avoid being too vocal or

too assertive, though in a few cases she pressed her points, for example, her concerns about opening the program to transfer students. This concern was largely downplayed or ignored, despite others sharing during individual interviews that they, too, were concerned about being prepared to admit transfer students.

Marcy Danforth

An experienced staff member, Marcy Danforth played an important role on the committee, yet her role was hard to identify from the meetings and understand and in our interview, she described it as unclear. At times she provides information about the university or the school; she shared her experience with online courses, was very familiar with the accreditation standards and with similar programs at other universities. She had managed other complex administrative projects and programs, but had not worked with launching a new academic program or with managing admissions. She gathered information and developed an outline to guide development of the new program proposal, gathered insights from other programs on campus, sharing this at times with the committee.

Marcy expressed concern clearly and early about the initial program launch timeline, which went unheeded (as was the case for the chair.). Later in our interview, she expressed that the change in launch in her mind was not necessary and reduced the momentum of the committee, leading to less engagement, less meeting attendance, etc. Her actual role was not very clear -- even to her, based on our interview. She felt she was playing a much-needed role that was akin to a high-level project manager, providing guidance to Heather Carter and helping to pull disparate pieces of information together to help the committee move forward. Yet her title and past responsibilities were not really aligned with this new focus, which was taking an increasing amount of her time. She participated regularly, but did more work behind the scenes.

She was involved in many small group meetings with Dr. Evans, Dr. Palmer and Heather Carter in between committee meetings. She expressed some discontent and seemed disenfranchised about her position. She shared her sense that the administrative aspects of the program development process could be handled more directly by staff members with regular input from Dr. Evans and Dr. Palmer, and on curricular matters, from faculty.

Curtis Butler

Dr. Curtis Butler was the most senior faculty member on the committee; he had more seniority than the chair or the associate dean, had worked on other curriculum development projects and had overseen admissions for his department for many years. He shared that he was nearing retirement in our individual interview, he expressed that, while he had some health issues and had many other things going on, this committee was a way for him to leave a legacy at the school, and he was happy for that to be about undergraduate education. For him, his work on the committee was his swan song.

In our interview he spoke nostalgically about his career and his work with admissions and with curriculum, he spoke about his acumen with advising students and he was frank about the political aspects and the dean's strong role with moving towards an undergraduate program. He spoke very well of the committee chair (as everyone did). He expressed significant relief that the timing of the new program launch had changed, saying he was very worried about it and that they would have launched a program but it wouldn't have been nearly as good. He also revealed his significant concerns about the plan to start taking transfer students at the same time the program launched. In answer to my question about whether he had or planned to raise his concerns with the chair or with the dean, he said he had not and he wasn't sure he would, since in his view that decision was made and wasn't going to be changed.

Dr. Butler was very vocal in most committee meetings, at times dominating discussion, yet was generous with praise for others' contributions. He expressed concern for the junior faculty member on the committee, saying that was not fair for her to be on the committee since she needed to focus on tenure. He agreed when I suggested it could be a good professional development experience, but said they mainly were trying to keep her committee work load light Dr. Butler's influence had limits, and others did not always take up his view point, but there is no doubt he invested a lot in the committee process (and others appreciated this), was committed to its outcome, and had considerable influence on the work of the committee. This was, after all, his swan song.

Jerry Alexander and Ned Price

Two other faculty members on the committee, Dr. Jerry Alexander and Dr. Ned Price, had chaired their departmental curriculum committees and were at the associate and full professor rank, respectively. They had the experience within the school that Dr. Evans lacked. I viewed them as "faculty allies" as they had capacity to help build support amongst the faculty for the undergraduate initiative. Dr. Alexander was more vocal than Dr. Price, but both were attentive and raised points and questions. Based on conversations in individual interviews (with them and other members of the committee), I determined they were well-regarded and influential faculty members, particularly in their own departments given their roles on departmental committees. Concerns they raised about the tight timeline, the School's departmental structure, faculty teaching assignments and incentives and the strong input from deans on curricular decisions were heard, but did have a strong impact. They were "on board" with the direction being taken and while they raised concerns at times, they did not rock the boat too much. They supported the direction of the committee and agreed with the plans overall. Their approach

aligned with what the associate dean had said in our interview: that members of the committee were selected carefully -- because they were cooperative and supportive of the new undergraduate program, rather than "difficult" or inclined to be negative towards change.

Maggie Reed

The sole junior faculty member on the committee, Dr. Maggie Reed, primarily listened at meetings, but at times contributed to discussions and to work outside of meetings. The chair and other faculty members, when interviewed, expressed concern about her service on the committee given the competing priority for her to complete research and achieve tenure. Dr. Reed acknowledged that others had been helpful in keeping her role on the committee contained, and was also quick to indicate that she had the least amount of experience and wasn't in a good position to contribute on many topics. This said, her insights and contributions were received well by others on the committee. She seemed to be actively learning as she participated, as evidenced by her comments about the committee's work during our individual interview. She indicated she appreciated having her role contained given she was a junior faculty member, yet confirmed she did not feel that she could not question or counter others' opinions, and stated that she trusted the chair and the associate dean's decision-making. Dr. Reed was one of the most reflective committee members in my individual interviews, and noted that the group was largely figuring things out as they went along and that most of the work fell on a few people, with other members mostly giving approval.

Marcus Smith

In the first term I observed the committee, Dr. Marcus Smith, a full faculty member and advanced in his career, was quite vocal. Committee members referred to him as the committee's comedian as he often joked and brought levity to discussions. He also regularly brought donuts

to the meetings, which was a source of camaraderie and joking as well. At times he played devil's advocate, raising questions or scenarios that hadn't been discussed directly and countered the predominant point of view. His comedic role played well against his tendency to question things, so he did not come across as overly negative or cynical. He would raise questions and concerns in a low key, often lighthearted manner. At the end of the first winter that I observed the committee, he left the university for a faculty position at another institution. This seemed like a significant loss, which more than one member of the committee noted, since he had been the one member who tended to question decisions and raise alternative perspectives; this role was not replaced by others after his departure.

Kurtis Mathis and Paul Davidson

Kurt Mathis was a full professor and was extremely quiet in meetings; in fact, he rarely spoke at all. He had fewer years of experience than Dr. Butler, but was from the same department. He did, however, volunteer to work with Dr. Butler to develop some ideas for one of a few curricular paths within the new program. I view his role as representing a "service obligation" mentality on the committee. Interestingly, in the second academic year I observed the committee, he was replaced by another full professor, Paul Davidson. Dr. Davidson was also mostly silent during the meetings I observed, and in some cases, he was absent; these faculty members seemed to approach their role as fulfilling a service obligation as representatives of their departments.

Data Collection

Data collection included observation of 17 meetings over a 16-month period and 10 individual interviews towards the end of the meeting observations. Data collection began in February, 2015, and concluded in June, 2016. The primary data collection method was

observation, supplemented with individual interview of committee members. The observation of meetings included attending to the content of discussions, participants' communication style (verbal and nonverbal), the tone of conversations (whether lighthearted or serious and noting laughter, applause, tension or periods of silence), and the nature and amount of participants' participation. I also looked for subtle factors that impacted the dynamics of the meeting such as unplanned or informal activities - such as conversations before and after meetings or joking around while enjoying donuts someone brought - and notation of what was absent or that did not take place when it might be expected. (Merriam, 2007, p.121). Observation, as a method of data collection, "offers a firsthand account of the situation under study and, when combined with interviewing and document analysis, allows for a holistic interpretation of the phenomenon being investigated" (Merriam, 2007, p.136). With participants' consent, I audio-recorded each meeting and took detailed field notes during meetings. I wrote memos periodically to capture my thoughts and reflections on recent meetings or patterns from meetings. At times I would have thoughts hours or days after a particular meeting, prompting me to write a memo.

Near the conclusion of my series of meeting observations, I conducted one-hour individual interviews with each committee member to gather their perspectives on their roles and the work of the committee. I conducted two interviews with the associate dean; one in the first semester I observed the committee to gather insights on the work that had been done in the semester before I started observation, and another near the conclusion of data collection. I followed a structured interview protocol (see Appendix D) while allowing for variation based on the responses of informants to pursue topics or issues that they raised.

In the interviews, I asked introductory questions to break the ice and learn how informants came to be on the Task Force. Questions addressed patterns of influence and areas of

focus, such as what factors, trends, or individuals had influence on the work of the committee, their perception of their own participation and influence and the influence of other members, what they felt was going well and what was problematic or concerning, whether enough resources were being provided for launching the new program, and whether the most important topics were being addressed. Follow up probes sought the how and why of initial responses. Some interviewees were quite reflective, while others gave fairly simplistic responses. All of this was added to my understanding of the ways individual members contributed to the group and its process.

Data Analysis

I worked closely with a transcription service to accurately transcribe all meetings and interviews. I reviewed transcripts more than once and refined them to correct words and the attribution of comments to the correct speaker using the audiotaped meetings. My review and editing of the transcripts assured accuracy while helping me to build close familiarity with the data. Prior to my analysis I developed an initial code book based on concepts and theories that guided the design of the study and that I anticipated would arise as I answered my research questions. The final codebook, to which I added new codes during the coding process, is in Appendix E. I entered all the codes into the N-Vivo software (version 11) to manage data during the analysis phases.

I used theoretical codes related to status hierarchy and performance expectations drawing these both from expectations states theory (Berger et al 1974; Correll & Ridgeway, 2003) and from studies that applied the theory (i.e., Cohen & Lotan, 1995; Cohen & Zhou, 1991). A set of theoretical codes related to the curriculum committee as a working group emerged from open coding, yet these were clearly influenced by my conceptual framework, in particular Bensimon & Neumann's (1993) work on teams as cultures.

While theoretical codes helped connect my analysis to relevant theories and concepts, overall data analysis included a progression of open, selective and axial coding passes before the

application of theoretical codes to the data. In my first, open-coding pass through the data, I linked a code to each segment of each transcript. Open codes included concepts such as student development and program purpose, topics such as admissions and instructional resources, and activities such as coordination efforts and proposal decisions. I next used axial coding to refine my codes by looking at them in combination and revisiting the data. This produced new codes that linked what were previously individual codes; this resulted in axial codes such as interpersonal tension and shared perspectives.

After open and axial coding, I was able to identify broad themes that depicted the committee's process (themes included assessments such haphazard process and identification of themes describing influences on the committee process, such as time factors). At this stage in the process, I used theoretical coding based on the concepts I drew from expectations states theory (such as assertive contribution, perception of others' influence and status treatment), to build on and add ideas and concepts and to further develop themes that described and impacted the committee's work. Finally, I used selective coding to organize codes into categories. For example, the selective code program attributes encompassed codes such as academic rules, admission criteria and program purpose (Strauss, 1987). Through this process I identified a total of 105 codes, which I organized into 15 categories.

See Figure 3.1 for a list of six theoretical codes that capture the concept of status hierarchy from expectations states theory and seven codes influenced by Bensimon & Neumann's (1993) study of teams as cultures. Throughout these coding passes, I used a constant comparative method (Strauss, 1987; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), to identify codes and categories, adjusting these as I compared segments of data and groups of codes. I returned to the transcriptions repeatedly during my writing process in addition to using the data I had coded in N-Vivo. At times I also went back to the audiotapes to listen again to segments of meetings, to help confirm tone and meaning.

Figure 3.2 Theoretical Codes on Status Hierarchy and Teams as Culture

Status Hierarchy Codes
Assertive contribution
Ignoring, minimizing, or deflecting
Prompted contribution
Recognition of or influence of skill or expertise
Status treatment
Group management or leadership

Team Behavior Codes
Camaraderie
Coordination efforts
Decision making
Humor
Interpersonal tension or conflict
Perception of own role or influence
Perception of others' role or influence

I triangulated my analysis using meeting notes, interviews and memos. I questioned my themes and understanding of the data using the technique of alternate explanations (Merriam, 2007), in which I tried to view my ideas through the perspective of a member of the committee. I raised questions in individual interviews with an eye towards confirming or refuting ideas I had been formulating. Extended memoing to document my thinking helped to advance my analysis, as did continued, iterative review of the data in N-Vivo, notes taken during meeting observations, and mapping ideas and concepts on a whiteboard. This involved a meeting by meeting analysis, as well as looking at groups of meetings and looking at concepts and themes across the full set of meetings. I looked for patterns within and across interviews and between meeting and interview transcripts. I continued data analysis for nearly a year to bring sufficient depth to themes and concepts.

Choice of cognitive frames for inductive analysis framework

My study was guided by the literature on culture and cognition (DiMaggio, 1997; DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Ridgeway, 2006), Bensimon and Neumann's (1993) analysis on teams as cultures, and Bensimon's (2005) study identifying cognitive frames of diversity, deficit and equity that shape individuals and team thinking as it pertains to addressing the achievement gap in education. My decision to identify cognitive frames using an inductive method follows Kezar, Gehrke and Elrod's (2015) methods for identifying implicit theories of change in their research on STEM curriculum reform teams. Their qualitative study of teams from 11 campuses included observations of group meetings of the teams at periodic national gatherings as well as individual interviews. They chose to observe the curriculum teams because "implicit theories typically cannot be articulated by people (p. 485)." Regarding their method of identifying implicit theories of change from qualitative data, they wrote:

> We utilized a grounded theory approach for data analysis since we were interested in inductively understanding the implicit theories of change provided by individual change agents and groups of change agents (Charmaz, 2006). Rather than impose metaphors from earlier studies of implicit theories of change, we allowed the data to inform us about participants' specific implicit theories... In order to understand and analyze implicit theories, we looked for those statements (e.g., we feel that grass-roots faculty leadership is most effective) and actions their teams exhibited (e.g., an overreliance on grants would be reflected by most of their activities focusing on developing grant proposals)(p. 487)."

Kezar, Gehrke and Elrod (2015) set the following criteria to guide identification of implicit theories from the data:

> More than half of team members described or enacted the implicit theory; 2) Multiple statements and behaviors were identified; and, 3) These statements or behaviors were exhibited at several meetings/ opportunities for interaction such as webinars (p. 487-488).

Examples of the implicit theories of change they identified held included "data alone can convince people of the need to change" and "change is rational and not political" (p. 491).

I wanted to conduct similar analysis for my study to understand the kinds of cognitive frames that guided the curriculum team I studied. I wanted to surface themes and concepts including but not limited to how the team thought about and conducted their work. My choice to focus on cognitive frames (rather than, say, implicit theories) was based on my view of the connection between cognitive frames and the literature on culture and cognition that is central to the framework for my study.[2]

The concept of cognitive frames (Bensimon, 2005; 1993) aligns with the exploratory nature of this case study while reflecting the broader theoretical framework that it rests upon. As DiMaggio (1997) explains, the evolving understanding of culture and cognition draws concepts from sociology and psychology to present a "view of culture as working through the interaction of shared cognitive structures and supra-individual cultural phenomena (material culture, media messages, or conversation, for example) that activate those structures to varying degrees" (p. 264). Accordingly, I use cognitive frames as an analytic and interpretive tool to identify the underlying cognitive and cultural forces shaping the curriculum team's attention and process.

While considering ways to operationalize culture in my analysis, I found references to multiple concepts in the culture and cognition literature, including schemata, cultural models, cultural frames and cognitive frames; these concepts are described similarly. Nuanced differences in the description of these concepts reflect the academic disciplines in which they are

[2] The concept of implicit theories of change is rooted in organizational learning theory (mainly Weick's (1985) theory of sensemaking, and Connolly and Seymour's (2003) work on theories of change). Since I did not conceptualize this study as one focused on a curriculum revision or reform, but rather a study of the development of a new program, I did not seek to identify the committee members' implicit theories of "change."

rooted as well as the views of the authors providing the description. Researchers commonly concur that definitions of these terms are broad, which can feel unfocused; yet they also propose that such concepts provide avenues and tools for operationalizing cultural theories into analysis and intervention strategies (Gallimore and Goldenberg 2010, Bensimon 2005, Fryberg & Markus, 2007, DiMaggio, 1997). Most studies using cultural models and cultural frames noted the lack of methodology to apply them; researchers thus proposed their own methods and rarely followed methods others had employed (Kezar, Gehrke & Elrod, 2015; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2010, Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Bensimon, 2005). I chose to build on research that applied the concepts of culture and cognition in higher education settings.

Bensimon (2015) and Neumann (2012) encouraged higher education scholars to address culture and cognition to better understand complex cultural dimensions of issues and problems in academia. I found their work on teams as cultures, team roles and team thinking (Bensimon & Neumann, 1993; Neumann, 1991; Bensimon, 1990), as well as Neumann's discussion of thinking teams (1989) and cognition in higher education (2012), and Bensimon's research applying cognitive frames (1995, 1989) provided a useful grounding for a cultural analysis of a curriculum development team's process. Bensimon’s use of cognitive frames, however, differs from the approach I took in that she relied on pre-determined frames in her research. For example, in her 2005 study, she focused on the “educational achievement gap” to examine the use of deficit, diversity, and equity cognitive frames. In her frame analysis of presidential teams (1989), she used four organizational frames (bureaucratic, collegial, political and symbolic) proposed by Bolman, Deal and Birnbaum (1988). I did not want to set predetermined cognitive frames given the exploratory nature of my research. My study, then, combines the inductive methods of Kezar,

Gehrke and Elrod (2015) with the more recent definition of cognitive frames used by Bensimon (2005).

Aligning with Kezar, Gehrke and Elrod (2015) I established criteria for identifying cognitive frames, whether explicit (recognized by the team) or implicit (tacit or not in the team's conscious awareness). While cognitive frames might begin with an individual, my focus was on identifying cognitive frames that reflected the team's thinking and process. The criteria I applied to identify cognitive frames are:

1. Multiple group members make comments or have exchanges that reference, reflect, or enact the representation of a cognitive frame
2. The comments or exchanges or behaviors occur in more than one meeting.
3. The comments, exchanges or behaviors subsequently shape or impact the team's discussions, decisions, actions or inactions.

I used the individual interviews with committee members to further establish whether a cognitive frame was shaping individual or team thinking and behavior and to help identify and confirm additional themes. I also evaluated if multiple references from an individual or the majority of the group supported a shift in a cognitive frame, either by recognizing previous thinking and new thinking explicitly, or by consistently using new language that suggests a shift in a cognitive frame.

Researcher Perspective

In addition to being a doctoral candidate completing dissertation research, I have significant professional experience in the area of academic program and curriculum management. In my career, I observed and participated in curriculum committee work for many years. As a result of my experience and insight on curriculum committee work, I was able to

identify issues and patterns that others might miss. At the time of data collection, I was serving on a curriculum task force within my own School, but this group was not a part of my research. I used this involvement to help shape my thinking about the study, to identify issues and concepts to explore in my observations and interviews, and to provide an ongoing means to engage directly and personally with the topic. My familiarity with academic program development enabled me to be a highly informed observer. I understood the context of the committee's conversations and could identify where discussions might be missing essential information. I was thus able to focus on group interactions and dynamics as well as content.

At the same time, I needed to be mindful of subjectivities that I brought to the research and to question my assumptions as I interpreted the data. In my first curriculum meeting observation with my pilot case study site, I found my role as researcher and my professional role competing at times in terms of my attention and thought process. As questions arose about how aspects of curriculum management could be better handled, I had to hold myself back from providing information or an example from my professional work. I did not find it difficult to keep my thoughts to myself. I had to turn my attention back to observing the behavior rather than identifying potential solutions to the problem raised. In the same meeting, though, I found I was able to follow the conversation easily, being familiar with the terminology and issues. I was able to focus on the flow of interaction and communication patterns, and noted a common tactic used by faculty members to signal concerns or disagreement without being too strong in their approach. For example, at one meeting a committee member suggested deferring one decision on a proposal being discussed that day, so that colleagues could be consulted, and used humor to suggest that not doing so would create big problems. It was also fairly clear that this member had concerns of his own about the proposal that was being discussed.

During the decade I participated on curriculum committees, my role as a staff member evolved. Initially, I was taking minutes, and answering questions about registration or student enrollment occasionally. I rarely spoke without being prompted. Note that I was already in a director level position overseeing admissions and student services for a small School. Later, as the School grew, I was managing more staff members and functions, and my role on the curriculum committee grew as well. I was looked to more often for insights about student issues and implementation plans when changes were proposed. At times I would voice my opinion. I learned that I needed to have clear arguments for my positions to garner attention and support. As the school developed a new graduate program and then a new undergraduate program, I was involved in discussions at the dean level and ultimately had become an assistant dean, myself.

On the one hand, my experiences as a staff member and observing other staff members who joined curriculum meetings or were involved in academic program development could bias my observation and analysis of an academic program development team. Yet I was carefully attentive to approach my observations and analysis in a balanced manner. I had observed a wide range of situations and dynamics over the years, and my own role as a staff member grew in terms of influence. I saw faculty members assigned for the first time to chair a curriculum committee struggle and develop leadership skills. I felt for the faculty members who at times found the process of academic program development very stressful and time consuming. While I experienced and observed challenges of being a staff member on a curriculum committee, over time, I became much more aware of the challenges for faculty members.

During the course of observing the curriculum team's meetings, I used reflective memos as a means to document my observations as well as my feelings related to my competing roles and to help identify areas of bias and areas of insight. Over time, my role as a researcher felt

increasingly natural and I was better able to intentionally separate personal feelings to evaluate what I was observing objectively. This required intentional assessment of the perspective I brought to the data, which was the perspective of a staff member and as an administrator. In doing this, I came to realize that in my past involvements with curriculum teams, I attributed issues and concerns I observed as much with the individuals involved as with the organization and institution in which they were situated. In the case study site for my dissertation, I found myself observing a team that had by many measures a positive and effective leader and a collegial and well-functioning team. When similar challenges emerged relative to teams I had observed with less cohesion or challenges with leadership style or experience, I was able to gain a much clearer view of the impact of organizational and institutional impact on the team's process. That said, I was also able to discern the impact of individual contributions or roles, and the impact of interaction patterns across the team on their process and outcomes.

Moreover, as I analyzed my data, I was able to step back and reconsider my ideas thinking of different perspectives. I wasn't a faculty member, but I had developed a good understanding of faculty perspectives and experiences. While I could not change my perspective completely, my experience helped me to think through issues from the perspective of the chair, or faculty members, or staff members on the committee. Overall, I found my professional role to be an asset, given access to observe a curriculum committee had proven challenging, even for an "insider." Thus, while I am sure I did have some bias as any researcher brings a perspective to their work, I believe my experience put me in a particularly strong position to do this research.

Validity and Trustworthiness

I used multiple strategies to support the validity and trustworthiness of my study. Maxwell (2012, p 244) presents a checklist for addressing validity threats and enhancing

credibility qualitative research, including long term involvement, rich data, respondent validation, searching for discrepant evidence, triangulation, quasi-statistics and comparison. I was able to employ all of these methods to varying degrees in my study. I was engaged with the case study site for a period of 16 months, during which time I developed a high degree of trust with the committee members, as evidenced by their openness to my continued observation of meetings and openness during individual interviews. Using observation of committee meetings as my primary source of data resulted in a rich set of transcripts to analyze, encompassing 17 meetings, augmented by field notes. Maxwell (2012, p 244) states: "For observation, rich data are the product of detailed, descriptive note-taking (or videotaping and transcribing) of the specific, concrete events that you observe." Meeting observation was augmented by 10 individual interviews (of 12 total committee members). Nine of the interviews were held near the end of the data collection period, which enabled me to engage in respondent validation by seeking feedback on my impressions and asking questions to help confirm or dispel some of my perception. This validation was limited in that it was based on my early impressions rather than after completion of data analysis, but it did allow for confirmation of observations during data collection. The perspectives shared in individual interviews also served as a check against meeting transcripts, notes and memos.

During data analysis, I searched my data to confirm or dispel the ideas and themes I was developing, in particular to see if I was focusing on an isolated incident or in case my perspectives were biased. I actively posed alternative interpretations and looked at the data multiple times to confirm my conclusions. This relates to my overall data analysis method that included triangulation, another strategy for building validity and credibility, given I evaluated multiple sources of data (e.g. meeting transcripts, interview transcripts, field notes, memos) to

develop the themes and ultimately the findings of my study. On a limited basis, I used what Maxwell (2012) refers to as quasi-statistics as a means to test and confirm patterns I saw in the data. For example, I quantified the instances of use for selective codes related to status hierarchy and connected this data to my analysis, such as the number of times I coded “assertive contribution” for each committee member. I looked at patterns based on selective and open codes that were related to one another, and was able to evaluate these patterns over an extended period rather than in just a few meetings. Finally, while my research was based on a single site case study and thus my use of comparison as a validity strategy was limited, I was able to compare what I was observing and the ideas I was developing with situations I encountered in my extensive experience with curriculum committees and academic program development. Together, these approaches establish this research as a credible and valid account and analysis of the case study.

Limitations

Despite strengths described in the study’s design and analytic methods, the case study has several limitations. As discussed, the definition of cultural frames is quite broad and the methodology for using this concept for interpretive analysis is as yet not well established. I have worked to add to the thinking and methods around using this concept for interpretive analysis in a case study. While I was able to achieve notable depth by focusing on a single site, by focusing on one curriculum team I was not able to do comparative case analysis to examine differences in institutional size, program type, or other variables. The participants in the study may have altered their behavior or withheld information given concerns about confidentiality due to the small number of subjects. The case study site had already begun its work the semester before I began observations, which may have limited my ability to fully map the process and may thus limit the

understanding of how group decision-making ultimately unfolded. Efforts were made to mitigate the limitation of the process having started previously by asking subjects to describe aspects of their process in retrospect. My goal was not to document how a particular curriculum was created step by step, but rather how the process reflected organizational and cultural dimensions of academic program development in research universities. My case study offers an opportunity to gain an in-depth awareness of what is involved in academic program development and how one curriculum team navigates this work.

Structure of the Findings

The findings of my case study are presented in the following three chapters. In Chapter Four, I present a case chronology providing a rich description of the committee's work during the months I observed their meetings, and also discuss themes that depict key aspects of the committee's work process and culture. In Chapter Five, I used sensitizing concepts from expectations states theory helps to analyze patterns of influence and their effects on the committee as a task-focused group. In Chapter Six, I discuss five cognitive frames that I identified as shaping the committee's understanding of and approach to their work, and two integrative frames that combine cognitive frames, status hierarchy and aspects of organizational culture.

Chapter IV. Case Chronology and Themes

Introduction

In this first chapter of findings, I describe the case that is the focus of this study and then present themes that my analysis surfaced portraying defining aspects of the curriculum development committee's work and team culture. Pseudonyms for the participants (profiled in Chapter 3) are used and some facts are altered to maintain confidentiality. The case centers on a curriculum development team with a charge to develop an undergraduate program. The academic unit, which I will refer to as a school, is situated within a large public research university in the Midwest.

My observation of the undergraduate task force began the semester after their work began. However, I gained retrospective insights about the formation and initial work of the task force through my interviews with Associate Dean Dorothy Palmer and other committee members. According to Dr. Palmer, Dean Gregg Williams initially charged the team as a task force to explore and propose the school's future direction in undergraduate education. The discussion about creating an undergraduate program had occurred at times before in the school's history, but the idea of starting an undergraduate program had been met with resistance from some, and did not have enough support to take hold as a priority. Asked about the charge or purpose of the Undergraduate Task Force, Dr. Palmer said, "We created a task force to develop a sound proposal for creating an undergraduate program."

Multiple committee members indicated in interviews that the current press for an undergraduate program came directly from Dean Williams. The school's interest in undergraduate education was supported by national trends (most other schools in this discipline already had an undergraduate degree program) and campus trends (other academic units on campus were developing new undergraduate degrees). Comments from multiple committee members confirmed that the financial pressure impacting the drive for an undergraduate program was clear: the dean's office had determined that an undergraduate program would bring needed revenue. Dr. Curtis Butler, a full professor serving on the committee, remarked:

> I think the dean is rolling the dice on this and giving it resources to the extent he can. My understanding is that the school is running on a deficit. The dean is putting his legacy on the line to create it -- a major investment at multiple levels.

. Making the potential for a new undergraduate program a visible priority, a faculty mini-retreat held that spring included discussion of undergraduate education. Dr. Palmer recalled, "We went through the opportunities and challenges. And I think there were quite a few issues raised then." She quoted the dean as saying, "We're going to put together a task force to push forward." Dr. Palmer confirmed that faculty voted in support of the school continuing to explore its future in undergraduate education. The dean's faculty advisory board affirmed this vote in a meeting a week following the mini-retreat.

Dean Williams had asked Professor Glenn Evans to chair the undergraduate task force. Dr. Evans had created and led an undergraduate program at his previous institution and thus brought extensive experience with undergraduate education. Despite joining the faculty just three years prior, this committee appointment placed him in a significant and highly important role for the school. From his perspective, the task force was exploratory:

> [It] was really just a task force at that point. So, we didn't know. We came in really not knowing if we were gonna do a major, a minor, a certificate, whatever. And we were

> told, 'We want to do something in the undergraduate space, but we don't know what it is, so you all need to figure it out.'

I noted that this statement regarding the specific charge for the committee differed from the way the task force was described by the associate dean, and from some comments in meetings and other interviews, such as Dr. Butler's comment that the plan to create an undergraduate degree came directly from the dean.

In addition to Glenn Evans and Dorothy Palmer, the task force included faculty representing the school's departments (see Chapter 2, Figure 2 for a listing of committee members, including role and rank). One was Curtis Butler, a full professor nearing retirement. Dr. Butler had chaired his department's curriculum committee in prior years. Before joining the university faculty, had taught many undergraduate courses and helped launch an undergraduate program at another institution. Two other faculty members - Marcus Smith and Jerry Alexander, were also full professors and accomplished in their careers; each also had experience serving on their departments' curriculum committees at the graduate level. Another task force member, Burt Mathis, was an associate professor from the same department as Curtis Butler. One assistant professor, Maggie Reed, served on the task force; I noted she was the only other woman faculty member other than the associate dean. Two staff members served on the task force. Marcy Danforth was an experienced staff member who had worked in the School for a number of years, managing academic and research initiatives. A less experienced and newer staff member, Heather Carter, was assigned to support the task force (confirming meetings and agendas, taking minutes etc.). Regarding the task force membership, Dr. Palmer stated:

> We did think carefully about which faculty to put on the task force. For the most part, we didn't put people on the committee who necessarily said yes to everything, or who don't challenge opinions. But they did take the perspective that we have to keep moving forward. And that's nice that they weren't going to resist any type of change."

The task force commenced its work in the fall semester, meeting every two weeks mostly and sometimes monthly. After multiple meetings in the fall discussing different options such as a major, a minor, or a certificate, gathering input from faculty about pros and cons, and gathering input from students who had been taking existing undergraduate courses at the school (albeit not as part of a degree program), the task force decided they would propose an undergraduate major, which aligned with the inclinations of the dean.

With approval from the faculty to explore the School's involvement in undergraduate education previously confirmed, in winter term the task force would begin to develop a full proposal for a new bachelor's degree program (a two-year program at the junior-senior level). This proposal would require approval by the school faculty, the dean's faculty advisory board, the provost's office, the board of trustees, and a state-level higher education board. I began observing the task force meetings in February as they began developing the new program proposal.

Year One, winter term observation

The Proposal

After the holiday break, the task force reconvened. They held their first meeting of their second semester of work in the second week of February, and met for 90 minutes on a biweekly schedule thereafter. Their primary focus was the development of the formal proposal for a new undergraduate degree program. As soon as I began observing their meetings, I realized that, given my experience with new undergraduate program and curriculum development, there were times when I had knowledge or information that would be helpful to their discussion. I did not

share that knowledge, and maintained my role as an observer rather than a participant in the meetings.

During the first meeting of the new term, Dr. Evans focused the group on the task at hand: “So, our next order of business is to work on the proposal, to look at the different sections.” After clarifying the approval steps and deadlines for the new program proposal, Dr. Evans led the task force in reviewing the sections outlined for the proposal and task force members volunteered to take a lead role with developing different segments. Dr. Evans referred to a copy of a proposal developed by another academic program on campus and said that would be a good model to follow. Before the meeting closed, Dr. Butler raised a question about the timeline:

> The concept here is if we're aiming for fall of 2016 as a potential start, and we've already discussed how we view this as a gradual work up -- not hitting it full fore.”

Marcy Danforth then emphasized the need for expert input on the curriculum, an issue raised previously in both the deans’ in the department chairs’ meetings as well as in from conversations with national peers. She referenced these, saying:

> They felt like it would be really useful to engage someone with expertise in curriculum development early on in the process, and so, either someone from education or someone from the teaching and learning center.

Dr. Evans agreed. The task force discussed the need to hire more faculty and to do so strategically over time in relation to the growth of the new program and to consider how to manage the program given the School’s current department structure. The meeting ended, having covered a wide range of topics, from the broadest issues of purpose and focus to highly specific questions about program features and many topics in between. I left the meeting wondering, “How will they do this by a year from this fall?”

The next meeting included guest presentations from some of the school's senior staff members, including the director of career development and director of admissions and student life, who shared information about their services, as well as their thoughts about staffing and service needs for the new program and the timing for organizing admissions to a new program. The discussion highlighted a wide range of topics and types of services, from career advising, internship support, and student career outcomes to leadership development and student organization advising, course scheduling, space needs, mental health issues, and community building. At the end of the discussion, Dr. Evans stated:

> Sorry to have kept you over our time, but this is extremely, extremely helpful. These are the kind of things we haven't had the opportunity to really think about, and you all have such great information and access to information that we don't have. So, we've been really thinking about kind of the intellectual part of making this work and kind of creating the structure for the curriculum, but there's a whole other part of being a student, which we're hearing, so thank you.

Along with guest presentations the task force spent time in their meetings discussing the various sections of the proposal, based on the content outline they received from the provost's office and the example proposal from another college on campus. Word had begun to get out on campus; following an article in the student newspaper that merely mentioned the new undergraduate program was in development, calls and emails were coming in. Dr. Evans asked Heather Carter to track the calls and inquiries to document interest in the new program.

In addition to discussing the career options segment of the proposal, the task force discussed other key concerns: ways to publicize the program with relevant academic advisors on campus; the potential for reducing the credits in the graduate program (as a way to make completing both degrees more manageable); and a plan to focus on quality education more so than innovative education. There was some discussion of the desire to avoid the undergraduate

program becoming a "lite" version of the graduate program by having too many courses that mimicked graduate courses and too many graduate courses that opened seats to undergraduates. Dr. Evans suggested the group talk about their planning process in terms of curriculum and the proposal. Marcy Danforth raised a concern about time and process:

> We have to come up with proposals for these four integrated courses that then need approval by the school's curriculum committee. So, I'm thinking we're gonna need to meet more frequently if we're actually gonna meet this timeframe. When do proposals have to go to the School curriculum committee? Who is gonna teach these courses? I'm thinking, if we're really gonna launch in fall of 2016, we need more dedicated time on this process.

Dr. Butler replied that the course proposals did not need to go the school curriculum committee until the fall, and Dr. Alexander agreed. Dr. Butler further stated the task force should focus on the new program proposal and confirmed that was due in July. Dr. Evans stated:

> Sounds like we just need to continue to chomp through these sections, work out some more of the details, and then we'll move toward mapping out those integrated courses. Alright. Great. So, we'll see everyone in two weeks?

After the meeting ended, though, Dr. Evans continued talking informally with Marcy Danforth, and suggested they organize another side meeting outside of the task force, to "Just to talk a little bit more detail about how this document is gonna come together and just ideas about how to do that. Because I think it's helpful we're getting all these pieces but then I'm getting kind of nervous about the overall integration." Marcy Danforth agreed this was a good plan.

Time Pressure and Hard Work

The next meeting convened the first week of April. Dr. Evans shared an update about the recent meeting he and Marcy had with their school's marketing director, and with campus colleagues, which had caused him to feel considerably anxious about their timeline, given the need to "get the word out" and give students time to take prerequisite courses. Marcy Danforth

added a bit of fuel to the fire, saying, "We need to determine what we have to have ready out of the gate and what we don't."

The efforts of the task force intensified as April continued, and clearly involved quite a bit of work in between meetings. In their next meeting the task force reviewed draft content in the proposal section by section while discussing a range of issues that directly and indirectly surfaced in relation to the proposal content. The tone of the meetings was upbeat overall and there was a sense of camaraderie. As they discussed the proposal and the curriculum plans, Dr. Palmer referred to the proposal indicating enrollment levels growing to 300 per cohort (for the two-year program, this would mean a total of 600 additional students when the program is fully operating). A few people remarked that seemed too high, and Dr. Smith suggested it should be 300 students total. Dr. Palmer seemed amenable to that.

Additional topics of discussion included how much detail would be needed in the proposal, the concept of a capstone experience, a review of advising information Heather Carter had prepared, and discussion of study abroad and how they might approach transfer of credits. The group also discussed how to involve departments in the process of curriculum development and governance of the new program, as well as how to keep the undergraduate curriculum distinct from the graduate program. While the proposal was still clearly in development, the task force began to talk about the mini-retreat scheduled in May, when the school's faculty would discuss and vote on the proposal.

Presenting the Proposal to the Faculty

The task force met again at the end of April. The meeting began with Dr. Evans commending Dr. Palmer for pulling the rest of the proposal together, while recognizing Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter's assistance; his remarks are met with applause. The proposal had

already been sent to the faculty so that they could review it in preparation for discussion at the mini-retreat the following week. There was a lot of positive energy in the room. There had been much progress on the proposal since the last meeting.

With the proposal out for review by the faculty, the task force had invited the school's director of admissions to their meeting as he would be guiding and overseeing the admissions process for their undergraduate program. He raised some timing concerns; his office would need to process applications using in-house systems, as it was too late to add to the university's application system. He noted there were a number of steps that needed to happen with the university including having the new program encoded into the university's administrative system. Otherwise, the task force discussed the upcoming faculty mini-retreat which would include a presentation on the proposed new program and a faculty vote to move forward. Dr. Evans stated, as heads nodded around the table,

> The vote is about this proposal moving forward, we spent a year determining what this program should look like (heads nodding). There are a lot of unanswered questions, but this idea of how it will work is what we are voting on.

Faculty Approval and Shifting Culture

The task force convened again at the end of May. Dr. Evans asked for feedback about the faculty mini- retreat, which had resulted in a positive vote from the faculty in attendance to approve the undergraduate program proposal. After a brief silence, several people chimed in to say it seemed to go really well. Dr. Palmer noted that the number of people who indicated they would commit to do something was smaller than those who were generally supportive. Dr. Evans pointed out concerns that were raised about covering the instructional needs of the existing curriculum vs. a new undergraduate program. He also noted a shift from people saying "if we have an undergrad program" to "now that we have an undergraduate program" which, he noted,

marked a cultural shift. Dr. Palmer confirmed that the dean's faculty advisory board unanimously approved the proposal the week after the mini-retreat, while noting concerns to attend to including career outcomes and how to cover teaching.

The task force debated whether to offer a B.S. degree, a B.A. degree, or both. They proposed areas of focus within the major, including what program titles would be effective from a marketing perspective; these decisions were not part of the proposal or discussed by the faculty at the mini-retreat. Planning for the undergraduate curriculum retreat was the next order of business. Dr. Evans confirmed he had hired an external curriculum consultant to help develop the retreat and to lead retreat activities. Dr. Evans had worked with Kayla Mason at his previous institution. She was completing a Ph.D., had considerable undergraduate teaching experience in the discipline, and had training and experience in higher education administration.

In the last ten minutes of the meeting, there was discussion about plans for transitioning from a task force to a new curriculum committee for the undergraduate program. The group had discussed names for the undergraduate committee multiple times, and had settled on the undergraduate program committee, or UPC. Although the academic year had ended, work continued for the task force, and in particular, for Dr. Evans, Dr. Palmer, Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter, who had begun referring to the numerous additional meetings they held outside of task force meetings as the "strategic UPC." Everyone on the task force agreed to stay on and serve on the UPC. The transition from task force to the committee for the undergraduate program was underway.

Year one, spring/summer observation

Summer Retreat

The undergraduate curriculum retreat for faculty took place in mid-July as planned. The task force -- now the undergraduate program committee (UPC) -- held a three-hour meeting the following week to debrief about the retreat and to finalize the proposal that was due to the provost's office by the end of the month. At this meeting, Dr. Evans asked the group to share their assessments of the faculty retreat. Dr. Alexander offered, "I think there was a lot of enthusiasm, people were open. Yes, there are issues, but I don't think it was anything we can't manage." Dr. Reed shared, "It was really excellent, it was good that we got all the insight we did, a lot of new information. "Then Dr. Palmer shared, "I heard about the problems all morning!" which brought laughter from the group. She continued:

> I heard about the disjuncture, but things are moving rapidly if we think about it. We started and finalized the proposal 2 and ½ months ago and its surprising where we are at with it. When it comes to the core courses we still have some overlap between them which we should work through here. We got concrete examples of potential courses but we really didn't get a true understanding of what the two concentrations need to be. We need to get that set pretty quickly. This morning we also talked about faculty issues and how we could assign each class and deal with the competition with the master's program, but we can't confirm that until we are sure of what courses we want taught and who we want to teach them.

The fast pace of decision making and program development had allowed the task force to get approvals and move the plan forward, but with little time for disagreements to surface and specifics to be sorted out. Now that they had faculty approval of the proposal, the challenge of the actual implementation work to move ideas to reality was becoming increasingly apparent. Dr. Evans prompted Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter for their input on the retreat. Marcy Danforth said she thought the energy and engagement was great, but that people struggled with thinking about learning objectives for undergraduate versus graduate courses. She thought the timing was "dead-on" for the retreat schedule, which allowed for in depth discussion. Heather

Carter said that she was still recovering, but she was impressed that the energy continued through to the end despite the long day. As the retreat debrief wrapped up, Dr. Evans remarked,

> I did get some email commending us on the retreat and how insightful it was, I think people felt really engaged. Some said that they have never worked so hard yet it was fun. We came in with three primary goals and we accomplished them. We got people excited, increased their awareness of the program and made some serious movement on the core courses. I know there is some anxiety about who will teach these courses. I am anxious about that but still more happy about what we accomplished.

I noted that the retreat was a source of information sharing but also a source of affirmation for the task force given the intense work they were doing on behalf of the school.

Dr. Evans shifted the discussion away from the retreat and onto new business. He updated the committee on work that had taken place over the summer. He and the curriculum consultant had developed ideas for new courses as well as syllabi for those courses. Dr. Evans mentioned that Kayla Mason would be helping to develop the structure for major, stating, “We do not have the necessary training and background for this type of work -- that is why she is really going to be helping us a lot.” No one asked about the role of the consultant or Dr. Evan’s remark that the committee did not have the necessary background for this work.

The group moved to a substantive discussion about faculty hiring and teaching. At the retreat, faculty in attendance were uncertain about who would teach these courses, which highlighted the need for new thinking about how faculty hiring would be handled and the need for faculty, new and current, to bring strong teaching abilities, in particular with undergraduates. There was agreement among task force members that the school’s culture around teaching needed to shift, and that this would positively impact both undergraduate and graduate instruction. The task force also discussed how school’s current and past approach to faculty hiring primarily focused on research ability, with teaching as more of an afterthought, and they wanted that to change.

Dr. Evans moved on to the next order of business. He said Dean Williams suggested they should formalize the UPC. He asked Dr. Palmer, “How do we do that?” Dr. Palmer replied, “I’m not sure we can do that since we don’t yet have a program!” She suggested they could refer to themselves as the “interim UPC.” A lively exchange ensued about the committee’s name. Dr. Palmer suggested they could form a committee that wasn’t specific to a program, such as undergraduate curriculum or education. Dr. Evans said, “Undergraduate Education Committee - I like that!” Dr. Palmer then suggested the committee could formulate bylaws and rules of governance. After some additional discussion of whether to rename the committee, Dr. Evans said, “We will stay the UPC and make the guidelines in the fall.”

Marcy Danforth reminded the group that they needed the core course descriptions for the proposal that was going to the provost’s office on Monday. Dr. Palmer emphasized that they just needed initial short course descriptions and suggested they use the rest of the meeting time to get the work done. All agreed and dug into this task. The time pressure kept them focused and they used humor to alleviate tension and keep the mood upbeat.

The group agreed on the core courses that would be the foundation of the new program curriculum, and the group was motivated to reach the next milestone, which was submitting their proposal to the provost’s office. They decided to map two paths through the program for the proposal, and debated whether a language requirement should distinguish a B.A. option from a B.S. option. Both options would be two year, junior-senior programs. As they finished up, Dr. Evans said, “We did it. We knocked it out.” Everyone applauded. Dr. Evans commented about the process they had completed, saying “That was pretty amazing,” and Dr. Palmer declared “We got it done!”

At the end of the meeting, Dr. Evans said they were going to discuss overarching goals for the undergraduate program but "our brains are pretty fried and that can wait since the consultant is going to help with that." He said anyone who wanted to join the meetings with the consultant was welcome, but the work of the task force, for now, was done. He mentioned he they would have two new members and meetings would resume in September. The group continued to laugh and chat as the meeting ended; they seemed to be enjoying a high point both in terms of their progress and cohesion.

Year two, fall term observation

Delay of Launch

By fall of their second year, the task force had shifted its name to the interim committee on the undergraduate program (I will now begin to refer to the task force as the committee). The committee resumed meeting in September as the new academic year was getting underway. Dr. Evans introduced two new faculty members in attendance, Ned Price and Paul Davidson, who replaced Marcus Smith and Burt Mathis. Dr. Smith had moved to another institution, and since Dr. Mathis was in the same department as Dr. Butler, they added a member from a department that had not yet been represented on the committee. I noted there was no review of the committee's work to date nor discussion of the role and work of committee members.

Dr. Evans started the meeting by confirming the news that the dean had just sent out a school-wide email announcing that the launch of the new undergraduate program would be delayed by a year. Dr. Evans briefly described the rationale for the change, which was based on the amount of work needed, which had become more apparent; the desire to ensure the program was well thought out; and that the leadership of the university's largest school, from which students would primarily transfer from as sophomores, had expected the launch to be a year later

and felt more time was needed for coordination. During his comments, Dr. Evans turned his head regularly to Marcy Danforth, who she nodded her head in agreement, or perhaps in support. No one said anything at first. Then, Ned Price asked what had led to the decision for the original start date, which seemed to him a very tight timeline. Dr. Evans replied:

> I think budget was a big issue. I think that was probably one of the biggest issues. I think too that some folks who weren't as involved in this didn't realize that we needed to do as much work as we are doing. I had shared very early on; I've been very clear from the beginning that this was crazy. Then I think in the Dean's office, for some reason believed that we could still do it. It's been really hard. I think if push came to shove and we had to do it, we could. I don't think it would be a great program. We wouldn't have a lot of students at first, but I do think that money was a big factor. They're seeing us as a brand-new source of revenue. I think it's good we are delaying.

Dr. Evans stated they were confirming the decision with central units on campus and planning communications to students. He talked about the need to be responsive to students' concerns that the degree would not be offered for another year. Communications had been limited and indicated the program was pending approval of the program by the university and the board of trustees in general, the expectation was that the program would be approved.

The committee had encountered a significant, unexpected change in its process for developing the new degree and guiding a culture change in the school. The members would need to re-evaluate their sense of what to do and when. Dr. Evans shared his sense of relief about having more time given the intensity of work to date, yet the group overall seemed deflated.

There was no further discussion about the decision to delay the launch in the meeting. Instead, the task force discussed options for offering a few courses in the coming year to both kindle student interest and placate those concerned about the delay. The group also discussed the need, now clarified through contact with the deans and advisors in the university's largest school, to align prerequisites and academic rules. This would allow students to transfer without a delay

in graduation or, if they were not admitted to the new major, to stay in their home school while remaining on schedule for degree completion in another program.

Regrouping and Moving Forward

Dr. Evans moved the conversation forward to discuss alternatives to a full degree. Dean Williams had suggested they offer a way to recognize a set of courses, whether certificate or minor or something else, in particular for students who had been very interested in the new degree starting on the original timeline. After some discussion, they determined additional information was needed on options such as certificates and minors, and tabled the discussion for a future meeting.

The task force next discussed how the new undergraduate program would be governed. Dr. Evans stated, "We have to create who we are, what we are. Dorothy, I think these came from you. Is that right?" He refers to a handout that proposed a governance process for the Committee. Dr. Palmer nodded in agreement. She said it was based on Roberts' Rules for meetings but they can vary from that. Dr. Evans asked for a volunteer to draft a set of guidelines given the workloads he and the two staff members were carrying. Dr. Alexander volunteered. Dr. Evans shared an update from the consultant, Kayla Mason and asked the task force members to review the draft syllabus template she had created and send feedback to him soon so they could share it with faculty more broadly.

In the last 30 minutes of the meeting, the group revisited the credit structure of the undergraduate curriculum, debating whether the four core courses should be three credits rather than four to open up more credits for other classes students could take. Dr. Evans wrapped up the meeting, stating "I know we're late on time, I'm sorry. We have obviously way too much on the

agenda." It seemed even more clear that the change in timeline was beneficial to allow the committee to address the many issues and aspects of planning still needed.

Teaching Norms and Resources

The committee met three more times that fall; twice in October, once in November, and once in December. The early October meeting included further discussion of the committee's role in faculty search. The recommendations Dr. Evans shared with the deans was received positively, though the deans suggested the presentation focus on teaching overall vs. only on undergraduate teaching and suggested sharing the proposed plan for involvement in faculty search (meeting with committee to meet with candidates, meeting with students, a presentation about teaching, a teaching statement, and adding undergraduate teaching ability to the evaluation) with department chairs as strongly encouraged but not required. Dr. Butler stated:

> The truth is one of the biggest concerns right now for some of the department chairs is that their very best teachers are being brought into the undergraduate program. A guy who is an awesome teacher at one level is likely to be an awesome teacher at another level.

Dr. Evans agreed and also commented that their faculty would benefit from a reminder that while adding undergraduate teaching was new in their school, it was common across campus for faculty to teach at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Dr. Evans proposed that the winter workshop they were planning focus on course design with a hands-on approach. This prompted Ned Price to ask whether the campus center for teaching and learning had been engaged. Dr. Evans said that they hadn't been, but their consultant would be helping to plan the upcoming workshop. He said he had heard that the teaching center's approach was more theoretical than practical, and that it wasn't clear they would be helpful. Marcy Danforth suggested that it could be more useful to bring in experienced faculty instructors to share insights given the staff from the teaching center did not actually

teach. The idea for bringing in experienced teachers sparked a lively discussion with ideas and suggestions of specific colleagues they would consider inviting, and the need to not overlook faculty members in their school who are already strong at teaching undergraduates.

Dr. Evans confirmed that the consultant would review the course requirements and course plans and would propose program level learning objectives. The need for a rubric to guide future review of undergraduate courses was raised, and it was confirmed that as of yet, no faculty were confirmed to teach new undergraduate courses. They discussed the need to balance providing faculty with clear guidance for course development while not being overly prescriptive.

Suddenly, Dr. Evans turned and asked Dr. Palmer and asked, “Dorothy, are there any drop-dead dates which we need to know? When we have to have people confirmed if they will teach a course in the fall term? Dr. Palmer confirmed that they would need to know courses and instructors by March for any fall courses. Marcy Danforth added “And before that, new courses would need approval through the School curriculum committee in January.” The new program launch was extended by a year, but they did want to start offering more prerequisite and pilot courses in the upcoming year. The academic calendar along with the wide-ranging work needed to be accomplished meant they still would need to manage time and competing priorities carefully.

At the second meeting held later in October, they decided to pursue setting up a “specialized study” program so that current students can get recognition for completing a set of the School’s existing undergraduate elective courses. Dr. Evans asked that a sub-committee firm up that plan, given they already had so much going on. Marcy Danforth and Dr. Price agree to take on the task. Discussion of graduation requirements led the committee to reconfirm the need

and benefit of following, for the most part, the requirements of the College of Arts and Sciences, which would benefit students who were not admitted to their program by not extending their time to degree.

As the meeting ended, Dr. Evans announced that Heather Carter finally had a new title, recognizing to some extent, at least, her work and contributions. He asked “Do you want to share it with us?” and Heather Carter replied, “Yes. I’m the administrative coordinator of the program at this point.” Dr. Evans said:

> Yeah. We were pushing really hard on that because prior to that Heather had been doing a lot of work without a title and really, without Heather and Marcy we wouldn’t be where we are today. I'm just very happy that she finally has a new title. At least it is some level of compensation for the work that you're doing, so congratulations.

Marcy added, “Congratulations.”

Decisions, Decisions

At the November meeting, the director of admissions and the director of student services returned as guests to discuss decisions needed to set up the program in the university system for admissions and for academic records. The two senior staff members moved through a lengthy list of decision points for the committee. The university registrar needed many details to set up the program in the university system which connected to the student transcript. This included confirming what courses count for various requirements, any courses that won’t count towards the degree, transfer credit rules, grading rules and policies such as incomplete grades, study abroad credits, and more. As they go through items, the committee members raised questions and talked about some of the options. The director of student services assertively suggested

> Sorry, just to make the best use of our time, maybe you can all have these discussions and figure this out later, and we can just kind of get through these discussion points and let you know what they all mean?

Dr. Evans readily agreed, though I did not notice a lot of change in the conversation as they continued going through their list. The director of admissions recommended the committee make decisions on the items listed then he would share the decisions with the university registrar. Dr. Evans asked if there was any particular format needed, and the admissions director said, "No, not really, when we spoke with the registrar he was pretty loosey-goosey about it." Dr. Evans asked about the timeline, and was relieved to learn they would have until March to get this work done. He thanked their guests and after they left, proposed that he, Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter meet to review what some other programs on campus had done then bring back a set of proposals to the committee so they could " knock out all the decisions." I was a bit surprised that benchmarking information and specific recommendations wasn't provided by the university registrar, or prepared by the directors of admissions and director of student services.

Rebuilding Momentum

The committee's new timeline (given the delay of the program launch by a year) had settled in and they seemed to have regained a sense of momentum against their new timeline. Continuing their meeting, the committee reviewed final plans for the December faculty teaching workshop and committee members shared updates on courses that were in development. Dr. Evans shared that an administrative retreat (held with deans and department chairs) resulted in decisions about which departments would offer which courses and some decisions about instructor assignments for prerequisite courses to be offered in the next year (a year prior to the program launch given the new timeline). Next, the committee discussed decisions still needed about the B.A. curriculum plan, since the B.S. plan had already been determined.

Heather Carter took the floor, stating:

> Alright, so I put it up on the board. This is an overview of what we're requiring for both concentrations, required and elective courses and what we need to still decide, but just looking at how restrictive the B.A. already is with all those required courses - just think about being lenient with the elective lists so students have some options.

This prompted a lively and engaged discussion of different items on the grid Heather provided, until they ran out of time in the meeting. Dr. Evans suggested they check with a few other programs in terms of how much flexibility was the norm in terms of electives.

The final meeting of the term was the first week of December. I realized that approval from the provost's office, board of trustees and state board of higher education had not been announced. I checked in with Dr. Palmer and learned that these approvals had come through as expected. I surmised that these approvals had been shared with committee members via email. The Committee discussed some additional details regarding the B.A. curriculum plan, then Dr. Evans suggested they take a vote on it. This surprised me, because they had not taken official votes on other decision points. The group discussed at length a key "gateway" course that students would take just before or as they are applying. The course was already offered once a year. The school needed a new instructor for the class and with the new program coming soon, the intent was to offer it twice a year - once in person and once online. Dr. Evans remarked they were landing in a good place with the B.A. and the B.S. plans, with a common set of core courses, and some different requirements and options with similar degrees of flexibility. This momentary sense of accomplishment diminished as they bridged into a detailed discussion about a number of advising questions, issues they need to sort out and decisions they needed to make that demonstrated the complexity of advising undergraduates and managing academic requirements for a new degree program.

Year two, winter term observation

Signs of Organizational Change as Planning Continues

In January, the committee resumed its work, shifting from bi-weekly to monthly meetings. It was clear from their discussion there was significant work yet to be done on curriculum development and related administrative planning in order to have prerequisite courses offered in the next academic year and to be prepared to publicize the program, conduct the first admissions cycle, develop the courses and organize student support services needed to launch the new program. Overall, the tone in the room was upbeat. Dr. Evans shared he was applying for a grant related to the new program. Heather Carter stated she would organize and lead student advising for the new program[3]. She had consulted with the College of Arts and Sciences and they would provide her with training materials and access to an advising tool for scheduling and tracking student interactions. It was not clear how the school's own student affairs staff members, including the director of student services would be involved in supporting or supervising Heather Carter's efforts. Marcy Danforth indicated the new program application was in development and Heather Carter shared they would start to hold student information sessions in March.

Additional Program Elements and Administrative Details

After the Committee discussed prerequisites and approval of transfer credits, Dr. Evans confirmed a plan to open an external transfer program for students from community colleges or other institutions at the same time they launched the new program for students already on

[3] This involved a second promotion for Heather Carter

campus. I wondered if they had already worked with the central office of admissions and if they were aware of the additional layers this would add to their work.

Marcy Danforth shared updates on a “supplemental studies” proposal, which was to recognize coursework taken by current students who would not be able to move into the undergraduate program in time to complete it. The energy in the room waned as the committee discussed in detail a proposal and review process for courses outside the school to count for different requirements through a student petition process. I noticed that the guidelines the committee ultimately endorsed were rather broadly stated, and again restrained myself from offering input. My concern was that this approach might make it difficult to evaluate students’ petitions for course substitutions consistently because the guidelines might be challenging for staff advisor or school registrar to interpret. There wasn’t an experienced staff member in the room to offer insights on how these guidelines might work in practice.

The Committee had spent a lot of time on very detailed aspects of the curriculum -- such as petitions for substitute courses. Heather Carter had phoned in for the meeting and sounded quite ill. Dr. Evans prompted her to share an update about her new role. Even over the phone, I sensed some awkwardness on her part, as she shared her new title: Undergraduate Program Coordinator. Her tone became more enthusiastic as she described her new role, which would involve advising, coordinating with the College of Arts and Sciences, and program administration.

Offering Prerequisite Gateway Course In-Person and Online

At the next meeting, held in February, a guest faculty member joined for the first hour and described a MOOC -- massive open online course -- that he was teaching. The committee thought his course could be a model for providing a prerequisite course in an online format.

Marcy Danforth had a lot of questions given her work with online learning platforms. She asked about resources, partnerships for technical support, student response to the course, and the time needed for course development. The committee hoped to have a digital version of the prerequisite course by winter term in the year the program launched. The goal was to provide more options for students including students planning to transfer from outside the university. I noted that implementing this plan would be another significant endeavor.

After their guest left, the committee debriefed about a recent administrative retreat, which involved department chairs and the senior associate dean (Mary Sanders) along with the committee members. The committee was encouraged to develop, in particular by Dr. Sanders, a plan for offering a "four plus one" degree option, which already existed in some departments of the school and would enable undergraduates to complete their Bachelor's then complete a Master's in one additional year rather than two. Another issue raised by Dr. Sanders at the retreat was whether students completing the new Bachelor's program would in fact be competitive for admission into the Master's degree program, which was quite selective. The need to determine the responsibilities of departments was another topic at the retreat, along with the need to confirm faculty members who would teach courses designated for each department to provide in the new program.

Departmental Involvement and Negotiations

Dr. Evans suggested ways Committee members could approach their departments regarding these issues, and stated that he and Dr. Palmer would be visiting departmental faculty meetings soon to check in as well. He asked if other committee members had input from the administrative retreat. Dr. Alexander said he had a list of items and noted there was seven

minutes remaining in the meeting. He shared some thoughts about the four plus one Undergraduate plus Master's option and suggested they think about a three-semester master's rather than the current four-semester model. He also raised a concern about how department chairs might have interpreted some of the handouts given at the retreat and their need to be careful to ensure they set clear expectations for what was needed -- and what is not needed -- from departments initially.

Dr. Evans agreed and said they could explore this further, but also clarified some points such as the plan to roll out new courses over time while negotiating with departments about what they would contribute. Dr. Alexander asked about reducing a faculty member's teaching load if they develop and teach a new course. To which Dr. Evans started to say "There are no…" and Dr. Alexander completed the sentence "...hard and fast rules." Dr. Evans continued, "Right. We tried to get Gregg and Mary (the dean and senior associate dean) to put something in writing so that we could have more clarity on that, and there was resistance. We did really try our best, but everything is negotiable." Dr. Alexander asked for information on deadlines for the course development process related to student registration, and it struck me that this had come up before, but some of these issues may have been addressed in the meetings outside the committee (in the "strategic UPC" meetings that included Dr. Evans, Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter). Noting the heavy workload of the Committee, Dr. Evans proposed trying to do more business by email or finding other ways to create efficiency.

<u>The Undergraduate Education Committee</u>

At the March meeting, I noted that the agenda referred to the committee as the Undergraduate Education Committee rather than the committee for the undergraduate program. The previous summer they discussed changing the committee's name but they delayed since

formal approvals for the new program were not yet complete. While the program approvals from the provost, board of trustees and state board of higher education had come through the previous fall, they had not yet addressed the name change. The formation of the office of undergraduate education signaled the school's plans beyond a degree program. This included the plan to offer supplemental studies (a set of courses students could take and have noted on the transcript, but was less than a minor); gateway courses that would generate interest in the major and serve as electives for non-majors; and potential for adding a minor, or other offerings. The dean had approved the formation of the office of undergraduate education, and Dr. Evans had accepted the role of faculty director.

Dr. Evans then shared his experience at a recent conference where he gave a presentation about the development of the new undergraduate program. People attending commented that they were impressed with the intentional approach of the new program's development and the liberal arts orientation of the program. Dr. Evans noted that Dean Williams was there also and had emailed him "saying how he had been hearing about our presentation and program all day and people were very positive about it." Dr. Palmer was at the same conference and attended a session where a liberal undergraduate education orientation was questioned more relative to a more professional / career focused approach. After so many months of hard work, they were pleased to receive feedback that suggested they were being looked at as a model and contributing to the larger discussion in their field about undergraduate education.

Cycling through Issues and Concerns

The March meeting discussion turned to external transfer students. Heather Carter shared serious concerns, speaking at more length than usual. Remarking that she was feeling "high

anxiety about transfer students," she cited an increase in inquiries from prospective students and information she had gathered from another school on campus about the significant time and effort it took them to put an external transfer program in place. Dr. Palmer reconfirmed they needed to start the external transfer program at the same time they launched the undergraduate degree. Others suggested that Heather Carter follow what other programs have done; in response she described what she had already learned from other programs about some of the complications involved.

Dr. Butler added that he felt anxious about the external transfer program as well, referring to the application, publicity efforts and advising needed. Heather Carter said "That's why I feel so anxious about this, because there's a lot of responsibility. I feel like on my part if I tell them you can take this course and then later we say no that's not right." Dr. Evans suggested they could try to provide some of the information but students would also have to invest in finding out what courses would transfer. He noted they were out of time. Dr. Butler asked when the next meeting was, and along with confirming the meeting date, Dr. Evans said they would need to talk then about meetings over the summer or other ways to get committee input, since, "obviously we are going to have a lot of work to do this summer." He thanked everyone and adjourned the meeting.

Reworking engaged learning and capstone course plans

There were two meetings in April, which brought important discussions that both altered and advanced the curriculum planning process. In early April, the committee hosted two guests from the school's office of experiential learning, which provided hands on learning experiences for the school's graduate students. I had not realized there were dedicated professional staff

members who managed community based-learning and credit-based internships. The office had not been mentioned in any of the meetings, and it became apparent that this was the first time the committee was meeting with the staff members who led the office. Both women were African American, and to me it seemed a vivid reminder that there were no underrepresented minority members on the Committee.

The director of the community and engaged learning office, Clare Miller, jumped in and stated that she and her colleagues had previously worked on a plan for an undergraduate engaged learning and capstone course; she said she was excited to be meeting since "we haven't talked about this with you before." Clare Miller went on to describe the model they had worked on. She tended to downplay the effort they had made using humor, and after describing several proposed sections for an engaged learning class stated "we stopped there, when the coffee ran out!" Others laughed, and then Dr. Evans suggested they do some introductions around the table and then would describe the committee's thinking was in terms of a plan for engaged learning and capstone courses. He gave a brief overview of the plan for the new bachelor's program and highlighted the committee's thinking to date about engaged learning, which mainly was to have the departments offer capstone courses that would meet general criteria but allow room for variation.

Clare Miller went on to describe ways that her office could organize and manage a course sequence that would involve small group-based field experiences in different settings, followed by a capstone course in which students write a significant paper related to the work they had done in the field experience. The committee members expressed appreciation for her ideas and insights. Dr. Evans expressed his thanks and some amount of relief, that they could work

together and create a more cohesive approach to this important aspect of the curriculum. Dr. Butler remarked:

> I actually love this proposal. I think it's got a lot of positives that are much better than the sort of random, somebody takes something and then see if it counts approach. I think this has a huge advantage in terms of building the networks among the students.

Clare Miller said that undergraduate students they had worked with in the past needed a lot of guidance and they should be realistic about the support needed to run an experiential learning program for undergraduates. Dr. Evans remarked,

> "I think that the good thing that makes it a little less stressful is that we have a lot of interest in this program so that the students who get admitted are going to be ones that are coming in with a lot of good experience, good academic performance - things like that. We're hoping it'll be weeding out some of the, you know, kids that are still trying to figure out what they want to do, I mean, obviously there's going to be a lot of that, but…"

Dr. Evans noted the idea was a bit different than what the committee had been considering, but he liked it too. He asked if other committee members agreed and all heads nodded. Clare Miller raised the issue of instructional and staffing capacity. Dr. Evans acknowledged that staffing the new program was an ongoing issue they were working to address with the dean. He said that he would raise it as another example of where support would be needed, stating,

> I like this because it fits in really nicely with our philosophy and our educational approach and it fits some of our guiding principles, if you think about the cultural humility and the interactive learning, so the different elements there would fit perfectly.

The guests left the room, and I noted that in the course of one meeting, they had made a tremendous impact on the committee's work, essentially re-shaping the plan for engaged learning and capstone courses.

The committee had just a few minutes left in their meeting. Heather shared some quick updates, noting she was collecting information from departments on what was viewed as an ideal

student since the senior associate dean continued to be concerned about whether students in the undergraduate program would be competitive for the School's graduate programs. This opened a brief discussion of admissions criteria and quality. Dr. Butler remarked, "Then there's the inside scoop, like you're not really going to look carefully at someone with less than a 3.3." Dr. Reed agreed, "You want GPA, not just courses taken." I wondered what this would mean for their admissions decision process.

As the meeting ended, Dr. Price asked if the committee felt it would be worthwhile to meet with faculty who led admissions and curriculum in the departments to help ensure everyone was clear and so the departments could provide input. He stated, "I'm seeing a lot of fractured communication." Marcy Danforth wondered if it was realistic to get faculty to attend such a meeting but agreed it was a good idea. She suggested they send information first and seek feedback from the departments. There was neither a clear decision on this, nor further discussion, and the meeting came to an end.

Leadership input and managing change

In an effort to make more progress, the committee met again the following week, in the middle of April. Dr. Palmer, Dr. Davidson, and Marcy Danforth were absent. Dr. Evans noted that he and Dr. Palmer continued to meet weekly with the dean and senior associate dean. He said they would be meeting with department chairs soon, in order to put more weight behind the efforts of faculty on the committee to secure commitments from the departments about courses and teaching. Heather remarked this was necessary "to move us along, since we are way behind on our deadlines." This was the last meeting of the term for the committee due to scheduling challenges; they would meet again in June.

Dr. Evans restated the plan to go to each department and to use a form to document the commitments as well as instances where faculty would receive a future course release for taking on a new course development. Dr. Evans also noted there was a request from the deans and department chairs to have the new undergraduate course materials ready a year in advance of when a course would be taught, to allow time for review. He explained that while he had anticipated the need for a process and timeline for course proposals and approvals, he had not thought they would need approval a full year in advance. Dr. Butler remarked “Especially since we’re theoretically having some of the new courses taught by people who aren’t even hired yet!”

Heather Carter agreed a year was a long time, but also noted they would need to coordinate timing closely, so that the courses could get approved by the school curriculum committee following undergraduate committee approvals. Following those approvals, a course would need to be submitted to the university and processed for students to register on a specific timeline. Dr. Butler added, “that’s a long time but points to the concern about staffing the courses.” Dr. Alexander said, “Yes, and there are ripple effects on teaching assignments in the master’s program. Dr. Evans remarked, “I do think a year ahead is going to be tough, that means we’d need courses that we plan to offer the next fall fully developed this September.”

Planning summer work and staffing the new program

Heather Carter asked how frequently the committee would meet over the summer, suggesting they might meet monthly (as in recent months and in contrast to the earlier bi-weekly schedule). Dr. Evans noted,

> We don’t want to over-burden folks, because I already know that this committee is a lot of work. I did find out recently that I'm still the director over the summer, a point which wasn’t accounted for, but it has been considered now...which is really nice.”

I interpreted this to refer to a financial arrangement.

Dr. Evans went on to say how hard Heather Carter had been working on many aspects of the program, and announced they were moving forward with posting a new position, which would be the managing director of the program. The position wouldn't start until August due to financial constraints, and would be half administrative and half instructional. Dr. Evans said they were also seeking approval for an intern position to help with summer work, but that hadn't been decided yet.

Prerequisite gateway course planning

The conversation shifted to a discussion of course enrollment plans and capacity for the key prerequisite course that would be required for admission, with a residential version offered that coming fall term, and an online version to be developed and offered in the winter term. At an earlier point, the committee had anticipated an enrollment cap of 150 for this course, but Dr. Evans said they expanded the plan to allow a maximum of 378 students to take the course, with 21 discussion sections. He said they did not yet know who was going to teach the course, but the hope was that the new managing director would teach it, and they had at least one candidate in mind for that role.

According to Dr. Evans, the plan for offering on online version of the course had evolved quite a bit. He explained that he and Marcy Danforth had been working closely with a university office to develop online offerings and had a plan to create an equivalent online course that would have the same content as the in-person course. At this point, the range of activity and level of effort that Dr. Evans was managing was amazing to me. His level of engagement and commitment was inspiring and his patience with the process seemed extraordinary. The

Committee continued to discuss both the fall (in person) and winter (online) versions of the prerequisite gateway course at some length.

Transfer students, 4+1 programs, advising prospective applicants, and teaching credits -- oh my!

As the June meeting continued Heather Carter shared her ongoing struggle with responding to inquiries from potential external transfer students. The school was still planning to launch an external transfer program at the same time the new degree program launched. Heather stated it was unclear how many external transfer students they are expected to admit, and that it was very difficult for her to advise prospective transfer students. Dr. Evans suggested they will do what they can, and work to not overpromise to potential transfer students. He remarked that if they give a good faith effort that is all that can be expected, and it may be in the first year they would admit just a few external transfer students.

The Committee shifted to a discussion of a proposal the 4+1 program (undergraduate degree plus one additional year for a master's degree), which they planned to present at an upcoming faculty meeting. Then the conversation moved to advising prospective students, and I noted that Heather spoke more than she had in any other meeting I had observed. She had begun to assume an advisor role for prospective students, with what seemed to be minimal training and guidance. She explained:

> We have to really think about what kind of coursework we would like to see them take in their first two years at the university, because that's something that the academic advisors aren't letting off on and the students, they keep asking. Right? So now on our website it says that students should take a breadth of coursework in their first two years, but what does that mean?

After some discussion, Dr. Alexander suggested Heather Carter look at other undergraduate programs that students join as juniors and learn how they approach these questions, and that they

develop some language that addresses the skills, abilities, and interests that would help a student be well prepared for their program. She replied, sincerely, "Thank you, that is very helpful."

The meeting ended with some discussion about how teaching credits would be accounted for across departments and how individual faculty teaching loads would be allocated and counted with the onset of the undergraduate program. Dr. Evans acknowledged it was an important issue but that the deans' office was working on it and it was their responsibility to sort it out.

Year two, early summer observation

Planning continues as summer begins

The June committee meeting in the second year of the committee's work was the last meeting I observed. During the previous month, I conducted individual interviews with the committee members to gather individual perceptions of their work. In this June meeting, the committee continued to work on multiple layers of the new program's development and launch. They seemed more "seasoned" both in terms of their work as a team and in their individual roles. They seemed better able to identify issues and maintained a can-do approach. Yet they also continued to struggle with the volume and complexity of the work and with navigating the many domains of knowledge their work required.

Heather Carter spoke up at the start of the meeting, updating the committee on her communications with the university registrar and with the vendor whose platform would be used for the program's admission application. In addition to building her knowledge of advising and curriculum, she clearly had been learning a lot about the process of building an application, referring to the applicant view and the reviewer view, as well as the administrative view, each which would have different functionality. Dr. Evans remarked about how hard Heather had worked on the many details involved, then stated:

> It was nice because we were able to look at what other units did with their application and ask "why does it say that?" then in some cases change it or remove it. We were able to be attentive to things like gender inclusivity. I think we are going to have a really great application as we get really great students to be in our really great program.

Marcy Danforth announced that the undergraduate program was set up in the university system as well as the supplemental studies program. She confirmed that students from just a few other colleges on campus would be eligible for the supplemental studies designation, and the College of Arts and Sciences had not approved it for their students. Dr. Evans explained that there was concern about students wanting to "over-credential" for options that require very few credits such as supplemental studies, and that Arts and Sciences preferred to wait until they could offer a minor. He remarked that he thought that was fine, then shifted the conversation, stating:

> All right, so departmental update - so the faculty commitments - we are actually getting faculty commitments. We have program codes. We have offices. We have signs. We have humans. And now we actually have people to teach most of the classes.

He thanked the faculty members on the Committee for their efforts to push things along in their respective departments. The plan for course releases for faculty involved in substantial new course developments had been firmed up as well.

Next, the committee discussed which courses to cross-list for both undergraduate and graduate student enrollment and reviewed lists of elective course choices. Dr. Evans asked the committee members to send an email with any additional input, since they continued to get lots of questions from students who were preparing to apply in the coming year. He commented "A lot of these students are really prepared. So, they're plotting out their next 10 years!" Heather added "Parents included!"

As they continued discussing some of the advising challenges, more specific questions arose about the current curriculum plan in terms of requirements and credits. The committee started to question some of their previous decisions about the number of credits needed for the

major, the number of elective credits and so forth. They also began to think more about the reality of how students would map their courses and how course credits would add up, since most courses were three or four credits. On the other hand, the credits of a particular course could change over time. In the end they keep things mostly the same, but clarified some issues and seemed to have a better understanding of how the curriculum will work.

Marcy Danforth shared an update about the plan for an online version of the prerequisite gateway course; the plans had shifted to offer the course in a flipped format using online resources but with in-person discussion sections, rather than a fully online course. She stated "The content will be the same, the learning objectives will be the same. We are working out a plan for how it will work and for promoting it to undergraduates."

Closing the meeting, Dr. Evans remarked, "Any questions or comments before we wrap up? We're out of time."

Conclusion of Case Chronology and Themes

I had been able to observe the committee's meetings for 16 months - a significant portion of their curriculum development process. In the upcoming academic year, the school would actively publicize the new program, offer the prerequisite gateway course and additional prerequisite courses, run the first admission process, offer admission to students in winter term and advise newly admitted students to register for fall classes, and begin the new undergraduate program the following fall.

The sheer volume of topics and issues the committee addressed, sorted out, and managed over the 16 months I observed them was both commendable and daunting. While there was a progression in the committee's work over time, their work did not follow a linear, planned or sequential set of stages. Instead, it seemed more like a three-stranded helix, with efforts and

issues related to administrative processes, course development and curriculum design cycling around one another and intersecting with one another at points, with topics being revisited repeatedly and decision making happening incrementally as information became known and as key points in time occurred that required decisions. The committee did not seem to reach an explicit awareness of these three major threads, their interactions and their impact on their process, although they became increasingly aware over time that they needed to attend to all three.

Another important organizing factor in the committee's work process was time and momentum. The academic calendar, the goals that were set for program development and then adjusted for the launch date and deadlines for approvals and for curriculum systems shaped the committee's attention and focus throughout their process. Examining their work at a deeper level may help us to understand how a curriculum development team approaches and accomplishes its work, and to better understand the process of curriculum development.

Themes Shaping Curriculum Development Work and Team Culture

Open and axial coding along with analysis of the Case Chronology led me to identify several defining aspects of the curriculum development team's process, including Proposal and Program Comparisons, Haphazard Approach, Time Factors, Faculty and Program Governance, and Camaraderie and Humor. These represent significant themes in the committee's work and team culture as they developed a new academic program.

Proposal and Program Comparisons

One theme that emerged in my analysis was the curriculum team's comparisons with the proposals of other departments that had recently created new programs on campus, with the

curriculum of programs at peer institutions, and their efforts to align with other programs on campus and, in particular, with the College of Arts and Sciences in terms of prerequisites and academic rules. Dr. Evans, the committee chair, stated, “My vote would be as a new program just starting out that we try to be in alignment with Arts and Sciences. I think we can branch out and do new and different things later.” A key purpose for this alignment had to do with ensuring students already enrolled would not have to backtrack before entering their program as juniors, and that students who applied and were not admitted would still be aligned for degree requirements in other majors. Dr. Butler, a senior faculty member, remarked, “We want to be comparable, for students who are thinking about (multiple options) - we don’t want something silly to intervene with their decision making.” Yet this normative approach constrained the committee’s consideration new models for degree requirements and prevented effort to address issues that may have existed in the prevailing model of requirements they were following.

Reflecting on their evaluation of whether to develop a new major or start with a minor or certificate program, Dr. Palmer remarked, “it's striking that we're one of only two schools on campus that don't have an undergraduate program at this point. And if you look nationwide, in our discipline we are one of five that doesn't have an undergraduate program.” While Dr. Evans stated, “So, part of it was looking at other universities and what exists out there, and looking at our peer institutions, and that led us to conclude it had to be either a major or a minor...not just a certificate.” As they developed their new program proposal, the committee indicated they were using the recent, successful proposal from another department on campus as a model to gauge the content and length of the proposal. Yet they also identified how their proposal was different:

> I think another important contextual piece to just understand that where we were coming from is that, maybe a little bit different. We weren't trying to pitch this as we are being completely innovative and blazing new trails . These types of programs exist elsewhere and have existed for some time. So, we're merely catching up.

This statement, “we’re merely catching up,” infers that they will be looking to follow existing programs at other institutions. For example, a committee member remarked, “Can we find information from other institutions that currently offer the bachelor degree with this specialization? So, we don’t have to start from scratch?”

During a meeting that included a guest presentation about myriad decisions needed about the program’s administration and academic rules, Dr. Evans stated:

> What I think might be good for us to do is probably for, maybe, Heather, you and I, and maybe Marcy to sit down and look at what Arts and Sciences has done, look at what other schools have done, and then come back to the committee with all that information, and then have one meeting where we just knock out all these decisions.

The committee also used comparisons to similar programs at other institutions for benchmarking decisions, including how firm their initial decisions needed to be:

> I just want to remind that one of the top programs that we've looked at is changing their admission and graduation requirements on an almost annual basis. So, we are looking at what we think is our best guess at this point and we are in no way locked in.

This seemed to ignore the challenges that frequent changes in admission and graduation requirements would present in administering the program, with course offerings, etc.

The committee’s reference to not needing to be innovative seemed to conflict with multiple other references to their desire to be more intentional with their pedagogy such as creating a set of integrated core courses, and their commitment to avoiding how other like programs had mainly created undergraduate versions of graduate courses. When Dr. Evans briefed the committee on a conference presentation he gave about their program in-development, it seemed they had found themselves providing a model that other institutions were interested in following:

> I got lots of questions. People were taking pictures of my slides, and came up afterwards to talk. I think people were really interested in our liberal education approach, how we

> are not just watering down our graduate program. They were really interested in how we're doing this.

Comparisons with external peer programs was a force that shaped the committee's work and the committee's work, in turn, had already begun to influence other peer programs. Within the institution, the new program proposal, prerequisites and academic rules (such as degree requirements, grading, class standing, etc.) were influenced by other recently developed programs and by the largest college from which students would apply to the new major. There were clear benefits of alignment; for students that included avoiding degree and academic rule differences that might change their degree completion timeline; for the committee it avoided complications with colleagues across campus and created some efficiency with their decision process. Yet these normative pressures also reduced the potential for innovation or improvement in the way a degree program was organized and administered.

Haphazard Approach

There were a number of positive aspects to the committee's work. These included their efforts to develop sound program objectives and produce a quality curriculum. They took a thoughtful approach to the faculty retreats that they planned during the course of their work. The committee agreed unanimously that they had a strong leader in the committee chair and committee members seemed to get along well with one another. Yet, they did not have a clear and planful process. They did not organize their work in a way that addressed the complexity of launching a new academic program. Their process was, overall, haphazard. This, in the end, did not prevent them from proposing and then launching the new undergraduate program, albeit on its extended timeline. It did appear to create undue levels of stress and anxiety for members of the committee, and it provides ample opportunity for learning and improvement, if the goal is for

higher education to become more agile, innovative and responsive to demands for new and more effective curricula.

While people serving on the committee had varied amounts of experience and knowledge in different aspects of the process, as a team they had significant gaps in knowledge and experience relative to developing and launching a new degree program. While they sought out other departments who had recently launched their own undergraduate program, as well as central offices such as the registrar and the office of admissions, they did not have a clear road map to follow. At times observing their work I felt quite uncomfortable, given my experience in new program development and managing academic programs. In particular, in the first meetings I observed, I was surprised by their timeline and felt they were overlooking key information that would create significant challenges in meeting it. I knew I needed to maintain my role as the researcher, so I kept quiet. However, I felt it was an ethical dilemma, and after one meeting, I made a point of reminding Marcy Danforth that while I was in the role of a researcher, she was welcome to reach out to staff who worked with me to ask questions or request information. She seemed to welcome and appreciate my statement.

Reflecting on their process in individual interviews, the staff members who were involved heavily in the behind the scenes work to support the committee and handle the administrative aspects of the process were acutely aware of this lack of knowledge and organization, but did not seem to see a way to address it. Heather Carter stated,

> There was never a formal sort of strategic plan created, by any means. And I think a lot of the time, we were really just flying by the seat of our pants and meeting with other campus constituents and starting to piece together really what needs to happen next, and what needs to happen concurrently.

Regarding additional meetings, which they called strategic meetings, that Dr. Evans, Heather Carter and Marcy Danforth held frequently to help organize and move their process forward,

Heather remarked, “Yeah, and so those meetings, I think, we verbally made our strategic plan. But it was always very short term, like, "This is next, this is next."

It is not clear that a plan or framework would have alleviated the committee’s haphazard approach. They were operating with an expectation that they needed to sort things out as they went; there was no indication that anyone at the institution had a clear method or organizational model they could follow, aside from asking other programs for input issue by issue, and looking at other new program proposals for examples. Initially, given the positive leadership I noted when I began observing the group, I was hopeful they might develop a clear and deliberate approach to their work. There were some indications that the committee realized that a planful approach would help them and they made some efforts in that regard, yet this turned out to be limited in scope. Beyond a plan, the structure and operation of the committee itself and the organizational structure created complexity and layers of information that contributed to the resulting haphazard work of the committee.

For example, I observed a meeting at the end of April in the first year of the committee’s work. After this meeting had concluded, Dr. Evans asked Marcy Danforth to create a chart to help guide the committee’s work: “If we need to develop new curriculum, what are the tasks or activities, then who's going to be involved? I'm thinking of something, just a basic table…” To which Marcy Danforth replied, “In my mind we've gotta start with the budget and have that kind of understanding, and then there's the curriculum, development, the marketing timeline, those kinds of things.” Later in the process, Heather noted that they had “the list of tasks” so apparently, they did create some sort of list, but it was not shared with the full committee. It was also something they had to create piecemeal and over time, because there was not an existing list developed at the institutional level for the many elements and steps involved with new academic

program development. Not having a clear outline of topics, decision points, and timing for both the proposal process and then the curriculum development and program launch process at the early stages of their work and having to build this list of tasks over time created a lot of uncertainty and last-minute efforts. The lack of clarity in their process seemed to be accepted as normal, rather than questioned or addressed. The junior faculty member on the committee, Maggie Reed, stated,

> I don't think any of us have understood fully what it takes to start a program, so the kind of bullets and sub-bullets under start undergraduate program - every meeting is a surprise! I would expect that a lot of my other committee members to have sort of a similar thought of, "How do we get applications and how do we approve courses," and sort of all the minutiae that goes along with this program we uncover every single day. We are learning as we go.

Even for aspects of their process that were identified as high priority for the dean and one that they really were not well informed about did not result in a more planful process. Dr. Butler remarked, “If we are in fact bombarded with residential applications, what percentage of transfer students are we looking at for the first class? But we haven’t even figured out how we’re going to let (transfer students) know about the program.” Heather Carter replied, “Depends who you ask, you’ll get a different answer … because I have asked that … Dr. Evans added, “We need to think about it” and Dr. Butler responded, “Yeah.” At multiple points, the committee was caught off guard by process and timing issues at the school level, and some seemed to come up incidentally. Dr. Evans shared this update with the committee:

> So, I guess when Dr. Palmer popped in the chairs and dean’s meeting – and I haven’t had a chance to talk with her about this - they had said that they wanted the course materials submitted a year before the courses are actually taught, to make sure that we had time to review it and things like that. I had in my notes that we would set a timeline for the submission and review of courses, but I didn’t think we had decided.

This plan was later clarified and negotiated, since it was not realistic in some cases given the timing of launching the new program, hiring faculty and launching new courses. At the end of April 2015, Dr. Palmer provided some guidance to help organize the committee's work:

> After talking with the Senior associate dean, it seems the proposal goes to the State Council in October. The State Council reviews all proposals for new academic programs in State universities. They would probably want detail on what goes into those four integrated core courses and at that point we'll have less than a year to actually put them into place, so we probably do want that level of depth by fall so if we could get some discussion started on that...

There wasn't much follow up from this statement in terms of charting a course of action. Another challenge was that there was not a clear plan for how work would continue over the summer. Later, Dr. Evans did confirm that all current members of the committee had agreed to continue serving, and they agreed to have some meetings over the summer, given, as he stated "there is a lot of work to do."

I started to see that the time pressure for writing a successful program proposal and planning for the launch of the actual program less than a year from final approvals coming through played a key role in the haphazard process. There was little time for questioning. In an individual interview, Dr. Evans remarked, "When the deans gave me that deadline I had meetings with all of them, and I was like, "I don't think this is a good idea. And they're like, "I understand, but we've gotta do this and we've gotta do that." So, I was really trying to push the committee as much as humanly possible to make it. Because if that's what we had to do, that's what we had to do." A comment Dr. Reed made in our individual interview suggested the committee was in a reactive mode in terms of its process, changing gears as priorities surfaced:

> There are these sorts of funny, not funny, but these deadlines that exist that sort of make us change our priorities...and so I think there's a lot of school-wide deadlines and timelines and expectations that really dictate what goes first and what comes next.

Time factors, in addition to lack of knowledge and experience, clearly played a role in the committee's haphazardness.

Time Factors and Impacts

Time and timing were related to the haphazard work process of the committee, and was certainly a source of anxiety and stress. Time was also organizing mechanism and a driver of work and momentum. In the first winter I observed the committee, they were developing the proposal for the new program, but given their timeline to launch the program a year from that upcoming fall, they were under significant time pressure and faced a number of challenging timing issues in terms of coordination efforts. When the timeline was suddenly delayed a year by the Dean after the committee had hustled the previous year to launch it on the original timeline, it was a huge relief, yet seemed to take the wind out of their sails. To be clear, the committee members were committed the plan to launch the program by the original deadline. Despite their stated concerns about the timeline, the process continued as planned. The timeline was delayed by a year only when the Dean of the Arts and Sciences College stated his concern to Dean Williams about the timing being shorter than he expected and the need for more time given the impact the new program would have on enrollments in his college.

As for the committee's energy and motivation in the first year of their work, Dr. Palmer stated in our interview:

> Maybe part of it was the timeline and the charge they had. And I think it wasn't until November or December when we were talking about, "Oh, we have to have this (proposal) done by April," that it seemed like people got on board with that.

Towards the end of the first year, during which they had focused mostly on writing the new program proposal, Dr. Evans shared his reaction to a meeting that Dr. Palmer, Marcy Danforth, and he had with the school's marketing and communications director, which showed

his lack of awareness of the timeline the committee would need to follow to actually launch the new program:

> She brought up some issues that at least for me were thought-provoking and anxiety-producing. Did some deep breathing exercises last night. Right now, if the target is to have students put their "butts in seats" which I like that term, a year from this fall, that means that students have to apply in the Winter of next year, which means that we have to be advertising in the fall of next year. Which means in several months, so that was a little anxiety-producing, because she was saying that you have to really think ... students have to plan about what classes to take to meet the pre-reqs and to do everything like that. You have to get the word out. That was I think for me a little bit of, "Oh, shit.

The committee then started zeroing in on timing issues that went beyond the program proposal. In particular, the timeline for course proposals and approvals within the school and the academic calendar created tighter timelines for work to be completed than anticipated:

> If we want people to be able to register for courses for next fall they have to be in place by February. The school curriculum committee is going to have to approve whatever courses we want offered in the fall. To give you some reality of what happens between the middle of October when the State Council meets (to approve the program) and then the School curriculum committee's meeting in mid-January (when we would need courses approved) - and then you've got the winter break in between.

Dr. Palmer replied simply, "It's very helpful you guys laid out the timelines." The underlying concerns about the timeline were not discussed.

At times, I could see and sense the intensity of the committee's work, especially the chair and staff members. Often, they would come into the meeting room just in time, remarking about how busy things were, and having so much to attend to on the agenda that the chair more than once referred to the agenda being packed, or not having enough time for everything on the agenda. At one meeting, Dr. Evans remarked "Again, a lot has happened since, oh my God, isn't that a week ago? Dr. Butler replied, "Just a week ago." And Dr. Evans said, "Yeah. It's been a really crazy week." Of course, many faculty and staff have "crazy weeks" but this was the norm

for an extended period of time and with no end in sight. I wondered how they could keep up this pace.

Generally, timing constraints and the pressure of time had positive impact in terms of motivating productivity and decision making and fostering energy and momentum in the committee as they worked to meet the challenges before them. One committee member remarked, “these deadlines have a way of focusing people!” But it also resulted in significant stress and anxiety, in part because many of the timing factors were discovered just in time, or created a need for downstream adjustments. This anxiety was at times shared in the committee meetings. More often, the anxiety and stress were not shared. I learned more about time related stress during the individual interviews I conducted with committee members.

In an interview, Dr. Butler put it this way: “Well, the original time frame was insane. And that caused a lot of stress, up until they backed off on it.” He even provided a single data point that connected to a medical indicator of stress:

> (For health reasons), every day I measure my blood pressure and pulse. And if you looked at last fall, just before they backed off on the time, my blood pressure was running high. And then a week after that, my blood pressure went back down. So, it's clear at some fundamental level, the stress of this was getting to me from thinking, how are we possibly going to do this in a year?’

The time pressure itself took energy and time as well, as Dr. Evans explained:

> I think that for me the meetings were much more stressful then, because I felt I had to kinda manage everyone's anxiety. And I didn't let my anxiety show, because I didn't want them to get nervous like "What the hell are we gonna do? [chuckle] So, I did spend a lot more time with kind of just emotional management of me and then of the committee. And there was even one point where I even considered stepping down because I didn't want to... I just don't want my name associated with something that was gonna be inferior.

When the launch term for the new program was announced as delayed for a year at the start of that next fall, most committee members expressed being relieved and happy. They could have a less frenetic pace and could ensure they could develop a solid, high quality program. I

began to think that the committee only appeared to be more energized and motivated in that first year; and instead they were acting out of anxiety and stress, and using energy and time to think through and manage all of the challenges that the initial timeline created for them. While they had raised their concern about the timeline multiple times, this did not bring change, and when pressures at the university level did result in a delay, they suddenly had an additional year to work with, which created relief and a need to renegotiate their timeline, priorities and work flow. Dr. Evans may well have appreciated the change in the timeline the most. He explained:

> When the deadline shifted? I think that was the best thing that ever happened. Huge sense of relief. I think a lot more sense of freedom, because I felt like now we can develop this in a way that is going to be the best program. Because one thing that I was really clear when I talked to the dean from the very beginning is that I don't want to be part of a program that's just slapped together. And if I'm gonna be part of this, it's going to be well thought out. It's gonna be based in best practices, and educational theory. It's gonna be really a well-constructed, well-run program or else I don't wanna have anything to do with it. And so, I really felt like at that point. It's like, okay, now we can do what we set out to do.

The academic calendar served as another source of timing constraints and time pressure, in particular given faculty serving on the committee were on 9-month appointments and typically, committees did not meet over the summer. The committee’s work was impacted by external and internal timelines related to functions such as admissions, course approvals, and course registration. Internally they also had timing issues to manage with getting departmental input, course scheduling, and faculty hiring.

The timeline to launch the program was a defining force in how the committee organized its work and metered its energy. Dr. Butler stated, before the launch date had changed,

> “If we're aiming for fall of 2016 as a potential start, and we've already discussed how we view this as a gradual work up not hitting it full fore, then there are certain implementations that are different when you're gradually working in, that I think are actually much more doable when you're gradually working in than if you were trying to create it all to be like a finished product.

After the timeline changed, though, there was not any discussion about how that change was going to impact the committee's work and priorities. It quickly became clear there was still a lot of work to do, even with the extended timeline. Yet as the next couple of months progressed, I noticed they had fewer meetings than the previous spring, and seemed to lack focus and direction. Marcy Danforth shared in her individual interview that she did not view the delay in the program launch positively as others had, " There was a momentum… that's been lost. We haven't been meeting regularly and I'm not exactly sure if it's peoples' schedules or whatever. Some have kinda checked out." Heather Carter commented on this point in an individual interview as well: I have discussed previously that after the launch date was extended, there seemed to be a dip in the momentum of the committee which was noticed by some of the members and myself. A connection from this to participation was made by Heather Carter in our individual interview:

> I think that the first year, almost because we had that fire under us knowing that we had such a short deadline, the attendance at meetings was a little bit better. It was easier for me to schedule meetings; I think people were a little more flexible with their schedules just knowing the time crunch.

Time and timing played a role in the committee's haphazard process and their level of stress, but also in their focus and momentum. The academic year, the timelines of multiple university functions, and competing demands for time for members of the committee impacted the degree of attention, focus and engagement of the curriculum team. Time factors were not considered intentionally as part of the planning process, though there were adjustments or changes made, often last minute, to manage them. Having deadlines and a shared goal of meeting them to achieve their larger goal helped create energy and momentum, a "we've got to get it done" mentality that, while diminished after the launch was delayed, it was renewed somewhat

when they again got closer to new deadlines and milestones and the excitement of reaching the end goal of opening a new academic program.

Program and Faculty Governance

One of the most talked about topics in the committee meetings was governance. They talked about governance of the new program and how that related to the governance of existing graduate programs, how curriculum decisions would be made, and how faculty resources would be assigned and incentivized. As a new degree program in the school, and the school's first undergraduate program, the committee struggled to figure out how the new program would be governed, given the school had departments, each with their own curriculum committee, and a school level curriculum committee. Meanwhile, the new undergraduate program was not to be housed in any one department but to operate at the school level. This raised discussion about organizational structure and organizational culture. As much as the committee discussed the course structure for the new program, program prerequisites and program requirements, academic standards and rules, and areas of focus within the curriculum, they talked almost as much about how the program would be governed.

Managing faculty commitments and faculty input were key aspects of governance with which the committee grappled. The committee discussed at length how to indicate in the proposal which faculty were already teaching undergraduate level courses, which would teach in the new program, etc. They decided to survey the faculty and discussed how to best to that at length as well. A key issue in this was how they would incentivize faculty to teach in the new program and how they would incentivize – or dictate – how departments would support the new program. This tenuous balance of encouragement vs. requirement of faculty engagement was a theme in multiple conversations. Dr. Evans shared that at his previous institution, they required

departments to offer a certain number of courses at the undergraduate level, and if they didn't, they had to justify it to the dean. Dr. Butler remarked "It's the opposite of the incentivizing. It's punishing them." Dr. Evans explained: "It's just more of a policy. You're sharing the love. Just make it a policy that if we're all gonna be in this - we all have to contribute." Dr. Smith quipped," How come that didn't sound very authentic? To which Dr. Evans responded jovially, "I'll work on that, all right? I'll practice at night in the mirror. No, but I do think if we're, as a school, gonna commit to this, then all the departments need to buy into it."

There was a political aspect to how and when the committee sought input from or approvals from the faculty at large, which seemed aimed at protecting the direction they were taking in creating a major and the way they were constructing the program. In a committee meeting that was just prior to when the new program proposal was sent to the faculty and then was discussed a school-wide faculty meeting, careful attention was given to how the proposal would be presented and discussed. Dr. Evans indicated that senior associate dean Sanders would give the initial presentation to the faculty, and then Dr. Evans would speak. He asked that all committee members then join him at the front of the room to answer questions. Dr. Palmer then remarked that they should focus on the high points of the proposal, and not get into the details of the requirements, because, she stated, "we don't want to hang up the vote."

I was struck by how much the committee discussed what their name and acronym should be. The progression of their committee name seemed to represent their becoming a legitimate part of the school's organizational structure, and their relationship to both the department and the school level curriculum committees. In the first academic year I observed the committee, they had been charged as a task force, and did not tend to use a specific name for their group. Even before their proposal had been approved by the faculty and the University, they began to discuss

what they would call themselves as a committee. This was prompted by a question in the outline from the provost's office they were following to develop the new program proposal, which asked "How will the program be governed and who will teach?" Dr. Palmer was drafting this part of the proposal, and stated,

> I went with undergraduate program committee or UDC, and actually people are already referring to UDC now. I think we'll have to start UDC as of the date when this committee dissolves, that UDC will move into governance at that point."

Later in the meeting, more discussion of their name ensued along with clarification of the committee's role and authority.

Dr. Smith asked how this committee would relate to the School curriculum committee. After a quick exchange between faculty members on the committee, they agreed that the undergraduate committee would operate similar to a department curriculum committee, with a focus on course content and approval, with oversight from the School curriculum committee. A few minutes later, Dr. Smith suggested that undergraduate degree committee is too narrow, since they will be handling admissions and academic policies as do the departments, and they decide to go with undergraduate program committee, or UPC. At their next meeting a couple weeks later, it was clarified that they needed to refer to themselves as "Interim UPC" because they did not yet have approvals for the new program. At a summer meeting they questioned whether they should change the name yet again, but Dr. Evans suggested they stay with UPC for the time being to avoid confusion.

In the fall of their second year (and after the launch date had been shifted), the committee broadened their name to Undergraduate Education Committee, or UEC, given they expected to offer a minor at some point along with the external transfer program and 4+1 program (undergraduate plus master's degree) and these would be under the scope of the committee along

with the Bachelor's degree. By December, the new program had been approved by the Board of Trustees and the State Council. At the end of that fall during the December committee meeting, Dr. Evans announced that that after a discussion with the senior associate dean, they were going to create the "Office of Undergraduate Education." Dr. Evans stated, "We have a new logo, too. It's an Office, not a department, under Dr. Palmer as associate dean for academic affairs. I'm still waiting on my title; that is working through the system." All of the discussion and changes in the committee name seemed a symbolic and cognitive process of the committee and the new undergraduate program becoming real entities. This process of 'becoming' was perhaps captured best when, in a meeting Dr. Evans stated, "One of the first big issues we need to talk about is governance. We have to kind of create who we are, what we are."

Camaraderie and Humor

The committee seemed to have mostly positive energy; people were friendly and supportive with one another, rarely had conflicting opinions and if they did, these were stated professionally and politely. The committee chair brought a very positive and energetic style, and his good humor and friendliness seemed to allow the committee to bring humor into their meetings. This seemed to create a mutually reinforcing cycle in which the committee's friendly overtures, or camaraderie, led to the use of humor, and use of humor created more camaraderie. In the face of significant stress, especially in their first year, but also as their second year wore on and the workload continued to be high, camaraderie and humor served as mechanisms to alleviate anxiety and stress, to soften statements that raised concerns or conflicting opinions, and deflected attention from larger issues or conflicts, such as influence from the dean's office or the challenge of managing competing priorities. Dr. Reed commented in an interview:

> I think there's a whole lot of collegiality in that group. I think that the meetings are friendly and fun, and we have been very aware of this really daunting and enormous task, and we are not taking that lightly but also not taking ourselves too seriously. There's just kind of an energy to those meetings that is good.

In the previous segment I discussed the progression of committee names that the curriculum team discussed and adopted. These conversations often were infused with humor. Given the naming issue itself seemed to be symbolic of the process of the committee becoming a legitimate entity and positioning itself as a governing body, I was intrigued by the joking around that accompanied the discussion of committee names. It started to seem like the discussion of names was more of an outlet of stress, something less onerous than other challenging issues the committee needed to address. Or, perhaps the joking was a way of deflecting how much time and importance they were giving to what their name and acronym should be. In one of the discussions about the committee's name, Dr. Evans said, "No, maybe it should be Undergraduate curriculum committee or something. That's not very creative: "Ucc" (he pronounced it "Uck"). Laughter ensued, then Dr. Butler retorted, "How about the frontier undergrad curriculum committee?" As the committee members laughed harder, Dr. Evans said, laughing, "Uhhh, NO!"

Humor seemed to serve as a mechanism to alleviate stress, to deflect areas of real concern, and to build a sense of camaraderie. The committee members joked about eating donuts as an incentive for their work, the amount and pace of work to be done, space constraints leading them to set up tents for student lounge spaces, and superhero capes for students interested in public service careers and for Dr. Evans for his leadership. Before the change in the program launch, the humor was more caustic and aimed at deflecting issues; after the change in the program launch, it seemed to be more of a feature of the committee culture, being able to have some fun as they worked.

In a spring meeting, prior to the program launch change that fall, Dr. Palmer remarked, “The actual number of faculty who responded they wanted to actually do something in the undergraduate program was smaller than the group that indicated enthusiasm for it. I think folks are hesitant to jump in feet first.” This brought laughter from the committee, and Dr. Butler added “That’s the lack of volunteering gene, right?” The committee members laughed again, but their concern about faculty engagement to teach in the new program was significant. Joking on this topic continued later in the same meeting, when Dr. Evans said “Well at the dean’s meeting, Mary Sanders (senior associate dean) said she woke up in the middle of the night sweating because she was concerned about who would teach these courses.” This brought some hesitant laughter from the group, as Dr. Evans continued “Anything we could do to put her mind at ease would be helpful.” Dr. Alexander replied, “There is medication” to a bigger round of laughter.

In a November meeting after the September decision to delay the program launch, another quip about faculty engagement came across more lighthearted. Dr. Evans asked, “So the question is how to engage faculty to give commitments to teaching? I think you are coming up with great ways and the individual approach is going to be very productive. Any other ideas? If Dr. Smith was still here, he’d suggest direct incentives.” Dr. Alexander replied, “Right. Donuts.” Which brought laughter – it was Dr. Smith who had regularly brought donuts the previous term, before his departure from the committee and university. It’s a bit hard to describe the difference in these examples of humor – you kind of had to be there – but there was a difference in the tone, as this is funny but it’s under control, rather than, this is funny and not under control.

In our individual meeting. Dr. Evans reflected on the humor displayed in the meetings, stating:

> I think about when Dr. Smith brought donuts or he stood on the table. I think that laughter is a critical part of being able to work together, especially when we're being

> asked to do much more than a typical committee. And I can't give them anything. I don't have the ability to give them a course release or extra pay, but I can at least make it an enjoyable experience.

It was Heather Carter, though, who in our interview recalled before the delay in the program launch, the committee was starting to fall into a pattern of complaining about the challenges they were facing, and that Dr. Evans addressed it directly, stating:

> I remember Dr. Evans started out one meeting just asking we set aside a bit of time to talk about issues and concerns and things that were bothering us, then to let that go for the rest of the meeting. I think that was a good thing for him to call out, because sitting around to talk about how things aren't going to work isn't productive."

Indeed, Dr. Evans led the committee in this regard by example; leaving his own anxiety at the door, and allowing humor to come in regularly to lift the group's spirits while bringing them together as a team.

Chapter V: Status, Power and Influence

My interest in applying concepts from the expectations states program of research to this case study is multifold. As a task focused group, the curriculum committee consisted of individuals who differ on multiple status characteristics (e.g. rank, role, gender, age). Examining the impact of individual differences in status characteristics on the group's process supports my goal of deepening the understanding of how such a group approaches and accomplishes its work (the overarching research question) and understanding how the team leader, others in leadership roles outside the committee, and committee members perceive, shape and influence the team's process (research questions #2 and #3). When I conceptualized this study, I posited that differences in status characteristics would help me evaluate the impact of status hierarchies - positive and negative - on a group charged with developing a new academic program. In addition, this program of research raises awareness to some of the potentially impactful, underlying and implicit forces that undergird committee work in academia, and opens a path to future examinations of the impact of power and prestige structures on curriculum committees and other task-focused groups.

Expectations states theory explains inequitable social structures that shape how individuals are perceived, the influence they carry, and the way their contributions are evaluated in task focused groups; in other words, the power and prestige structure that how members of a group interact with one another. "The implicit, often unconscious, anticipation of the relative quality of individual members' future performance at the focal task are referred to as

performance expectation states" (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003). The scope conditions for which the theory applies includes groups that have a collective orientation, in which individuals view the contributions of others as important for completing an assigned task and a task orientation, in which individuals in the group are motivated to solve a problem or complete a task that is complex and/or ambiguous (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003). Committee work is a prime example of a situation in which the theory applies, as are juries, sports teams, project teams, advisory boards, etc. An academic program committee within the strongly hierarchical system of academia, offers an opportunity to explore patterns of power and prestige, translating to participation and influence. Other researchers have focused on finding the right steps and formula for a curriculum process; my interest is to uncover ways the people involved in the process interact and shape their process.

Ridgeway (2006) describes expectations states theory as a "testable" theory rooted in theoretical perspectives on cultural schemas and generative behavior, reflecting and shaping social relational contexts and impacting larger structural patterns of culture. Most existing research on expectations states theory has been experimental. While this has provided a strong basis for testing and refining expectations states theory, studies applying the theory in real world situations are limited. Expectations states theory provides a means to examine and a language to describe a working group's patterns of interaction and influence as they relate to their task or process. It further provides a means to consider how differences on a variety of status characteristics (e.g. gender and gender identity, race, occupation, educational level, SES, rank, role, and special skills or experience) combine to create a probable pattern of power and prestige in a working group, evidenced by who participates, who influences the conversation and decisions, and who others defer to and whose ideas are given the most weight (Correll and

Ridgeway, 2003; Ridgeway, 2019). My analysis of status hierarchy and patterns of influence will then serve to ground or add nuance to my discussion of cognitive frames that shaped the committee's work.

Status Hierarchy and Performance Expectations

My analysis suggests that status hierarchy (power and prestige structure) and performance expectations were an underlying force in the social system containing and organizational structures surrounding the committee. In the following segment, I discuss patterns of status hierarchy - or power and prestige - related to those in leadership roles and positions of power including the committee chair and deans outside of the committee structure, whose influence also shaped and directed the committee's work. In addition, I discuss and provide examples and thoughts about individuals not on the committee, whose influence was felt but might have had a stronger impact had they been members of the committee.

Influence of Powerful Deans

An interesting dimension of the power and prestige pattern of the committee was the influence of individuals in positions of power *outside* of the committee. The influence of the dean and senior associate dean was so strong that I came to view them as absent, yet highly influential, members of the committee. Conversations during committee meetings made this influence apparent, while individual interviews further confirmed the deans' influence on both broad and specific aspects of the program design and implementation plans. One would expect deans to have influence, and to have influence over key decisions impacting their academic unit. Yet there is often a presumption of faculty governance over the curriculum and the affairs of a school or college, and of the independent process of a faculty-led committee. In this particular

situation, those with high levels of status chose to influence the process on multiple levels; those with lesser status chose to accept that influence mostly without question, and for the most part not letting their concerns be known.

As I interviewed Dr. Butler, the most senior faculty member on the committee, at one point I prompted him with a statement: “It doesn’t seem like the faculty were walking into the dean’s office saying “we need an undergraduate program.” He replied: No, this is definitely something that came from the dean.” Dr. Reed, the most junior faculty member on the committee also noted the deans’ influence:

> I think that we understood that there was a lot of high-level, dean's office interest in starting an undergraduate program… I don't ever feel like in my time that I was involved, that I thought it would be appropriate for us to say, "Nah, this is not gonna work," or feel like "We don't need this here." There was obviously a lot of dean-level or administrative kind of interest in making this happen.

In my interview with Marcy Danforth, we talked about the proposal writing process. She said that assignments to committee members for writing parts of the proposal had mixed results, and she thought the proposal writing ended up in very disparate pieces on Dr. Sanders’ plate. It was my understanding that Dr. Palmer had pulled the proposal together to meet the deadline; I recalled the meeting at which Dr. Evans recognized and thanked her for her time and effort. Marcy stated, “I think Dr. Sanders is probably the person who rewrote it to make it coherent.”

This was reflected in Dr. Palmer’s comments at the committee meeting just after the program proposal had been sent to the provost’s office. She said:

> The proposal was just sent to the provost’s office this morning with an indication that we would send them a final version after the faculty vote (on Monday). The proposal was also sent out to the faculty. It was a creative writing process and Mary (Dr. Sanders) took over after I looked to integrate everything that the task force did and then she took it. I would say all the errors and mistakes are mine, but I'm not going to in this case. Feel free to come tell me if you see an issue and we can talk about it. My understanding with the proposal and partly how it was shaped up in the end was as a high-level intro to the Provost addressing what we want to accomplish with the program. There are details we

> discussed and put a lot of energy into working out to make it feasible that didn't necessarily get reflected in the proposal.

Dr. Reed also commented in our interview about the influence of the deans shaped the committee’s priorities, including the focus of discussion at a faculty retreat that centered on the new undergraduate program: “When someone in the dean's office says, ‘This is a priority, think about this now,’ we think about it. So, I think there certainly is an influence from the dean's office of what's a priority.” I asked, “Were there any faculty at the retreat who countered that thinking with other options? Was there any sort of counter-argument?” Dr. Reed said simply, “No.”

During the proposal writing process, it was fairly common for Dr. Evans or Dr. Palmer to refer to dean Williams or senior associate dean Sanders in terms of their perspective, or with input they had provided. Dr. Evans indicated that he had regular contact with the deans, and was getting direction from them on issues from admission criteria to curriculum. In terms of admission, it was clear that Dr. Sanders was concerned that students in the new program be sufficiently competitive for admission to their master’s program; she and the dean also wanted the committee to attend to the interest areas of the entering cohort to achieve some balance, and wanted both a means to recognize students who would take some courses but not get the degree. There was a press on the committee from the deans’ office to develop an accelerated undergraduate-graduate degree and to develop an external transfer program at the same time they developed and launched the new bachelor’s degree. These requests added considerable strain to the committee’s workload.

Dr. Butler expressed concern about the deans’ having made some decisions about the program’s required courses. In a committee meeting, he stated, “I was informed that the deans already have clear ideas of what they want (in the curriculum). We had all of our different

sample programs and our broad flexibility ideas; some of that will still work, but, I guess that I'm really unhappy. I feel kind of blind-sided," he said, laughing a little. Dr. Evans tried to soothe the situation with, "Aww, we're all one big happy family!" Some discussion ensued which seemed to help smooth things over and chart a path forward. But his concern, and the issue it raised, were not discussed.

In my interview with Dr. Alexander, he raised concerns about this same situation:

> There have been a couple of key points where the deans have stepped in and decided, "Okay, we're gonna do this." And it's not even a veiled decision. I can give an example: We would be in meeting. We would go to this whole process. We would come to a consensus, "This is the decision. Okay." And we prepare our materials to present at a faculty meeting or update the deans. And at the next committee meeting, Dr. Evans and Dr. Palmer would come back and say, "Okay, we're doing something different. After talking with Dr. Sanders and Dr. Williams, we are going to add a new course requirement." And it wasn't even, "Take this back to the committee for consideration, reflection, provide some input."

I asked whether it was something people just accepted or pushed back on. He replied that it was "pretty painfully awkward" that the deans had decided this, and said that it left him feeling discouraged, since the committee had put in a lot of effort to make decisions and shape the proposal, only to have, as he put it, "a unilateral decision out of nowhere." But he did not indicate that he or others had pushed back on the decision.

The influence of deans played a key role in decisions related to the initial timeline for launching the new program, and the decision to delay its launch by a year. In my interview with Dr. Evans I asked, "You expressed concern about the timeline early on, but it didn't change. Why not?" He answered, laughing, "I had no power then!" He added that he had talked to Dr. Sanders about this several times:

> I remember in one of the meetings she said, "Well, let's just keep moving forward and we'll see." So, basically, if we get to the point where there's a breaking point and just, we feel like we can't do it, then we'll reconsider, but let's just keep pushing. I didn't agree with that so much. It put a lot of pressure on me and on the committee. It was kind of

> like, keep working your asses off, just to be blunt. And if you break down, then we'll start a year later. And if you don't break down then we'll cross the finish line.

Internally, then, there was a strong press from the deans to keep the initial launch date. I asked Dr. Evans what he thought finally tipped the scales in the decision to delay the program launch, he said:

> I think that a big influence was the dean from the College of Arts and Sciences; once he heard the timeline, he asked for more time since this program will draw primarily from their student body. I think it was a conversation with the various deans and I think it's related to money; the College of Arts and Sciences is concerned we're going to steal too many of their students.

Dr. Evans seemed resigned to the way the timeline had changed. He was committed to developing an excellent program; his concerns about doing so on the stated timeline went unheeded; in the end a financial negotiation changed the timeline, putting his committee in the position of reworking their plans and timing while managing expectations of students, staff and faculty and recalibrating their work process and workflow. Yet he welcomed the change in the timeline with great relief. In other domains, the committee clearly valued and relied on the influence from the deans' office on matters they deemed beyond their scope of authority, such as decisions about faculty hiring, changes in expectations for teaching both undergraduate and graduate courses, and confirming teaching commitments from faculty and responsibility for courses from chairs of academic departments.

Missing Committee Members?

While powerful deans played key roles in the work of the committee, it is worth considering individuals who influenced the committee as guest presenters and others who may have been able to make a positive difference or a greater impact, had they been on the committee. In my interviews, I did not ask about the decision-making regarding the committee

membership, but I did ask about what contributed to the committee's effectiveness as a working group. The only committee member whose response referred to who was on the committee was Heather Carter, who stated,

> The diversity of our committee is, well, not very diverse, I think. Everyone is white, I believe, at this point. And we do have two women, so that's nice to have. A little bit more of a balance because the others are all white men. I would like to see more of that in the future. I just think that that's something they neglect to think about. Just the composition of the committee.

I pointed out that she and Marcy Danforth were women and that would make it four women, and she clarified that she was only counting the faculty as members of the committee, stating "Yeah, I guess I wasn't counting Marcy and myself since we're not really…" I suggested she was focusing on the faculty membership, and she agreed. Yet this shows that despite Dr. Evans efforts to reduce hierarchy, Heather did not view staff members as real committee members. Despite Dr. Evans intention for the staff members to be a part of the team and have their voice heard, there seemed to be an implicit understanding of their actual roles. The status beliefs and performance expectations relevant to staff and faculty would be difficult to overcome. Dr. Evans comments and behavior helped to an extent, yet the staff members themselves, according to the theory, would likely be complicit in maintaining the status hierarchy as it were. It seems possible that performance expectations may have impacted their perception of their membership on the committee itself.

It is interesting to note that there were no student members on the committee. There was a survey of students who had taken undergraduate courses from the department that showed considerable interest in the new major. Dr. Evans had a few meetings with student leaders, including the university's student government, which formed a task force that surveyed students and received some 200 responses from students interested in the major. He indicated that he

valued this input and wanted to bring the student voice into the process, but I did not see much evidence of that. In my experience it's not that common for students to serve on curriculum development teams; though in some cases there are student members on curriculum committees engaging in the regular year to year work of course proposals, policy decisions etc. Having served on curriculum committees with student members, I have seen it work well, yet have also seen the tendency for student members to be very quiet and not feel comfortable speaking freely. Even without student members on this committee, it seems there could have been more engagement with students on key decisions and issues through a focus group, advisory board or other means to more actively include student perspectives.

When senior staff members, including the director of admissions, director of student life, and director of career services, visited committee meetings, I was struck by the flood of information they imparted, and wondered why one or more of them wasn't actually on the committee, given this committee was involved in considering every functional area and process related to the undergraduate program they were developing, including recruiting, admissions, academic policies, engaged learning, academic advising, academic support internships, and the committee discussed, albeit briefly, student developmental issues, mental health concerns, etc. While Heather Carter was a smart, dedicated staff member and learning quickly, and Marcy Danforth had worked in the school for quite a few years managing different initiatives, neither had the depth of knowledge and experience of these three individuals in matters directly related to the committee's work.

I noted that while the senior staff were responsive to questions, they maintained a distance with how much they actively helped the committee. Since they were there to provide information and advice, they deferred to the committee to sort through many topics with which

they had more knowledge and experience. For example, the director of student life presented about a whole range of academic rules and policy decisions that needed to be made, and when the committee started discussing the possibility of an honors program, she interjected quite assertively, "Sorry, but to make the most of Matt's (director of admissions) and my time, could you have these discussions and figure it out later, so we can get through these discussion points and let you know what they mean, then you can discuss and decide later?" Dr. Evans replied, "300%." It was surprising to me how deferential he was, yet she was the expert guest and held knowledge in areas he and the committee did not; perhaps representing a temporary shift in the status hierarchy.

There were multiple topics related to academic services and student issues that the committee clearly had little understanding of, such as when they confused having an honors program with honor points in grading calculations. There was a long list of academic rules that the staff member ran through, leaving it to the committee to figure them out and make decisions, rather than providing, for example, the rules they use in the graduate program and a chart of rules used in some other programs, or a list of pros and cons and recommendations. It was an interesting mix of issues at play; the director level staff members had little sense of what their own role was to be with the undergraduate program; they were very busy with what was on their plates already, and they were giving helpful information yet leaving it to the committee to fill in the blanks, rather than providing a set of recommended decisions or offering to do so. The committee members did not seem to know what to ask nor did they request additional help from the director level staff to sort through the issues and decisions.

The dynamic was a bit different, though, when two women staff administrators who ran the School's engaged learning programs joined a committee meeting. I was very surprised to

hear the depth of their knowledge and how little they knew about the committee's work. It was spring of the second year I was observing the committee; the committee was pretty far along with their curriculum plans. Clare Miller, the director of engaged learning and her colleague (who did not speak much at all) had not been mentioned in any of the meetings I had observed previously. At the start of the meeting, Clare asked Dr. Evans if she should begin with some thoughts, and he said yes. She then spoke for five minutes straight, describing substantial work they had done in previous years to model out options for undergraduate programming and experiential learning courses. Clare shared ideas for how experiential courses could be structured, the kinds of community partnerships they thought would work, and how a two-course sequence would be effective for student learning and development. After a second five-minute period of sharing her ideas, Dr. Evans said,

> Since we're all here now, first of all thank you. I think it would be good to for us all to introduce ourselves so everyone knows everyone. Then, I want to tell both of you a little bit about how we've been thinking about this new program and then we can have a conversation about it.

After introductions (a couple of committee members did know the two guests), Dr. Evans gave a brief review of the undergraduate program plans. In response, Clare asked, "I thought it was starting this fall?" Dr. Evans explained the change in timeline. This in itself was striking, that she was not aware of this change.

Clare Miller continued to provide a wealth of information about their work and the ideas they had developed, yet at times would qualify or discount their efforts. For example, she said, "Of course, we did this a while ago, and it might not be all that coherent (laughing)." Still, the discussion that ensued was one of the most engaging and active discussions that I had observed. The conversation turned to ideas the committee had discussed about a capstone course for the new program. Clare asked, "Can we make a suggestion?" Dr. Evans nodded. She continued,

> Because the ideas that build in fall, well, the capstone would occur in winter, correct? Is that the idea? The field experience could just literally be building towards a writing element for the capstone, so it's two segments of the same thing just broken off in two, so it gives them 16 full weeks to do field experiences and then 16 full weeks to write about it in whatever form that may be, that could be an option, not the only option but that could be an option.

This sparked more highly engaged discussion with multiple committee members contributing. committee members asked questions, raised points about what their current thinking was and reflected on how much they liked the plan Clare was presenting. At the end of the meeting, Dr. Evans said, "I think it's great. Yeah, I really like this idea and obviously we kept you much longer than we had planned to keep you today." Dr. Butler said, "You are part of us now. We now have six additional folks" (referring to Clare Miller's staff team). Dr. Evans seemed pleased and relieved at the same time. They had new partners who were highly interested in helping with the new program and had proposed a well-constructed plan for experiential learning and the capstone course. He said, "Thank you. Thank you. Thank you so much. This is really, really helpful."

I noted that that no one, even Dr. Palmer, had suggested they talk with Clare Miller before this, nor considered having her on the committee. Yet the engaged learning unit was an integral aspect of the graduate program, and Clare had experience working with undergraduates. The need to have faculty representatives from all academic departments on the committee was considered highly important; beyond that, it did not seem that representation from other parts of the school had been considered.

In addition, the curriculum consultant Dr. Evans had employed from his previous institution was an influential person but not a member of the committee. The consultant was someone Dr. Evans knew from his previous institution; she had significant experience teaching

undergraduates and with developing courses and curricula in the same field as the new program and had a PhD in education. She never attended a meeting with the committee, but met with Dr. Evans as well as Heather Carter and Marcy Danforth multiple times. In our interview, Heather stated,

> She has extensive background in this field and in program development. She also works the accrediting body for the school. I think she was received very well, just based on her credentials but then when she came here, she really was great to work with. She came two or three times. I think maybe two and then we had many, actually, phone conversations with her. But she really led us in a good direction with things to think about, especially with thinking about accreditation in the future. She was just a really valuable asset, she was really crucial to creating a foundation of the program.

Along with meetings and phone calls, the consultant helped to design faculty retreats related to curriculum design and course development for the new program. She presented about the new program with Dr. Evans at a conference. Yet her role was behind the scenes rather than front and center with the committee. While Dr. Evans had touted her credentials to the committee at one point, he only brought up the consultant a few times. He did not seem to seek input from the committee on whether or how they wanted to interact with the consultant, and he had determined what her scope of work would be. One aspect of this that I found surprising was the consultant's role with developing learning outcomes for the program. At one point, Dr. Evans had stated to the committee that this was plan, with the rationale that she had expertise that they as a group did not. He then mentioned this work in a committee meeting after the fact:

> So last week we had our consultant here. And so, we did a lot of work on developing our learning outcomes for the overall program. And then the other thing we did was work on the undergrad teaching retreat. So, the undergrad teaching retreat is going to be on December 3rd and I know some of you can't come but we're going to be having one every semester.

He did not share what had been developed thus far for the learning outcomes, nor did anyone ask. He bridged right into describing the plan for the faculty retreat on undergraduate teaching,

and continued talking about that plan in detail for approximately five minutes straight. At that point he asked, “Any questions on that?” and then, immediately, “All right.” Though at that point, Dr. Price did interject a question, asking whether and how they were engaging with the university’s own teaching and learning center. Dr. Evans said they had not done much with them, but had met with the director and he had given the consultant their web site. Dr. Price said he knew they did facilitated sessions in addition to having resources, then he shared an idea for the retreat format, though the committee had not really been prompted to discuss the plans. I found this interesting because Dr. Price did not comment on the work or role of the consultant, nor did anyone else.

Still, the consultant played an important role, mostly behind the scenes but also in front of the school’s faculty and deans. In my interview with Dr. Reed, I asked what contact with and perceptions of the consultant were. She replied:

> So, I have none. I don't think I haven't thought about it until five seconds ago, it's like, "Oh, this person's an expert," and when Glenn (Dr. Evans) felt like he needed help because he didn't have the expertise, he was able to rely on this person. But kind of what type of person this is and what she knows...that I see in terms of, what comes through in meetings is probably a product of her work, as an expert, but I actually don't really know. But in the same respect, I'm super trusting of Marcy and Glenn, and I think those are the people probably interfacing with her the most. [chuckle] I assume they made a good decision on that...

This seemed to distance, if not discount, the role of the consultant, while at the same time, demonstrated the level of trust and confidence Dr. Reed had in Dr. Evans, as well as Marcy Danforth and others involved in more of the heavy lifting of the program development process.

This heavy lifting was evidenced by the creation of an informal subgroup of the committee, that was referred to as the “strategic UPC (undergraduate program committee). Once the true workload of the committee became clearer during the first year of their work, Dr. Evans

began meeting frequently with Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter in between committee meetings. Sometimes they were joined by associate dean Palmer as well. While I did not directly observe the strategic UPC meetings, at regular committee meetings they would refer to the many meetings they were having outside of the committee. More than one committee member referred to the arrangement as the small group doing additional work then bringing recommended decisions to the full committee for their "blessing" or "stamp of approval."

In the strategic UPC meetings, Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter worked closely with Dr. Evans and as Heather Carter put it, identified "what was next, and what was priority." The committee did not specifically discuss this layer of organization in terms of its role and function. I believe that this arrangement enabled a stronger role for Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter outside of the committee meetings, but also relieved the committee as a whole from discussing and owning decisions. It may have also added to Marcy Danforth's sense that "the staff do the work and the faculty take the credit." As far as the status hierarchy and performance expectations at play during the process of developing the new academic program, the strategic UPC provided a means to address time constraints and work load. While the roles of staff members were more central, they were still positioned in a support role rather than in a co-leadership role, and preserved the status of faculty members serving on the committee by bringing decisions to them for approval.

Chair Leadership Style and Impact

Dr. Evans leadership and his high degree of influence with the committee members and their process was notable. Fortunately, he used his power and influence in a positive and productive manner, worthy of the "superman cape" that a committee member suggested he deserved. Yet, he was not devoid of blind spots in terms of the implicit impact of status

hierarchy. It is a bit of an understatement to say that Dr. Evans played a critically important role in shaping the work of the committee in terms of their efforts and what they were accomplishing. In individual interviews, every member of the committee praised his leadership profusely; speaking in particular about his positive energy, his adeptness with running meetings, his experience with undergraduate curriculum development, and his congenial, supportive style. Dr. Maggie Reed stated:

> I think the leadership is exceptional, or I think Dr. Evans runs a good meeting, makes decisions really well. He's able to move us along when we'd get stuck, and so I think our leadership is really wonderful.

Dr. Butler remarked:

> Clearly, getting Dr. Evans as chair was brilliant. The fact that he had been through an equivalent process before -- there's no substitute for experience for these kinds of things. I think that was the single most important reason why the committee has functioned well.

And Dr. Alexander stated:

> Dr. Evans is very open, and dynamic and people clearly feel comfortable in sharing their opinions, and there's a lot of laughter and a lot of sharing of the effort and pain. And, "We're all in this together."

My own observation of Dr. Evans' style concurs with these sentiments. He was a participatory, humble, positive and hard-working leader. While these are beneficial traits for a leader of any committee, the level of challenge in terms of the scope and timeline made this a highly important factor in the committee's success, including the committee's team culture, its process and its results. Dr. Evans brought status from his leadership role, his standing as a full professor, his experience with undergraduate education, and his social identity as a white male. He used his influence in positive ways, while navigating the status hierarchy outside the committee, in particular the dean and senior associate dean. Still, as a relatively new faculty member taking on a leadership role, he described his efforts to gain the trust and support of his

faculty colleagues on and off the committee, mainly by talking with people about their interests and concerns for the undergraduate program and sharing his ideas and experiences. He was intentional with managing the committee. In an individual interview, he reflected on his approach to guiding committee meetings:

> So, I always read the room and I think about, "Okay, what do I need to do to either turn this (person) up or this (person) down?" And so that's really what I was doing in the beginning, is trying to read everyone and see how I could get the most out of everyone, but also for people to feel connected and to feel like this was a safe space. I mean, I've been on committees before where I was like, "Oh my God." I felt like I'm doing group therapy, but with this group I really felt like everyone jelled, and I feel like they all were very supportive and passionate. And even when Dr. Smith expressed his concerns a couple of times about some of the things we were doing, I celebrated that. It's like, "Good, we need to think about that."

While Dr. Evans thought about and took steps to deemphasize status hierarchy relating to staff roles, in meeting observations I noted times when he did not engage them as equals, but looked more to faculty members for agreement on decisions. Over time I noticed that status treatments directed to staff members did not always seem to have the expected impact; some even came across as condescending -- such as the following exchange, right at the end of a meeting. Dr. Evans stated, “We’re actually out of time. It’s exactly 11 o’clock believe it or not. These upcoming meetings we have down there, thank you Heather for putting those on there. I just wanted to also announce that Heather finally has a title. You want to share at all with us?” After a somewhat awkward pause, Heather replied flatly, “Yes. I'm the administrative coordinator for the program at this point.” Dr. Evans continued, “Yeah. We were pushing really hard on that because prior to that Heather was title-less but doing by doing a lot of work and really without Heather and Marcy wouldn’t be where we are today. I'm just very happy that she finally has a title. At least some level of compensation for the work that you're doing so congratulations.”

There was no response from any other faculty committee members. Marcy Danforth said, “Congratulations.” After a brief pause, Dr. Evans said, “Then we will see you all next time.” In our interview, I learned that Heather did not yet have a new salary and was not happy with the title given the level of work she was doing. Although Marcy was a genuine supporter of Heather, her own title and salary was a sore spot. Dr. Evans’ comment to Heather, “Do you want to share”…and his related comments about her hard work might be viewed, technically, as a status treatment and a prompted contribution, but it also may be viewed as a status containment; the comment was disguised as uplifting but experienced by the receiver as awkward and uncomfortable.

When I asked Heather about this exchange in our interview, she said that Dr. Evans had advocated for her but that others involved in the decision were hesitant to give her a different title or more salary, despite the evidence she provided that her level of work was commensurate with people in higher job classifications and salary bands. While she did not view Dr. Evans’ comment in the committee meeting negatively, she was not excited about the change in title. She accepted it, but also made it clear she did not think it reflected her level of contribution. Nonetheless, she expressed a continued sense of commitment to the work of the committee because she felt a connection to its goal and the benefits to students the new program would afford.

Status Hierarchy and Committee Member Interaction

I formulated theoretical codes related to the theory to help evaluate the committee’s communication pattern and to identify and describe patterns of participation and influence. The theoretical codes I created relate to concepts from the theory and research on Expectations States and are listed in Table 2, along with the frequency with which they occurred by subject. These

frequencies are useful for identifying patterns that I explain using the data from my observations and interviews. Note that interactions of members of a task-focused group are considered primarily a factor of the status hierarchy in relation to status characteristics. Behavioral differences, such as talkativeness, assertive speech, prompted speech, etc. have been found to have more impact on formation of status hierarchy in homogeneous groups than groups differentiated by status characteristics (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003).

In addition to overall participation, e.g. talkativeness, the behavioral interchange elements I focused on include assertive contributions (when a committee member spoke, unprompted, in a way that shifted or changed the topic of discussion or decision-making process), interchanges that prompted contributions from others, that minimized or ignored others' contributions, and the recognition or impact of skill or experience. In addition, I introduced a code for status treatments, a concept from the research literature, to identify comments from a committee member with higher status that amplified or praised comments from someone with lower status. Overall, these behavioral interchange patterns aligned with the power and prestige structure as expected based on tenets of Expectations States Theory, with some variation as noted in my discussion. As my analysis will show, the status hierarchy operated in some ways that were beneficial, and other ways that were detrimental (or of unknown impact) to the work process and team culture of the committee.

Separate from theoretical codes I created for status hierarchy, I created a group of codes under the topic of team and leader behaviors; these connected more broadly to the behavior of the committee and resonate with Bensimon and Neumann's (1993) study of leadership teams, yet were identified through open coding. In addition to codes such as camaraderie, coordination efforts, and decision-making, I used the code group management or leadership to track

comments or actions that related to guiding, directing or redirecting the group in terms of its work, discussions, and process. I reference this here since an assigned leadership role, as well as leader behaviors (assigning tasks or directing the team), are considered status characteristics that impact status hierarchy and performance expectations (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003).

Participation and Behavioral Interchange Patterns

The two members of the committee who participated most in the committee meetings, that is, who spoke most often and for the most amount of time, were Dr. Evans (the committee chair) and Dr. Butler (the senior faculty member). Dr. Palmer, the associate dean, was not as talkative as Dr. Evans and Dr. Butler, but regularly contributed insights and knowledge given her oversight of academic affairs and interactions with the deans and department chairs. Dr. Alexander and Marcy Danforth, a senior staff member, spoke regularly as well, though less than Dr. Evans and Dr. Butler. Dr. Smith and Dr. Price spoke much less often, typically with a point or a question they felt was quite important. Dr. Reed spoke mainly when she was addressing a task she had been assigned to do. Heather Carter, the junior staff member, initially spoke rarely and mainly when prompted, but her participation increased over time. Dr. Davidson spoke very little; Dr. Mathis barely spoke at all. Note that Dr. Smith and Dr. Mathis were on the committee only in the first semester of my case study; Dr. Price and Dr. Davidson replaced them for the following year so I observed them during the following two semesters.

In multiple instances, I observed discussions in the committee that included Dr. Evans, Dr. Butler, and Dr. Palmer only, with Dr. Evans speaking the most and often stating decisions without stopping to seek real input from the full group. I came to view this style of decision-making as “decisions by default.” He would ask “So we are going to do X?” and unless someone spoke up very quickly, he would say “OK” or simply move to a new topic. I did not detect any

Table 5.1: Theoretical Codes for Expectations States Theory by Individual and Frequency

Code	Definition	Total #	Breakdown by Subject
Assertive Contribution	Contributions from committee members that are not prompted but rather interjected to provide information, opinions, or an attempt to redirect discussion. Not a code for every change in speaker. Focus is on unprompted comments that introduce a new issue, opinion or change in topic. If ignored or dismissed that code is also applied.	88	C. Butler – 27 J. Alexander – 13 M. Danforth – 12 G. Evans – 10 H. Carter– 7 M. Smith – 5 N. Price – 5 D. Palmer – 5 M. Reed – 2 P. Davidson – 2 Kurtis Mathis - 0
Group Leadership or Management	Comments that direct the focus and activity of the task force, whether from the task force chair or others.	76	G. Evans - 65 C. Butler – 4 D. Palmer - 4 M. Danforth – 2 J. Alexander - 1
Status Treatment	Member with higher status makes positive comments about contributions or work of a member with lower status	32	G. Evans to staff members – 12 G. Evans to faculty members – 18 D. Palmer top G. Evans -1 M. Danforth to H. Carter - 1
Ignoring, Minimizing or Deflecting	Comments, questions, issues etc. that go unnoticed or ignored by other committee members, or response to a contribution that suggest it is unimportant or that jump to a new topic	18	(Whose comment was ignored, minimized, or deflected) M. Danforth – 10 H. Carter – 6 P. Davidson - 2
Prompted Contribution	Statements that are prompted by another committee member to request input, expertise, perspective, information etc. The nature of the prompt can vary; it can be a sign of respect for someone's knowledge or experience, or can relate to a person's role on the committee.	18	G. Evans to staff members – 6 G. Evans to faculty members – 5 C. Butler to staff members – 4 C. Butler to full group – 1 D. Palmer to guest faculty members - 1 M. Danforth to guest faculty – 1 Male to Female prompt – 12 Female to Male prompt – 2 Male to Male prompt – 2 Female to Female prompt - 1
Recognition of Skill or Expertise	Recognition of a committee member's expertise or skill by another committee member	4	G. Evans about G. Evans – 1 C. Butler about C. Butler – 2 G. Evans about M. Danforth – 1

negative reactions to these episodes; if there was strong dissension I expect a committee member would have said something. This pattern of conversation, which included those with the three highest status levels (by rank/role, as well as seniority and being white and two of the three being

male), and with Dr. Evans talking most of all, was so frequent that during one meeting in my notes I wrote down the questions, “Is this really a committee of three? Or one? Is the larger committee mainly symbolic?”

One explanation for this pattern and the resulting, de facto “committee of three” comes from expectations states theory. The theory submits that those with less status in a group will tend to be deferential to those with higher status in the group; less likely to contest viewpoints or decisions and more likely to shift their initial position to the position held by those with higher status (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003). Furthermore, according to expectations states theory, those with less status in the hierarchy are often and largely complicit. In my case, although the committee members all seemed invested and committed to their task of developing a new academic program, they were very busy people and had limited time to devote to the project beyond committee meetings. Their strong support of the chair and tendency to avoid questioning or raising alternative or conflicting ideas or options may have helped them minimize their responsibility for the decisions and outcomes of the group’s work. It also reflected their limited knowledge about the process of developing a new academic program in a complex university.

Assertive Contributions

I created the selective code “assertive contributions” to help identify instances of influence, when a committee member contributed to the discussion without being prompted, in a way that directed, changed, or shifted the discussion whether in content or tone. I coded 88 instances of assertive contributions, and 27 of these (more than any other committee member) were initiated by Dr. Butler, the senior faculty member. Dr. Butler interrupted others fairly often with these assertive contributions, and as he made points or raised topics he felt should garner attention, he provided historical context or shared his experiences leading to his viewpoints. His

influence was clear, and for the most part, his contributions and experience was valued and appreciated based on the data I gathered through individual interviews and reactions of committee members to his remarks in meetings. Dr. Butler tended to speak loudly and with enthusiasm, which seemed to add to his ability to impact the flow of conversation. He did considerable work outside the meetings to help map curricular paths and identify admissions criteria which demonstrated that he was highly invested in creating the new program.

In comparison, I coded 10 instances of assertive contributions for Dr. Evans, specific to instances where he interjected and changed the flow or topic of conversation. However, as noted previously, I used a separate code to track comments specific to group management and leadership; 65 of 76 coded instances were statements from Dr. Evans directing the group's discussion, agenda or plans or making statements that provided guidance or reassurance. While this made sense given he was the committee chair and his formal role was to direct the work of the group, it was striking how much the group deferred to his direction, and how little others directed the group process.

Dr. Evans seemed to welcome Dr. Butler's contributions, and his enthusiasm and energy for the most part; in turn, Dr. Butler praised Dr. Evans for his leadership. In our individual interview, Dr. Evans said that he was aware that Dr. Butler was very talkative and while he valued his experience, he had wondered if he would dominate conversation too much. He met with Dr. Butler to talk about the process and acknowledged his experience and expertise. In the committee meetings, Dr. Butler was vocal and at times interrupted others, but he wasn't domineering; he did not attempt to direct the committee's agenda or activities. He and Dr. Evans seemed to have established a respectful working relationship. In one meeting, after a discussion about course offerings in which Dr. Butler made many comments, the discussion ended with Dr.

Butler saying, “There’s not going to be a list of classes, but there’s going to be actual sample programs that integrate, and so I think that’s really different than the random list the people think about” and Dr. Evans replied “Okay. That makes sense. Great.” In my individual interview with Dr. Butler, he commented on the strengths of the committee: “The best thing about the committee was that it was an intense activity and people got to know and respect each other well. I asked, “How did this happen?” Dr. Butler replied, “It happened in part because Glenn (Dr. Evans) is an excellent chair (laughter)!”

I considered that Dr. Butler could well have chaired this committee, but he never hinted that should be the case and he clearly supported Dr. Evans. In turn, Dr. Evans demonstrated respect for Dr. Butler, by regularly acknowledging his contributions and experience (see segment on status treatments, p 158). Thus, the two most vocal and influential members of the committee struck an accord and supported one another. They each contributed in significant ways to the committee’s work and success. Yet they also dominated the committee in many respects. I often wondered, “What does Dr. Reed think?” or “What does Dr. Price think?” yet these members did not often weigh in.

I coded 13 instances of assertive contributions for Dr. Alexander. He raised questions and concerns about the process and time constraints as well as faculty hiring and issues related to teaching assignments and faculty or departmental incentives. In one meeting, he shifted the discussion by raising a question about faculty engagement:

> There was a question raised to me as part of a discussion after the faculty meeting that is certainly concerning, it was a good question and I didn’t have an answer to it, is how to engage faculty who are developing courses...so if I’m going to work to develop or modify a course what are my targets, what am I aiming at? We have done a ton of work and flushed out a lot as part of this committee but what’s been shared so far probably has been very general…

This prompted responses from Dr. Butler and Dr. Evans, who suggested they offer course design workshops for faculty in the coming months.

I tallied five assertive contributions each for Dr. Palmer, Dr. Smith and Dr. Price, two assertive contributions for Dr. Reed and Dr. Davidson, and none for Dr. Mathis. Dr. Palmer spoke in response to questions and to provide updates. Yet she did not typically interject or try to direct the conversation. In our individual interview, she stated,

> The roles are a little challenging in that Dr. Evans reports to me as associate dean, yet as chair he drives the agenda for the committee, and I also represent my department… if I have a strong opinion from my departmental role I try and push that some. I have probably stepped back a little on the undergrad committee lately. I feel like I've been distracted by other agendas at the dean's level.

Dr. Smith, while he served on the committee only in the first semester I observed their meetings, made meaningful contributions that others mentioned in individual interviews as helpful. Early in the new program proposal writing process, he raised a question that the committee had not yet considered:

> Do we have a sense of what kind of questions are likely to surface at the university level and Board of Trustees? 'Cause, it's really how we sell the proposal to other people. So, we need to think about from their perspective, what they would like to see...And I don't know whether the Board of Trustees has changed as a result of the recent election, and whether the composition within the board could affect questions that are likely to be posed to our ideas. Do we have a sense of that?

Dr. Price at time made assertive contributions about faculty matters or curriculum discussions. He seemed to provide a good checkpoint on next level or downstream issues, while representing faculty interests. For example, he stated in a meeting,

> So, we discussed this in the faculty meeting yesterday, and it's kind of the consensus of the faculty that any undergraduate students taking the 600-level course to satisfy this should really have the prerequisite courses that we require in the graduate program. So, could we actually add a couple more classes to this plan?

This comment furthered discussion about students taking graduate level courses and needing prerequisites to do so. Dr. Davidson, who served on the committee in the second academic year I was observing and, as the year continued, participated (and attended meetings) less often. At one of the first meetings he attended, he was more vocal, in particular as he learned that the deans had added another requirement and that would impinge on some of his (and others) ideas for the curriculum. He stated, “I was just double checking the course menu...I think there is still room for work.”

Dr. Butler and Marcy Danforth tried to explain how at the last meeting, they learned the deans had decided there should be a third course requirement; after some discussion, Dr. Evans suggested they move to a new topic, but Dr. Davidson made an assertive contribution by saying, “I’d like to keep it open briefly.” Then Dr. Evans spoke at greater length about the surprising change that had come from the deans, and how he felt they could manage to work it into their course plans. Dr. Davidson seemed to accept this explanation. He had come to the committee with many years of experience leading a departmental curriculum committee. Despite being less vocal in the meetings, he had a positive orientation to his involvement, saying:

> I feel like I have a general curiosity about how the field is expanding into the undergraduate space, I also was intellectually curious about how we were gonna do this because it seems like such a major initiative for the school. And I also am just enjoying working with Glenn Evans, and I wanted to support him as a colleague.

Dr. Mathis was a member of the committee in the first semester I observed (and the term before I started observing). He was a full professor from the same department as Dr. Butler. He so rarely spoke, that when I asked Dr. Evans in our interview about who was influential in the group, he struggled to remember his name, and felt bad about that, saying: “That’s terrible, I’m

blanking on his name. He was the one who… wasn't very talkative...at all. But when we asked him to do something he was willing."

Regarding the two staff members, I coded 12 assertive contributions for Marcy Danforth and seven for Heather Carter. Heather Carter made more of her assertive contributions in the last semester I observed the committee. I view this pattern as reflecting Heather's growing confidence over time. In our interview, Heather shared,

> I think initially I was very, very quiet. The first few times that I spoke up...the little contributions that I made were well received and supported. Not just like, "Oh this is the staff person." I think that that reinforced my participation over time. I think a lot of staff are hesitant about their interactions with faculty members, but I feel very comfortable correcting folks if I feel that there is something I can contribute that brings us back on track... the support of the committee and the way that they've received my work and the contributions that I've made, that changed a lot about how I participate. And it's disappointing to see that a lot of staff feel that hierarchy. Because it's not just the larger university that's to blame, it's each of us. We each play a part in that. I feel fortunate to have overcome that fear of interacting with faculty…

In meetings later in the committee's process, I observed that Heather Carter was participating more often and at times, made assertive contributions. She brought both issues and knowledge to the table and acted with increased confidence. In our interview, she shared,

> I worked (in another department) before this and I didn't have a lot of interaction with faculty members and when I did, it was very different. I just never really felt like that interaction was comfortable there, so of course I was a little hesitant coming here. A staff member kind of just being thrown into this committee but I felt quickly trusted and taken seriously. I felt that my role was valued even though it wasn't an official title. My role has continued to be valued a lot because of the way that Dr. Evans works with everyone. I feel that I have been able to develop professionally a lot quicker and I've gone a lot further than I think that I would if someone else were leading this initiative.

According to expectations states theory, her assertive contributions would serve to bolster her status in the group[4], yet her status characteristics (e.g. rank/role, gender) would function

[4] This is reflected in Sheryl Sandberg's popular book, "Lean In" (2013), a book focused on empowering women to assert themselves in the workplace. Sandberg referenced Cecilia Ridgeway's article, "Status in Groups: The Importance of Motivation," American Sociological Review 47, no 1 (1982), which reported that women were more

implicitly to maintain her relative status. Her promotion later in the process signaled her status increased through her time on the committee. Dr. Evans commented in our interview that he observed Heather having meaningful, professional exchanges with the senior associate dean in meetings outside of the committee meetings -- something he connected to his efforts to reduce emphasis on hierarchy and bring staff voices to bear:

> “I feel like people in the group, especially on our committee, really respect (the staff members) and respect their opinion. And I was thinking about this yesterday, we were meeting with (senior associate dean) Mary Sanders. And Mary and Heather were having an exchange about advising, and it was really cool. I remember sitting there thinking, “This is so cool because they're having an exchange as equals."

And to his credit, the fact she was able to have these exchanges with the senior associate dean was a way he provided her with an opportunity for professional -- and status -- growth. Without my prompting, Dr. Evans spoke further about his views on staff roles and hierarchy:

> One thing I noticed is there's a lot of hierarchical structures at the university but then also within the school. And so, with Heather’s role and Marcy’s role as staff members, initially it was like they were there to serve the faculty. And one thing I was very clear about from the get-go is that we're a team. I don't believe in these hierarchical structures. Because I don't think that that's beneficial and it doesn't create a sense of ownership and cohesiveness. So, I had conversations with both of them, very early on. It's like, "You're a critical member of this team, and it's a team. It's not 'You're the staff members and we're the faculty members, but this is our team.'" And so, just simple things. As I said, "I want your names on everything. I want you to feel like you have a voice." Especially for Heather who was new and had been an undergrad, it's like, "I want you to speak up. I don't want you to just take notes. I want to hear your voice because you have a really critical voice."

This approach, in my view, did benefit the staff members’ role and status on the committee in meaningful ways, and while both staff members noted this approach as positive, Marcy

influential in male dominated groups if they made group level statements rather than individual statements (e.g. I think we might want to do x, rather than specifying themselves, or another, as the primary actor).

Danforth, despite having a more senior level role and participating more in the meetings, struggled with the lack of clarity in her role and the lack of recognition for her work.

Marcy Danforth made more assertive contributions in the first semester I observed the committee, and fewer later in the process, which may reflect what I viewed as her growing disenfranchisement. Early in the process, Marcy Danforth helped organize information about what was needed in the new program proposal and helped direct Heather Carter's work outside of the committee, such as gathering information from across campus and from programs at other institutions. She had tried to sound the alarm about the timeline being unreasonable, but this went unheeded. Her assertive contributions became less frequent as her sense of her own potential role in the program remained unclear. In our interview, in response to my asking if her role the committee had shifted or changed over time, she said,

> We've talked about whether I would get any kind of recognition, official recognition, from this like a title like interim managing director because that is how I have perceived my role, and how I've functioned in the role, how Glenn has relied on me, how the committee members have relied on me, how Heather has relied on me, how Dorothy's relied on me. And so, I feel like the lack of clarity in my role sometimes really clouded my efficacy… So, if I see something that I think needs to be done I do it. But it has made me somewhat tentative in my efforts…I think because my role is so ill-defined, and it's clear I'm on my way out with the active administrative role, with the undergraduate program, I... Yeah, anyway...

Status Treatments

I observed numerous "status treatments" in the committee members' interactions with one another. Recall that a status treatment is defined as an instance where someone with identifiably higher status (via role, rank, experience, known social identities with greater status e.g. male vs. female) makes an overt statement that approves, bolsters, applauds or affirms the statements, opinions, or efforts of a member with less status. I saw status treatments afforded most often from the chair of the committee to the two staff members on the committee. In some instances, these seemed to have a positive impact. For example, Dr. Evans spoke very positively

about Heather Carter's work with the new program's application and with the University Registrar:

> Heather did an amazing amount of work and really took time to look at other, not just other places within the University but other schools to see what their admissions applications look like. So, I think - I know we will have a really great application as we get really great students to be in our really great program. We also have program codes which means we are official. We had a nice meeting with the university registrar's office and again, Heather has been working on this big document with many questions.

Dr. Evans championed Heather Carter's work during the time I observed the committee, and this appears to have influenced the decisions made to expand her role and to later promote her to a higher position.[5] Based on my interview with the two staff members, these promotions did not come easily. Marcy Danforth indicated that, in general, staff members were not often promoted and she too felt she was not in a job classification that matched her experience and level of contribution.

Dr. Evans also gave status treatments to fellow faculty members on the committee. Examples included: "I think that's an excellent question," "I think it is a good point," " I think that's an excellent point, Ned - I think that's a great addition that you came up with," "I agree with Curtis," and "But I do like that one as well. I love Marcus' ideas." He gave a few similar status treatments to staff, such as "That's a really great point Marcy, I like that." Yet, the status treatments that Dr. Evans extended to fellow faculty most often commented on the quality of their ideas or points, while most of the status treatments he extended to staff members related to their effort and hard work. For example, Dr. Evans remarked about the contributions of guest staff members who attended a meeting: "This is really, really helpful. Thank you for all of your

[5] Heather later received an additional promotion.

work and it's made me think of a lot of new things as well," and he recognized Heather's work: "Heather has been working extremely hard on lots of different aspects of the program."

One explanation for this difference could be that the formal roles of staff members were qualitatively different than faculty members. Staff members were engaged in more administrative work related to the new program and faculty members were representing their departments and providing their insights on the intellectual aspects of the program. Yet I observed both staff members sharing ideas and thoughts during the meetings and on substantive points. Guest staff members, in particular, shared specific information, ideas, and recommendations based on experience, knowledge, and data. Some faculty members, too, worked hard outside of the committee to pull together aspects of the proposal. This difference -- with faculty members' contributions being afforded greater attention and recognition than those of staff -- may serve as subtle cues that reflect and help maintain the existing status hierarchy.

This occurred even as Dr. Evans was purportedly aiming to include the staff on the committee as equal members. My analysis shows that staff members did contribute ideas, but that they also deferred to faculty at times or experienced moments when their ideas or concerns were not taken up as or were ignored.

Minimizing, deflecting and ignoring

While not all comments made received specific reinforcement or were discussed at length, at times members comments were minimized, ignored, or otherwise deflected. I coded 18 such instances, a relatively small number given the many hours of committee meetings I observed. Still, it is striking that 16 of the 18 instances involved the two staff members on the committee whose comments received responses that minimized, ignored or deflected their contribution. Most of these were subtle; they might to some seem insignificant. Yet they were

noticeable to me, and their subtlety may in fact suggest they operated in keeping with the implicit manner that status hierarchy often operates. A few instances were more blatant, yet no one in the group spoke up to rectify or mediate them.

In one case, Heather Carter spoke for as long a period as I had ever observed. She raised a significant concern she felt about the plan for opening admission to students transferring from other institutions, and the significant difficulty she saw ahead for making this happen:

> I think the external transfer students is a high anxiety thing for me right now. So, after the info session. I'm getting lots of inquiries. I'm doing a group advising session tomorrow to try to get like five to seven students in here to answer their questions but external transfer students are tricky.

She continued describing her concern, how she consulted with someone in another program who said they are taking most of the summer to work through course transfer planning. She described how external transfer students have different needs, will need a tailored orientation etc. Others on the committee responded in ways that did not account for her level of concern, or seemed to question her in a way that suggested she was making things more complicated than they actually were. Dr. Butler said, "I think we're committed to it." Dr. Palmer said, "We are - is there someone who can tell us what we need to do?" Marcy Danforth said "Can't we use the course equivalencies from arts and sciences?" Heather Carter explained more about why this was a difficult and complicated process and a very tight timeline, she had consulted with others and was well informed.[6] She was asked more questions and answered those questions and then further stated her concern:

> That's why I feel so anxious about this is because there's a lot of responsibility. I feel like on my part if I tell them you can take this course and then later we say no that's not right. I don't know, I just I want to be clear about that and with registration starting like - now.

[6] Having worked with launching an external transfer program recently, I wanted to jump in and say "what she is saying is true - it's really difficult and there are lots of issues to address here!"

While the committee members seemed to be trying to help and the deans had said that a transfer program was a must as they opened the new program, Heather Carter's concerns were not fully acknowledged or addressed. It seemed like a lot of responsibility on her shoulders, without someone more senior stepping in with more of a path forward to sort it out. At the end of this discussion, Dr. Evans said:

> So, they (the transfer students) may just have to do a little bit more work on their end to do that and then we can help them once we know but they're going to do the front-end work because you were thinking about being really nice...but they're going to have to come in with it. We can't do everything for them.

Dr. Evans said the meeting time was up, and described what the next meeting would include, without referencing the external transfer issues. This seemed particularly dismissive to me. Heather discussed this situation in our interview; she said that others on the committee were concerned as well and that the concern was brought to the senior associate dean, who said they needed to do the best they could in the first year. Yet her level of effort to make it work well for the transfer students did not seem to be matched by others on the committee, and I noted that others hadn't voiced their concerns in the meeting (Dr. Butler also expressed strong concerns about starting the transfer program in our individual interview).

I also observed instances of comments being ignored or diminished involving Marcy Danforth, the senior staff member on the committee. During the meeting when the committee was debriefing about the summer retreat with faculty, Marcy said:

> I would just say that another theme or issue that really struck me from the faculty retreat are the concentrations and things like that is how difficult it can be for faculty to think interdepartmentally. That's just something we really need to be conscious of.

Then Dr. Evans said, "And too, I also want to thank Marcy and Heather for coming and taking such great notes, and Dorothy did a lot of integration of notes too. So really, it was a

great team effort to put together all these materials." Marcy Danforth's remark went unacknowledged, so the conversation continued otherwise. This happened in a number of instances; I coded ten instances when Marcy Danforth's comments were ignored, diminished, or deflected, and six instances when this happened in response to Heather Carter's comments. In some cases, these situations were subtle differences in the responses to staff members' contributions. Given the more limited participation and lower status of staff members on the committee, this seemed to reflect the effect of status hierarchy.

Prompted Contributions

According to expectations states theory, those with higher status are afforded more opportunities to speak, including being prompted for their opinion or encouraged to contribute (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003). I used the selective code "prompted contributions" to mark instances when one committee member prompted another to speak or to respond to a question. I coded 17 instances of a committee member being prompted to speak. Eleven of these prompts were initiated by Dr. Evans; of these six were prompting Heather Carter, Marcy Danforth or a guest staff member to say something, four prompted Dr. Palmer to speak, and there was one instance where he prompted Dr. Jerry Alexander, saying "You look like you have something to say." Dr. Butler prompted others to speak three times, directed at Marcy Danforth, a guest staff member, and one directed at the whole group, "What are the pros and cons of having undergraduates in graduate classes?" Dorothy Palmer prompted a contribution once; she asked a guest faculty member a question. Marcy asked the same guest faculty member a question: "How would master's students feel about having undergraduates in their class?" which sparked a good discussion about how that had played out fairly well for this faculty member. Marcy Danforth

also prompted Heather Carter once, asking if she wanted to share about a meeting she had with an academic advisor.

At first, I was surprised that prompts did not happen more often, but then I thought about patterns I described previously, such as decisions being made by default after a couple of people nodded heads, rather than everyone being asked to weigh in, and as I saw the nature of the prompts, I saw that, in this group at least, they were not always serving to reflect or enhance status. In this task focused group with strong role delineation (staff members and associate dean carrying responsibilities related to administration, vs. faculty members) it makes sense that some individuals with less status were prompted more for information or with requests for follow up.

In future research, I would want to further evaluate how this code was defined and whether it was capturing what was intended. It could be with more data that more patterns would emerge. My analysis suggests that in this group, prompted contributions were more likely to be initiated by a person with higher status than received by a higher status person.

I also found that most of the prompted were initiated by men towards women. In a few cases these had a directive tone that seemed different than prompts aimed at men, such as Dr. Evans asking Heather “Do you want to share your new title?” and “Heather what do you think?” and asking Dr. Reed “Do you want to walk us through this outline?” Marcy Danforth also prompted Heather in a directive way, asking “Do you want to talk about your exchange with the advisor?” These instances were not frequent, and not glaringly problematic, but it was rare or never that men and those with higher status were prompted to specifically share their thoughts, as though they wouldn’t know when they wanted to do that.

Recognition of and Contribution of Skill or Expertise

I also coded interactions in which a committee member was recognized by another committee member or the committee chair for an area of expertise of skill, or when a committee member's skill or experience had a direct impact on the process or decision. The latter was difficult to code, and the former did not happen often. When prompted in individual interviews about areas of expertise that helped or were missing, people would remark most often about the experience that Dr. Evans and Dr. Butler brought to bear.

This particular code did help identify instances in which a lower status member (or guest attending a meeting) brought expertise that would influence the discussion or process, and for revealing how deferential most committee members were to others based on their perceptions of their skills or experience. Dr. Reed, for example, remarked multiple times in our interview that she trusted and believed in the decisions being made given the knowledge and experience of others on the committee, and so she was not bothered that she did not have a direct involvement in those decisions. She specifically recognized Dr. Evans' broad skills and experience:

> Dr. Evans sort of feels a little bit like the catch-it-all person. I don't think among the rest of us, there is kind of a token, expert in pedagogy, but Glenn has that expertise. It's always complicated to be the chair and the expert in the topic. And so, I think because he has so much experience in undergraduate education, I think any of the gaps that we have as departmental representatives, he has been able to fill those in.

There were just four instances when I coded a committee member verbally recognizing a member's skill or experience during committee meetings, in two instances Dr. Butler pointed out his own experience and in one instance Dr. Evans did the same, Dr. Evans also referred once to Marcy Danforth's expertise. In interviews, people referred to Dr. Evans and Dr. Butler the most for their skills and experience, but I coded those instances as individual perceptions of status or influence. Overall, this selective code did not provide me with really, any new information. It

added some nuances to the analysis while also suggesting there were not a lot of content experts in developing a new undergraduate program.

The consultant that Dr. Evans had employed to help with curriculum design and faculty retreats did not attend any committee meetings, yet her knowledge and skills were noted at times when Dr. Evans would share updates about her work, and was described by Heather Carter in our interview as well. Dr. Evans described the consultant's role to the committee near the end of the first term I observed their meetings:

> Our consultant is from the institution I was at previously. She has taught undergrads in our field for many, many years and has a lot of background and experience in curricular design and curricular development, her PhD is in education. I think she'll be a great person to talk about some of these issues like what's the best strategies for team-teaching, what's the best strategies for conveying this information in courses. She's very, very good at curriculum development, which is what we need; an external person who hasn't been intimately involved in all this.

At times the participation of individuals increased due to the knowledge or experience a committee member brought to bear on a particular topic or issue or given an assignment they were reporting back to the group about. Marcy Danforth, for example, contributed more when discussions turned to discussions of online course options, which was a topic with which she had considerable knowledge and experience. When guests joined the committee, they were afforded significant attention, given the expertise they brought to a particular discussion. This includes the guest faculty member who shared about his experiences teaching undergraduates, the senior staff members who discussed admissions, student life, and career services, and the staff members who ran the School's experiential programs office, who shared their knowledge and ideas about capstone courses and experiential learning in the undergraduate program.

Summary and Conclusion

The chair and associate dean had more status than others on the committee, yet the faculty committee members and faculty at large have oversight power and independent action potential that could derail their efforts. Thus, Dr. Evans and Dr. Palmer were very responsive when faculty raised questions or concerns. Staff members, even senior staff members on the committee or at large, were not in the same position as faculty to influence the process, even when they had important concerns or good ideas.

Faculty members serving on the committee were quick to defer to the chair and associate dean, as well as to the wishes of the dean and senior associate dean, who influenced the committee's work but were not part of the committee itself. Faculty members on the committee did not push back even when they had significant concerns. Even the senior faculty member on the committee, who was vocal about a number of issues and concerns, did not discuss the serious concerns he held regarding the plan to open the transfer program at the same time as the initial program launch during committee meetings. He seemed to understand the political and financial implications of the deans' position on the transfer program, and was willing to go along with it in hopes that enough could be done to make it reasonably successful. This could have led to significant problems for the school if things went poorly.

The strong influence of the dean and associate dean should be expected. People are hired or promoted into leadership roles and assume a role that carries status. If they maintain ethical and positive leadership practices, their influence can and typically would be positive. Yet expectations states theory proposes that formal leadership role or membership in an occupation that carries high status in society are status characteristics that assemble along with other status

characteristics in a task-focused group to impact the pattern of interaction and influence.[7] A leader may not realize the influence he or she carries, the extent to which it creates compliance from those working with them, or the tacit ways in which the leader can inhibit others from sharing their ideas, dissenting views etc.

The role of committee leader – the committee chair – was a significant power influence on the group process and interaction. Dr. Evans held status from his leadership role, faculty status (full professor) and from his experience with undergraduate education at another institution (and he was a white male). Thus, he drew from role status as well as experiential status, and held status due to race and gender. One would expect the committee chair to have a lot of influence on the group. It is, however, worth noting the degree of influence he had, as well as the "status multiplier" effect he enjoyed; combining experience, employment rank, his assigned role as chair, as well as his gender and race, helped him to lead the committee through a very challenging process. Someone with less status may have had more difficulty in achieving the goals of the committee.

The strong hierarchical environment in which the committee operated became quite evident during a committee discussion about the presentation of the program proposal at the faculty meeting, and the faculty vote on it. Dr. Evans said he wanted everyone on the committee to be at the presentation, at the front of the room in solidarity and to give them credit for their work. But then as he confirmed who is going, he asked Marcy Danforth, the senior staff member, if she is going and she said "I don't know. I haven't been invited."

[7] Even those in leadership roles may face challenges due to the mix of status characteristics they hold and face. For example, research extending expectations states theory has confirmed the experience of many women and minority leaders that they need to work harder to have the same influence as a leader from a majority group, and their legitimacy as a leader will be subject to more question (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003).

This referred to the fact that staff members do not typically attend faculty meetings even if their role is connected with curriculum or research. Dr. Evans quickly confirmed with associate dean Palmer that Marcy could attend, which itself seemed awkward. Dr. Palmer not only confirmed staff attendance was appropriate, but that she and Dr. Evans wanted Marcy there since they were all part of the Task Force team. Although part of the team, this situation clearly marked a very strong hierarchical norm.

My analysis of status hierarchy and performance expectations illuminates, in alignment with the predictions of the expectations states theory, that members of the committee with higher status characteristics participated more and had more influence on the process. Members with special skills or knowledge shifted the power and prestige structure, at least temporarily, and that behavioral interchange patterns both reflected and, at times shifted, the status hierarchy. For example, staff members invited as guests to specific meetings brought specific knowledge and expertise and their input was given strong attention and value by the committee. Beyond this, I have demonstrated the roles of actors outside the committee on the status hierarchy of committee, while raising issues of faculty governance and control. In these instances, potential positive influence was limited based on individuals who were not on the committee or whose influence was constrained due to their status.

At the same time, the patterns I found suggest some variance from the predictions expectations states theory might suggest. Cohen and Zhou (1991) posited that leadership roles have a more significant and influential role in enduring (ongoing) work groups than in ad hoc groups (used in much of the experimental research underlying expectations states theory), and that organizational culture would enter into the status hierarchy. Similarly, my analysis suggests that individuals and cultural factors outside of the committee entered into the status hierarchy of

the group. I also suggest that the chair may have benefitted from a "status multiplier" effect, in which his formal leadership role added significantly to his influence when combined with his role as a faculty member who was a white male and had substantive expertise in undergraduate education.

In addition, I propose motivation as an intervening variable in the way status hierarchy and performance expectations presented in the committee as a working group. If this hypothesis is correct, it would help explain why some full professors serving on the committee participated so little and thus had less influence, despite what their status characteristics would predict, as well as the impact of group interaction patterns on the level of participation of some committee members (e.g. Heather Carter's increasing participation, and Marcy Danforth's decreasing participation). Scholars of expectations states theory, while emphasizing the pattern of status characteristics held by group members as operating automatically and tacitly, do not present it as completely controlling group interaction and influence or as unchanging.

Thus, behavioral interchange patterns not only reflect status hierarchy, but can create or shift it (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). It stands to reason that someone with less motivation to exert their influence may not, and someone who feels a higher level of motivation (due to interest or potential career advancement) may display assertive communication or make valuable contributions that impact their participation and potentially their influence. Still, in a group with mixed status characteristics, behavioral interchange patterns have been shown to have limited impact on the actual status hierarchy (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Someone with higher status may choose not to use their influence, and yet they retain the potential to do so.

On a broader level, Ridgeway's development of status construction theory helps explain how beliefs about status develop and shift in society (Ridgeway, 2019, 1991). As more women

entered the workforce and attained leadership roles and greater economic advantages, for example, status beliefs about their competency have become more positive, albeit not achieving equality with status beliefs about male leaders. According to Correll and Ridgeway (2003):

> Since expectation states theory has shown that status beliefs are at play in goal-oriented encounters among people, status construction theory asks if these same encounters might be a potent forum for the development and spread of new status beliefs or the maintenance or change of existing status beliefs (p. 44).

In the next chapter, I focus on a discussion of cognitive frames, which derive from theory and research on culture and cognition and guided my analysis. These patterns of thought shaped, directed, or limited the committee's understanding of and approach to their work. I also describe the impact of status hierarchy and performance expectations on these cognitive frames.

Chapter VI. Culture, Cognition and Cognitive Frames

The central purpose of my study is to examine the underlying cultural forces that permeate curriculum development and specifically, the work of an academic program development team. The literature on culture and cognition views culture as a complex milieu of cultural content and contexts, with social situations and social relational interactions priming and producing the lived cultural environment. More than 20 years ago, sociologist Paul DiMaggio (1997) remarked “cultural theory has become highly sophisticated but not highly operational,” and called for researchers to clarify “the fundamental concepts and units of analysis” (p. 263). He wrote:

> Once we acknowledge that culture is inconsistent...it becomes crucial to identify units of analysis and to focus attention on the relations among them...Once we acknowledge that people behave as if they use culture strategically, it follows that the cultures into which people are socialized leave much opportunity for choice and variation. Thus, our attention turns to ways in which differing cultural frames or understandings may be situationally cued. (1997, p. 265)

My analysis aims to add to the efforts to define and apply units of analysis to explore cultural patterns and their impact.

One approach to understanding cultural patterns comes from Estela Bensimon (2005), who built on the work of Argyris (1991). She writes:

> “Cognitive frames, also known as mental maps, represent the rules or reasoning that govern how individuals interpret situations and how they design and implement their actions” (Bensimon, 2005 p. 100). Cognitive frames are thus the interpretive frameworks through which individuals make sense of phenomena; they represent “the way in which an individual understands a situation.” (p.101) These frames “determine what questions may be asked, what information is collected, how problems are defined and what actions should be taken” (p.101).

As discussed in Chapter Three, my methods reflect Kezar (2015) who used observation of organizational teams and inductive analysis to identify the both the tacit and explicit concepts and patterns that shaped teams' work. My analysis of 17 committee meetings surfaced cognitive frames that shaped and screened the committee's attention and thinking, that were held by multiple members or the committee, and that impacted their process and actions. In some cases, these cognitive frames included explicit concepts or perspectives that the committee came to share as a group, as well as implicit, unspoken concepts or perspectives that were reflected in their language, decisions, actions or inactions. My criteria for confirming a cognitive frame was the occurrence of multiple comments or behaviors involving multiple people, in more than one meeting; in addition, the cognitive frame had to be reflected and influential in the committee's discussions, decisions, behavior and/or work process. I recognize that the inductive process for determining a cognitive frame as opposed to determining a theme, is not well developed in the literature. I relied on the concept of cognitive frames to help push my analysis deeper and to implicit patterns that shaped the committee's work. From coding, memoing, and interviews, I began to develop concepts that reflected thinking, attention, and behavior related to their process, such as the committee's tendency to ignore signals and information about their initial timeline, which I came to view as a cognitive frame that I called suspension of disbelief.

In this chapter I discuss five cognitive frames that shaped the committee's work, and refer to ways in which concepts from expectations states theory help to explain the formation and impact of the cognitive frames. I also present two integrative themes that seemed to build from multiple patterns of thought and action, as well as the status hierarchy of the group, and that reflect broader dimensions of organizational culture that influenced the group's thinking and process.

Parallel Processes

In the first committee meeting I observed, the group was discussing the proposal they needed to create for the new undergraduate program, now that they had decided to indeed pursue creation of a bachelor's degree program. They were reviewing the list of items to include in the proposal that they had obtained from the Provost's Office. It was February 2015, and the timeline at that point was to launch the undergraduate program in September 2016. There was discussion in the committee regarding the priorities and concerns of the Provost's Office and Board of Trustees. This created a point of distinction - that this school's faculty might be the more challenging hurdle in terms of program approval, and that the Provost might be more interested in the financial assessment, with the Board of Trustees perhaps looking at what the career outcomes or overall impact of the degree might be. As the discussion continued, Dr. Evans referred to the "program description" section of the committee's proposal, stating that it was largely done, given what they had prepared for a recent presentation at a faculty meeting. Dr. Butler remarked:

> To my mind, for this section we actually have two levels. There's the level that needs to be in the proposal, but I think there needs to be a more detailed level that needs to exist for evaluation of what we're really getting ourselves into, and for making sure that we have appropriate buy-in from the faculty and departments.

This initial reference to "two levels" was mainly in reference to the proposal, but hinted at the need to assess what would be needed to launch the program, or as one committee member put it, "what we're really getting ourselves into." During the discussion, Marcy Danforth referred to the need to attend to two levels:

> Yeah, and so, I think there are those two levels of things, so I'm thinking, in some ways, we've got a work plan for the proposal, but we have to also have a work plan for curriculum and program development, or something like that, like have those two tracks going simultaneously.

Others nodded in agreement. About fifteen minutes later, after further discussion about who would draft different segments of the proposal including governance, student services, program administration and delivery, Dr. Evans said:

> And this is really helpful, discussed here earlier, at least for me to be thinking about this parallel process, that we need to be doing a proposal. But we do need to have a structure for how we're gonna do curricular development.

He coined the term "parallel process" and referred to it as a helpful concept for thinking about their work. At this early stage, it seemed to serve as a reflective device that helped the committee conceptualize its work. Yet the committee did not develop the structure that he suggested was needed, and had not discussed what their process would involve or the key deadlines that would impact their work. Thus, the notion of "parallel process" seemed a rudimentary reflection of the need to attend to both the proposal and the development of the new curriculum.

In a meeting the following March, Marcy and Dr. Evans had another exchange about the parallel process, in reference to organizing their work. Marcy said:

> And I also think that this is part of what would be more of a curriculum planning discussion for an upcoming meeting rather than diving into it now. In terms of the proposal, it's not the information we have to get ready, but it is important as for doing the actual thing. We're on these two tracks.

Dr. Evans replied, "Right, there are two parallel processes." Then, Marcy added, "Yeah. That's what I'm thinking." While others did not chime in, there was a tacit agreement and the group followed this suggestion to prioritize their attention during this particular meeting and presumably in future meetings.

In subsequent meetings, I noted while the committee members did not always make specific references to "two levels" or "parallel processes," they were more attentive to the work of the proposal than to the work needed to be done – in parallel - to launch the degree. In late

May, Dr. Evans suggested they look through their proposal to help identify what they needed to do for program development. Heather Carter said, “We have that work plan, too.” Dr. Butler made an additional point, “Part of this is sort of figuring out what are the faculty-type things and what are the staff-type things and what are the overlaps? Although the committee had identified the parallel processes they had to undertake, and a work plan had been created, they struggled with organizing and planning the work. Dr. Palmer followed up on Dr. Butler’s comment, noting that the student affairs staff was not yet substantively engaged, but that the admissions director could start evaluating what was needed. She said, “We need to start planning” and Dr. Butler added “Very soon. We have to have everything ready to roll out the day of (getting final approvals).”

Connected to the cognitive frame of parallel processes, which helped the committee conceptualize its work, is a secondary cognitive frame -- that of assumed approvals. In discussions about the need to attend simultaneously to the proposal process and plans to develop the curriculum and launch the program, it was clear that the committee viewed the chances of their proposal being denied - by their faculty, the Provost, the Board of Trustees, or the State Council - as very small. This did not result in a lackadaisical approach; although they did not have a clear and methodical approach to the complex task they faced, they were committed to creating a “quality” program. Members of the committee argued that their own faculty would be “the higher bar” than approvals at the University or State levels. Yet the looming launch date required the committee to combine working on the curriculum development and administrative systems with the task of writing the proposal. When the faculty approved the proposal in May 2015, it was barely discussed or celebrated at the next meeting. The response was similar when the approval from the provost’s office, board of trustees, and state council came. This may have

been due to the volume of work they were managing, but also seemed to reflect their expectation that these approvals were all but certain.

That summer, prior to the Board of Trustees and State Council approvals but after the faculty had approved the proposal, Dr. Evans said that the dean suggested the committee formalize an Undergraduate Program committee. Dr. Palmer said, "I'm not sure we can formalize it when we don't have an undergraduate program!" Yet they proceeded to discuss the formation of a committee. The group discussed exploring whether the school's bylaws already outlined a process or whether one would need to be drafted. Marcy said, "Worst case scenario, what if we don't get the approval? We just do this?" Dr. Palmer replied, as others laughed, "We disband the committee then!" In response, Marcy referred again to the parallel process, "We have to do a lot of things in parallel (I noted that Dr. Evans said "parallel" at the same time) because we are working on such a short time frame." While the initial, tight timeline to launch the program was creating this "parallel process," even on a longer timeline, the committee would need to think about the reality of rolling out a program as they developed a program proposal. Their compressed timeline made the overlap and need for a parallel process more significant and challenging.

In the development of this new curriculum and launch of a new degree program, the plans writ large were largely unquestioned, or at least, were not subject to a review process that might result in significant revisions, if not outright rejection. The approach is different than one a faculty team might pursue in developing a significant grant proposal, writing a co-authored manuscript for submission to a journal, or for that matter, what one would expect in doctoral admissions decisions and dissertation approvals.

In fact, the committee had four parallel processes to manage: the program proposal, curriculum development, course development and the administrative planning and process to launch the new program. The cognitive frame of parallel processes was helpful to the committee, but did not lead to further reflection or an in-depth planning process that considered or questioned the full range of steps and activities in motion, nor their interactions and coordination. Heather Carter spoke in our interview about the need for a more thoughtful "strategic plan" to organize their work, and more than one committee member had raised the question of whether the campus teaching and learning center could provide guidance. The consultant used by the committee chair did not participate or advise on the committee's process itself. The frame of "parallel process," formed early in their process with the input of the chair and a senior faculty member, helped the committee think about its process in a more deliberate manner. This was nonetheless a limited conception of their work relative to the multiple dimensions their process actually involved.

Quality Trumps Innovation

Stemming from discussions of the new program's purpose, I identified a second cognitive frame that formed during the first semester I observed the committee: prioritizing quality over innovation. In an interview with a committee member, I learned the impetus for this perspective:

> The dean came to one of the first task force meetings and he really stressed that this wasn't going to be a unique program. He doesn't want it to be unique. He wanted it to be a quality program that the school would be well known because of the quality of instruction, the attention that students were given, but also the liberal arts focus that the program would be based on.

At this point, the task force had been charged with sorting out what role the School should have in undergraduate education (major, minor, certificates, etc.). Later conversations about quality

and innovation were not connected to the dean's input, but rather, were presented as coming from the committee directly.

Several months after the dean's remarks to the committee, four of the nine members had an exchange that depicted their shared perspective of their work. Dr. Alexander remarked:

> I think another important contextual piece to just understand where we are coming from is that, maybe different from some other proposals, we weren't trying to pitch this as we are being completely innovative and blazing new trails. These programs exist elsewhere and have existed for some time. So, we are merely catching up.

Dr. Evans responded, "Right, exactly. I think that's an important point, because, going back to our conversation earlier last semester, I think at one point we were trying to think about how do we make this innovative, and then we had this realization that…" Marcy Danforth completed his sentence, "We don't need to." Dr. Evans repeated, "We don't need to. We need to make it high quality." Dr. Butler concurred, "That was much more important than innovation." Dr. Evans restated, "Right, quality is more important than innovation." Others nodded their agreement. There was not any discussion or questioning regarding how they were defining innovation or quality, nor how these might relate or overlap. Nor was there recognition of any shift in this position when, in subsequent discussion, comments pointed to ways the new program would, indeed, be innovative, or ways the program could achieve both quality and innovation. Thus, the committee demonstrated its attention to developing a quality curriculum, while not affording attention towards being innovative; that just seemed to happen as a byproduct of their work.

During one meeting, the committee recognized that their first cohort of students would come in when the program was, in effect, still in development. Dr. Evans reflected on the program he had started at his previous institution:

> When our first cohort came in, they got really irritated by the time they graduated, because they saw all the great things that we did based on their feedback for the next cohorts. That's where my anxiety comes from. I agree that students are gonna come in

> and say, "I want to be part of something new, I want to do this," but then as they are in the program, a lot of people could feel really ripped off. With these new programs – we're often doing them on a shoestring budget, so that is my concern too, that instead of starting off too shoestring, we put as many things in place as possible.

Although the dean emphasized the goal of high quality, he also pressed for a fast rollout of the program. Meanwhile, the budget was very tight because of the financial situation of the unit and the new program would be dependent on the new enrollments. Quality was a particular concern to Dr. Evans, since as the chair, as he felt his reputation was on the line. He shared in our interview:

> Because one thing that I was really clear when I talked to dean Williams from the very beginning is that I don't want to be part of a program that's just slapped together. And if I'm gonna be part of this, it's going to be well thought out. It's gonna be based in best practices, and educational theory. It's gonna be really a well-constructed, well-run program or else I don't wanna have anything to do with it.

Dr. Evans confided he had even considered resigning his position as committee chair given his concerns about the initial timeline and its impact on the program's quality had gone unheard, though he said he did not share this concern with anyone in the School:

> And there was even one point where I even considered stepping down because I didn't want to... I just don't want my name associated with something that was gonna be inferior. I'm not going to, at this point in my career, put my name on something that I'm not proud of. It's just not worth it.

Despite Dr. Evans clear and direct communication of his priorities and concerns to the dean, he did not respond to those concerns in a material way, such as discussing additional resources needed or extending the timeline. Yet, the level of stress and concern these issues caused Dr. Evans and others on the committee was considerable.

When discussing how to position the new program in the program proposal, Dr. Smith suggested they focus on ways the program will prepare students to contribute to diverse and global communities in the 21st century. Dr. Butler remarked, "Yeah, that makes me feel like

we’re doing something inspiring...not just for the sake of money.” Others nodded in agreement. Given that a central reason for the plan to move into undergraduate education was to increase revenue, this seemed to provide the committee with a sense that they were creating a program that was more than a means for financial gain. Their definition of quality embraced not only how their courses and curriculum were delivered, but how their program would enable students to make a difference in the world. The contributions of the curriculum consultant were also attached to the committee’s view of their quality focus. Heather Carter stated in our interview that the committee was able to “create a very thoughtful foundation and the vision, mission, guiding principles with the help of our curriculum consultant.”

Quality concerns outweighed an interest in being innovative on multiple levels. Yet, despite a stated focus on quality over innovation, the committee’s plan to avoid having their bachelor’s degree mimic their graduate degree (as they had seen in peer programs) appeared to result in an innovative approach, at least relative to programs at other institutions they had looked to for comparison. At a subsequent meeting, Dr. Evans stated, “Again, the feedback we got when we were at the conference in D.C. and from other people, makes me really think we have something very unique here.” The liberal arts orientation to a field with an applied nature, their approach to experiential learning, and their development of integrated core courses were ways that the committee would refer to their new program as innovative. Yet they never acknowledged this as a shift or recognized the program could be both innovative and high quality.

The “quality trumps innovation” cognitive frame served as a reflective device that helped the committee 1) to understand the aims of their work, and 2) to alleviate pressure to attain some imagined and significant level of innovation at a time when the members were

already concerned about achieving an acceptable quality standard due to the timeline and budget. This frame led the committee to make certain choices, such as the utilization of the curriculum consultant to deepen their process on quality dimensions. In the end, their prioritizing of quality over innovation did not seem to reduce their workload, but nor did it preclude them from moving beyond peer program curricular approaches. Instead it appeared to reduce the committee members' feelings of being overwhelmed and to focus their attention on achieving quality, despite the lack of a clear definition and recognizable dimensions.

Process Efficacy

On a regular basis – and in particular during the first semester and first summer I observed their work – Dr. Evans and members of the committee would make statements affirming their work and their ability to reach milestones such as approvals of their proposal and the initial program launch timeline, despite the largely shared concerns about them. Statements made in individual interviews supported the committee's belief that they were doing a good job and that their efforts would reach desired results. I view this as an implicit cognitive frame: it was not something the committee reflected upon as a collective, as in the previous examples of parallel processes and quality trumps innovation. Rather, the frame of process efficacy reflected my assessment of the committee's positive, can-do attitude in the face of significant obstacles and time constraints. When a problem or concern was raised, it was often countered with a positive spin or a met with a positive approach. The combination of a can-do attitude and pattern of positive talk emphasizing the ability to reach milestones led me to identify the frame of process efficacy representing the underlying mindset driving their confidence and fortitude.

In the summer following the first semester I observed them, the committee held a three-hour debriefing meeting following the day-long faculty retreat. The program was not yet

approved by the University, Board of Trustees, or State Council; at that point it was still slated to open one year from that September. The meeting started with Dr. Smith saying there was progress on designing the core courses, but he was "still concerned because there are major things that needed to be worked out before the program can be launched." Dr. Alexander countered, "I think there was a lot of enthusiasm, people were open. People were eager to answer questions which gave everyone a good picture on where it stands. Yes, there are issues but I don't think it was anything we can't manage." Dr. Reed added, "Even though it was a long day it was good to see how engaged people were at the end. It was really excellent overall, but it was good that we got all the insight we did, a lot of new information." Marcy and Heather both noted the engagement and sustained energy of faculty throughout the retreat. The comments about the perceived success of the process moved the focus away from areas of concern.

Even when Dr. Palmer added a less positive observation, she focused on how the committee could move forward: "I heard about the problems all morning!" As others laughed, she continued, "I heard about the disjuncture, but things are moving rapidly if we think about it. We started and finalized the proposal two and a half months ago and it's surprising we are where we are with it." Dr. Evans agreed that there were overlap issues to address with the core courses, that they needed to firm up the majors within the degree, and that they also needed to sort out who would be teaching which courses. He also pointed out the need to figure out the core courses first, and that they would be working with the curriculum consultant on the rest of the curriculum plan. Dr. Evans continued:

> When we started this, we came in with three primary goals and we accomplished them. We got people excited, increased their awareness of the program and made some serious movement on the core courses. We came into the retreat with those three primary objectives and I feel we were able to address those. I know there is some anxiety about who will be able to teach these courses. I am less anxious about that and happier about what we accomplished.

There were two hours left in their three-hour debrief meeting (most meetings were 1.5 hours) when Dr. Evans identified the need for further work on the core course descriptions. He noted that progress was made at the retreat and the committee needed to synthesize the feedback from attendees. Heather confirmed that this information would need to be included in the proposal going to the Board of Trustees and the State Council in the next week. And so, they got to work. I had not seen the committee work so closely as a team before; they collaboratively wrote and refined four core course descriptions for the program proposal during the next two hours. At the end of the meeting, Dr. Evans exclaimed, “Well, we did it!” Dr. Palmer added, “We got it done!” They wrapped up the meeting confirming that they had what they needed to submit the proposal the following week and would resume committee meetings in September.

Overall, this meeting seemed like a high point for the committee; they felt the faculty retreat was a success. They had worked hard to organize the retreat, it went smoothly and produced good discussion with faculty. This buoyed their energy and productivity and reinforced the implicit frame of process efficacy. The members did not dwell on the areas of concern; they focused on what they accomplished and pushed forward, working as a team to write the core course descriptions. They seemed to achieve what psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1990) called “flow” in terms of their work as a team; they were fully focused on the task of writing the four core course descriptions.

Process efficacy and the chair’s positive talk helped the committee avoid sinking into a negative mindset or feeling overwhelmed and paralyzed. The members appeared to ascribe to an unwritten rule: “if you can’t say something positive, don’t say anything at all.” While process

efficacy had positive effects on their mood and their motivation, it also played into another cognitive frame that I have termed suspension of disbelief.

In our individual interview, I asked Dr. Evans if there were important issues related to the undergraduate program that the group was not fully addressing. He replied, “No, I think that we're able to use the time we have with the committee very wisely.” However, when I asked him about the group’s can-do attitude, especially before the change in timeline, but also after the timeline changed, he acknowledged he remained intentionally outwardly positive to help keep everyone moving forward, despite significant challenges and concerns. I said that he seemed like the conductor on “The Little Engine That Could.” He laughed, and responded:

> Consciously, I was thinking that if I seem defeated or if I feel like it's not gonna happen, people are gonna be able to read that. And so, I think one of my goals always coming in was to remain calm, to remain positive, to still have some lightness about our meeting and to laugh...I consciously was trying to kind of present a calm image to everyone and to keep people going and say, "I know it's gonna be hard, but we can do it." And just keep it moving along and it was kind of as much for me as it was for them. So that we could get through this mess. And I think as we went along and kind of gelled and everything I think that... Even after the change of the timeline, people still... I think they started to really enjoy being part of the movement, and it really is a movement. And they really felt like I have a stake in this, and I have a role in this, and we're gonna make this happen.

Dr. Evans’ remark that over time the committee “jelled” aligned with my observation of their work, at least in the period leading up to the point when their timeline changed, which seemed to place a rift in their sense of process efficacy and as more than one committee member noted, diffused their momentum.

Suspension of Disbelief

In the initial months that I observed the committee meetings, I noticed that the group seemed to operate on the assumption that if they just worked hard enough they would overcome the obstacles ahead of them, in particular, the initial time frame to launch the program.
As the layers of work became increasingly apparent and timing issues became known, there seemed to be an increasing tendency at committee meetings to avoid discussing these concerns openly. When concerns about timing or workload would be raised, the committee moved past them quickly; discussion was brief if the matter was entertained at all.

I came to understand this tendency to push forward despite multiple challenges and red flags, and to avoid openly discussing concerns, as an implicit cognitive frame that I termed "suspension of disbelief." This unwritten rule served to help the group to carry on despite lack of clear plan, sufficient knowledge of key functions and processes, and an unrealistic timeline. Meanwhile, the cognitive frame of "process efficacy" supported this suspension of disbelief by reinforcing their sense that despite the odds, they would achieve their goals on the desired timeline. They seemed to be in a state of denial regarding the realities involved in getting the program launched, despite discussions that outlined the many things that need to happen in rapid succession and the constraint of not being able to proceed fully until the program approval process (faculty approval, university approval, Board of Trustees approval, State Council approval), since without these approvals, they were not allowed to formally publicize the program, work with university offices to encode the program in the university system, etc.

The first meeting in which I observed the committee occurred in February of year 1, and the intended program launch date was 19 months away. The committee was just starting to get a sense of what they needed to do in that timeframe, having decided in the previous term they

would indeed develop a new undergraduate program (or, perhaps more accurately, affirmed the dean's intention to develop a new program). At this point, they did not seem very concerned about the timeline or the work to be done. The first forty minutes of this meeting involved hearing from a faculty member who was invited to share his experience with teaching undergraduates. I made a comment in my field notes that they should be a bit more urgent given the work they needed to do, based on my experience with new program development. Instead the committee had a leisurely conversation about a single course.

After their guest departed, Dr. Evans turned the group's attention to the proposal they needed to write. He asked for clarification on the timing; asking when it had to be delivered. Someone said the proposal would go to the faculty in May. Dr. Evans responded, "Deadlines. Yeah. But, I think one thing that was nice – when we went through it and compared it to the document from the Provost – is that a lot of what Marcy had already prepared was there." He proceeded to list the proposal sections they needed to include and asked for volunteers to take the lead in drafting these. As he spoke about each section of the proposal outline, there was light discussion from the committee, questions about what should be included, and brief conversations about different issues, such as grading requirements and the need to model out curricular pathways for students.

It was during this meeting that Dr. Butler began to raise the concept of the "parallel process" and the awareness of the need to build the proposal and build the actual curriculum started to take hold. Dr. Butler also remarked, " I think, especially if we're aiming for as soon as fall of 2016, and we're viewing it as a gradual sort of ramp up, it only makes sense to make use of some of the existing courses, allow undergraduates to take some of the graduate courses." This idea of "a gradual ramp up" appeared to be new; I had not heard stated before, and I

thought that certainly over time they would add more courses to the curriculum and grow their enrollment, it did not seem realistic to have a “gradual ramp up” to the program itself; admissions, marketing, policies, student support, among other functions, would need to be in place. But no one questioned the statement or suggested that it might be difficult, if not unrealistic.

Dr. Evans noted that he had talked with colleagues at another university that had developed a program in the past few years, saying: “Developing the curriculum was more than a year-long process. They did this really collaborative process, bringing in different people with training in curriculum development and pedagogy. He said, simply, “We're gonna need to think through that.” There were some signs of the amount of work that the committee would need to do, without an apparently commensurate level of concern. No discussion of the work that would be involved ensued. It was a couple months later in the April meeting when Dr. Evans shared his anxiety regarding a meeting he had with the Marketing Director:

> He said, “You have to get the word out.” That was I think for me a little bit of, "Oh, shit," because if we, really, because we can't start advertising in the winter because that's when people need to be filling out applications, and submitting applications, and we need to review applications, so that means that the promotional materials have to be ready sometime in the fall. Which, for me is, I'll just be honest, is a bit of a concern,

To this, Marcy added:

> One of the other bad news items is that, in terms of our time frame is that, with the central Admissions office, we have missed-- because we can't talk about this even internally until July, maybe October--the deadline to be part of the campus transfer application., So the first year we're gonna have to manage it ourselves. If in fact we are gonna have students in classes in the major, in a year from this fall. It's just another reality.

At this point Dr. Evans asked Dr. Palmer if the launch timing was set in stone, and she replied that the deans “were keen to keep the current timeline, though they recognize there are logistical issues.” Despite the red flags about their initial timeline to launch the program, the sense that the timeline was settled led the committee to carry on rather than fully vetting their concerns with

external offices and internal staff professionals by laying out what the timing and process issues and whether and how they could be managed.

In what seemed a mechanism to suspend their concerns, the group engaged in what I coded as “positive talk.” Positive talk is not a cognitive frame but rather a tool that contributed to the cognitive frames of suspension of disbelief and process efficacy; it was a means to avoid dwelling on the negative. It included comments made about the committee’s ability to make progress or their ability to reach milestones. Positive talk contributed to the cognitive frame of process efficacy, but it provided a shield or a basis for not taking on a more serious level of concern about their situation that members shared in interviews. In subsequent meetings it seemed to mask serious concerns held by individuals on the committee, including the chair.

The mood was upbeat in the May committee meeting; the faculty and executive committees had voted in support of the draft of the program proposal, which would be further developed and submitted for University level approval that summer. In an example of positive talk, Dr. Evans said, “I do think that in general the meeting went really well. I think the faculty that I talked to again both in my department and outside of the department, all were very positive and enthusiastic.” But a few minutes later, he described a meeting with senior associate dean Sanders, in which she quipped she was “waking up in night sweats with concern about who would teach all these undergraduate courses.” This did not result in serious discussion about, for example, the number of courses needed, the number of faculty that would need to be hired, or even a plan for how and when they would explore and address these issues.

Later in the same meeting, Dr. Butler confirmed that he would work with the Director of Admissions to sort out the plan for admitting new students to the new program. He said,

> You have to put together the whole packet, determine how you let people know about the program and how do they apply for it, how do you evaluate those applications, how do

> you let them know? All of these issues, and what are the deadlines and all that stuff - we are going to have to be working very carefully on this."

Dr. Palmer said, "We need to start planning" and Dr. Butler replied, "Very soon." Dr. Palmer added, "To be getting our final approval (from the State Council) in October, we pretty much need to…" and Dr. Butler replied, "We have to be ready. We have to have everything ready to roll out the day of (approval)." No one asked whether this was doable, or how it would actually work.

That July the committee held the faculty retreat with assistance from the consultant working with Dr. Evans. After the retreat, the committee held the three-hour debrief meeting I described earlier. Dr. Evans infused his comments with positive talk:

> When we started this, we came in with three primary goals and we accomplished them. We got people excited, increased their awareness of the program and made some serious movement on the core courses. We came into the retreat with three primary objectives and I feel we were able to address those. I know there is some anxiety about who will be able to teach these courses if we can provide them. I feel I am less anxious about that but still more happy about what we accomplished.

While some committee members raised concerns about issues that arose at the retreat, including the difficulty faculty had discussing interdisciplinary concepts, how teaching would be assigned and incentivized, and how the new program would operate centrally despite the strong departmental culture of the school, none of these were taken up for discussion. At the end of the meeting, Dr. Evans commented, "Come September we will be having regular meetings again. We will have two new members. Our schedule that we had [biweekly meetings] should be maintained." Dr. Alexander said, "This next year is our crunch year to make it happen."

In one of my analytic memos, I noted: "this committee just keeps going, concerns are heard but not dwelled upon, and there is a camaraderie and fortitude in their work." There was,

of course, the underlying reality that the undergraduate program had been mandated, or at least strongly directed, by the dean rather than being initiated by the faculty. Dr. Evans' question to Dr. Palmer about whether the timeline was negotiable brought the response, "the dean is really interested in seeing us keep the timeline we are on," followed by Dr. Evans and Dr. Butler proceeding to discuss how the current timeline could be made to work. The reminder of the dean's wishes and expectations seemed to trigger a response of cooperation and compliance, despite the serious concerns that remained. Had their concerns been heard and had there been a fuller exploration of their timeline concerns, it may have resulted in the decision to delay coming much sooner, allowing for a more reasonable process and avoiding considerable stress, no less having to rework their timeline and manage student expectations.

In individual interviews with committee members towards the end of my observation period that next spring, multiple committee members remarked about the level of stress and strain they felt about the initial launch timeline. No one spoke more seriously about their level of concern than Dr. Evans, the chair of the committee. He had said he was so concerned about the timeline that he spoke with the dean and senior associate dean multiple times. He said the response to his concern was that he should just keep trying, and if they could not reach the finish line then that would be dealt with, but otherwise keep trying. As noted earlier, Dr. Evans shared with me that he considered walking away from the committee because, "he wasn't going to put his name on something of poor quality." He acknowledged that he hid his level of concern from the committee and instead, putting a positive spin on the situation, in order to keep their spirits up and maintain their motivation for the task at hand.

Heather Carter commented in our individual interview that in the term before I started observing, there was a tendency for the committee to fall into discussions that were more

questioning and negative, in terms of the challenges and the potential problems they would face in developing the new program. She said that Dr. Evans had at one point started a meeting by addressing this head on, and asking the committee to focus on the work to be done rather than falling into a negative frame of mind about the challenges. She said the mood in the meetings lightened after that and included more humor. In individual interviews, committee members expressed their trust in Dr. Evans, and described the work of the committee as difficult yet also accompanied by a sense of camaraderie and fun.

In my view, it was Dr. Evans' strength as an influencer, as discussed in the previous chapter on status hierarchy, that moved the committee towards the suspension of disbelief mindset. Dr. Evans' remark about his intentional upbeat tone is again worth noting, "And so I think one of my goals always coming in was to remain calm, to remain positive, to still have some lightness about our meeting and to laugh...I consciously was trying to present a calm image to everyone and to keep people going."

This positive attitude, however, appeared to reduce the tendency to voice concerns and raise questions, and it did not allow concerns to precipitate a meeting with the dean and senior associate dean to air concerns or to build out a realistic picture of the work ahead that might have revealed how timeline set by the deans was, as later events would reveal, truly problematic. While it may have been possible to launch a program on the schedule the committee started with, there were many indicators that there would be serious problems with the timeline. Dr. Evans, Dr. Butler, and other members of the committee expressed concerns that the quality of the new program would suffer. Dr. Butler had indeed considered stepping down as chair and there was the potential for the committee to become ineffective under the pressure and difficulties they were likely to face.

The suspension of disbelief cognitive frame served to help the committee keep going, keep working, and keep making progress through that first academic year and summer, despite multiple red flags and concerns about their timeline. They headed towards the fall with a false sense that they could make everything happen – curriculum development, administrative planning, course development, marketing and recruiting, admissions, transfer admissions, student advising for prerequisite courses, and so on – while not being able to publicly announce the new program until it cleared approval from the State Council in October. Meanwhile, concerns about the timeline were being discussed by others on campus, including the University Registrar and the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, who ultimately asked that the program launch be delayed for a year. Despite Dr. Evan's status as the leader and his experience with launching an undergraduate program, his repeated attempts to relay the concerns of the committee to the School's leadership had not brought a serious evaluation of the timeline. It was influential leaders outside of the School who brought a swift decision to delay by a year.

While a suspension of disbelief may have helped the committee carry forward and focus on what they had control over, a downside of this suspension of disbelief and sense that hard work could overcome any obstacle inhibited them from discussing concerns openly and fully evaluating the tight timeline. It was a coping mechanism; they could either buck up and be on board or risk being viewed as negative or unwilling to work hard to reach an important goal.

In the Moment Conceptions (or Misconceptions) of Imagined Students

The committee had discussions about students but these were neither grounded in theory and research nor based on formal assessments. Committee members spoke from their own experiences in teaching and advising students and their impressions of students heard from

colleagues. A few members had extensive teaching and advising experience with undergraduate students but in some cases their perspectives leaned towards stereotypes. Although the committee had access to data from a survey of students and meetings with small groups of students interested in the new major; they did not formally review the survey results or intentionally use of the results in their decision-making. There was no systematic evaluation and discussion of student data for enrollment planning or from campus or national surveys of undergraduates to inform their thinking about student development, learning, or career development.

The committee members' reliance on their first-hand experiences with "real" students' - their needs, traits, interests, abilities and behaviors - were often poorly grounded, at times in conflict, and at other times rooted in stereotypes. They were typically based on limited data points or interactions with a few students.

Regarding student interest in the new program, Dr. Evans shared,

> We found out that there are actually two streams of students are really pushing for this major, so the student government on their own created the survey and kind of has almost has a little task force. Look at this, they came to the dean and requested a meeting. Then there is another student group on campus, they asked to meet with me."

Dr. Evans reported back on these meetings, but very generally. The student government group sent an email to a large number of students on campus, and received over 200 responses indicating interest in the potential major. Enrollment in the department's existing courses was solid, and a survey of students who had taken those courses suggested solid interest in the major as well. Although a formal market analysis was not conducted, the committee had indications that student interest was there, and at levels that were in line with their desired size for the new

program, which was to start with about 75 students at the junior level, and ultimately reach around 250-300 students across junior and senior levels.

Regarding student performance, Dr. Butler commented on his teaching experience:

> What I discovered also, is the undergrads range the furthest. An undergrad in the course was often was like one of the best students, and another would be the absolute worst. I had the whole spectrum. There's a much wider range of performance in the undergrads than much narrower range in the master's students.

While potentially true, given a smaller set of students advance to a graduate degree, the committee seemed to accept Dr. Butler's comment without offering alternative perspectives and did not discuss what this might mean for their curriculum, advising, or student support.

In multiple meetings, members of the committee, usually Dr. Evans, referred to senior associate dean Mary Sanders' concern that the new program would admit students who would not then be competitive for its graduate program. The committee responded with a few discussions about how to ensure they admitted students to the undergraduate program that would subsequently be competitive for the graduate program. In a few meetings, as the committee discussed admissions criteria, and course prerequisites, they referenced this general concern. Because basis for Dr. Sander's concern had not been discussed specifically, Dr. Price finally asked what the concern was really about. Dr. Evans explained:

> There was a concern that a student who's very involved on campus applied to our graduate program and did not get in and so, Mary's concern was some of our own students on campus currently can't get in. We don't want to set up an undergraduate program, where our own students can't get into our graduate program. So that was her anxiety is that our students would go through our program, get a bachelors and not be able to enter our master's programs.

Dr. Evans then seemed to infer that Dr. Sanders' concern might not be well grounded, stating, "There's a lot of variables because there's no undergraduate degree right now. They major in something else. It's a very different ballgame." With this, Dr. Evans disclosed to the committee

that Dr. Sanders' concern was based mostly on a single instance of a student who had been active in a related student group and then did not get into their school's master's degree program. He noted, "We didn't have an undergraduate program in place then to help prepare them, and I don't think that's a good comparison with students who will complete our program."

This concern was a diversion of their time and energy, and based on "imagined" students. Yet the comment of the senior associate dean was not one the committee felt they could ignore; initially they did not question it. Although the instance did not have a huge impact on the committee's work, it added stress and shaped the committee's perception of the admissions standards that would be "enough" to ensure that the prospective undergraduate students would be of "quality" to be competitive for the graduate program.

Other exchanges also demonstrated the committee members' reliance on their experiences rather than well-grounded research. Regarding advising undergraduates, Dr. Evans said, "When it comes to advising, the amount of time that undergrads take is going to be a lot more than the amount of time grads take." There was no explanation or discussion of implications of this statement. Heather Carter, who had received her undergraduate degree from the University a few years previous, at times provided her view of the student perspective. In this meeting, she said:

> I think - from the advisor standpoint, they're asking what makes a student successful in their program, because they're wanting to say if you took this course - and I know that this is something we can't really answer yet - if you took this course it builds on your curriculum you're going to learn and make you successful in the program. Students don't see it from that standpoint. They see it from how do I get in (to the program) and get to have this major.

While Heather's comment was refreshing, because it was one of the few instances when the student perspective was highlighted in specific terms, it still did not open a discussion student development or ways to address students' needs.

In a few instances, committee discussions raised issues regarding the developmental needs of undergraduates, but these were marked by the absence of a substantive context and resulted in some blanket statements rather than balanced perspective from which the committee could intentionally consider student developmental needs. The following comment from Dr. Evans during a discussion of career development service the program would offer is reflective of the vague statements made regarding students:

> So, and the undergrads, and it's gonna be very different needs for the undergrads, because you're gonna be doing career development and graduate school development. And to the developmental piece, I'm glad you brought up that, I think we've talked about that in here too, but it is a different ballgame when you're dealing with them, yeah. And parents, yeah.

Although the meaning of Dr. Evans statement was not clear, no one asked for clarification or further explanation. Dr. Evans continued with a suggestion that if the program offered a one-credit course for career development as had been suggested by the director of career development at a previous meeting. At that meeting in which the director of career development was a guest, he noted that another program on campus found that parents were a source of donations. He observed, "So there could be a development component for the undergraduate program." After some chuckling and side comments about getting donations from parents, Dr. Evans asked a question about the space needed for providing career services to students. The conversation about student development was never picked back up.

In another instance Dr. Evans stated,

> In talking about the developmental differences between undergraduate students and graduate students, there are a lot of developmental issues that are going on and these are really still emerging adults whose brains are still developing as well. So, I think we need to have an awareness of what are some of the critical developmental issues that are happening. The other thing is mental health issues because you know…I feel like I'm going to keep saying that but my experience what the undergrads face is…we have lots more mental health issues. I mean, unfortunately, you know there's a lot of very disturbed undergrads who you know some - often - times get more weeded out as they go into grad school. But again, at the undergrad level that's an issue we have to deal with. So that's one thing that I would like us to spend a little bit of time talking about.

This set of ideas seemed to conflate student development and student mental health, and more importantly, although the serious issue of mental health was raised, I did not observe a meeting in which it was discussed. It may have been discussed in other meetings outside the committee, or among the professional staff, but it was not a part of the discussion and mutual understanding developed among the committee members. The committee did not engage the wide range of University experts on student engagement, student development, and related topics. Although the consultant that Dr. Evans brought in had significant teaching experience and a degree in education, and although the summer retreat and winter retreat with faculty focused on curriculum topics and undergraduate teaching, student development concepts were not integrated into the committee's deliberations.

At one point, Dr. Evans shared concerns about the developmental issues he had been seeing and hearing about in graduate students, inferring that this could be a bigger concern with undergraduates:

> I've had several talks with [names a colleague] and other folks is the level of maturity of our grad students is going down. That's a real serious concern and so I am also concerned about our plan for an accelerated bachelor's/master's program. I teach all of the first-year master's students. This year in particular the first years are just very immature and have very little work experience or life experience and that's a real concern because if we're sending 80 students out this summer on internship placements and if they're coming out

> there with these low levels of maturity and they're representing our department and the university. There are some other things that they say and do in class and just like wow, I can't even believe that that’s coming out of your mouth. I mean it’s really shocking. I don’t know what's happening but they can't solve really basic simple problems and they're in graduate school.

The only response to this was a comment from Dr. Palmer, who said it seemed it could also have something to do with generational differences. Although grounded in real experiences and observations, Dr. Evans painted a very negative picture without considering the context or discussing the implications of his statements.

I noted, also, that the committee never had a full discussion about student diversity - about specific aspects of diversity and how the program would welcome and support diverse students or how their ostensible interests in student diversity might shape their plans. There were brief conversations about diversity in relation to student recruitment and related to the plan for an external transfer program. Despite the committee members’ making numerous comments that showed they truly cared about student diversity, they did not seek guest experts who could discuss aspects of diversity, or hold specific discussions about diversity.

The director of engaged learning, Clare Miller, and one of her colleagues joined a meeting as guests in spring of the second year I observed the committee. Miller pointedly asked if the committee had been doing outreach with students of color on campus, noting there were not a lot of minority students and that making sure they knew about the new program would be important. Dr. Evans responded by recounting several ways they had been working to get the word out, for example, through student groups including those with an identity focus, and he mentioned their plans for students to transfer from community colleges. He also referenced the committee’s limited capacity given their heavy workload. Heather added that any input and contacts they could suggest would be appreciated. I wondered how this appeared to the guests,

since it sounded like Heather felt unsure of herself yet was a key person responsible for this effort. Clare suggested a few avenues for additional outreach, but I wondered if she was concerned about the lack of organized attention to diversity efforts. Although diversity issues and social justice issues were included in the curriculum and required course objectives, and diversity had come up as a key reason for pushing forward with the external transfer program, this was the most pointed discussion of diversity I had observed in the meetings to date. Shortly after Clare and her colleague left the meeting, the conversation turned to admissions criteria.

In sum, the committee seemed to lack a well-formed or sustained cognitive frame about students. Their conversations most often conjured students as consumers, which was understandable given the need to develop a program that would draw sufficient enrollment. Moreover, the School's commitment to hiring more faculty (and to a lesser degree, staff), as well as its investment of time and effort to build the program, supported concerns about students as customers they needed to please. In general, however, the committee demonstrated multiple, shifting cognitive conceptualizations of students, including the student as a learner (in discussion that emphasized faculty training for undergraduate teaching); the student as a developing adult (mostly with a negative orientation, e.g. students lack maturity and are unable to solve basic problems); as needy (requiring hand-holding and extensive advising time, as well as having more mental health issues than graduate students), but also as smart (with references to students entering college accomplished than what in the past and comparing favorably to graduate students, and at times, out-performing graduate students). The committee expressed strong interest in attending to students' needs and interests, yet their approach to discussing students at an individual and group level was inconsistent and left a number of assumptions and perceptions unchallenged.

I have considered whether the inconsistent and limited data driven or evidence-based discussions about students suggested the absence of a cognitive frame about students rather than the existence of one. The committee did not seem to know what to do with the topics that arose related to students. Not only did they not address student issues fully or systematically, they did not acknowledge their lack of understanding. The needs and issues of students seem to be assumed -- although perceptions were contradictory at times. Further, the committee did not enlist the many experts and resources on campus that could have helped them assess, evaluate and build a clear set of ideas about the students who might join their program. Nor did they seek others' expertise to build a framework for how their process and program would attend to undergraduate student interests, needs, development, and diversity. The committee seemed to feel and act as though they were expert enough about students. Thus, this frame seems to relate to the integrative theme I will discuss next: Extrapolation of Expertise.

Integrative themes

The following two integrative themes build upon the cognitive frames I identified and connect the patterns in the status hierarchy that I observed in the team and with its organizational context. My finding suggest that these cognitive frames were shaped by status hierarchy and came in different shapes and sizes. These integrative themes point to forces within and beyond the committee and relate to long-standing hierarchies and organizational structures for conducting curriculum development. Identifying these themes may help us question old assumptions and work to change how we think about and conduct curriculum development work in higher education.

Extrapolation of Expertise

The committee's implicit perceptions of its areas of knowledge and experience extended to areas that were not actually well known or understood. The committee was not, in my view, arrogant; they did not outwardly proclaim their expertise in all aspects of their work. Though at times they sought outside information and consultation (often of a benchmarking nature) and at times recognized the need for or benefit of others' input, these instances were limited. In the course of meetings, they often relied on assumptions or limited information, and consultation was left by the wayside. They seemed to operate with an implicit mindset of being experts in multiple domains beyond their own fields of expertise and range of experiences with academic functions such as teaching. They were experts in a discipline and had developed courses and served on curriculum committees before, thus they were experts in all domains related to the work of curriculum development, student support services, student developmental needs, student diversity, coordination with university offices, administration of a new program launch, and guiding culture change. For some committee members, background and experiences may have contributed to this extrapolation, given they had substantial experience with specific aspects of academic administration such as departmental admissions. Moreover, the committee, by its charge, was placed in the position of serving as experts and this furthered the extrapolation of expertise frame that shaped their work as well as how others related to them, even those with expertise the committee lacked.

In multiple instances, the committee did not identify gaps in their knowledge and experience and instead proceeded with decisions and plans as if they were well informed. As they worked on the initial proposal and (in parallel) aspects of the program launch, topics such as marketing, admissions and course planning arose. They had learned that their launch timeline

would not allow the School to use the campus transfer application system with the University Office of Admissions. Dr. Evans mentioned that the Marketing Director had pointed out that while students might willingly sign on to a program still in development, students' parents would be much less willing to jump on board. Dr. Butler remarked, "I think the demand is high enough we might lose some due to parental concern." Then Dr. Evans noted, "My concern comes from my experience in the last program I developed; our first class was excited to come in and be forming it, but at the end they were pissed off. We want to have as many things in place to make for a smooth start, but we may have some things that aren't fully developed." This reference to underdeveloped aspects of their work did not lead to discussion of how to further evaluate and manage those aspects.

At a meeting during the proposal writing and early planning stages, for which Dr. Evans was out of town, Dr. Palmer presided. As the committee discussed the plan for student enrollment levels, Dr. Palmer referred to their draft proposal which called for growing the program to 300 students per incoming cohort. The response from multiple faculty members on the committee was that this goal seemed too large; they argued it should grow to 300 students in total. Dr. Palmer agreed to this plan, which left me wondering what their actual enrollment projection was in terms of the financial model that would support the program plan. Did they have a financial model?

Questions about space were raised next. Members raised concerns about the needs for space the undergraduate program would present. Dr. Palmer indicated they would rely on campus classrooms, and Dr. Smith asked if the dean's office had thought about space issues. Dr. Palmer said they had, but offered no further information; instead she reported that she asked if the committee thought they should stage growth of the program more slowly. Dr. Butler replied

that he felt they should not go more slowly, and figure out how to manage space over time. No one offered alternatives so there wasn't any real discussion of how this might play out. The discussion shifted to grade requirements for admission and prerequisites. Dr. Butler suggested the program not have a published GPA minimum for admission, and Dr. Alexander asked if they should have a GPA requirement for the statistics prerequisite. Dr. Butler and Dr. Smith debated how specific to be with prospective students regarding GPA standards for admission. Without other expertise in the room, however, these questions were left hanging; they were not revisited in subsequent committee meetings, though decisions about these matters would have been made at some point.

As the committee continued their work, it was apparent at several points that they were uninformed about the functions and roles of central university offices and processes related to launching a new academic program. These included the central registrar's office and information technology services for adding a new program into the university's data systems and setting up the online degree audit which would require confirming all academic rules and options for the program, as well as the need to educate staff in the central admissions and central advising offices for referrals and guiding students in taking prerequisite courses. Dr. Evans did connect with leaders in the central advising office for input on academic policies and some aspects of the curriculum, which was good.

While they seemed to have done some communication and outreach on campus with offices that primarily served underrepresented students, they did not bring in any staff from those offices to discuss diversity, and their awareness of the full range of campus offices that they could interface with and benefit from seemed limited. This may have been due, in part, to time constraints given their initial time frame to launch the new program.

During the course of the new program's development, faculty were engaged periodically at School faculty meetings, in addition to the initial retreat when they approved the proposal, a summer faculty retreat and an undergraduate teaching retreat the next winter. In my interview with Dr. Reed, the junior faculty member serving on the committee, she shared:

> We brought ideas for the required courses to discuss with the faculty at faculty meetings, and allowed them to play around with these, and move things around, and figure out how to combine them, and we took that feedback and crafted courses, and then asked for feedback from the faculty in faculty meetings again. So, I think that we have relied on this organizing body in our own faculty to sort of create the curriculum. As I say this, I wonder, was there another sort of group that we should've involved, like the teaching and learning center or something like that, that has knowledge that's separate from our discipline – straightforward kind of teaching pedagogy aspect?

Her statement started out confidently, and while it does show that faculty had an opportunity to review course ideas and help shape the required course plans, these opportunities were limited, and specific to courses rather than aspects of the larger program.

In another case, Dr. Alexander asked Dr. Evans directly in a meeting whether they would involve the campus teaching and learning center. Dr. Evans said they were not specifically working with them, but he had met with the center's director. He later asked for someone from the teaching and learning center to attend the summer retreat held with faculty, but mostly to observe, given that retreat was led by an external consultant. Despite its expertise in curriculum development, the center had limited involvement rather than a more integral role.

In the spring of the second year of my observations, as the committee was working with their new (delayed) timeline, they discussed prerequisites courses and the timing and access to prerequisites. The only staff member in the room, Heather, did not have the background to fully address the questions raised. The faculty discussed how to manage the situation, and I found myself holding back from sharing additional options of which I was aware based on my

professional work. I hoped that in time, they would get information that would help them sort these questions out. As the meeting continued, the committee tried to sort out aspects of the program that bridged from the curriculum itself (what prerequisites should we have?) to implementation of the curriculum (what is the availability of these prerequisites and how will what we require increase or decrease the applicant pool, student diversity, etc.?). They also discussed the plan for external transfers, and again there seemed to be limitations on their understanding of how this process worked. They had not had direct contact with the community colleges they hoped to target for this program; they hadn't brought in anyone with expertise on outreach and transfer programs. Heather was working hard to figure it out.

Critical topics were raised, but without next-level discussion of their implications or identification of campus resources they could turn to for guidance. I noted, too, that the committee was not addressing the need for an internal application process, or the need to offer prerequisite courses, or the timing limitation for students to take the prerequisites. While the university was encouraging curriculum innovation and innovation in teaching and learning, units that were charged with starting new programs did not have ready access to shared knowledge or experts on curriculum design and implementation. They also made little use of the local experts on curriculum development in the University's very well-regarded teaching and learning center, which was staffed with more than a dozen disciplinary experts with doctorates in science and social science fields.

The committee similarly lacked knowledge about student services and the many elements to consider in curriculum design and development. A notable example of the effect of extrapolation of expertise was how the committee handled plans for "engaged learning," identified as a key feature they wanted in the curriculum. They discussed plans for a capstone

course with an experiential focus, and the committee eventually came up with a general curriculum plan involving review of courses students proposed to meet the requirement in order to provide flexible options. To my knowledge, they did not at this point consult with engaged learning experts located in yet another relevant unit on campus. Moreover, they did not consult the experts within their own School who ran experiential courses and programs for their master's program. In April of the second year of my observations, the committee finally invited the leaders of the School's engaged learning office to a meeting. At this point the curriculum was largely mapped out, course development was beginning, and the program had been fully approved the previous fall. They were publicizing the program, offering information sessions to students, and that fall, would begin accepting applications for the first cohort.

The director of the office, Clare Miller, said she was so pleased to be at the meeting since "she hadn't talked with anyone on the committee about the program yet." Her team had already done considerable idea development because they knew, generally, that an undergraduate program was being developed. She deftly described their ideas and plans, the purpose and rationale for their ideas and plans, and the implementation issues that would need to be addressed. The committee seemed astounded at the level of clarity in her proposal, and they quickly agreed it was a much better plan than what they had. Yet this would impact a number of other aspects of their curriculum plan, the staffing needs, and the way the program would be described to students. It is a stark example of how the committee assumed it had sufficient knowledge and expertise to map this part of the curriculum, and how readily they ignored the expertise available, literally, down the hall.

Without question, the committee was full of highly intelligent people who had many different experiences and skills that were beneficial to their work. The faculty members all had

significant teaching experience, some at the undergraduate level, and so they were able to think about students as learners. They had content and subject knowledge of their area of academic expertise and some had broader knowledge of the academic field. The committee chair, Dr. Evans, had direct experience with developing, launching and running an undergraduate program at another institution, and Dr. Palmer, the associate dean, oversaw the School's academic and student services and the School's accreditation. Other faculty members on the committee had served or were serving as program chairs or admissions chairs at the department level. While these experiences were beneficial to the work of the committee, there were nonetheless many gaps in their knowledge. The staff members on the committee did not have the knowledge or skills to fill these gaps, either, though they learned quickly and, on the fly, to keep things moving forward. Sorely missing were institutional resources and processes to support and guide their work.

The committee did not follow any particular framework for conducting their work and did not have a fully articulated work plan and timeline. Nor did they articulate a framework or approach to the curriculum development process itself. Perhaps, as with students, this suggests the absence of a cognitive frame about curriculum development as a process. The committee lacked an approach organizing their work or lacked an understanding of what aspects needed organizing, and they did not know that there were frameworks for thinking about the curriculum development work they were doing and how that could be helpful to them.

In some cases, the extrapolation of expertise was expressed as an acknowledgement of a lack of information. In my interview with Dr. Butler, we spoke about the committee's plan to offer an external transfer program starting at the same time as the program launch. He stated:

> I'm expecting there to be things, "Oh my God, we never thought of that." That will happen. Having been through enough of these things, you think you know what's gonna

> happen, and you may even be approximately right, but there will always be some "Oh my God, where did that come from" things that happen. I have no idea what they will be, but I'm certain they will happen. [laughter] So I'm trying to keep myself mentally ready for that. It's like stuff is gonna happen. I would say the part that I feel the most uncertain about is our ability to appropriately evaluate and recruit, and then correctly serve the students who are transferring from outside of the university.

Yet there certainly were individuals who could have assisted the committee with these matters. Having someone on the committee with expertise in outreach and transfer programs would have made a big difference to the discussion, given they were charged to roll out a transfer program along with the primary program. I spoke with Heather Carter about her concerns regarding the transfer program in our interview as well. Her comment depicts another aspect of extrapolation of expertise, in that her contacts with campus contacts who were in a position to advise on transfer programs were disregarded:

> I've really been working on bringing to their attention, not just acknowledging that it's a lot of work but I've met with different folks on campus and give reason to why this is a concern of ours. What are all the different moving parts that go into having external transfers and why it is not beneficial for us (to rush into it). Because if it is not done right, it's really a disadvantage to the students. It's a conversation that needs to happen again and again before the seriousness, I think, is going to be realized.

The extrapolation of expertise frame acted as a set of blinders, in that the committee often acted on the information they had or went with the flow of one surprise after another, relying on what knowledge or experience they had rather than asking for help or considering what other resources and individuals could – and should – help. A prime example is the curriculum development expert who acted as a consultant, yet never attended a meeting with the committee. Instead, she worked directly with Dr. Evans and joined some meetings that Heather and Marcy attended. She helped to organize and lead the retreat and workshop with the larger faculty. In fact, the committee relied on the curriculum consultant to draft the new program’s learning objectives and course level objectives for core and required courses in the new program, which

seemed unusual in terms of the domains where faculty on the committee or in the school at large might in fact want involvement if not ownership. The committee had at its disposal two resources – the consultant and the university's teaching and learning center professionals – that could have helped them create a coherent plan and process for development of the new program. Nor did anyone ensure that the committee included people with expertise in key areas such as college student development, diversity and outreach, engaged learning, admissions and recruiting, academic services and curriculum management.

Marcy Danforth, the senior staff member on the committee, was quite experienced with project management for academic and research initiatives but not specifically with academic program development, admissions, or academic services. Heather Carter was a newer staff member; she had only been working in a student services office for a matter of months and needed to learn quickly about many things that the committee needed to know. When the committee brought in more seasoned members of the student services staff (e.g. admissions director, career services director, student life director) or guests such as the directors of the school's engaged learning office, these were one-time sessions. At times the committee was overwhelmed by new – or more accurate – information that they could use to guide or redirect their efforts. When relevant experts were not present in meetings, the committee often made decisions anyway. Marcy Danforth shared in our interview:

> I had the feeling that, for the most part, the small team [she clarified this was her, Heather and Dr. Evans] did the work and the faculty members [on the committee] blessed...that's been my experience. The staff do the work, the faculty members get the credit and it's just the way it is here. The administrative pieces really should be directed by the people who are doing administrative work. Dr. Evans has those two responsibilities, the curriculum responsibility and he's the director of the program, and the administrative responsibility. And I believe that he should be calling those shots and he should be informed to call those shots.

Marcy's frustration reflects the extrapolation of expertise cognitive frame that committee operated under and the impact it had on the work culture in which she was embedded (the school, the institution, and academia). She remarked that her own role lacked clarity; she felt prepared but not empowered to lead the process for developing the new program. She experienced a gap between what she felt she could offer and what she was asked or allowed to offer. As such, she found it difficult to navigate her role and found her influence on the situation limited. To an extent, she coped by accepting a view that this was "just the way it is here." But by the time the new program launched, Marcy had left the School for a new job.

The sense that the committee should navigate all aspects of the program design and launch despite this lack of knowledge and experience was inefficient and unrealistic. It added stress to the committee's work and in some cases led to less than optimal decisions and plans. For example, by the time the admissions director was pulled into the committee's discussion, the committee learned it was too late to use the university's cross-campus transfer process; the program would need to handle applications and admissions in-house. Another critical example of this is that when key central university offices and leaders learned of the desired launch date for the program, the problems apparent at this level became apparent and the launch was delayed for a year. The event stalled the committee's momentum and required realigning their work plans and timing.

Individual members of the committee and the committee as a whole demonstrated the cognitive frame of "extrapolation of expertise;" membership on the committee seemed to operate as a status characteristic itself, conferring assumed skills and knowledge. While various members had subject knowledge and some had departmental curriculum or administration

experience, their work included topics that were well outside of their scope of knowledge and experience.

Mirage of Faculty Control of the Curriculum

A dean shapes the direction of the School she or he leads, including its academic programs. Historically, the role of the faculty has been to develop and deliver the curriculum and the principle of academic freedom has shaped the perception, if not the reality, of curriculum governance. In today's university and in the case of the large research institution in which this case study was situated, the influence of multiple, strong deans outside of the Undergraduate committee, however, was significant. While the committee's work was substantive in its process and content, it was the dean's decision to mount an undergraduate program and the committee's control, and the School faculty's control, was constrained.

The committee's work created the perception of deep faculty involvement and control. The university hierarchy seemed to enable a pattern of influence by the deans and by the committee (as an entity deemed expert in the new program's development) that allowed the committee's work to unfold without questions or concerns about substantial engagement of the School faculty in curricular decision making coming to the surface. It is also possible that those concerns were not present, suggesting that faculty were complicit in this arrangement and they felt no strong need for closer engagement. The committee would (initially, before the program launch was delayed) work to complete the new program proposal under significant time pressure, at the direction of the deans who wanted the new program rolled out as soon as possible (essentially, 19 months from the time the committee confirmed it would develop an

undergraduate program proposal). Presumably this was for financial reasons as well as to avoid a potentially lengthy process of faculty debate.

Early on, some faculty had expressed concerns about the decision to start an undergraduate program. In our individual interview, Dr. Palmer recalled,

> We had a faculty retreat the spring before the task force started. About half of the time was on undergraduate education and we identified opportunities and challenges. And I think there were quite a few issues raised then, yep. And at that point, the dean said, "We're gonna put together a task force to push forward."

Dr. Palmer and others on the committee agreed that the plan for an undergraduate program came from the dean. In our interview, Dr. Palmer noted that most programs across the country had undergraduate degrees, and the committee knew the impetus for a new program was related to financial concern as well; there were numerous mentions of the new program as “a new revenue stream” in different meetings and in my interviews with Drs. Palmer, Evans and Butler.

The origin and charge of the committee seemed also to create a mirage of faculty control. Reflecting on when and how the task force (which became the committee) was convened, Dr. Palmer and Dr. Butler each described the charge to me as “to develop an undergraduate degree,” whereas Dr. Evans described having been given the charge of exploring *whether* and what they might do in the undergraduate space, with a process of information gathering and evaluation leading to their decision to pursue the degree. In our interview, he had explained that the committee determined creating a major would be about as much work as creating a minor and would bring more revenue, so the major seemed the best option.

Dr. Reed told me it was very clear that the deans wanted an undergraduate program and she did not think there was a way the committee would say, “nah, this isn’t something we should do.” Moreover, the members of the task force were carefully selected, Dr. Palmer said, “to avoid

people who just wouldn't support any kind of change.” Dr. Alexander seemed to confirm this view in addressing my question about support among the School’s faculty for the program:

> I would actually think it's more related to, the commitment of the faculty committee, the composition of the committee in relation to the specific topic of the committee. So right? So, these are people that I think are ones across the board volunteered, came forth and said, "I would like to serve on this committee, this undergraduate program committee. Either I'm very interested in it, or I think it's very important." So, there is this personal level decision to sign up for service, whereas some of the other standing committees are, you kinda get assigned to do it. And so, some faculty are supportive, but it’s not the same.”

After the initial, intense “parallel process” that required writing the proposal and at the same time planning for the rollout for the new program (thus assuming, for the most part, its approval), in the meeting prior to the mini-retreat that would include a faculty vote on the new program proposal, the committee anticipated how the faculty would receive the proposal, and what they would potentially have concerns about. Dr. Evans commented:

> What the vote is really about, just to make sure I'm clear too, is the vote is about this proposal moving forward, and really that we spent an entire year coming up with ideas about what this program should look like. If you think about all the way back to our initial charge, it was do we have a major, do we have a minor, do we have a certificate? That's where we've gone from that initial discussion, then evaluating the benefits and challenges, all the way to this. This is really what we're voting on. Just to be really clear that there are a lot of unanswered questions, but then it's this basic structure, this foundation, this conceptual idea of how this will work that we're voting on.

Dr. Evans seemed to be saying that as long as the faculty could agree to some core principles for an undergraduate degree, the committee could move forward. The committee did not plan to present to the faculty on the pros and cons of different options for a vote among those options; they intended to present a plan for an undergraduate degree as the culmination of the past year’s work. With the dean behind it, would the faculty vote no? Speculating on the faculty vote, Dr. Alexander commented,

> My prediction is that we're not going to have much kickback or critique of this high-level document. Within 48 hours, right during the exam week, we heard a lot of interest in participating, contributing, that's fantastic. I don't think that we're going to have trouble with this proposal, I think we are going to get questions about faculty incentives, or weighting of efforts, and distribution between graduate teaching and undergraduate teaching, and how are the departments who don't have a particular role in this going to contribute, how are the departments going to be protected from their current structure and teaching loads in the graduate programs? What's to prevent the good teachers from moving to the undergraduate? All of those questions that, yes, we've thought about them, but we don't necessarily have answers.

Dr. Evans replied, "I think those are excellent points. I kind of feel like I'd be interested in what you think, Dorothy. I feel like our task as the task force is really more pedagogy, curriculum, conceptual ideas. That those kind of things [that Dr. Alexander enumerated about faculty incentives, teaching loads etc.] I would kick back to Gregg and Mary [the dean and senior associate dean]."

Dr. Palmer did not weigh in, but nodded in agreement. Yet if these were concerns of the faculty related to the undergraduate program (i.e., departmental roles, teaching resources, incentives), separating them from the discussion and vote on the proposal served to bifurcate the issues and allow a smoother path to approval. By carefully defining the scope of their committee's purview (though including a wide range of administrative issues, in addition to pedagogy and curriculum), other issues could be addressed by the dean's office. An earlier administrative retreat with department chairs had started the conversation about course coverage and teaching assignments. However, it wasn't clear how or when further discussion or faculty engagement would occur nor were course coverage and teaching assignments part of the discussion with faculty about the proposal for a new program. After the faculty meeting was held, the faculty voted to approve the proposal moving forward, and without much ado, the committee continued to meet and conduct its work.

As the meeting continued, Dr. Evans prompted Dr. Palmer to share an update with the committee about the final steps and status of the proposal. As I noted previously, Dr. Palmer had said that when she submitted the draft proposal to the dean's office after she worked to "integrate everything the task force did," the associate dean Dr. Sanders "took over" and pulled out "details we discussed and put a lot of energy into working out to make it feasible" creating a "high level" document stating what they wanted to accomplish with the program.

While no one directly questioned the dean's reworking of the proposal, Dr. Butler stated, with some concern in his voice, that the committee would need the information that was removed from the proposal for ongoing reference and to help answer questions the faculty might raise at the faculty mini-retreat (held in May in the first year I observed the committee). Dr. Palmer continued, ignoring Dr. Butler's comment and indicating that according to Dr. Sanders, the committee could have a couple of slides to go over key points before taking a vote. After the vote, they would have an hour to work with faculty on aspects of the program plan. Dr. Palmer advised that they stick with high-level points about the program, rather than delving into the details, so they wouldn't "hang up the vote." Indeed, the faculty voted in favor of the undergraduate proposal, still in development, moving forward.

Instances when the deans directly intervened on curricular decisions (for example, when they added an additional required course to the plan without consulting the committee, and directed the committee to also create an accelerated bachelors + master's program) suggested that the work of the committee was subject to what the dean and senior associate dean deemed appropriate or correct, without discussion or negotiation with the committee. The approval process engaged the faculty at large through a strategic and carefully orchestrated event aimed at getting the desired result. While strategically successful as well as logical and necessary given

the timeframe, this nonetheless limited the amount of information provided to faculty and the amount of faculty discussion. It suggested a symbolic exercise of faculty engagement and an over-wielding of the deans' power and status. Whether the intention was to circumvent meaningful faculty engagement, or whether the implicit context of status hierarchy drove parameters of input and decision making is unclear. Yet the sequence of events aligns with conceptualization of status hierarchies and performance expectations as implicit and self-replicating.

The summer faculty retreat (held between the first and second year that I observed the committee), while a way to engage the faculty in the process, was a suggestion from the dean, and seemed positioned mainly as a means to generate faculty support for the program, in particular from a resource perspective with regards to developing and teaching courses. In our interview, Dr. Palmer shared:

> At the deans and chairs meeting, the program proposal was up for a vote. It was discussed extensively, particularly how departments would help contribute to the undergraduate program. At that point, dean Williams suggested we have a summer retreat as a way to get both buy-in from the chairs and to help identify who's going to teach those core courses so that they can have next year to develop the courses before we actually offer the courses.

The curriculum consultant that Dr. Evans had hired primarily planned the summer faculty retreat, with input from Dr. Evans and Dr. Palmer (and perhaps others, but outside the committee meetings). In a committee meeting, Dr. Evans shared,

> I think one of the advantages of having an outside consultant is that as we're doing this in that retreat, we won't be coming out with final, final decisions to say that they we'll be meeting with a consultant to do further development and that we'll make sure faculty are heard and that we do take their concerns into account, but that some of these issues won't be resolved today, but at least we'll be able to hear what peoples' viewpoints and perspectives are as we kind of assimilate and put our data together.

This statement supports the notion that Dr. Evans was fostering the mirage of faculty control cognitive frame in that the consultant would serve as a means to contain the faculty role with decision-making; and was fairly clear that faculty could have input but were not viewed as the actual decision makers. The deans seemed to also ascribe to this way of thinking about faculty involvement, and their direction may have led to Dr. Evans' mindset, or at least aligned with it, shaping the way he ran the committee and the way that faculty were - and were not - consulted during the course of decisions about and development of the new program.

The summer faculty retreat was a success, by any measure (attendance, engagement, feedback; based on the debrief meeting the committee held the following day). Yet as he described the positive aspects of the retreat, Dr. Evans pointed out that the retreat was a way to create a sufficient sense that faculty had exercised their longstanding tradition of creating and controlling the curriculum:

> I do think that in general the meeting went really well. I think the faculty that I talked to again both in my department and outside of the department, all were very positive and enthusiastic. I was telling Dorothy, Marcy and Heather that I met a lot of people I didn't even know; faces that I kind of see in the hallway, that all of a sudden were very chatty and talkative and very enthusiastic and even wanting to contribute in whatever ways that they could. So, I thought that was good. I think our activities went well as well. I thought that was nice that we didn't just say here's the program, let's actually get people a voice in it and I think that's really critical and important to get buy-in.

While the summer retreat was a positive way to involve the larger faculty, the goal seemed more to achieve "buy-in" to the plans as they were. It would not be practical to have many faculty members deeply engaged in many aspects of a new program's development - but that is the point - the higher education landscape today complicates faculty ownership of the curriculum, and so activities like a half day retreat, while still helpful and positive, remain a symbolic gesture that allows everyone to say the faculty actually had a voice.

Another aspect of the mirage of faculty control of curriculum was in the way the group attended to the complexity and volume of their work. The workload required Dr. Evans to have meetings of a subgroup of the committee outside of the regular committee meetings. This included Dr. Evans, Dr. Palmer, Marcy Danforth and Heather Carter; as time went on, Dr. Palmer attended these meetings less frequently. The committee referred to this subgroup as "the strategic UPC" (UPC being one of the names with acronyms the committee had used to describe itself – undergraduate program committee). The strategic UPC served to address many administrative issues related to the development of the proposal and the undergraduate program plan.

These meetings started without a discussion with the full committee about what the group would do and what decisions would be brought back to the full group. The approach was presented as a way to deal with the volume of work to be done without taking additional time of the full committee. While this was certainly true, it added to the mirage of faculty control; many decisions would now be made by the smaller group, which heavily involved the two staff members on the committee. It was clear that the staff members were doing much of the heavy lifting for organizing the continuing process and the ultimate launch of the new degree program, and the strategic UPC positioned a small team to push through much of the remaining work while still presenting the full committee as the curriculum development team.

For example, the academic rules discussed months before were not brought back to the committee for further input, and decisions about staffing the program, marketing the program, and navigating the process with central offices such as admissions, academic advising and university registrar, were handled through the Strategic UPC. This did not appear to present a problem; Dr. Reed commented in our interview that she had high trust in Dr. Evans, Marcy, and

others, and that the core group was doing more of the work and in some cases sending proposed decisions to the committee for a "stamp of approval." Rather, it demonstrates the complexity of academic program development and the need for professional staff members (within the School and on campus) to work in partnership with faculty to do academic program development work.

Several months later, in February of the academic year, the committee was discussing how to involve departments and faculty with the plans they were trying to put in place for a four-plus one program (i.e., a four-year degree plus one-year master's). Multiple conversations in meetings had established this was a challenging plan to execute while initially launching the new program, both for the time and work it involved, and for the range of stances held by the School's departments; some were in favor, others were not. To manage the disparity, the committee again seemed to propagate the mirage of faculty control of the curriculum. Dr. Evans stated, "We decided in talking to Dr. Sanders that we're not going to put out notes this time. Last time we did that it was a political mess to get the notes approved by multiple layers of powers that be in the departments and so, the only thing we are distributing is this one description. That's the only thing we're set to distribute." Heather added, "That and I'll be putting together a version of that list with the course assignments for departments." Dr. Evans replied, "Yeah, exactly."

My study demonstrates one facet of a larger problem with faculty governance in higher education, as detailed by Burgan (2005). The increasingly powerful layer of faculty administrators (deans, provosts, etc.) who implicitly or explicitly orchestrate just enough faculty engagement, limit information sharing, and manage strategic approaches to decision making create the perception of faculty involvement in curriculum decision making and curriculum development, and support the mirage of faculty control. This said, I want to close by noting that

this committee expressed genuine interest and made genuine efforts to engage the faculty in their plans for the new program, primarily in terms of helping to prepare them to teach undergraduate courses effectively (as evidenced by offering multiple faculty retreats on undergraduate education and teaching). They worked to shift their culture from one that was heavily influenced by their department structure to thinking about the school as a whole given the new program would be School-wide in scope. Their intentions were good and their efforts were remarkable in terms of the amount of work they accomplished and range of issues they addressed. Their tendencies towards maintaining long standing cultural patterns in the way academic program development work happens and the way status hierarchy operates is not a poor reflection on the committee, but rather a call for attention to think about, organize and accomplish curriculum development work in new ways.

Chapter VII. Conclusions

The conclusions chapter provides a summary of my dissertation including the study's purpose, research questions, methods, limitations and key findings, contributions to theory and research, implications for higher education practice, and areas for future research. Following a decade of professional experience assisting with and participating in academic curriculum committees in a large research institution, I wanted to better understand the influences and challenges endemic to these groups. I had observed a lack of institutional knowledge, resources, tools, and systems to support curriculum work and specifically, academic program development, and was aware of the limited research attention to this work and functional area of professional practice in the field of higher education.

This curiosity led me to take on what some might view as the antithesis of a "hot topic" for my dissertation – examining the work of a curriculum development team through an in-depth case study. This meant observing committee meetings for many hours over a 16-month period as a host of details and decisions were discussed, from program requirements to prerequisites, from admissions criteria to course offerings to experiential learning – and many topics in between. A few academic departments and committees I approached as research sites turned me down. One department chair checked with his committee, then came back and cited in so many words their hesitancy to have an outsider privy to their discussions and process. This further pointed to the hidden work of curriculum committees and strengthened my resolve to shine a light on the realities of academic program development – by providing an insider's view of the process. After all, the curriculum is core to higher education. It could be considered both head and heart, but

might also be construed as the guts – the innards that make everything else possible. Without curricula, do we have a university?

With the centrality of the curriculum to the enterprise of higher education, one might expect advanced processes and systems to support academic program development guided by a robust body of research. Yet this is not the case, despite the growing need for nimble curriculum reform and new models of curricula at what is still the dawn of the information age (Lattuca and Stark, 2009; Glisczinski, 2007; Barnett, 2002). A limited number of studies have focused intently on uncovering and understanding the work process of academic curriculum teams to learn how these teams and curriculum development itself could become more efficient and effective (Conrad, 1978; Dubrow, 2004; Oliver & Hyun, 2011; Stark et al, 2002, 1997). My study adds to this body of research.

In the introduction chapter of this dissertation, I described a curriculum reform project at the University of Texas at Austin (Ellis, 3/3/2019) as depicting the complexity and challenge of large-scale academic program development. Whether one views it as a failed project or a project that evolved to adjust to changing priorities or some other interpretation, it may be that a culture and cognition lens would shed light on the curriculum development process that unfolded. This case study has demonstrated the usefulness of this perspective and suggests practical ways to improve that process so that curriculum reform efforts – large and small – are more likely to be successful.

Overview of the Study

To frame my approach to the study I conducted for my dissertation, I looked to literature on culture and cognition, which elucidates the connections of larger sociocultural forces (macro-

level) with individual constructions of reality (micro-level) and the symbiotic relationship between the two (DiMaggio, 1997; DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Ridgeway, 2006). I turned to Bensimon and Neuman's (1993) work on teams as cultures and their conceptions of cognitive frames as representing mental models or schemas that shape areas of attention and inattention along with the perceptions of meaning that guide a team's thinking and decision-making (Bensimon, 2005; Neumann,1993). I incorporated sensitizing concepts from expectations states theory, which explicates the links between the cultural context and interaction patterns in task-focused groups, providing an empirically established understanding of the ways that status hierarchy, reflecting social structures and norms, is formed and then creates, recreates, and sometimes changes, patterns of power and influence (Correll and Ridgeway, 2003; Ridgeway, 2019).

To focus my inquiry, I addressed the overarching question: How do members of a curriculum team understand and accomplish their work? I wanted to delve into the culture of the curriculum team, to consider what people and forces influenced the team's thinking and decision-making, and how they organized and completed their work.

Additional questions guiding the study included:

1. What cognitive frames do members of the curriculum team hold or develop that shape and focus their work?
2. How do the curriculum team leader (committee chair) and others in leadership roles outside the committee shape and influence the curriculum team's work?
3. How do curriculum team members perceive and influence the team's process?

To explore these questions, I conducted a qualitative case study focusing on a single site: a task force (which subsequently became a committee) that undertook the development of a new academic degree program within a large research university. My study focused on the interactions and work process of the committee, and thus relied primarily on meeting observations and individual interviews. I audiotaped and took fieldnotes during meetings and used memoing to record reflections and ideas about what I was observing and learning over time, especially during the coding process and in early stages of writing.

The committee was comprised of a chair (also a faculty member and ultimately the faculty director of the new program), an associate dean (serving ex officio), six faculty members and two staff members (one staff member was assigned to provide committee support, the other to provide project management, though this role was not clearly defined). The committee's work started the semester before my observations began. During a period of 16 months, I attended committee meetings for a total of 17 meetings. In addition, I conducted individual interviews with the chair and seven committee members, and conducted two interviews with the associate dean, who also had administrative oversight of the committee and the School's office of academic affairs. One committee member did not respond to my requests to schedule an interview, and one left the institution before I pursued the individual interviews. I also consulted news articles and statement on the web site about the new program for a view of how the program was being represented outside the committee. I collected committee meeting agendas and handouts, and had several email exchanges with the associate dean, the chair, and a staff member to clarify information and validate the accuracy of my notes or perceptions.

Given my professional work at the time included curriculum management and academic program development as an assistant dean, I was careful to monitor my perspective as a

researcher who also had knowledge and experience with the nature of the committee's work. At times my professional role created a sense of inner conflict in that I observed the committee struggling with issues and questions I was informed about, but as the researcher committed to an observer role, I was not in a position to provide input. I also had to continually question my assumptions, intentionally considering alternative explanations of my interpretations of interactions and events, as well as ideas, issues and concepts I might apply in my analysis. Individual interviews provided a means to hear directly from the committee members, which at times helped me to adjust or to take on a new perspective on things I had observed in meetings.

While I was afforded a significant level of access to committee meetings and individual interviews with committee members, my access outside of committee meetings was limited in several ways, which may have affected my understanding and interpretations. Because my focus was on the committee itself, I did not attend all meetings related to the new academic program's development, which had an impact on the perspectives from which I conducted my analysis. This included the "strategic UPC" meetings that included the chair, two staff members serving on the committee, and at times, the associate dean; I was however privy to many discussions of the work of the strategic UPC through meetings and interviews.

I also did not attend meetings among the deans. I was not invited to attend the faculty mini-retreat or summer retreat (but I did attend the committee's three-hour debrief of the summer retreat). Two committee members did not participate in individual interviews and may have provided helpful information. Moreover, the committee, formed first as a task force, met for a semester before I started observing, such that I relied on retrospective questions in individual interviews in order to build an understanding of that period. My study is limited in that it focuses on the experience and process of a single curriculum team. Other groups may exhibit different

issues and patterns. Nonetheless, through sixteen months of observations and interactions, I was able to build a detailed record and understanding of the work of proposing a new academic program based on analysis of meeting and interview transcripts. My long engagement with the group, and the ability to observe their work over time, permitted a level of detail rare in studies of curriculum work at the postsecondary level.

Summary and Synthesis of Findings

Analysis of open and selective coding and the case chronology led me to identify several themes that defined the committee's work process and contributed to answering the overarching question of the study: How did the curriculum team understand and approach its work? These themes are Program Comparisons, Haphazard Approach, Time Factors, Program Governance, and Camaraderie and Humor. The committee often compared and contrasted the program they were developing with like programs at peer institutions and with recently launched academic programs within the institution and in many cases aligned their plans with other programs and within existing institutional norms and constraints. My analysis suggested that managing uncertainty was the leading factor propelling the committee's comparative activity.

The committee's gaps in knowledge, as well as the compressed timeline to launch the program and constraints given the academic calendar and time-sensitive processes at the School- and university-levels, pressed the members to work and make decisions in a haphazard manner. This "by the seat of their pants" approach limited their control of the process. The committee's focus on program governance seemed connected to building the legitimacy of the new program. This focus on governance included attention to the relationship of the new program to existing governance structures, the standing and status of the person who would lead the new program

(ultimately, a faculty program director), and the rules by which a program committee would continue to oversee the new program.

The committee was also invested in the impact of the new program on faculty governance at the School writ large, such as how decisions about teaching assignments would be made to meet both departmental needs and the needs of the new program (which was situated at the School level vs. within a department). Finally, the members of this committee forged a sense of camaraderie around their task and the challenge it presented; humor served to release tension, diffuse concerns through sarcasm, and maintain positivity, yet also at times deflected concerns and signaled an unwritten rule: do not talk about the problems.

Cognitive frames

To address the first of my research questions, I identified several cognitive frames that the committee formed and held and that focused and shaped their work. I defined cognitive frames as patterns of thought that shape and screen attention, understanding and activity, drawing on the work of Bensimon (2005) and Bensimon and Neumann (1993). As noted by Bensimon (2005), DiMaggio (1997), Kezar, Gehrke, and Elrod (2015) and Ridgeway (2006), cognitive frames – and similar concepts of cognition such as implicit theories, schemata and cultural models – are often implicit. With careful evaluation (such as qualitative study via observation) a researcher can (albeit, with limitations) identify and interpret the implicit patterns of perception and thought that underlie individual speech and group conversations, given these determine "what questions may be asked, what information is collected, how problems are defined, and what action should be taken" (Bensimon, 2005, p. 101). Before I summarize my

findings on cognitive frames, I discuss my thinking – and struggle – to determine how my interpretive analysis led me to determine some concepts as themes and some as cognitive frames.

Interpretive Analysis of Implicit Patterns of Thought: Themes or Frames?

During the process of coding and analyzing my data, I sought to clarify how I distinguished between inductively derived "themes" and cognitive frames. There is a limited body of research that applies concepts such as cognitive frames in qualitative studies, and the methods used in these studies to operationalize concepts such as cultural models, mental maps and schemata vary. Although I specified a definition of a cognitive frame and criteria for identifying cognitive frames in my methods chapter, the question of what makes something a cognitive frame rather than a theme lingers. One argument is that a theme identifies a pattern that is present in the data, while a cognitive frame may identify both what is apparent in the data, but also what is not in direct evidence. As Bensimon (2005) stated, "at the same time that [cognitive] frames make some things visible, they also function as cognitive blinders in that whatever is out of frame may be imperceptible." Thus, researchers have used qualitative methods to identify cognitive frames or other culture and cognition concepts such as *implicit* theories (Kezar, Gehrke & Elrod, 2015; Bensimon, 2005; Bensimon, 1989) that are unrecognized by study participants but are identified by researchers or facilitators of some kind. Writing about teams as cultures, Bensimon (1993, p. 43) notes that team culture is "A reality that may be grasped only through close interpretation of the experiences and understandings of its individual members." While all qualitative analysis is interpretive, it seems that research to identify a cognitive frame takes an additional interpretive step in using evidence to identify what is unconscious or unexamined –including what is *not* said or what is *not* done – to name and

understand participants' patterns of thinking. Such patterns of thinking, while tacit, nonetheless affect behaviors; in my case, the curriculum committee's cognitive frames shape their decisions about what kinds of information to pursue to accomplish their task but also result in the neglect of other kinds of information and resources that are relevant, and even critical, to the committee's tasks and goals.

My identification of cognitive frames took this additional interpretive step, going beyond the identification and categorization of the specific topics, issues, problems or other dimensions evidence in the data I collected on the curriculum team's work to make claims about how the committee's patterns of thinking precluded – or supported - certain avenues of thought and action. As discussed by Bensimon (1993, 2005) and Kezar et al. (2015), an interpretive effort is needed to capture *implicit* patterns of thinking that shape or screen the discussions and actions of work teams.

A cognitive frame, however, may just be another type of theme in that both themes and frames are interpretations of data used to make claims about a phenomenon. We know that interpretations vary in their depth and sophistication; some interpretative themes are relatively simple descriptions of participants' lived experiences and meaning making; others are more abstract or theoretical in nature, moving beyond description explanatory interpretation of participants' realities. A cognitive frame, perhaps, is simply a theoretically grounded explanatory theme. In my findings, then, it may make little difference if I consider a cognitive frame a type of theme, however, in identifying specific themes as "cognitive frames," I am acknowledging the theoretical concept from which it derives.

I have presented both themes and cognitive frames, as well as integrative themes that connect themes and frames into more complex, theoretically grounded explanations of my

participants' understandings and actions in their cultural and organizational worlds. By distinguishing themes from cognitive frames, and by combining these into integrative themes, I attempted to show how concepts from the culture and cognition perspective could give us insight into the work of a curriculum committee in a complex research university.

Returning to my summary of findings regarding cognitive frames, then, two of the cognitive frames that I identified, Parallel Process and Quality Trumps Innovation, had an explicit component; the committee used the terms "parallel" and "two levels" and explicitly voiced the idea that "quality is more important than innovation" in their discussions, though in both cases they did not appear fully aware of how these frames shaped their thinking and attention. Both frames served as reflective devices that fostered the committee's understanding of their task and their priorities for their outcomes. In reality, there were more than two "parallel" dimensions of planning and development they needed to manage (proposal, curriculum, courses and administrative), and the program they developed ultimately had elements of both quality and innovation. These point to the limited meta-thinking in which the committee engaged; they did not initially have, nor did they form, frameworks that guided and directed their efforts, and this inhibited their ability to attend to the complexity of their task.

The committee also, not surprisingly, spoke at length about students. Yet, their thinking about students was inconsistent, fluctuating, and conflicting, to the point I wondered if, rather than a cognitive frame about students, they were absent such a frame. Ultimately, I came to view their cognitive frame about students as "in-the-moment conceptions of imagined students." Their thinking and attention were shaped by their own exposure and experience with individual and groups of students; and by the attributes, concerns, or qualities that they or others had expressed as depicting undergraduates. They did not have access to or request any institutional data or

needs assessment; rather they made decision based on an informal survey of current student interest in the program and the advocacy of two groups of students interested in the major that would be developed.

Faculty members on the committee had varying levels of experience teaching undergraduates; in some cases, this experience was substantial. They employed a curriculum consultant who was experienced in undergraduate teaching. They invited the School's directors of admissions, student life, and career services as guests to a single meeting to share information and make suggestions for academic and student services. They did not bring in any experts on college student development, nor did they discuss research about students, invite students in as guests, or hold focus groups with students. As a result, they did not build a shared, grounded knowledge base about who their students might be and how student development, expectations, needs or diversity would shape or influence their decisions and plans.

Two additional cognitive frames could be construed as two sides of the same coin. Process efficacy was a frame I defined as a mindset affirming the committee's ability to reach stated milestones and launch the program successfully. Suspension of disbelief represented their tendency to avoid, minimize, or deflect concerns and information suggesting that, in particular, their initial launch timeline was not realistic not in terms of their own ability to accomplish the program's launch, then in terms of university systems and procedures that ultimately led to a delay of the program. These frames together kept the committee moving forward, and retain a positive orientation in meetings; but served to deter members from sharing concerns and anxieties fully; indeed, several expressed much stronger anxiety and concerns in individual interviews.

My analysis suggests that cognitive frames come in different shapes and sizes; they can be related and can build on one another. I suggest they can also be integrative in nature, subsuming other frames and linked to organizational and cultural influences in ways that allow them to become more pervasive because they reflect larger social structures and constructed realities. In particular, sensitizing concepts I drew from expectations states theory to help illuminate the status hierarchy and performance expectations of the committee support the notion that socially weighted status characteristics reflect the interaction patterns and subsequent influence patterns in a task focused group. Thus, I posit that status hierarchy plays a key role in the formation of cognitive frames that shape a group's attention, thinking, and activity. Potentially, then, if cognitive frames form and if they spread, they may reinforce or shape patterns of attention, thinking and activity more broadly. This also tracks with aspects of status belief construction theory as a means for beliefs about status differences to take hold and potentially spread from one social situation to another. The frame of Quality Trumps Innovation could, as one example, spread and create momentum towards a quality focus in curriculum vs. an innovation focus.

Relative to my research question that asked how the curriculum team leader (committee chair) and others in leadership roles outside the committee shaped and influenced the curriculum team's work, I found that that the Parallel Process and Quality Trumps Innovation cognitive frames emerged directly from the speech of the committee chair and the most senior faculty member on the committee. Moreover, the chair's effort to keep the committee moving forward with a positive attitude – and even to avoid the concerning signals that might derail their ability to achieve the dean's expected results – played a central role in the formation of the Process Efficacy and Suspension of Disbelief cognitive frames. I also came to view these two frames as

driven by the status hierarchy, or power and prestige structure, of the committee. Specifically, the chair's efforts to maintain positivity and a can-do attitude shaped the Process Efficacy cognitive frame, and his effort to please and meet the expectations of deans outside of the committee, forged the tendency to deflect information or concerns that might derail their forward momentum towards the expedited launch timeline.

The chair benefitted from what I refer to as a "status multiplier" effect: he was a full professor, experienced in undergraduate program development, held an assigned leadership role as chair, and was perceived as an effective leader by members of the group. Yet he was subsequently subject to the influence of those with higher status outside the committee; in particular the dean and senior associate dean, who directed the work of the committee from a distance, dictating not only its timeline but specific aspects of the curricular plan. Despite the chair's strong status position and strong feelings about what it meant and what it took to mount a high caliber program, he succumbed to the pressure from the dean and senior associate dean for a speedy development timeline. He forged the committee ahead despite serious concerns expressed by members and by other schools that staff consulted with for input, along with clear signals of substantive challenges that the timeline presented for curriculum development and administrative processes to effectively launch the program.

I have represented two additional findings as integrative themes. They may be construed as a more complex form of cognitive frame. They do not represent, simply, an orientation or a focus of attention within the committee. They relate to one another, build on other cognitive frames, and intersect with facets of status hierarchy and the organizational context.

Extrapolation of Expertise is an integrative theme representing the committee's implicit perceptions of its areas of knowledge and experience as extending to areas that were not, in

actuality, well understood. The frames of Process Efficacy and Suspension of Disbelief served to support the committee’s confidence in its capacity and to deflect signals of gaps and problems. The committee as an entity acted as a status characteristic in itself, imbuing power and prestige to the members; it was assumed that the committee possessed the full range of expertise needed to develop and launch a new academic program. The status and experience of multiple faculty members on the committee resulted in a tendency to take on issues and matters for which they had little to no relevant knowledge and for which they did not seek sources of expertise or did so on a limited basis. Staff roles and voices were minimized in committee meetings, and staff members were both complicit or self-defeated in this regard, in keeping with the tenets of expectations states theory regarding performance expectations. Extrapolation of expertise created inefficiencies and reduced opportunities for the full diversity of ideas to conjoin the committee’s process; relevant and even critical information from others within the School and across the campus was overlooked or included much later in the process resulting in changes and re-work.

The second integrative theme, which I call the Mirage of Faculty Control of the Curriculum, reflects an implicit orchestration to uphold the perception that faculty own and determine the decisions, formulation and enactment of the curriculum in modern academia. It serves to create the impression that faculty have the knowledge and capacity, and avoids exposing the fact that most faculty members do not have this knowledge and capacity, and often not the experience and even the time to design, develop and launch academic programs in the context of complex universities. Any group of faculty members involved in developing a new academic program will not have expertise in all content areas of the curriculum, no less the many layers related to the curriculum that are important to address. In figure 7.1, I provide a listing of the topics and areas of expertise needed in the development of new academic programs. There

may also be additional program features to develop such as an honors program or an external transfer program. The process requires collaboration with campus units for approvals and then to encode a program in the technical system, communicate and manage relationships with central offices such as admissions, advising, career services, and units that may provide prerequisite courses, internal collaboration with faculty and staff including units such as human resources, finance, development and IT, and it involves leading cultural and organizational change. The timing, interaction and coordination of these many factors are important to the development and implementation of academic programs. No committee - even with faculty and staff membership would cover all of these needs, underscoring the importance of involving many experts at multiple points in the process.

Figure 7.1: Topics and Expertise Needed in Development of Academic Programs

- Proposals and approval process
- Program objectives
- Curriculum design
- Course development
- Prerequisite planning
- Academic rules and policies
- Budget forecasting
- Enrollment planning
- Instructional planning
- Staffing plan
- Course scheduling
- Marketing
- Recruitment
- Outreach
- Admissions
- Orientation
- Advising
- Academic support
- Experiential learning
- Career development services

As an integrative cognitive frame, the Mirage of Faculty Control of the Curriculum reveals the state of affairs in this university, but reflects the larger organizational and cultural systems of academia. Extrapolation of Expertise contributes to the Mirage of Faculty Control in

that it allows faculty members to believe, or at least to act as though they believe that they understand the many administrative systems, procedures, processes, and logistics involved with academic program development. Yet in reality, few faculty members are prepared for this work.

Many aspects of the curriculum development process that I studied contributed to this mirage. These included the creation of perceptions of full faculty involvement in decision-making, the acceptance of direct influence and mandates from deans on curricular decisions by committee members, the strategic approach to committee formation and information sharing with faculty, the containment of professional staff roles and input, and the use of a consultant for significant aspects of the program's development whilst keeping it a backseat and nearly invisible role. The committee could be construed, alternatively, as an organizational change lever, a mechanism to enact the will of powerful deans, fulfilling an organizational need to move a particular agenda forward and giving that agenda legitimacy and credibility.

The strong influence of the three members of the committee with the highest status (the chair, the associate dean, and the senior faculty member) and the high degree of deference afforded them by other members of the committee suggests the committee itself was effectively a committee of three. While faculty and staff on the committee certainly contributed and provided perspectives from their roles and departments, the onus of decision making and the expressed trust they had in the leadership of the committee and the School also served to let them off the hook in terms of owning the process and decisions and from feeling the weight of responsibility for the success of the process and the new program.

My third research question asked how curriculum team members perceive and influence the team's process and how they view their own experience and learning process. Through individual interviews I learned that faculty members on the committee generally viewed the

team's process more positively than staff members did, though all members had reasonably positive views of the team and very positive views of the chair's leadership ability and style. The chair's leadership and the trust the team had in him was a central factor in the committee's persistence and ultimate success (they did, indeed, launch a new program, albeit on the extended timeline). Faculty members did express concern about the interference of the School's dean and associate dean with regard to specific aspects of the curriculum. The junior faculty member indicated appreciation for her curtailed role so that she could focus on research and appreciated the exposure and learning the committee afforded.

Staff members expressed appreciation of the chair's efforts to minimize what they, without my prompting, referred to as the hierarchy between faculty and staff. Still, both expressed concern about the lack of clear organization of the process and plan, and felt limited in their agency to address that concern. Both staff members also expressed frustration with the lack of formal and informal recognition for their contributions in and outside of committee meetings. While the chair tended to give the staff members kudos and thanks and shared his espoused view that they were equal members on the committee, he still treated them in ways that contained their roles and influence.

The committee members' perceptions of their roles in and contributions to the committee related to their history with the School and with their work role, career path and career status. The junior faculty member planned to listen a lot and use the committee as a learning experience, while limiting how much work she took on (which was strongly endorsed by senior faculty on the committee). The senior faculty member viewed his participation as a swan song and an opportunity to leave a mark on the program before retirement. A junior staff member demonstrated interest in building credibility and advancing in her career as a result of her work

on this committee, and a senior staff member felt that her current and historical contributions were not adequately recognized and compensated, signaling to her it was time for her to move on to a new professional opportunity.

Individual interviews with committee members revealed committee members' reflections on their own and others' participation and influence largely confirmed my observations of the status hierarchy operating in the group. I found a close relationship between committee members' status characteristics and behavioral interchange patterns (such as talkativeness and assertive contributions) with their participation and influence on the committee. Given the small size of the group and the need to maintain confidentiality, I focused on professional rank and role, with some consideration of areas of knowledge and skill, as well as gender and career standing (entry level, mid-level, or senior level).

The committee members with higher status (full professor, leadership role, male) participated more and more assertively, at times diminished or ignored others' contributions, and strongly influenced the cognitive frames that the committee formed and that shaped their work. My interviews did not lead to much data related to how committee members learned through their experience on the team; I could have asked questions that more directly addressed this. Some committee Members did reflect on their learning (e.g. the junior faculty member who described it as a learning opportunity, and the staff member supporting the committee, who described how much she learned along the way and how that allowed her to make more contributions and gain more standing in the group over time). In retrospect, it may have been better to defer exploration of learning experiences to a future study.

Contributions to Research Methods

This may be the first qualitative case study to apply expectations states theory, a program of research that details the development of status hierarchy and performance expectations in task focused groups (Berger 1965, 1974; Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). While it has a strong research literature supporting its tenets, the majority of research on expectations states theory is experimental, examining the interactions of pairs or small groups in carefully controlled lab situations. A limited number of studies have employed expectations states theory to guide their applied inquiry of task focused groups. Two such studies are Cohen and Zhou's survey-based study of enduring work teams in corporations (1991) and Cohen and Lotan's (1995) field-based study of teacher interventions to boost participation from marginalized students in the classroom. In an email exchange with Dr. Cecilia Ridgeway, whose research includes significant focus on expectations states theory including development of status belief construction theory, she stated "...to show that the theory helps understand real, significant social processes, it is always useful to apply it to different, real situations to see what works and what doesn't. There have been a few such applications, but more are always useful."

As a task focused group, a curriculum development team is squarely within the scope conditions of expectations states theory. Drawing on expectations states theory for sensitizing concepts served to open the data regarding the impact of status differences and patterns of influence on the team's interactions and process. My interest in applying expectations states theory led me to develop a set of theoretical codes related to central aspects of the theory and drawing from applied studies using expectations states theory. My individual interview protocol also reflected my interest in exploring patterns of influence on the team's work. While my focus

was on a committee charged with developing a new academic program, the approach I took with applying expectations states theory as a sensitizing tool could be applied to other qualitative studies of task-focused groups where status differences and performance expectations are of interest to the researcher.

The concepts of status hierarchy and performance expectations relate well with the Bensimon and Neumann's study of teams as cultures (1993) as well as Kezar's study of implicit theories of change held by curriculum teams (2005). Expectations states theory offers an avenue to explore the roots of implicit bias in the work of task-focused groups, an area of growing interest given the prevalence of institutional priorities for diversity, equity and inclusion. By bringing a better understanding of expectations states theory to bear, I hope that other higher education researchers will employ it when studying task-focused groups in which status differences and status hierarchy are a central concern.

Contributions to Theory

This dissertation makes contributions to three theoretical domains: curriculum development, expectations states, and cognitive frames, which encompassed the theoretical framework underlying the study's design and research questions. It also proposes status hierarchy's role in the formation of cognitive frames.

This is one of the few case studies focused on exploring and understanding the work of a curriculum development team in action, and among even fewer such studies that relies primarily on direct observation of committee meetings augmented by individual interviews over a sustained period of time (16 months). It provides a thick description of the process of academic program development, while bringing a culture and cognition lens to deepen understanding of the curriculum team as a cultural entity. Most curriculum development theories focus primarily

on the elements of the curriculum itself; courses, students, assessment, and so on (Lattuca and Stark, 2009; Roy, Borin and Kustra, 2007; Wolf, 2007). In contrast, I examined the committee's process of developing a new academic program in its entirety, including proposal writing and approvals, development of curriculum and course design, deliberations about admissions criteria and academic policies, and their engagement with organizational issues such as the program's administrative structure, instructional resources, and staffing for student affairs and career services.

My analysis suggests that curriculum development - and more specifically academic program development - in universities can be conceptualized as a three-stranded helix, with the strands of curriculum design, course development, and organizational systems intertwining on a dynamic timeline, intertwining in places, and encircling what would be a host of issues and topics, with decision making as an iterative and progressive process over time (See Figure 7.2). This view of curriculum development considers not only the aspects of curriculum design and development itself, but the process of building and enacting curriculum in the material world. We do not design curricula for theoretical use; we design curricula to be implemented in real settings with real students, faculty and staff. By recognizing the intertwined nature of academic program development work across curriculum design, course development, and the organizational processes and systems that enact the curriculum, we can begin to better understand and better support it.

Figure 7.2: Tri-Helix Model of Academic Program Development

The second area of theoretical contribution this study affords pertains to expectations states theory. In my analysis, I came to see the power and prestige structure of the committee impacting the formation of cognitive frames that shaped the team's thinking, attention and actions. This contributes both to theoretical understandings of expectations states theory (and its sub-theory, status characteristics theory) as well as the theoretical concept of cognitive frames. As of yet a specific theoretical model for cognitive frames does not exist, though there are theories that address a range of related concepts such as scripts, cultural models, and schemata (Ridgeway, 2006; DiMaggio, 1997; Fitouri, 1986). My use of theoretical coding based on expectations states theory to examine committee members' interactions allowed me to see the first inklings of cognitive frames that the group eventually formed, such as parallel processes and quality trumps innovation since these derived from the influence of those holding the most status in the group. On a broader level, status hierarchy was also instrumental in the construction of cognitive frames such as extrapolation of expertise.

In addition, my findings suggest, as did Cohen and Zhou (1991) that formal leadership roles are particularly important in enduring (continuing) work teams. In ad hoc groups, assigned leadership roles may act similarly to other status characteristics, but Cohen and Zhou (1991) found that a formal leadership role has an impact beyond its function as a status characteristic given it requires receiving interaction and influencing the group's work. The researchers sought to separate these factors by evaluating the path of leadership role to status on the team as well as the path of leadership role to interaction and found that leadership role impacted both paths, though its effect was greater on team status (perception of influence from others on the team) than on team interaction level. Cohen and Zhou (1991) raise an important point about enduring work teams: that often members of such teams enter the team situation having already formed

some perceptions of team members' quality of contribution. In my case study, the members of the committee had limited previous interaction; however, they had some information about some team members' previous work or reputation. This suggests the need to consider the context of the group being studied in terms of status hierarchy, and points to the complexity of the impact of status characteristics on performance expectations and status hierarchy.

I found evidence suggesting that motivation may influence individuals' patterns of participation and subsequently, their influence, regardless of status characteristics and status hierarchy. Differing levels of motivation may explain why some team members, despite equal or higher levels of status than other members of the group, participated less. The patterns of participation I observed could reasonably connect to motivation (explaining, for example, the low level of participation and influence from a full faculty member on the committee, whose department had a less central role to play in the implementation of the curriculum). In an ongoing group such as a task force or a committee, even if individual members volunteer their service, they may nonetheless have differing levels of interest, capacity, and potential benefit from the work being done.

Moreover, conditions impacting motivation may shift for individuals over time. For example, I noted that later in the committee's process, one staff member's level of participation had decreased and this aligned with her concerns about the lack of clarity in her role and the committee's loss of momentum after the delay in the program's launch. In contrast, another staff member's level of participation increased over time as her confidence grew and her work was recognized with a promotion. While motivation appeared to impact participation and influence aside from status hierarchy in the case of some full faculty members, the changes in motivation

for the two staff members on the committee appear to reflect the impact of social rewards on status hierarchy and subsequent performance expectations. (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003).

My use of the theoretical code “status treatment” to track and analyze verbal affirmations from those with higher status towards those with less status proved intriguing. In an applied study based on expectations states theory, Cohen and Lotan (1995) used the concept of status treatment in a classroom intervention aimed at equalizing participation across students. Students receiving specific, skill and ability related verbal affirmations were viewed and treated more positively by their classmates, accordingly. In my study, I found that the chair of the committee sometimes verbally affirmed different members of the committee. However, I found that while his affirmations of staff members were more frequent, but were subtly different than his affirmations of faculty members. Status treatments aimed at staff members were mostly effort based (e.g. thanks for your hard work) while those aimed at faculty were mostly quality based (e.g. great idea, I agree with your ideas). In a few instances the status treatments the chair gave to staff were about their abilities or expertise, and in these cases, the committee afforded them greater attention and deference, if only temporarily.

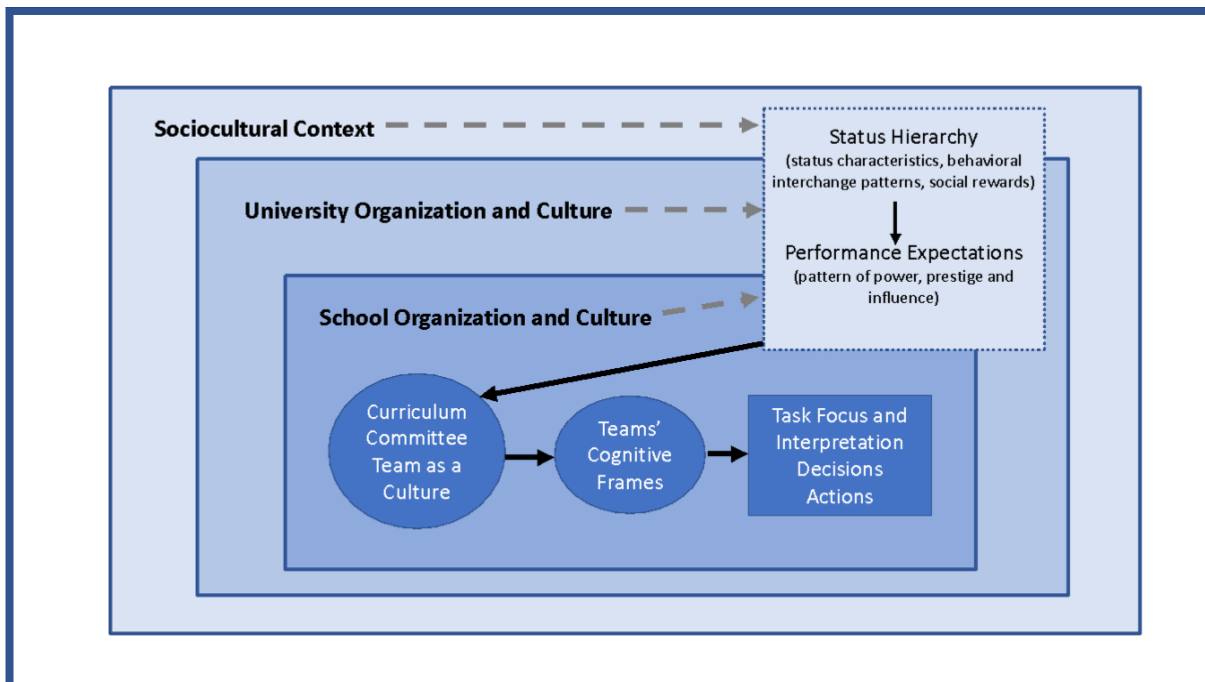
The status treatments of staff serving on the committee seemed to set them apart because these affirmations were not in response to their contributions in the meetings as much as their administrative work outside of the meetings. Despite the chair’s strong statements to the staff members and the committee that the staff were equal members of the team, various subtle and not-so-subtle cues made it clear they were not. I viewed the differences in status treatments as an implicit containment of the status hierarchy and in particular, of staff roles. In this pattern, staff members were complicit in this containment since they often held back or minimized the full nature of their contributions.

Finally, my study contributed to the existing theoretical understanding of cognitive frames. Combining Bensimon's (2005) definition of cognitive frames with Kezar, Gehrke, and Elrod's (2015) grounded theory approach to identifying implicit theories of change fostered my development of an expanded notion of cognitive frames. I found that cognitive frames could be explicit, implicit, or a combination of both. Moreover, I found cognitive frames could relate to one another (such as process efficacy and suspension of disbelief), or be part of an integrative theme that connects and builds on other cognitive frames while reflecting and reinforcing broader organizational culture or sociocultural patterns (as in the case of extrapolation of expertise and mirage of faculty control). Finally, my study lends support to Bensimon and Neumann's (1993) claim that cognitive frames can also capture what is unspoken, incoherent, or ignored (as with the In the Moment Conceptions of Imagined Students). I have developed a conceptualization of the relationship between status hierarchy and cognitive frames, that depicts a mutually reinforcing cycle in which status hierarchy leads to differential performance expectations (as posited by expectations states theory) and then the pattern of power and influence in the group shapes which ideas and mindsets are taken up and shared across the group to form cognitive frames.

A diagram of hypothesized and observed relationships among the concepts used to guide this study and analyze the data is presented in Figure 7.3. This model may serve as a guide for further study of one or more components included. A culture and cognition framework of academic program development allows us to move past a focus on the steps or parts of the process to explore the underpinning forces that maintain the status quo or that shift or change the process and outcomes. In Figure 7.3, I embed the academic program team and its program

development process in three overlapping contexts. The larger sociocultural context, university culture, School culture and team culture are interdependent, mutually constitutive and evolving. Each influences the status hierarchy operating in a particular institution and college/school, and that status hierarchy reflects socially created status differences. The status hierarchy shapes the influence and interaction of the program development team as a task focused group, which in turn influences the thinking of the team, or the cognitive frames that impact their work, shaping their attention, decisions and actions. Changes in the way curriculum teams are constructed and the way they relate to their organizational structure could change the process and outcomes - who is on the team matters, how the team interacts matters, and how the larger culture influences the team matters.

Figure 7.3: A Culture and Cognition Perspective on Academic Program Development



Implications for Future Research

Additional studies of curriculum development teams could address the limitations of the current study. Specifically, researchers will want to conduct interviews with the full array of individuals connected to the process such as deans, consultants, and involved faculty and staff. In my dissertation, I focused primarily on the development process, but a study that included multiple interviews with committee members could focus more on understanding committee members' experiences and the ways in which individual thinking contributed to team thinking and learning, and ultimately, decisions. This might provide additional evidence of how status characteristics shape curriculum plans. Intervention-based research could follow the approach taken by Kezar, Gehrke, and Elrod (2015) in their study of implicit theories of change in curriculum teams, in which they introduced models of change to encourage implicit ideas about change to become explicit as well as more grounded and productive.

While my case study was ethnographic given my consistent engagement with the team over an extended time period, I did not fully embed myself in the day-to-day activities of the curriculum development team members. A more intensive ethnographic study could offer a more complete understanding of the process of academic program development and the experiences of those involved in it. Such studies, of course, require great flexibility in schedules on the part of the researcher as well as unfettered access to member activities beyond committee meetings. As such, they may require the researcher take on a participant-observer role. Expanding the scope of inquiry to include multiple institutions and curriculum development teams -- while retaining the qualitative, observation-based method -- would allow for comparative analysis and could aim to uncover differences for larger vs. smaller institutional settings.

As noted in my findings there is not yet a fully articulated theoretical model and program of research centered on cognitive frames; this work remains to be done. Researchers could further explore the ideas that emerged from my analysis, such as the nature and kinds of cognitive frames, how they form, their relationships to one another, and the ways that they can be integrative in nature. Additional research on the relationship of status hierarchy and cognitive frames could advance both theories, and provide avenues for researchers focused on these theories with hypotheses to develop and test. Additional applied studies drawing on expectations states theory to examine status hierarchy and performance expectations in task-focused groups would further build the limited extant research in real world, rather than lab settings. Further exploration of when and how status treatments are used, their impact, and the impact of status treatment interventions could advance efforts to create equitable and inclusive team based and committee-based work, both in curriculum development and in other functional areas in higher education.

Survey methods could build a better understanding of how deans, faculty and staff perceive curriculum development work, their engagement with it, and their understanding of what it involves and how it could be improved. While surveys are not necessarily time-bound, linking survey data collection to ongoing curriculum efforts might provide more reliable data on engagement and perceptions. Analysis of survey data might also identify additional research questions to further explore through qualitative methods.

The rapid growth of online education including curriculum based on or including Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCS) has brought new dimensions of academic program development. Campuses engaged in this arena are collaborating with online education platforms and are employing instructional designers and curriculum developers to create and mount new

academic programs and certificates at a fast clip. Studying and comparing the practices and process used for online curriculum development and with those of traditional curriculum development could increase the understanding of both and offer ways to identify and cross-pollinate the best practices in each domain. In the future, it is likely that online curriculum development and traditional curriculum development will become increasingly intertwined, as we proceed towards a world where universal, flexible, and lifelong education is the norm (Bastedo, 2011).

Implications for Professional Practice

Ideas and learning from this study could be used to inform and guide cultural change with regards to curriculum development teams and academic program development (See Figure 7.4 for a set of practical guidelines for institutions and academic units). Changes in the membership and structure of curriculum development teams could be a game changer in the experience of the teams and the teams' effectiveness and efficiency. Careful attention to the selection of the team leader is critical; most important is that the leader be effective with motivating and coordinating the team's process. As long as there is coverage of knowledge in key areas the leader does not need to be experienced in all aspects of curriculum development, though certainly background and experience helps. Rather than focus only on representation of departments or disciplinary domains, considering the areas of knowledge needed to design and launch an academic program when forming a curriculum team is advisable.

What we know about status hierarchy suggests that having diversity on a committee is not enough. While many workshops on team work will offer strategies such as a round robin (when everyone has a chance to speak in turn) often fall by the wayside in actual group settings. Building norms that consistently work to allow all voices to be heard is important. Those will the

most status may have great ideas - but those with the least status might also. Including experienced staff professionals and including student (and alumni) voices (through focus groups or student guests or as committee members) in addition to faculty members on a committee could help foster ideas - and cognitive frames - that are beneficial to the work being done.

There are alternative approaches to structuring curriculum development teams than the current norm. When high-level search committees, advisory boards, or research teams are formed, members are drawn from different parts of the institution and outside the institution; having outside voices on a curriculum team could be beneficial as well. Having sub committees or working groups that focus on different aspects of the process and having different members then take the lead in guiding meeting discussions may avoid the tendency to have a few members make most of the decisions or to avoid discussing concerns or problem areas. Holding an orientation session or training seminar for members of the curriculum team could create a base of shared knowledge and purposefully develop shared goals and norms.

Including more student and alumni participation during the development of new academic programs could bring new ideas and energy to the process. Looking at the process at the institutional level could lead to formulating models to support academic program development. Such models might enable the kind of nimble process needed given the rapid growth of knowledge and technology and the need for institutions to be more responsive to the interests and needs of students, employers and society. It may also refocus attention on quality and assessment of academic programs.

As stated in my introduction to this dissertation, current academic culture typically overlooks the need for systematic and intentional curricular planning, despite the centrality of the curriculum to the educational mission of the university (Lattuca & Stark, 2009; Stark et al, 2002;

Stark et al, 1997). While there are highly developed systems, tools and resources for functions such as admissions, research administration, development, financial operations, and major events on campus, schools, colleges, and departments often start from scratch when they develop new academic programs or other curricular initiatives.

This results in repeatedly recreating the wheel regarding what questions to ask, what timeline to follow, what issues to attend to, and what decisions to make. Efforts to support the autonomy of departments in managing their curricula may have the undesirable byproduct of impeding knowledge sharing across campus and thus encourage the tendency to recreate the wheel while reducing the potential to change the status quo. Not only can an overemphasis on autonomy impose stress and anxiety on those leading and working on these teams, it may reduce opportunities for innovation since decisions must be made on the fly. In such cases, the default is to follow the status quo and thus reifying the practices of other programs on campus.

On a broader level, although university teaching and learning centers sometimes include attention to curriculum development, most focus on course development and do not have staffing to fully support academic program development. Creating a central office devoted to curriculum development methods, resources, data, tools and consulting would begin to give credence to a major gap in institutional support for this core function. Increasing attention to curriculum development work in higher education preparation programs and in professional associations would support professional staff in building skills and knowledge relevant to this important functional area of higher education work.

Figure 7.4: Academic Program Development Guidelines for Culture Change

Reimagining Academic Program Development: Practical Guidelines for Culture Change in Higher Education Institutions, Schools, Colleges and Departments

Three Recommendations for Higher Education Institutions

1. **Evaluate how curriculum development work is occurring on your campus.**
   - How often are curriculum development initiatives happening and with what results?
   - Which offices on campus are providing support for these efforts and in what ways?
   - What are the experiences of deans, faculty and staff who are involved in this work?
   - If your campus has a teaching and learning center, to what extent is it involved with curriculum development versus course development?
   - What additional support is needed?

2. **Compare campus support for curriculum development with that for other major functions.**
   - Curriculum is a core function of the university. Think of another core function of the university, such as research or enrollment management. Examine how that function is supported by the institution.
   - How could the institution support curriculum development and implementation in ways that are commensurate with other core functions in terms of funding, technical systems, staffing, and professional development?

3. **Reimagine curriculum development work on campus.**
   - Bring campus representatives involved in developing and implementing curriculum together to re-imagine how curriculum development is supported and what benefits this could bring to the institution.
   - Campus representatives should include associate deans for academic affairs, faculty curriculum committee chairs, staff leaders involved in curriculum development and key leaders from campus units including university registrar, teaching and learning center, information technology, enrollment management, student life, and leaders involved in diversity, equity and inclusion efforts.
   - What organizational changes and culture shifts would support a newly imagined core function of academic program development?

Ten Recommendations for Schools, Colleges and Departments

1) Open your curriculum process by engaging students, alumni and employers as well as faculty and staff in thinking and talking about curriculum opportunities and working on curriculum development or reform.
2) Build curriculum development into faculty orientation and mentoring programs.
3) Involve professional level staff members in curriculum development efforts, for work including project management and managing implementation of new curricula.
4) Include curriculum as a topic on most faculty and staff meeting agendas. It is a central function and there will be many issues to discuss and updates worth sharing.
5) Develop norms and expectations for curriculum development work. What process is expected and how will the process and results be evaluated? What information and data will help this work and how can it be collected, maintained and made readily available?
6) Offer incentives for faculty engagement with curriculum development, such as a course reduction. Provide adequate resources and support for this time consuming and important work.
7) When creating a task force or committee for new program development, thoughtfully evaluate who will lead it and who will serve on it. Attend to diversity and consider which faculty, instructors and staff members are positioned to make important contributions.
8) Ensure there is a clear charge outlining the goals of a curriculum development team. Provide an opportunity for the team to give input on the charge before it is finalized.
9) Hold a launch meeting for the curriculum development team. Include campus and unit representatives who can provide information and context for their work.
10) Provide the leader(s) of the team and team members with resources and support. Offer information and training on implicit bias related to status differences and other facets of diversity, equity and inclusion.

One could imagine launching an academic program development process starting with careful selection of the planning group followed by a curriculum development orientation, a high-level kick-off meeting with relevant unit and university officials there to talk about the overall planning process and timeline. The work group would receive a toolkit with pre-populated information about the unit, its students, and other relevant institutional data; a list of topics and issues that the department or school will need to make decisions about; information on different kinds of program options (i.e., major, minor, certificate, specialized study); model timelines for decision-making keyed to the academic calendar and other timing factors; comparative charts of academic policies and rules; and other pertinent information identified by the central office. Appointing a project manager to map and coordinate a committee's process, as well as a liaison from a campus curriculum development office would afford this process the organization and foundation it requires.

Resources also need more consideration. Schools and/or institutions would be wise to provide start-up funds to support new academic program development, and to ensure adequate time to faculty and staff leaders to fully engage in this work. Adding this type of intensive committee work into already full-time jobs leads to less than optimal curricula and curricular structures. Schools should schedule budget meetings up front to develop a clear picture of needs and resources and to avoid surprises; such meetings should consider how students (as well as faculty and staff) will be affected by the launch of a program that is under-resourced. Limits on the available resources are to be expected, but careful assignment of resources to priorities is essential.

A more thoughtful approach to selecting the curriculum team and a more collaborative and deliberative process for academic program development raises the question of time. Deans

and provosts are often in a hurry to put new programs in place. Certainly, deadlines can be motivators and too much time can lead to attention moving elsewhere. Yet allowing sufficient time to organize the planning team and follow a thoughtful planning process could have long-term benefits that outweigh the short-term gain that an additional year of enrollment revenue would bring. In fact, the process may well become more efficient - as well as more effective - as new systems, tools, and approaches are implemented.

Involving and recognizing professional staff in curriculum development processes, and providing more visibility and support to this functional area of higher education, does not suggest a reduced role for faculty members. Quite the opposite, I call for greater attention, professional development and engagement of faculty with curriculum development work. Keeping the process mysterious, haphazard and stressful leads team members, faculty and staff, to share horror stories about the challenges of time-consuming curriculum committee assignments. It is no surprise that curriculum development work is not sought out or highly regarded by many faculty members. While it is reasonable to shield the junior faculty members on curriculum committees from too much heavy listing on such committee, schools and units need to do more to expose and involve junior faculty to curriculum development work as a professional development experience.

Much of what I have stated about improvements to curriculum development teams could also benefit other types of committees and working groups that make up so much of how things get done in colleges and universities. There is so much that not-for-profit institutions take for granted when they create and charge a committee. As my analysis shows, the structure and norms of a committee shape participation and decision-making, affecting both process and outcomes. The roots of implicit bias may lie within cognitive frames and status hierarchy;

attending closely to these may help further diversity, equity and inclusion that many campuses are striving to advance. The importance of the committee chair as the leader and shaper of the way the committee operates and the way members are given voice cannot be underestimated. By involving professional staff and faculty as collaborators on committees we can forge new cognitive frames and construct new status beliefs that will advance the success of both groups for the benefit of all – in particular, students.

Building curriculum development topics into new faculty orientation, faculty mentorship programs, professional development opportunities, and incentive and reward structures could lead to a renewed interest for faculty engagement and leadership with curriculum development. The need and reliance on the current model of program development committees might change as attention to academic program development is woven into the fabric of the organization and demystified. What new models might emerge that support quality, innovation, inclusion, equity and efficiency? The complexity of academic program development requires that we break down the status hierarchy and the mirage of faculty control of the curriculum. Smoke and mirrors do not give control. Enhancing staff roles and faculty roles - while increasing institutional support and building an informed and grounded approach to student needs and student voices – will begin to move curriculum development work from the dark ages to the 21st century.

Appendices

Appendix A

Script to Dean/Chair for School/College/Department Participation:

Dear _______,

I am a part time doctoral student in the UM Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education (CSHPE), in addition to my full-time position at the School of Information. I am beginning to work on my dissertation, which will focus on curriculum decision-making in curriculum committees. I am planning to do a qualitative case study that involves observation, interviews, and document analysis. The focus of the study is on cultural dimensions of curriculum decision-making, and as such the group dynamics and decision-making process are of interest, as well as the context of the committee's work.

I am wondering if your school/college/department has a committee that will be undertaking significant curriculum development or reform efforts in the coming year? If so, I would like to contact the department and/or committee chair to introduce my research and myself and to explore whether their curriculum committee might serve as one of two sites for my research study.

I have obtained IRB approval ((HUM00093374) and will provide consent forms first to the curriculum committee chair and then to the members. I would hope to observe committee meetings, interview individual members twice during the academic year (1 hour each time), and review relevant documents.

I would be happy to give you a call next week to discuss further if this is a possibility. Please let me know, or feel free to reply with any questions.

Sincerely,

Judy Lawson

Appendix B

Script to Invite Individual Committee Chair and Members to Participate

Dear Dr. XYZ:

I am a doctoral candidate in the UM Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education (CSHPE); my advisor is Dr. Lisa Lattuca. I am also the assistant dean for academic and student affairs in the School of Information. For my dissertation research, I am conducting a qualitative case study focusing on curriculum decision-making in curriculum committees in higher education. The focus of the study is on cultural dimensions of curriculum decision-making, and as such the group dynamics and decision-making process are of interest, as well as the context of the committee's work.

Your school/college/department (through Assistant/Associate Dean XYZ) has agreed to serve as a case study site for this study. You are being asked to participate given you are the chair (or a member of) the curriculum committee this year. In addition to observing committee meetings and taking notes, I would like to audiotape committee meetings to better capture the content for analysis. In addition, I would like to interview each member of the committee twice (60 minutes each time) during the academic year. The information I collect may provide insights on how curriculum committees operate and how they work to achieve their stated goals. This insight may identify issues specific to curriculum decision-making, and may also have relevance

to other kinds of committee work in higher education. I have obtained IRB approval (HUM00093374) for this study.

Please reply by (give date) to let me know if you are willing to be a participant in this research. If you agree to participate, I will provide a consent form for your review and signature (and will send consent forms to committee members). If you choose not to participate, I will not utilize your comments in my data analysis. Feel free to contact me at jmlawson@umich.edu or 734-763-6035 with any questions.

Sincerely,

Judy Lawson

Appendix C

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Invitation and Consent to Participate in a Research Study

I am a doctoral candidate in the UM Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education (CSHPE); my advisor is Dr. Lisa Lattuca. For my dissertation research, I am conducting a qualitative case study focusing on curriculum decision-making in curriculum committees in higher education. The study aims to explore cultural dimensions that impact curriculum decision-making, including group dynamics and contextual factors that shape the process and outcomes. Your school/college/department has agreed to serve as a case study site for this study. You are being asked to participate given you are a member of the curriculum committee this year. In addition to observing committee meetings and taking notes, I would like to audiotape committee meetings to better capture the content for analysis. In addition, I would like to interview each member of the committee once during the academic year; the interview would last 30-60 minutes. The information I collect may provide insights on how curriculum committees operate and how they work to achieve their stated goals. This insight may identify issues specific to curriculum decision-making, and may also have relevance to other kinds of committee work in higher education.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits from participation in this research; however, participating in individual interviews may provide an opportunity for reflection on your work within the curriculum committee. At the end of the project I will share general insights, without identifying information, to the school/college.

Risks and discomforts

You may feel uncomfortable sharing information about some of your experiences. You may choose not to answer any questions, and you can stop your participation at any time. As part of my analysis, certain information about committee members will be a part of the record including gender, role, disciplinary background, etc. which could be a risk to confidentiality. Given the department will not be identified and the researcher will not overly specify such information in the report, the risk of loss of confidentiality will be minimized.

Confidentiality

I will treat your interview responses and comments in meetings as confidential. I will not include your name or any other information that could identify you in my dissertation or any other reports. I will destroy the audio recording of committee meetings as soon as it has been transcribed. Results will be reported so as to protect the confidentiality of the committee members. The researcher will maintain de-identified data securely for no more than three years per the records retention guidelines for non-health research at UM. All records and electronic data related to this study will be destroyed within three years.

Voluntary nature of the study

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. While your school/college has agreed to have the curriculum committee participate, you can decline participation without adverse impact.

Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. Since committee meetings are group discussions, I would take care to remove your comments from analysis if you decline to participate. I will keep your original consent form for my records and will provide you with a copy.

Contact information

If you have any questions about this research, you may contact me (Judy Lawson) at jmlawson@umich.edu or 734-763-6035. You may reach my faculty advisor, Dr. Lisa Lattuca, at llatt@umich.edu or 734-764-1979. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, 2800 Plymouth Rd. Building 520, Room 1169, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2800, (734) 936-0933, or toll free, (866) 936-0933, irbhsbs@umich.edu. The University of Michigan Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences has approved this study.

1) I agree to have curriculum committee meetings in which I am present observed and audio taped for the purpose of this study.

____ _______________________

Signature Date

2) I agree to be interviewed individually as part of this study.

____ _______________________

Signature Date

3) I agree to have the interviews in which I participate audio taped for the purpose of this study.

____ _______________________

Signature Date

Appendix D

Interview Protocol for Curriculum Committee Members

Introduction to interview

First, thank you for taking time from your schedule to talk with me today. As you know I have been observing the meetings of the curriculum committee on which you are serving, to better understand curriculum decision-making conducted in these groups. To gain insights to perspectives of committee members, I am conducting individual interviews, with one now, and another at the end of the academic year.

The information I collect from talking with you and others will be used to better understand how curriculum committees function and how curriculum decisions are made. The interview will last about one hour.

Review consent form

Before we start, I'd like to review the consent form that I sent to you to make sure it's clear and to respond to any questions you may have. You completed this at the time I started observing the curriculum committee meetings, but I wanted to revisit it with you before our interview.

(Give interviewee time to review the form and ask questions). As the form indicates, with your permission I'd like to record our conversation, so I don't miss any of your comments. I will use a

professional service for transcription, but otherwise no one will listen to the tape other than me. If you prefer that I take notes instead that is fine.

(Let interviewee know what degree of confidentiality they can expect). I will be writing my dissertation based on the committee observations, individual interviews, and document analysis. I will write in a way that does not identify you or the school with which you are affiliated. Thus, I hope you will speak candidly with me.

(Give interviewee a copy of the consent form for their files. If the person consents to continue based on the signed consent form, continue.)

Do you have any questions before we start? Please feel free to interrupt me with a question at any time during the interview.

1) As a starting point, can you tell me how you came to be on the curriculum committee and what experience or perspective you bring to it?

(Probes on previous experiences, why he or she feels he was asked to serve etc.)

2) What was your understanding of what the committee would be undertaking this year as you agreed to serve on it? Was there a formal "charge" for what the committee was to focus on or accomplish?

3) What are your thoughts about the work of the committee thus far? What has been going well, and what has been challenging from your perspective?

(Probe for details on what is going well and what is challenging)

4) How would you describe your school or department overall in terms of collegiality (e.g. climate of mutual respect, give and take, etc.)? In what ways does the work of the curriculum committee reflect collegiality from your perspective? Do you think this helps or hurts the process and how/why?

5) What factors, trends, or individuals have influence on the current work of the committee, in your opinion? (Probe for details)

6) To what extent do you feel the committee is addressing the most important issues facing the curriculum in your school/department? (Probe for what issues are viewed as the most important, and why these are or are not being addressed)

7) How would you describe your own approach to participation on the committee? Who on the committee do you think has the most influence on decisions made and why?

8) Is there anything else you would like to add, or anything that you feel I should have asked you about but didn't?

Appendix E

Code Book

Codes	Description
Careers / Jobs	References or discussion about topics related to job outlook, career options, career paths
--Job outlook	References to job market, employment trends or prospects related to the degree program
--Career options or paths	References to different or multiple career opportunities or paths graduates of the program could pursue
--Presentation of career information	Strategy or framing of career information to build understanding of careers related to the major
Comparison/contrast with other programs	Questions or information that compares the program being developed to other programs at UM or elsewhere
--Comparison or contrast with similar programs	Discussion or questions about perceived or confirmed similarities or differences with programs in the same discipline at other institutions
--Comparison or contrast with campus programs	Questions or discussion about perceived or confirmed comparisons with other programs on the same campus, e.g. another academic program, school or college
--Comparison or contrast with graduate program	Comments or discussion about how the undergraduate program relates to, impacts or is impacted by graduate education in the same field, either within the same school or in general
--Proposal models / comparisons	References to other program proposals in terms of content, length, scope
Curriculum	References to discussion about the curriculum design or content, course design or content, decisions about curriculum, curricular issues
--Course Offerings	Discussions of course offerings for the new program, what is needed, how to develop courses needed
--Experiential Learning, Internships	Discussions or references to experiential learning, internships, field experience
--Credit Requirements and Options	Discussion of program requirements such as prerequisites, transfer credit rules, core courses, electives
--Curriculum design/plans/models	Discussing possible concentrations (majors) or reviewing models of the coursework certain groups of students might take to complete the major, evaluating the credits, prerequisites, and courses for students with particular backgrounds or interests with the plans of the new major.
--Course design / content	References to potential, specific courses or groups of courses and their scope, function, or content
--Curriculum decisions	Discussion of and confirmation of decisions related to the curriculum
--Program Design Strategy	Approach to designing the undergrad program curriculum, strategy of the design, design features,

--Curriculum Consultant	References to the curriculum consultant that the chair hired and had worked with at a previous institution; including references to what the consultant is going to do, suggestions the consultant has made, or whether and how the consultant's input is being received
Teaching and Learning	References to or issues related to the educational function of the program
--Pedagogy	References to pedagogy, approaches to instructional methods, teaching and learning in classes or in the program overall.
--Faculty as instructors	References or discussion of faculty instructors in relation to teaching, roles, expectations, challenges,
Administration	References or discussion of program administration including finances, space and facilities, marketing and communications, dean's office
--Financial matters	References to finances whether related to program operating costs or program revenue, e.g., resources, estimated revenue, needs, issues
--Space and facilities	References to physical space, facilities e.g. classrooms, study areas, student lounges, staff offices
--Marketing and Communications	References or discussion about communications about the new program, public relations, publicity, web site
Student and Academic Affairs	References or discussion about student facing functions or topics including recruiting, admissions, enrollment, advising, orientation, career services, student organizations
--Recruiting and Admissions	References or discussion about recruitment or admissions, e.g. plans, practices, policies, criteria, process
--External Transfer Recruiting and Admissions	References to the need for or issues related to creating a plan for publicity to and selection of students to enter the program from outside of the institution
--Academic Advising	References to academic advising needs, resources, issues, process
--Career Services / Career Counseling	References or discussion about needs, scope, and approach of career services; student engagement in career services etc.
--Enrollments	Comments about enrollments in the program and/or in specific classes, expectations for enrollment, managing enrollments
--Financial Aid	Discussion of student financial aid, scholarships, grants, from university and/or school.
--Student Life / student experience	References or discussion about student life issues or topics including wellness, student issues or needs, accommodations, student organizations, activities, orientation etc. as well as comments about the kind of experience that students want to have or that they are aiming to provide for students in the new program.
Students / Undergraduates	References or discussion about students, whether real and grounded in data or experience or imagined in terms of perceptions. References to student interests, ability, diversity, developmental needs, and comparison to graduate students.
--Conception of students - real	Representations of or references to students informed by actual interactions or data (e.g. survey, enrollment, personal experience with actual students)
--Conception of students -- imagined	Representations of or references to students as imagined or perceived, such as behavior, attitude, motivation, expectations that are based on general

	impressions or connected to others' impressions but are not grounded in data or direct experience.
--Student interest in new program	References to students interest or potential interest in the new program, specific aspects of the program etc..
--Student academic or career interests	References to students' interests in specific academic topics, fields, sub fields, or in career areas, fields, etc.
--Student concerns about new program	Documented or potential student concerns about the program, requirements, prerequisites, courses, services, etc.
--Student ability	References to students skill and knowledge level or potential, areas of strength or weakness
--Student Perspectives	References to student input, interests, and issues; to the need to take the student's perspective or to understand or attend to the student perspective.
--Student diversity	References to diversity of potential students, consideration of student diversity, issues with student diversity
--Student developmental issues / needs	References to students' emotional, cognitive, intellectual level or stage and connection to their needs or expectations for support, advising, etc. (this could be informal, without reference to any formalized theory, or it could be formal with connection to a known area of student development)
--Comparison to graduate students	Comments about similarities or differences between undergraduate and graduate level students
Program Attributes	References to the program being developed in terms of rationale, focus, objectives, intended outcomes, purpose, size or scope, etc.
--Program purpose	Comments or discussion about the rationale for or intended outcomes of the new program
--Program objectives	Comments or discussion about specific program objectives or intended outcomes
Academic Rules	Discussion about the various rules that need to be determined for the university to properly encode the program for degree audit, such as grading rules, Incomplete credit rules, etc. etc.
Admission Criteria	Discussions about standards, guidelines, requirements, etc. related to admissions decisions.
--Program quality	Comments or discussion about the importance of quality, specific program strengths, dimensions of quality etc.
--Program value or benefits	Comments or discussion about the value of the program to society, the institution, the school, the students, etc.
--Program Size	References to potential size of initial cohort(s) of students into the new program. Discussion of targeted size, potential for actual size to be more or less than that, factors driving the size of the program etc.
Process	Factors impacting and related to the work of the committee
--Time and timing	References or discussion about time constraints, timing of decisions needed, timing of steps in the program development and implementation, time spent on committee work etc.

--The Proposal	References or discussion about the new program proposal in terms of content, issues, process etc.
-- Proposal decisions and approvals	References to process of or actual decision-making and approvals of the program proposal, whether at the committee, faculty, university, or regental level.
--Two level process / parallel process	Reference to the committee's need to both write a proposal and prepare to launch a new program
--Process concerns	Expressions of stress, anxiety or worry; real or potential problems related to the process, e.g. worries about issues or potential issues, competing issues or demands, time or resource constraints, work load, decision making etc.
--Process efficacy	Statements regarding committee members' beliefs about their ability to reach milestones such as different levels of approval in the program proposal process in relation to stated timeframes or goals. Statements that affirm that the committee is working effectively or that their efforts will reach desired results.
--Defining scope	References to which topics, decisions, etc. are in the purview of the committee and which are not.
--Process work flow	Comments or discussion about the work to be done and how to accomplish it, organizing the work, who does what etc.
Meetings	References to or plans for meetings, internal to the school or campus level that support the process, plans or decision making beyond the committee itself.
--Administrative meetings	References or discussion of meetings held in the school or at the campus level regarding administration of the new program, e.g. marketing, budget, staffing, etc.
--Faculty meetings	References to plans for presenting or discussing the new program at a faculty meeting at the school or departmental level
--Faculty retreats on new program	Discussions and planning related to extended faculty meetings or faculty retreats planned to engage faculty with aspects of the new program’s curriculum development.
--committee perspectives on summer retreat	Reflections or comments on faculty retreat focusing on curriculum and course design
Organizational factors	References to organizational structure at the school or university level, departmental issues or perspectives, how the program will be organized, capacity issues, etc.
--Organizational structure - school	References or discussion about the structure of the academic unit in terms of size, faculty and staff, etc. - whether current, past, or in relation to the new program.
--Organizational structure - university	References or discussion about the structure of the university as it impacts the academic unit or the new program
--Capacity	References to or discussion about the parameters, real or perceived, shaping or constraining the program, e.g. budget, staffing, space, faculty, enrollment
--Faculty Resources and structure	References to engaging faculty in the new program, organizing faculty for the new program, how to manage faculty resources etc.
--Faculty hiring	References to or discussions about faculty hiring related to the new academic program

-- Program governance	Comments or discussion about the administration of the program, roles and process for decision making about the program
--New program committee name	Discussion and debate about what to name the committee that will govern the new academic degree program being developed
--Program Leadership	References to or discussion about leadership roles or individuals' leadership roles for the new program
--Program staffing	Discussions or comments about staffing structures or needs for the program
--Organizational culture	References or discussion about the culture of the school, and/or about cultural change that the new program will require or bring about
External influences	Factors influencing the process from outside the school
--Influence of job market	References to the job market in relation to decisions and plans for the new program
--Influence of campus level units	References to other units on campus in terms of their role, perspective, or approach, or impact on the new program plan
--Influence of accreditation body	References to accreditation standards or issues in relation to decisions and plans for the new program
--Influence of comparable programs	Reference to similar programs that demonstrate impact on decisions and plans for the new program
Internal influences	Factors shaping the process from within the school
--Influence of Dean / administration	References or discussion about input, opinions, and decisions of the dean, associate deans, or executive board in relation to shaping decisions and plans for the new program
--Influence of students	References to students' opinions, interests, needs in relation to committee decisions and planning
--Influence of faculty	References to faculty opinions, concerns, needs, etc. in relation to shaping decisions and plans for the new program
--Influence of staff	References that suggest direct input from staff members who are informing and guiding the committee (e.g. admissions, career services etc.) are impacting the process or decision making
--Influence of parents	References to parents' views, concerns, etc. in relation to shaping decisions and plans for the new program
Team (committee) and leader behaviors	References actions or comments of team members that relate to or demonstrate the group's process or decision making and the way the group operates or makes progress, deals with stress
--Decision making	Discussion of decision making, or confirmations of decisions the group is making or references to decisions that need to be made, are being delayed or that are pending, challenging
--Coordination and planning efforts	Comments that relate to the work process, planning and/or work flow of the group
--Humor	Use of jokes, lighthearted comments, sarcasm etc. to address issues, deflect issues, lighten the mood, detract from a concern

--Interpersonal tension or conflict	Words and tones that impart anxiety, frustration, or disagreement or frustration between or among committee members
--Shared perspectives or values	Comments where committee members indicate agreement with stated opinions or viewpoints of other committee members
--Camaraderie	Words or actions that impart support and/or a sense of teamwork
--Group management or leadership	Comments that direct the focus and activity of the task force, whether from the task force chair or others.
Status hierarchy / power and prestige structure	Interactions that relate to theory-based concepts around the patterns of interaction and influence in the committee.
--Status treatments	Higher ranking individual makes positive or negative comments about the contribution of lower ranking member; or lower ranking member reinforces the comments of higher-ranking individual. To qualify as a status treatment, the comment needs to specifically reference someone's idea, comment, effort, question or other contribution as being valuable, beneficial, positive, etc. or to specifically detract or negate someone's idea, comment, effort, question or other contribution.
--Assertive contribution	Contributions from committee members that are not prompted or invited, but rather interjected to provide information, opinions, etc. This is not anytime a person speaks without being prompted but rather when they interject in a way that drives or changes the conversation. To code something as an assertive contribution, someone says something that is different than the current course of conversation; the person is stepping out and directs the conversation towards a new topic or to a concern, or they make a point that is not part of the current flow of conversation.
--Prompted contribution	Contributions from committee members that are prompted by another committee member, requesting input, expertise, perspective, information etc. whether based on their role on the committee or otherwise.
--Recognition of skill or expertise	Comments from one committee member about another committee member's area(s) of expertise, experience, value added to the committee's process, specific skill or ability (this may be connected with prompting said committee member to contribute, or not.) Or a statement of one’s own expertise related to a topic of discussion. This is different from a status treatment in that recognizing skill or expertise would be a more general reference, and a status treatment is a positive reflection of a particular person's statements or contributions in the course
--Ignoring, minimizing, or deflecting contributions	Comments, questions, issues, that go unnoticed or ignored by other committee members, or comments that are in response to a contribution that suggest it is not relevant, not important, or otherwise not worth discussing further, or that jump to a new topic. To qualify for coding, there must be evidence in the passage that someone said something, and then subsequent comments or conversation did not pay attention to what was said, or replied in a way that suggested the comment was not relevant or important.

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