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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY, STUDENT AND SUPPORT STAFF PARTICIPATION IN COLLEGE

GOVERNANCE: A STUDY IN THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZATIONS

by

DEAN DOUGLAS WOOD



A THESIS

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS**

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA



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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled FACULTY, STUDENT AND SUPPORT STAFF PARTICIPATION IN COLLEGE GOVERNANCE: A STUDY IN THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZATIONS submitted by Dean Douglas Wood in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DEDICATION

To my mother, C. Belle Wood, and the memory of my father, Robert N. Wood.

ABSTRACT

In Alberta, public college boards, by statute, are made up of appointed community members; the president; and faculty, student and support staff representatives. The purpose of this study was to investigate the political dynamics and interactions associated with the participation of institutional members in the governance of colleges.

An organizational politics theoretical perspective was used to guide the design of the study and the analysis of the data. From this perspective, formal organizations such as colleges constitute political systems with many of the characteristics of societal political systems. Individuals and groups are seen as political actors who advance their interests with the goal of influencing the outcome of decision-making processes.

A multisite case study design was utilized, and data were collected at three colleges by interviewing, reviewing documents and observing board meetings. A topical coding system reflecting the subproblems, the politics perspective and emergent topics was used to code the transcripts and documentary material.

The data are presented in three case studies. After nomination by their associations and appointment by the Minister of Advanced Education, institutional members experienced formal and informal socialization processes which conveyed very definite role expectations. Faculty, student and support staff board

members' participation in the decision-making of their boards varied significantly

from person to person. Each institutional member was active in his/her association, usually as an ex officio member of the executive. Influence processes and conflict were documented, but they were at a low level. Although the institutional members had limited to moderate impact, almost all participants endorsed institutional participation.

The conclusions clearly suggest that institutional participation in college governance is a political process consistent with the organizational politics literature. Some political processes were not present to the extent suggested by the literature because of the social characteristics of the public members, the power of the presidents and the role expectations for the institutional members. Some institutional members were able to work within the constraints of the situation and achieved a degree of influence based on their personal credibility. Institutional participation operationalized academic values and processes and contributed to a positive organizational climate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research report reflects the participation and contribution of many people. I want to extend my heartfelt thanks to each of them.

Most importantly, I want to express my appreciation to the board members; administrators; and the presidents of the faculty, student and support staff associations who participated in this study. Like other social science research projects, this study was dependent upon their time, commitment and trust. Because they must remain anonymous, individual recognition can not be extended here.

My supervisory committee, like the research participants, were also direct contributors to this study. Dr. E. Miklos supported, challenged and nudged me as appropriate. His patience, wisdom and scholarship created an exemplary learning process for me. Dr. A. Konrad, Dr. G. McIntosh and Dr. R. Pannu provided insights and direction in the development of the study and in the refinement of the final report. Dr. W. Worth, a member of my initial committee, stimulated my interest in the research topic and the conceptual orientation. Dr. J. Dennison of the University of British Columbia kindly consented to be the external examiner and offered many valuable perspectives.

This study would not have been possible without the support and cooperation of Keyano College and individual members of the college community. An educational leave made it possible for me to begin the doctoral program, and the

continued interest and support of colleagues and friends assisted me in carrying the thesis to completion. Particular recognition must be given to the staff of the library, media services, computing services and program development departments who contributed their time and skills in various ways. Gillian Wright and JoAnn Tessier accepted the challenges of the final stages of word processing with good humor.

My immediate family--Mary, Robert and Andrew--have been indirect participants in this study because it frequently consumed my time and energy which rightfully belonged to them. The support and interest of my wife Mary and the patience of Robert and Andrew are sincerely appreciated. Other family members and friends have also seen this project absorb my time and attention.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Within the context of relevant provincial legislation, final decision-making authority for most colleges in Canada is vested in a board of governors. Typically, the board's authority includes formulating long-range plans, setting policies, approving and monitoring budgets, determining the institution's mission and program priorities, and selecting and evaluating the president. Board members are appointed by government or a government agency. In contrast, colleges in two provinces are a part of a government department which means governance authority rests with a cabinet minister.

One particularly significant feature of board governance in five provinces and two territories is a statutory provision assigning a limited number of seats on the boards to employees and/or students of the college. In Alberta, academic staff and students have been members of college boards since 1969 with the addition of non-academic staff representatives in 1981. Originally, the provision for institutional participation in governance was established for five junior colleges which had a strong university orientation; subsequently, it was extended to six new or existing colleges and two technical institutes.

When academic staff, students and non-academic staff become board members, they take on a major, secondary role within their college community. As a result, they enter into new relationships with their peers, college administrators, and the associations which nominate them to the board position. This study investigated the participation of institutional members in college governance in Alberta by examining their involvement in the boards' decision making and their interactions with the public members, the president, and associations within the college.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The study was based upon a central research problem: What is the nature of the political processes associated with the participation of academic staff, students and non-academic staff on the boards of governors of Alberta colleges? More specifically, nine subproblems were investigated:

1. How are institutional members recruited for board positions?
2. What formal and informal socialization do institutional members experience as they become board members?
3. What role expectations are communicated to institutional members by other board members and college groups? What role expectations are perceived by institutional members?
4. To what extent do institutional and other board members differ in

their participation in the decision making of the boards?

5. What is the nature of institutional members' participation in the activities of their respective associations? What impact does it have on their board participation?

6. What influence processes are used by institutional members? What influence processes are directed toward them as they interact with other board members and members of the college community?

7. What, if any, conflicts are associated with institutional members serving on college boards? How are they resolved?

8. From the perspective of institutional members, other board members, and college groups, what impact do institutional members have on the processes and outcomes of boards' decision making?

9. What effect does institutional participation have on the governance and organizational life of colleges?

The problem was investigated utilizing a multisite case study research design.

Data were gathered at three colleges by conducting interviews and examining documents.

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

While definitions of governance vary significantly within the higher education literature, all authors make reference to decision making about

policies and goals (e.g., Millett, 1979; Pannu, 1973; Petersen, 1986). A number of scholars have expanded this basic definition by adding elements or clarifying distinctions. Corson (1975), for example, includes implementation and evaluation of decision-making outcomes as a part of governance while Millett (1980) sees those activities as management processes. Alfred (1985) and The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1982) include external constituencies as well as internal ones as participants in the governance process. Gollattscheck (1985) observes that governance in most colleges lacks formal structure because it is "an accumulation of processes . . . [which evolve] in a somewhat haphazard fashion" (p. 85). In the context of this study, governance is understood as encompassing internal processes and structures for making "critical decisions" (Baldrige, 1971, p. vii) about "purposes, policies, programs, and resources" (Millett, 1980, p. 147). Within the Alberta college sector, boards of governors constitute the most significant governance structure because of the authority granted to them by provincial statute.

Much of the higher education literature (e.g., Duff & Berdahl, 1966; Floyd, 1985; Hines & Hartmark, 1980; Pitman, 1986) stresses collegiality and institutional participation, in a variety of forms and at a number of different levels, as central to the concept of governance in an academic community. In general terms, the rationale for institutional participation focuses on utilizing the expertise of professionals within a college or university, reflecting the norms and values of an academic community, modelling democratic thought

and increasing employee job satisfaction and commitment.

The origins of institutional memberships on the boards of governors of North American colleges and universities, as one form of institutional participation in academic governance, can be traced to the earliest universities in Europe, but, in general terms, faculty and student memberships were limited or non-existent until the 1960s. Dramatic changes occurred in the composition of university boards in Canada as a part of the social ferment of the 1960s, and the introduction of institutional participation as a part of board governance in Alberta was an outgrowth of that reform movement

In Alberta, the Colleges Act (1980) and the Advanced Education Statutes Amendment Act (1987) define a college board of governors as consisting of the president; seven or more members from the public appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council; and one academic staff member, one student, and one non-academic staff member nominated by their respective groups and appointed by the Minister of Advanced Education. Faculty and student memberships on the boards of governors date from The Colleges Act of 1969; non-academic staff were given seats on the boards in a 1981 amendment to the Colleges Act (1980). In general terms, the 1980 act defines the authority of the board as establishing the programs of study and tuition fees subject to the approval of the Minister, setting admission standards, negotiating collective agreements, setting policy, overseeing the college's financial operations, establishing and maintaining facilities, and providing reports to the

Minister.

Within Alberta's colleges, the process of governance takes a number of forms and occurs at a number of levels. An academic council, as defined in the Colleges Act (1980) and the Advanced Education Statutes Amendment Act (1990), advises the board of governors on matters of academic policy and on issues specifically referred to it by the board. Other governance structures vary from college to college but common elements include a president's council, a deans' council, and standing and ad hoc committees which have specialized or diverse memberships based on the committee's mandate and the institution's philosophy. While faculty, staff and students participate in the academic councils and standing and ad hoc committees, their participation on a board of governors is of most significance and greatest interest because of the board's authority.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 suggests a college can be understood as a political system characterized by internal diversity and interest groups which, to varying degrees and at different times, pursue their goals in the college's administrative- and policy-making arenas. A college's board of

members and the president. While the board is the most powerful interest group in the institution, it is also subject to the influence of other groups such as senior administrators, bargaining units, the students' association, academic council and service and teaching departments. The primary purpose of the board is decision making on behalf of the institution, and the organizational politics perspective suggests its decisions will reflect an interaction of multiple interests, political action, and the relative power of individual and group actors. From this point of view, the board's decision-making processes become the focal points for political activities. When divergent interests exist, for example, conflict may result. Bargaining results when actors try to resolve conflicting interests by engaging in a process of give-and-take (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). At the same time, the model recognizes that decision making often is not characterized by political activity but follows "routine bureaucratic processes" (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1986, p. 23).

Figure 1 illustrates the composition of a college board in Alberta. The faculty, staff and student members are recruited to their board positions by nomination from their respective associations and appointment by the Minister of Advanced Education. The president is a statutory member of the board. The public members are selected from the college's community or region and appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. The public members; the

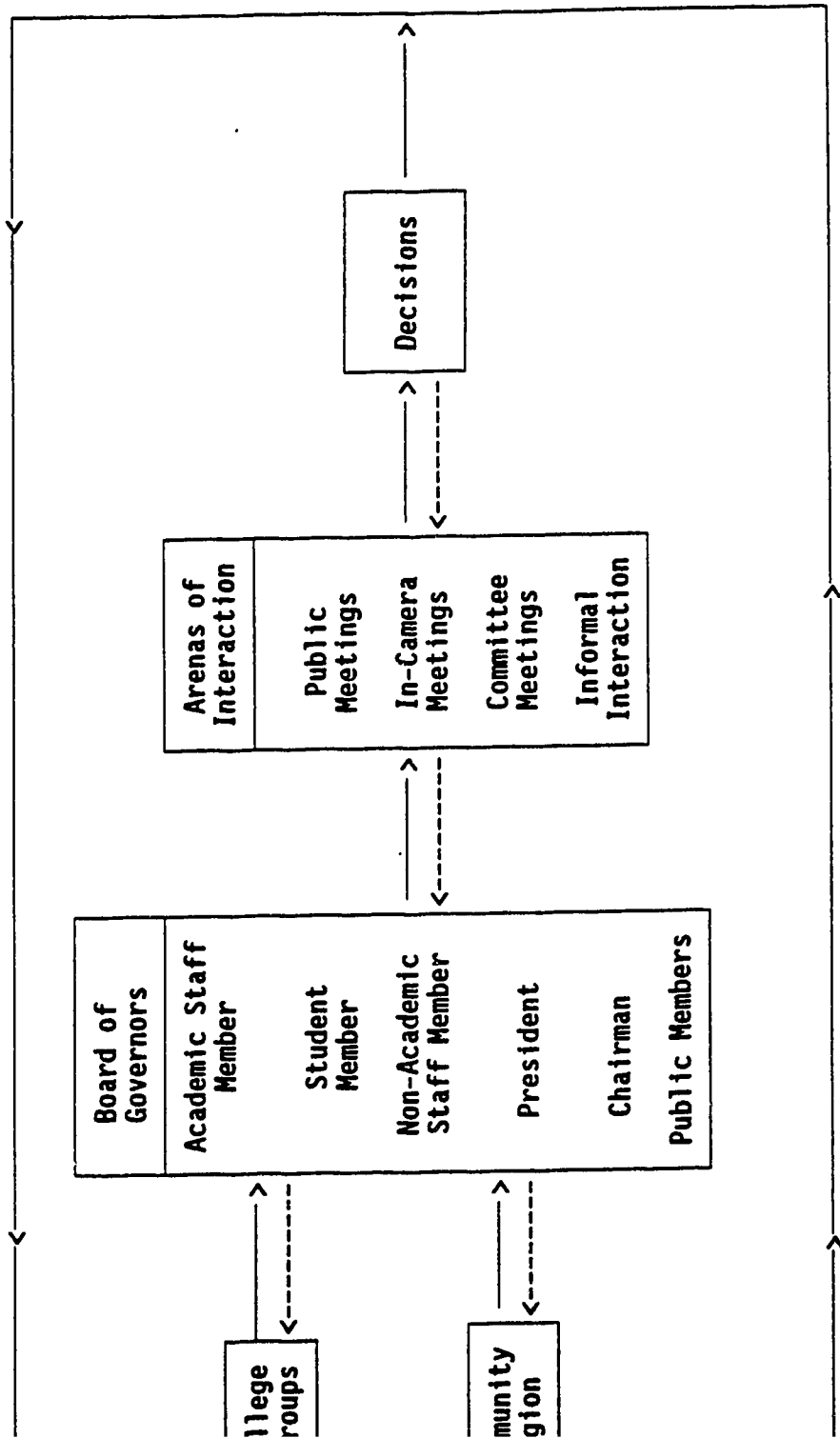


Figure 1

Institutional Participation in College Governance

decisions, as shown in Figure 1, have an impact on the board, the college as a whole, individual interest groups within the college, senior administrators and the college's community/region, and these outcomes may generate additional political processes.

Figure 1 also portrays the possible relationships associated with institutional participation. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 suggests the political processes which may be associated with these relationships. These processes and relationships can be grouped into two categories: the first focuses on intra-board dynamics. As institutional members take on the role of board member they are likely to experience formal and informal socialization processes which convey role expectations and are intended to shape their role definition. As they participate in the board's decision making, their positions on issues may be shaped by the influence exerted by other board members; similarly, institutional members are likely to exert influence on each other and other board members. Interaction among board members may be affected by the institutional members' ongoing involvement with their respective college interest groups. The extent to which faculty, staff and student members are able to influence the views and votes of other board members is an indicator of the power of an individual institutional member. On occasion, an institutional member may be in conflict with other board members.

In all likelihood, individuals and groups will seek to socialize the institutional members into a role consistent with their interests. As issues come before the board or as problems arise within the organization, interest groups may expect the institutional members to act on their behalf with the attendant possibility of conflict between the institutional member and his/her association, another group, other board members, administrators and peers. The experiences of an institutional member on the board may be affected by the relationships existing between his/her nominating association and the board of governors. Ideological positions associated with occupational roles and training, personal philosophies and labor relations permeate each of the processes and relationships mentioned above.

This theoretical perspective was utilized in the design of the study and in the analysis of the data. The subproblems and interview schedules reflect the application of concepts from the governance and organizational politics literatures to the central topic and problem of this study. A case study design utilizing qualitative data was chosen largely because a politics perspective necessitates the in-depth investigation central to case study research. The analysis of the data draws on the politics model as well as extending and modifying it in light of the findings.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The college governance structure mandated by legislation in Alberta places authority for each college's operation in the hands of a local board composed of public and institutional members. The higher education literature (e.g., Pitman, 1986; Worth, 1986) speaks of the significance of college and university boards in statements such as "the governing board constitutes the keystone in the governance structure of higher education" (The Carnegie Foundation, 1982, p. 72). Given the significance of college boards, it is important for academics, policy makers and practitioners to understand the dynamics of those boards; therefore, this study documented, by description and analysis, the participation of faculty, student and support staff members in relation to the functioning of the larger board.

The practice of granting members of the college community an opportunity to participate in the governance of their institutions exists in seven of Canada's provinces and territories; five of the seven include recently established institutions or province-wide governance changes. In the United States, less than five per cent of the community colleges include student and/or faculty members on their boards (Drake, 1977), and a later study of a large sample of two- and four-year institutions found that less than three per cent of the trustees were faculty or students (Association of Governing Boards, 1986).

education literature (e.g., The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973; The Carnegie Foundation, 1982; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Kerr & Gade, 1989; Riley, 1977; Woods & Nason, 1977) about the desirability of including institutional members as full participants on the boards of colleges and universities. The experiences and impact of faculty, student and support staff board members are documented in this study from their perspective as well as from the perspectives of other board members and spokespersons for college associations. This information constitutes a useful reference point for academics, policy makers and practitioners interested in the desirability question.

The literature on organizations as political systems directs the attention of researchers and practitioners to interest groups, decision making, the exercise of influence, power and conflict. Results of a number of studies, reviewed in Chapter 2, have demonstrated the validity of utilizing this theoretical framework in studying colleges and universities. The politics perspective was applied in this study to a description and analysis of faculty, student and support staff participation in college governance in Alberta. In light of the institutional members' selection process, continuing organizational roles, relationships with college interest groups and interaction with public members and the president, the literature suggests that political dynamics will be a part of their experiences as board members. This research therefore,

applying the model to institutional participation in college governance which, given its nature, is a particularly relevant test of the efficacy of the model.

An extensive literature review by Hines and Hartmark (1980) and the researcher's literature survey suggest that there have been only a limited number of investigations of colleges and universities from an organizational politics perspective. More specifically, Levin (1990) indicates "higher education scholars have not normally conceived of the behavior of administrators and governing board as predominantly political" (p. 47). In addition, Hines and Hartmark (1980) are critical of much of the existing governance literature because of its prescriptive orientation and its undue emphasis on formal structures and consequent neglect of organizational dynamics. In this context, this investigation is significant because an empirical investigation of academic governance was conducted which drew upon established but underutilized theoretical frameworks and examined relationships and interactions.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Board of Governors

A college board in Alberta is the highest decision-making authority for the institution and is responsible for the continuing operations of the college and its long-range development. The Colleges Act (1980) defines the board's

Each board is made up of the president, seven or more public members from the college's community or region and one academic staff, student and non-academic staff member.

College

As public post-secondary education institutions, colleges in Alberta offer career, transfer, apprenticeship, vocational, academic upgrading, and human development programs. Most colleges offer a comprehensive range of programs consistent with the concept of a community college; however, some colleges have a more specialized program and service mandate. Colleges meet the educational needs of their community and region by serving recent high school graduates, adults with special needs, adults re-entering the educational system and individuals who are pursuing learning for personal interest.

Governance

In academic institutions, governance refers to the process of making decisions about purposes, policies, rules and procedures which become the structure guiding administrative decision making about operational matters. Governance structures in Alberta colleges include the board of governors, the academic council and standing and ad hoc committees and councils.

Institutional Participation in Governance

Within Alberta's college system, there is a statutory and philosophical commitment to governance structures and processes which give selected individuals from each of the college's major constituent groups an opportunity to participate in decision making for their institution. In this report, this term refers to the academic staff, student, and non-academic staff members of the board of governors of each college. The college president is an institutional member of the board but is not included in this category because of significant differences in his/her role, appointment, accountability and relationships with the board.

Political System

For the purposes of this study, a college is considered to be a political system, that is, a formal organization made up of individual and group actors, each with interests which complement or conflict with those of other actors as well as with the formally defined goals of the college. The political system concept subsumes political process concepts such as recruitment, representation, socialization, decision making, the exercise of influence, power and conflict.

ASSUMPTIONS, DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The assumptions central to this study refer to the politics theoretical perspective, the case study research design and the collection and analysis of qualitative data.

1. Colleges are political systems characterized by political processes paralleling those found in societal political systems.
2. A multisite case study utilizing documents and intensive interviews of 16-18 persons in each college provided a valid source of data about the political processes under investigation.
3. Participants' reconstructions of events in their experience were accurate in terms of the quality of their recollections and the honesty of their responses.
4. The investigator as the primary research instrument was able to develop the appropriate level of skills in interviewing and the analysis of interview transcripts.
5. The researcher as interviewer was able to elicit the trust, confidence and cooperation of the participants.

Three delimitations were identified as a part of the process of designing the study.

1. The research was delimited to three of Alberta's eleven colleges.

colleges, this study was delimited to an investigation of institutional representation on boards of governors because they are the colleges' highest decision-making authority.

3. The research gave primary importance to political processes. No attempt was made to correlate political processes with other organizational features such as structure, technology and boundaries.

The limitations of the study related to design, time and research procedures.

1. The case study research design, even when several sites are used, does not permit generalization to the population of Alberta colleges.

2. Time constraints meant that the researcher was not able to carry out long-term observation activities and was dependent upon the participants and documents for all data.

3. The guarantee of anonymity required by the University of Alberta's policy on ethics in research limits the reporting of some contextual features about each college relevant to analyzing and interpreting the data.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The remainder of the thesis is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature in three sections: the origins, nature

of organizations as political systems; and relevant research findings.

Chapter 3 overviews the research design and methodology and outlines the specific elements of the methodology as operationalized by the researcher.

Chapter 4 provides context for the case study chapters which follow. It is made up of an overview of the Alberta college sector; a survey of college boards in Alberta in terms of their composition, selection processes, authority and role expectations; and a review of research findings about college governance in Alberta.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 provide case studies of institutional participation in board governance at three of Alberta's eleven colleges. The data are presented according to the topical schema developed during the data analysis process.

In Chapter 8 data from the three case studies are interpreted utilizing concepts and research findings surveyed in earlier chapters as well as additional literature introduced to further clarify the meaning of the data.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter. It summarizes the research design, data collection and analysis processes and the findings. Conclusions are drawn. Recommendations for researchers, policy makers, college associations, administrators and boards of governors are identified.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to present the theoretical and empirical foundations which shaped the design of this study and which provide the theoretical perspective for the analysis of the data. The chapter is organized into three sections. First, the concepts of governance in higher education and institutional participation in governance are developed from historical and contemporary perspectives. Second, the organizational theory model of complex organizations as political systems is surveyed along with the concepts most relevant to this study. Third, research studies in which universities and colleges were investigated from a politics perspective are described.

GOVERNANCE OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Some form of governing board is an integral part of the governance and administration of most colleges and universities in North America. Typically, board members serve in a part-time capacity and are appointed or elected from the public at large. There is provision for, to varying degrees, designated

memberships from alumni and church groups and internal groups such as faculty, students and staff. The nature and purposes of governing boards can be understood by surveying their history, examining conceptual models of governance and reviewing contemporary role expectations for boards. Similarly, the nature and purpose of institutional participation as one element of college board governance in Alberta are clarified by considering the philosophical and historical origins of faculty, student and support staff board memberships.

Origins and Development of Governing Boards

While a detailed examination of the historical roots of college and university boards of governors is beyond the scope of this dissertation, a brief survey of this topic is necessary as a context for this study. Duryea (1986) begins such a historical overview by tracing the roots of boards as corporate entities to a papal bull in the mid-1200s which re-established the Roman legal principle that corporate bodies, while fictitious social beings, could be considered as legal entities. While charters granting corporate status to universities and other institutions were originally granted by the Pope, this authority passed eventually to kings as a part of the ascendancy of nation states. This political and legal concept was developed in England over time and was established in what is now Canada and the United States during the

There are two major patterns which can be seen in the history of higher education governance (Duryea, 1986). First, Oxford and Cambridge universities and their colleges were constituted as a "self-governing community of colleagues bound together by loyalty to each other and the institution" (Ross, 1976, p. 160) although there was a provision for external supervision. This model, in Ross's (1976) view, probably arose from monasteries and guilds. The second pattern can be traced to the universities of medieval northern Italy where the highest authority was vested in an external lay board resulting from the role municipalities played in the formation of universities. In Britain, over time, the pattern of external lay control was established for Scottish and most English universities founded after Oxford and Cambridge. In the United States, despite evidence of the Oxbridge model at the first colleges founded in the 1600s, the external control model prevailed as early as 1701. A similar pattern characterized Canada's universities from the outset with the effect that "the role of the layman was dominant and that of the teacher minimal" (Ross, 1976, p. 176).

Early in the 1900s, Canadian universities began to adopt a bicameral form of governance reflecting changes made at the University of Toronto in 1906. A royal commission had recommended two levels of authority for the university after extensive study of a number of major American universities which reflected the post-Civil War trend of "gradual but decisive involvement

terms of the legislation passed in Ontario in 1906, the University of Toronto's board of governors was appointed by the legislature but independent of the province's Department of Education. There was no provision for faculty or alumni memberships. The second governance level was made up of a senate, drawn from the academic body, with "clearly defined jurisdiction over the academic program of the university . . . while the board of governors was the senior body with ultimate authority and responsibility" (Ross, 1976, p. 168). With a few exceptions such as some Roman Catholic universities which did include faculty members on their boards, the Toronto governance model prevailed across Canada until the 1960s.

The Role of Governing Boards

Academics and practitioners in Canada and the United States have identified somewhat similar role expectations for boards of governors of colleges and universities. These expectations reflect the nature of institutions of higher education institutions, the historical development of colleges and universities and the influence of national political cultures on governance structures.

Governing boards, consistent with Anglo-American tradition, are granted legal status as a corporate body by a specific charter or by sector- or system-wide legislation, in the case of public colleges and universities in Alberta.

confines defined by the charter or legislation. Authority is granted to the board as a whole and the board acts as an entity; individuals can not act on behalf of the board without express authorization to do so (Henderson, 1971).

The most significant expectation is that board members will act as trustees, that is, interpret and represent the public's interest in the institution. A public college or university is created by a provincial or state government to achieve certain goals as defined, explicitly or implicitly by the government, and the board's purpose is to respond to these goals, maintain a dialogue between the community served and the institution, and secure and further the long-term well-being of the institution. Dennison and Gallagher (1986) argue that community colleges in Canada can only respond to society by being accountable to "external boards whose sole preoccupation should be to ensure that the college operates in conformity with the board members' perception of the public interest" (p. 154). The Carnegie Foundation (1982) defined this trust relationship as "representing the public interest without compromising the community of learning" (pp. 72-73). Greer (1982), speaking of human service boards in general, defined the trustee role as representing "the parts of the population which must be taken into account in their policy decisions" (p. 218).

With reference to community-institution interaction, the board should act "as a 'buffer' between society and the campus, resisting improper external interference" (The Carnegie Commission, 1973, p. 33), and this responsibility

from any source, to undermine the integrity of the campus" (The Carnegie Foundation, 1982, p. 74). The second half of this responsibility involves the "defense and interpretation" (Gould, 1973, p. 218) of the academic community to the larger society which is often unfamiliar with the culture of a higher education institution.

Boards have a role with regard to the ongoing administration and governance of the college or university (Kerr & Gade, 1989). A board makes policy, appoints and evaluates presidents, approves budgets, preserves the long-term financial welfare of the institution, administers endowment funds, reviews and authorizes major program and resources initiatives. In addition, a board should act as the "arbiter of internal disputes" (The Carnegie Commission, 1973, p. 33) or a "court of last resort" (Perkins, 1973, p. 203) when conflicts involving college interest groups are brought to it after other conflict resolution mechanisms have failed.

The last category includes a number of items which are not united by a common theme, but have been identified by individual authors and are worthy of mention. Board members should ensure that they are sufficiently knowledgeable about the issues before them; similarly, boards should consult with the appropriate groups within the college or university as they formulate policy and establish procedures. A board can be an agent of change "in what is historically a conservative institution" (The Carnegie Commission, 1973, p. 33).

educational goals and creates a positive working environment.

Models of Governance

Theorists and researchers have developed, over time, a number of models of college and university organization, administration and governance which attempt to provide holistic conceptual portraits of colleges and universities. Four such models--academic bureaucracy, collegium, organized anarchy, political system--are relevant to understanding board governance in institutions of higher education.

Academic bureaucracy. According to Weber's ideal-type concept (Blau & Meyer, 1971) "bureaucratic administration, is, other things being equal, always, from a formal, technical point of view, the most rational type" (Weber, 1967, p. 88). Administrative and policy decision-making processes are based on goal-driven rational models and these processes are assigned to particular offices and organizational substructures (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1986). In short, a bureaucracy creates "a systematic division of labor, rights, and responsibilities and enforces it through a hierarchical control system (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 111).

In an educational institution, the board of governors becomes the apex of the bureaucratic structure. Information flows up to the board through the president's office and policy decisions flow down through the organizational

technical experts according to this process: "specification of goals and objectives with a ranking based on organizational values (preferences), identification of alternatives, [and] evaluation of the consequences" (Estler, 1988, p. 307). Consistent with this model, the board would make a "choice based on goal optimization" (Estler, 1988, p. 307). The policies and procedures set by the board become the fundamental reference point for the office holders of the college or university and other decision-making or recommending bodies such as an academic council.

Collegium. This model, as formulated by Millett (1962), is derived from the value system of academic communities because it seeks and assumes egalitarian and democratic values; shared power among faculty, students, alumni and administrators; professionalism among organization members, academic freedom; a high degree of participation in decision making; and shared understandings of the purposes of educational institutions (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1986; Birnbaum, 1988; Childers, 1981). Administrators within a collegium hold office for a limited term, are drawn from within the faculty, and are selected by processes which provide for broadly based representation of the academic community. Their role is "to provide support services and to represent the college's interests to its various publics, but the administration is understood to be subordinate to the collegium and carries out the collegium's will" (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 89).

are fundamental to understanding the role of a board of governors in a collegium. While a board holds corporate authority, it recognizes that power is shared with the faculty, students, alumni and administrators. Processes exist which provide faculty and students with the opportunity to communicate directly with the board rather than through the administrative structure. Institutional participation on boards is one mechanism for facilitating that communication. Decisions about academic matters are made by departments, faculties and senates rather than by boards. A board's role involves relations with the environment and policy making about non-academic matters.

Organized anarchy. While the concept appears to be an oxymoron, it captures two elements of complex organizations such as universities and colleges. An educational institution can be considered to be organized because "it has a structure, roles, and rules and regulations. There are standardized procedures for information flow and communication that direct people's attention, and many decisions follow prescribed processes" (Birnbaum, 1988, pp. 156-157). On the other hand, it is also anarchical

in part--part of the time [because] an organization is a collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings looking for decision solutions in which they might be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decision makers looking for work (Cohen, March & Olsen, 1972, pp. 1-3).

The metaphor of the garbage can is used to describe decision making under those circumstances because problems, solutions, participants and choice

random fashion. The decision-making outcome might "not necessarily be logical, but would depend on such matters as the time the decision was made, the availability of other garbage cans, and the particular problems, solutions, and participants in the stream at the time" (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 162).

Chait and Taylor (1987) provide this portrait of trustees in an organized anarchy: they "do not occupy the pinnacle of a hierarchy where they identify goals and ensure their achievement. Rather, trustees are participants in a tournament whose players, rules, strategies, and standards of victory are undefined, ill-defined, or constantly changing" (p. 13). Meetings of a board of governors then become one "garbage can" in which decision making occurs. In a complex organization there are always unresolved problems, more than the decision-making system can accommodate. These problems "are looking for places to be aired and resolved" (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 161), and some of these may become attached to the board as a garbage can. The board may develop solutions specifically for the particular problem or an existing preformed solution may become attached to the problem. The interaction of problems, solutions, participants and choice opportunities at the board level may result in solutions at one time being quite different from the output at another time because each "collision" of the four elements is largely unique reflecting different dimensions of each of the elements.

Political system. Theorists who define colleges and universities as

political systems point to the multiplicity of formal and informal groups which

make up these "professionally dominated, constituent controlled organizations" (Chait & Taylor, 1987, pp. 15-16). Given the diversity which is both inevitable and desirable in an academic institution (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 134), these groups will hold different interests and advance different demands. Because "major policies commit an organization to definite goals and set the strategies for reaching those goals," actors, be they individuals or groups, "try to influence them to reflect their own interests and values" (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1986, p. 20). As a result, "choices have to be made not between good and bad things but rather between competing goods" (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 134).

According to this model, boards of governors constitute one of the primary political arenas in a college or university because final policy-making authority rests with them. This model suggests that actors can influence the board's choices and decision-making process because they too hold power which results from control of information; technical expertise; collective bargaining; support of external agencies; appeals to academic values, democratic values and ethical principles (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 134). At the board level, external interest groups such as alumni, chambers of commerce, community elites and government departments are also influential. A decision-making outcome does not necessarily represent the most desirable alternative as selected by predetermined, weighted decision criteria, but it may reflect the interaction of the board with numerous other actors; the relative influence of and the strategies used by the various actors; the conflict which occurred; and

the personal, organizational and environmental limitations which were operative.

Comparison of models. These four models provide distinctively different portraits of governance in higher education. At first glance it appears the models exist in contradiction to each other, but further consideration suggests they exist in a complementary relationship (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1986). First, the academic bureaucracy and collegium models are largely normative while the organized anarchy and political system models are extrapolations from observed social reality. The academic bureaucracy model results from the application of a particular generic organizational model to educational institutions whereas the other three have been formulated with considerable attention to the norms and/or social dynamics of universities.

Second, each model emphasizes different dimensions of organizations and hence arrives at different conceptualizations of a college or university. The academic bureaucracy model stresses the structures, roles and processes necessary to optimize rational decision making. The collegium model reflects academic values and the organizational participation sought by professional people. The organized anarchy model draws attention to the ambiguity of goals and processes, the autonomy of actors and the limits on rationality characteristic of some formal organizations. Political system theorists draw attention to organizational differentiation, diverse interests, the articulation of demands and the exercise of power

Third, as a result of the differences in emphasis and origin, each model has different analytical power when applied to complex educational organizations. Because of the emphasis given to intra-organizational diversity and ambiguity, the political system and organized anarchy models are particularly applicable to investigating complex decision-making within colleges and universities while the academic bureaucracy model can effectively describe routine decision making according to set policies within the same institutions. The collegium model reflects, in part, the organizational culture characteristic of colleges and universities.

Fourth, conceptual linkages between models can be established. The academic bureaucracy model defines political behavior as dysfunctional while the politics model interprets bureaucratic behavior by administrators as one of many political strategies. For a politics theorist, the collegium model describes one ideology at play in a college or university. The problematic goals, unclear technology and fluid participation of the organized anarchy model describe some of the reasons why colleges and universities are political arenas.

Origins of Institutional Participation in the Governance of Alberta 's Colleges

Institutional participation in college and university board-level governance is a relatively recent phenomenon in North America, and there has been variation in its adoption, particularly in the United States and among

Canada's college sectors (Association of Governing Boards, 1986; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Houwing & Kristjanson, 1975). An examination of the origins of institutional participation in Alberta and its general historical and philosophical background provides clarification about the role of institutional members and complements a politics perspective.

Governance issues during the 1960s. Across North America many institutional structures were called into question as a part of the social ferment of the 1960s. University and college boards of governors were criticized for their lack of faculty and student participation, among other things, and various models of institutional participation were proposed. Alternatives were justified, in large part, with the concepts of organizational democracy and organizational communications supported by theoretical propositions from organizational theory and behavior.

Advocates of greater participation in decision making asserted that employees and students held a right to participate because "citizenship" in the organization carried certain rights just as citizenship in a democracy carried certain rights (Ross, 1976). Because democratic governments derive their authority from the governed, "legislative authority . . . [in a college or university] does not and cannot come from trustees as corporate owners. It can only come from the expressed wishes of the constituent members of the campus" (Perkins, 1973, p. 12). Ross (1972) interpreted this emphasis on organizational democracy as a profound transition from the university as a

' community of self-governing scholars" to the university as a "great democratic enterprise in the direction of which all interested parties should have a voice" (p. 255).

Proponents of institutional participation who argued from an organizational communications perspective asserted that vertical communications from the board to constituent groups and vice versa would be greatly improved. George Whalley (1964) observed that the interaction of lay and faculty board members would be mutually beneficial with each group gaining a better understanding of the other's world. The Duff-Berdahl (1966) study of university governance in Canada strongly recommended that faculty be included on boards. The report cited three advantages: lay board members would gain a better understanding of academics, senate-board communication would be improved, and the faculty as a group would gain a better understanding of the board.

Henry Kolesar (1968b), Executive Assistant to and later Chairman of Alberta's Provincial Board of Post-Secondary Education, argued from the perspective of organizational behavior and theory and concluded that "a staff member's participation shall assist to overcome the management-labor dichotomy which is not desirable in a professional organization; student representation shall provide for the prime beneficiaries of the services provided a voice in this level of deliberation" (p. 14). Similarly, Kelly and Konrad (1972) supported faculty and student participation in community college

More specifically, The Universities Act of 1966 in Alberta reflected the tenor of the times by establishing two faculty positions on the board at the University of Alberta and at the new University of Calgary. The act was amended in 1969 to grant students seats on university boards.

Provincial Board of Post-Secondary Education. Expansion of the college and other sectors of the Alberta post-secondary system during the 1960s was accompanied by concerns about financing and governance of colleges, the role of the University of Alberta in controlling transfer programs and the appropriate mandate of the colleges. One outgrowth of the debate about "the college question" (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, p. 26) was the creation of the Provincial Board of Post-Secondary Education (PBPSE) in 1967. The mandate of the Board included

coordinating the work of the junior colleges; studying provincial needs for post-secondary education and making appropriate recommendations to the Minister of Education; assessing the colleges' financial requirements; and arranging the affiliation of colleges with the universities (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, p. 34).

The Board, appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, was made up of 15 persons drawn from colleges, the department of education, school districts, the Alberta Teachers' Association, the Alberta School Trustees' Association, the Department of Agriculture, the Universities Commission and the University of Alberta

In February 1968, the Board considered ten recommendations, designed

G. L. Mowat, Chairman of the Board. These focused on issues of college sector composition, mandate, financing, governance, intra-sector coordination as well as coordination with the Universities Commission. Proposal 3 is of particular importance to this study: "That the five public junior colleges, the three agricultural colleges and the two institutes of technology be brought under the direct administrative control of boards of governors (Minutes of the PBPSE, Feb. 14, 1968, p. 2).

One month later the Board reviewed the second draft of the proposals and directed the Chairman to present them to the Minister of Education. There was a general discussion of board composition and selection at that meeting. The minutes indicate that

No conclusions were attempted but some Board members indicated favor for:

1. Appointed Governors rather than Governors elected at large.
2. Staff and student representation on the board.
3. A relatively small number of members to constitute a Board. The number seven received most support.
4. The possibility of variation of Board size in different centers (Minutes of the PBPSE, March 13, 1968, p. 4).

The minutes also record that these four items were to be translated into proposals for legislation if the total package of proposals was supported by government.

This discussion of board composition was held in the context of a discussion paper prepared by Dr. Henry Kolesar (1968a) which surveyed board

across North America. Kolesar began his paper with reference to the Duff-Berdahl study of university governance and then summarized its recommendations which included support for faculty members on boards and one member elected by students. The rest of the paper was made up of extracts from legislation and board bylaws from various systems, colleges and universities. Only a minority of these, including Alberta's The Universities Act (1966), included provisions for faculty membership on boards and only two included students.

Dr. Kolesar (1986b) addressed the question of board composition in another paper presented several months later. While there is no reference to his intended audience, it is clear he was speaking directly for the PBPSE. He indicated a college board should include "A staff member of the college, other than the president, elected by the college faculty; [and] A person, other than a student but selected by the student body to represent them" (p. 13). This latter point parallels the Duff-Berdahl recommendation that "universities should adopt the practice at Queen's University of including as a full member of the Board a Rector, not himself a student, but elected by the students" (Duff & Berdahl, 1966, p. 20).

The Colleges Act of 1969. Legislation passed in 1969 incorporated all but one of the eight proposals prepared by the PBPSE. Alberta's five public colleges were to be governed by boards made up of the president and seven

institutional participation, two of the persons appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council would include "an academic staff member nominated by the academic staff association of the college, [and] a member of the student body of the college nominated by the students' council" (section 32(1)). The Board's recommendation that board governance be extended to the three other colleges and two technical institutes was rejected by the government; however, by 1981 boards had been established at those institutions.

Non-academic staff member. The third institutional member was added to college boards in 1981 with an amendment to the Colleges Act of 1980. The records of the Department of Advanced Education, the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Archives provide little information about the background to this change. The only reference appears in a December 1, 1980 "Ministerial Request for Legislation" which identifies the addition of a non-academic staff member and offers this justification: "some boards recommended that non-academic staff be represented on the Board" (Alberta Advanced Education, 1980, n.p.).

Senior officials from the Department of Advanced Education and Manpower did visit the colleges to receive submissions and present proposals about possible amendments to the Act. According to one college president, these officials justified the addition of a non-academic staff member to college boards by saying

a voice on the board as do their faculty and student counterparts. Thus, provision of a support staff member on the board would rectify the situation by allowing all constituents of the college to have membership on the board (Schmit, 1981).

University models. Across Canada there has been considerable inter-provincial variation in the governance structures adopted for community colleges and in the degree of reliance upon universities as organizational models. Given the strong junior college orientation of Alberta's early colleges (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980), the PBPSE recommended a number of university governance structures and processes which were adopted in The Colleges Act of 1969. Kolesar, in a 1970 speech about the new act to the Alberta Association of College Administration, demonstrates this linkage in this statement:

Because we have adopted parts of The Universities Act in our Colleges Act and because we look at Alberta Universities as one model from time to time, I would like to comment briefly on provisions in The Universities Act with respect to Alberta University Governance (p. 8).

Institutional participation in college governance was established at a time when there was substantial public and institutional debate about university administration and governance. Leading public servants such as Dr. H. Kolesar and politicians made the judgement that institutional participation, one of the changes being implemented by many universities, would be relevant to and appropriate for colleges. Once institutional participation was established for

technical institutes were either established or transferred from direct provincial administration to board governance. It appears that the 1981 addition of a non-academic staff member to college boards was basically an extension of the principle of constituent group involvement in governance to the only other organized group within colleges.

ORGANIZATIONS AS POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The organizational politics literature is based on the premise that formal organizations constitute parapolitical systems resembling societal political systems with conceptually similar political processes (Denhardt, 1971; Easton, 1979). The intellectual foundations of this perspective have been identified in different but related ways. While concepts such as power and conflict have been used widely in organizational studies over time, there are only a limited number of theorists who link these concepts and others into comprehensive theoretical positions about organizations as parapolitical systems (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Baldrige (1971, p. 15), for example, traces his "political interpretation of university governance" to three sources: conflict theory, community power studies in political science and the informal groups literature in organization theory. Bacharach and Mitchell (1981) and Hardy (1987) also make reference to pluralist theory arising from community power studies

source for the organizational politics literature. Palumbo (1975) and Hardy (1987) trace the origins of organizational politics concepts to a transfer from political science to organization theory.

Educational Organizations as Parapolitical Systems

Scholars (e.g., Baldrige, 1971; Birnbaum, 1988; Pannu, 1973) point to intra-organizational diversity as the fundamental basis for theorizing about organizational politics in educational institutions. This diversity can take many forms but is most readily seen in the division of labor which results in specialized roles, work unit differentiation and formalized authority. The staff in the accounts payable department, for example, work on similar tasks, experience similar socialization, share common dependence upon and accountability to other departments for task completion, belong to the same collective bargaining unit, and report to the same person. While these formal groupings are the most obvious, informal groupings emerge based on factors such as seniority, gender, ethnicity, religion, education, social class, and political allegiance. Additional sources of organizational diversity include features captured by Cohen and March's (1974) concept of organized anarchy: unclear goals, ill-defined technology and fluid participation by organization members. These features, particularly characteristic of educational institutions, suggest diverse interests, uncertain authority lines, fragmented and decentralized

organizational differentiation is accentuated by noting the interdependence of work units. When the faculty in the chemistry department, for example, must rely on the purchasing department "for some of their necessary resources . . . they become concerned about or interested in the activities or behaviors of others" (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 132).

Organizational differentiation and interdependence result in diverse interests co-existing within an organization (Miles, 1980). These are held by individuals, formal groups such as teaching departments and informal groups such as upwardly mobile women. Formal groups are established because of shared interests, and they generate interests as a part of intra- and inter-group dynamics. Informal groups coalesce around specific interests and issues. Organizational politics models assume actors, be they individuals or groups, act from a perspective of self-interest. This does not necessarily mean that actors ignore the official or operative goals of the organization in preference for their goals, but "the weight given to different subgoals and the strategies used to pursue them will differ" (Bacharach, 1988, p. 282). While interests are general in nature, they are the source for demands in specific situations. A demand "is an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so" (Easton, 1965 quoted in Pettigrew, 1973, p. 31).

Decision- and policy-making processes within an organization become

Mitchell, 1987; Pettigrew, 1973). Whenever an interest group's demands exceed its own resources and authority, it must enter a competitive arena and seek the consent of other more powerful actors and resources from a finite pool (Bacharach, 1981). From this perspective, decision making is broadly defined to include selection of the decision makers for any issue, the specific decision-making process to be used, the resources available, and any action designed to directly or indirectly influence the decision outcome regardless of the process.

Decision making when considered as the arena for the exercise of organizational politics becomes the central concept which highlights other elements of politics models (Bacharach, 1981; Baldrige, Ecker, Curtis & Riley, 1986; Pettigrew, 1973). As actors pursue their general interests or their specific demands, they engage in various forms of political behavior (Ferris, Fedor, Chachere & Pondy, 1989). Individuals or groups may form long-term or issue-specific coalitions to gain a competitive advantage (Bacharach, 1981). Similarly, they may use influence strategies to gain the support or consent of those who are relevant power holders. Conflicts arise if actors find their interests are incompatible. These can be resolved by bargaining or the exercise of power (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980).

The outcome of any decision-making process is a measure of the relative power of the actors in the situation. For example, if the outcome is the one

coalition of academic departments, then the coalition had no power. On the other hand, if one element of the decision was modified as a result of informal contact with board members by the students' association, then that interest group exercised power. These examples suggest that "power is the medium through which conflicts of interest [and demands] are ultimately resolved. Power influences who gets what, when, and how" (Morgan, 1986, p. 158).

Power is also evidenced by the absence of decision making. If an actor is able to block an issue from entering the organization's formalized decision-making processes; in other words, the "person or group--consciously or unconsciously--creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts, [then] that person or group has power" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 949).

At first glance, it might appear that the politics model suggests that organizations are characterized by constant conflict and bargaining because every decision-making issue will engender a full spectrum of political processes. Birnbaum (1988, pp. 136-137) offers four reasons why that is not the case. Most organizations are characterized by "continuing and quasi-stable dominant coalitions . . . whose established power serves to inhibit overt conflict." Actors participate in a number of groups and, as a result, in different political processes. These groups and processes overlap and "deep cleavages dividing major groups . . . on many issues are unlikely." Many people in organiza-

characteristic of political organizations." Political behavior "may sometimes be initiated by new issues . . . or sometimes the loss of an old coalition or consensus." Decision-making issues are compartmentalized in most organizations, particularly in colleges and universities. Individuals or groups are assigned authority or recognized by consensus as having control over a particular area and other actors avoid the political costs of interfering in those areas.

Birnbaum's thesis (1988) is supported by Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker and Riley (1986) who conclude that Baldrige's (1971) earlier model of political decision making within a university had underestimated "the impact of routine bureaucratic processes . . . [and] now we would stress that it is important to consider routine procedures of the governance process" (p. 23). Hardy (1987) offers a parallel perspective by saying her "fundamental assumption . . . [is] not that power is everything, but that, in certain circumstances, a political perspective is a useful way to understand and explain events" (p. 97). Political processes occur in some situations more than others as a result of factors such as structural changes, environmental uncertainties, declining resources, and increasing goal ambiguity.

Distinctive Features of the Politics Perspective

Each model within organizational theory directs the attention of researchers' and practitioners' to particular elements of organizational life.

from Burrell and Morgan's (1979) comparison of pluralist and unitary models, Bacharach's (1981) analysis of structuralist models of educational organizations and Zey-Ferrell's (1981) critique of structuralist organizational theory. The politics models highlight diversity, as discussed above, by portraying organizations as "composed of actors and coalitions of actors with their own values, goals, divergent interests, aspirations, and perceptions" (Zey-Ferrell, 1981, p. 189). This emphasis on diversity sensitizes researchers and practitioners to human subjectivity and the multiple social realities of organizational life and the dynamic quality of organizations which result from the interaction of those realities. These models, while acknowledging diversity of interests and demands, do recognize, to varying degrees, that organizational structures, ideologies and technologies constrain action (Bacharach, 1981). Individuals and formal and informal groups are the fundamental units of analysis rather than the organization as an entity (Pfeffer, 1982). Researchers focus on the interaction of actors, be they individuals and groups, recognizing that this interaction can occur within and/or outside the organizational structure and that common interests and demands can create coalitions and vertical and lateral influence activities. A comprehensive view of the organization is encouraged because "the aspirations, perceptions, values, interests, and actions of lower level participants in organizations are [seen] as important and deserving of study as those of management" (Zey-Ferrell, 1981, p. 189). The

perspective also readily suggests seeing educational institutions as political entities shaped by their environment (Bacharach & Mitchell, 1987).

The politics model recognizes that political processes co-exist in some fashion with the organizational structures, roles and processes emphasized by unitary and structural models. Decision making about structural matters is a political process, and the outcomes are a measure of the actors' relative power (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 266). Once established or modified these "create formal power and authority by designating certain persons to do certain tasks and make certain decisions and create informal power through the effect on information and communication structures within the organization" (Pfeffer, 1978, p. 38). Some office holders are vested with more authority than others, but that authority is "only one among a number of important forms of power" (Bolman & Deal, 1987, p. 114). In other words, powerful office holders enter the decision-making arena with a comparative advantage resulting from knowledge, control of scarce resources, control of decision processes, and alliances with other actors (Morgan, 1986), but individuals and groups may be able to challenge that power because of their knowledge, alliances, personal credibility and use of organizational processes. In essence, organizational politics exist parallel to, interact with, conflict with, create, are constrained by or encouraged by organizational structures, roles and processes.

Essential Concepts

While a number of political concepts were introduced in Chapter 1 and in the overview of the organizational politics literature, specific attention is given to the eight concepts--recruitment, role, socialization, decision making, interest groups, exercise of influence, conflict and power--most relevant to this study. They were selected on the basis of two criteria. First, concepts such as decision making, power and conflict are central to all sociologically oriented organizational politics literature. Second, the concepts of recruitment, role and socialization are used infrequently in the same literature but are included here because of the suggestions made by Worth (1986) in his analysis of college boards in Alberta and because of the researcher's preliminary knowledge of the research topic which was confirmed by the pilot study. Additional concepts are introduced in Chapter 8 as a part of the analysis of the data.

Recruitment. Cistone (1974) and Worth (1986) have applied this political science concept and its subconcepts--eligibility and selection--to the election of school board trustees and the appointment of college trustees. In this context, recruitment refers to "the process that selects (or allocates) individuals [from the political community] for specific political roles" as trustees (Cistone, 1974, p. 43). Applied to the Alberta college sector, eligibility for the office of public board member requires Canadian citizenship or permanent residence (Colleges Act, 1980) and personal factors including an

occupational success, and the like" (Worth, 1986, p. 2). Eligibility for the office of institutional member requires membership in the appropriate association and the personal attributes just cited. The principal selection processes within any political system are election and appointment. Public members are appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, and the faculty, student and support staff members are appointed by the Minister of Advanced Education after they have been nominated on the basis of election within their associations.

Cistone (1974) portrays the recruitment process as one of successive narrowing which includes "a series of individual experiences and social processes that interactively and successively narrow the population of a political community to the few who hold formal elected political office and exercise political authority" (p. 44). He uses the metaphor of boxes nested within boxes to convey the movement from a political community of eligible people to increasingly smaller groups within the larger group until only those who are selected to hold authority remain. There are seven boxes representing these groups: "the many who are governed, the legally qualified, the socially eligible, the politically active, the recruits, the candidates and the few who govern" (p. 47).

Role. The concept of role is central to understanding an individual actor within an organization because it focuses attention on "the essential

the person holds. Phrased metaphorically, "roles are the bundles of socially defined attributes and expectations associated with social positions" (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1988, p. 209). Roles are defined formally in job descriptions or policy documents and informally through interpersonal communication within a role set made up of people who constitute an interdependent subsystem. The process of role sending among members of a role set conveys information about specific behaviors and associated rewards and penalties; evaluative feedback; and influence strategies from peers, subordinates and superordinates. Received role, a "person's perception and cognition of what was sent" (Katz & Kahn, 1978, p. 192), is influenced by the individual's role readiness. As a result of previous socialization experiences in society and organizations, each person has acquired "a set of values and expectations about his or her own behavior and abilities, about the nature of human organizations and the conditions for membership in them" (Katz & Kahn, 1978, p. 194). Individuals may hold multiple roles within an organization if they participate in two or more subsystems with their associated role sets and role expectations.

Given the complexity of formal organizations, individuals experience diverse and often conflicting role expectations. Pfeffer (1982), drawing upon the work of Katz and his colleagues, presents six types of role conflict. Intersender conflict results when members of a role set convey different role expectations. Intrasender conflict is the outcome of one member of a role set

expectations of one role are not in harmony with the expectations of another role. Person-role conflict suggests tensions between role expectations and some element of a person's self-definition. Individuals who face expectations which exceed their personal resources experience role overload. Role ambiguity occurs when role expectations are unclear.

While the subconcepts cited so far refer to the transmission and interpretation of expectations, the subconcept of role behavior points to the observable actions of an officeholder. Juxtaposing role expectations, received role and role behavior points to institutional members, in the context of this study, as recipients of expectations from their subsystems and as processors of those expectations according to their perceptual and cognitive frameworks. Their role behavior as board members and as members of interest groups can be congruent or incongruent with the role expectations for a number of psychological and sociological reasons.

The specialized role concept of representational style refers to the role behavior of people who are appointed or elected to represent other people in decision-making forums. Variations in representational style can be classified in three ways (Mann, 1976). An individual who acts as a trustee makes decisions based on his/her values and understanding of a situation rather than the expressed wishes of those people represented. On the other hand, a delegate responds directly to the wishes of his/her constituents. A politico

delegate in style.

Socialization. As people take on new roles throughout life they are taught and learn the expectations of the new role (Van Maanen, 1984). The content of what is taught and learned includes the "values and attitudes, interests and dispositions, skills and knowledge" (Cistone, 1977, p. 19) necessary for effective role performance in the eyes of the socializing agents. In an organizational setting, socialization occurs whenever people enter the organization and whenever they change roles or existing roles are modified.

Socialization into a specific organizational or political role is best understood from a longitudinal perspective. Feldman (1981) has divided initial socialization into three phases: anticipatory, encounter and change and acquisition. The concept of anticipatory socialization is particularly relevant in situations where people actively seek a new role by competing for a job or running for elected office. For Van Maanen (1984), it

stems from any and all learning experiences a person has prior to entering an aspired-to-situation . . . [and includes] such matters as expectations, values, skill development, and normative (moral) judgements about the kinds of attitudes and performance a person thinks likely to be applicable and rewarded in an imagined new setting (p. 215).

During the encounter phase people gain first-hand knowledge of the organization and the role and "some initial shifting of values, skills, and attitudes may occur" (Feldman, 1981, p. 310). The change and acquisition phase, which may

involve the most intense learning, involves skill mastery, successful

role performance and "some satisfactory adjustment to their work group's values and norms" (Feldman, 1981, p. 310). Worth (1986) pointed out that new college trustees or governors exist in a state of nominal membership until they "develop an established involvement in the work and life of that group" (p. 2) which, in Feldman's terms, would be the encounter phase.

While Feldman's (1981) three-phase classification captures some of the longitudinal quality of socialization, it does not acknowledge that "the entire organizational career of an individual can be characterized as a socialization process" (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979, p. 211). Certainly ongoing socialization is likely to be less formalized and results, in large part, from "the everyday activities" of organization members (Miklos, 1988, p. 68).

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) identified six assumptions about socialization as a prelude to theory building, four of which are relevant to this study. Individuals entering new organizational roles are in anxiety-laden situations, and "they are more or less motivated to reduce this anxiety by learning the functional and social requirements of their newly assumed role as quickly as possible" (p. 214). Socialization is based in part on official sources such as job descriptions and formalized training but also includes day-to-day informal feedback which the neophyte receives from peers, subordinates, supervisors and others. Socialization is necessary for the continuity of the organization so that offices can be passed from one person to another without disrupting the

this idea in terms of its implications for neophytes and socializing agents:

From the perspective of the novice officeholder, socialization is a problem of conformity versus autonomy. From the perspective of incumbents, it is an issue of group cohesion and is rooted in concerns about policy continuity, influence patterns, and conflict control (p. 2).

Individuals will experience "reality shock," to varying degrees, because their anticipatory understanding of new roles can never fully anticipate their experiences in the roles. In some cases, this shock can be very dramatic and affect both the individual's organizational and personal identities.

Decision making. Baldrige's (1971) model of decision making combines both a politics perspective and a focus on higher education organizations. It is based on case study research conducted at New York University. Decision issues emerge as a result of political processes reflecting the interaction of influential individual actors and interest groups such as departments, administrative groups and standing committees or councils. Political processes are also a part of determining who will deal with the problem because control over the decision-making process gives actors the opportunity to shape the decision. As a result of the first two elements, decision makers are faced with a limited number of alternatives which have already been shaped to varying degrees. Greater political struggles are associated with critical or policy issues than routine or operational issues. Information gathering and analysis result from a complex decision network. Political activity such as conflict, influence processes and bargaining are central to the decision-making process, and

political activity continues after the decision is made. Baldrige summarizes this model by saying it "is more open, more dependent on conflict and political action, [and] it is not so systematic or formalistic as most decision theory, but is probably closer to the truth in many respects" (p. 192).

Subsequently the model was revised by Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker and Riley (1986) to reflect shortcomings of the earlier work. The original research at New York University was conducted at a particularly difficult time, and, as a result, too much emphasis was placed on conflict and negotiation. "Many, perhaps most, decisions" are made according to "standard operating procedures" (p. 23) although the authors do not distinguish whether they are making a simple quantitative distinction or a qualitative one based on a critical-routine decisions continuum. The nature of political activity in a college or university is context specific and will vary from one institution to another depending on many factors. Again because of the timing of the original study, the political dynamics were probably "exaggerated." Environmental factors as they affect the politics of organizational decision making should be given more weight. The research at New York University focused on three decision-making cases and did not "give enough emphasis to long-term decision-making patterns, and it failed to consider the way institutional structure may shape and channel political efforts" (p. 24).

Interest groups. With reference to individuals Morgan (1986) defines

expectations, and other orientations and inclinations that lead a person to act in one direction rather than another" (p. 149). This definition is equally applicable to groups with the addition of the idea that the interests are shared as reflected in Almond and Powell's (1978) definition of an interest group as "a set of individuals who are linked by bonds of concern or advantage and who are aware of their shared interests" (p. 170).

A politics perspective orients researchers to a group's shared interests and the political activity associated with those interests. Political activity varies greatly according to issues and a number of factors related to the context, resources available and the persons involved. For example, a group may be inactive for a long period but become politically active when there is rumor of staff reductions. An examination of one group's issue-oriented political activity involves determining which other groups are active, their demands and political activity and the interaction of the groups with regard to the issue. While interest groups may be in competition or conflict, they may also form coalitions which are "a grouping of interest groups who are committed to achieving a common goal" (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980, p. 8) and undertake joint action in that direction.

Politics models suggest administrative or management groupings are interest groups with distinctive political characteristics. In a college setting, senior administrators, through the authority of their offices, control the budget-

through their presentations to the board of governors. On the other hand, they are politically disadvantaged, for example, because they are dependent upon others of lower rank for information about emerging issues. In addition, policy-recommending bodies such as an academic council can have the authority to identify issues and prepare proposals for the board without the support of administrators or in direct contravention of their wishes.

Exercise of influence. As interest groups or individuals pursue their interests and demands in the political arena, they become involved in the exercise of influence which is "a process of producing behavioral or psychological . . . effects in a target person [or group]" (Porter, Allen & Angle, 1981, p. 123). Influence activities may flow horizontally or vertically. In general terms, the exercise of influence is context specific, that is, actors chose targets and strategies based on their demands and the nature of the relevant political dynamics.

Because the exercise of influence, as it is being defined here, refers to actors seeking power beyond the domain of their positions, the concept does not include situations when actors use position authority or organizationally sanctioned power (Hoyle, 1986) to achieve desired ends. Most cases of control flowing down an organizational hierarchy reflect the authority of the senior actor, although it is possible an actor will use influence processes when the target is of lower organizational rank but outside of the initiator's zone of

Upward and horizontal influence is of particular interest in this study because many of the relationships involving institutional board members are outside the authority of the actors involved. As institutional members, for example, seek to influence public board members or as interest groups try to influence the board they are seeking power, that is, a control over outcomes which is favorable to their interests. Several studies (e.g., Kipnis, Schmidt & Wilkinson, 1980; Mowday, 1978; Schilit & Locke, 1982) have suggested typologies of influence tactics based on research findings. Schilit and Locke (1982) present the most comprehensive listing of such tactics:

Logical or rational presentation of ideas

Informal or nonperformance specific exchange, such as promoting interpersonal attraction or ingratiation . . .

Formal exchange such as rewarding

Adherence to rules

Upward appeal: bypassing a direct supervisor and appealing to another person in a position of authority

Threats or sanctions

Manipulation: informing or arguing in such a way that the recipient is not aware of being influenced

Formation of coalitions

Persistence or assertiveness (p. 305).

Most of these methods characterize horizontal influence processes as well.

Conflict. Organization theorists (e.g., Baldrige, 1971; Ball, 1987; Morgan, 1986; Pannu, 1973) see conflict as one of the several concepts fundamental to a comprehensive model of organizational politics. Schmidt and Kochan (1972) define conflict as "overt behavior arising out of a process in which one unit seeks the advancement of its own interests in its relationship

with the others" (p. 363). French, Kast and Rosenzweig (1985) similarly emphasize overt behaviors resulting from goal incompatibility and Daft (1986) states conflict "presumes perceived interference with goal achievement" (p. 427).

Politics models recognize organizational differentiation and suggest conflict results from diverse ideologies, interests and coalitions of interests (Baldrige, 1971; Morgan, 1986). For this reason it is an inevitable and not necessarily undesirable feature of organizational functioning. Morgan (1986), drawing upon the ideas of Burns (1961), points to the unavoidability of conflict because organizations by their nature promote "simultaneous competition and collaboration" (p. 155). The latter is necessary for task accomplishment, but the former results from people being "pitted against each other in competition for limited resources, status and career advancement." In addition, the political perspective recognizes "many organizational conflicts often become institutionalized in the shape of attitudes, values, beliefs, rituals, and other aspects of organizational culture" (Morgan, 1986, p. 158).

Intraorganizational intergroup conflict results from three preconditions according to Schmidt and Kochan (1972). First, when groups exist in a situation of goal incompatibility each group sees that the fulfillment of its goals would be blocked by another group obtaining its goals. Second, groups are dependent upon a common source of resources, and, third, they are interdepen-

In order to develop a concept of conflict relevant to a university setting, Baldrige (1971) turned to the work of Schelling (1960) who saw strategic conflict as a midpoint on a continuum between complete conflict and pure cooperation. The concept "includes elements of both conflict and cooperation" and highlights the reciprocal nature of the relationship among parties in conflict because of the existence of "strategy and negotiation in which each party trades favors in order to gain advantages" (p. 203). Baldrige applied this concept to his research because he saw interest groups in conflict on one issue while they were cooperating at the same time on other issues. Conflict is a central feature of the political systems of colleges and universities, "but it is a strategic kind of conflict in which both parties have at the same time common interests and points in conflict" (p. 203).

Power. Because the literature on power at the societal and organizational levels is voluminous, the conceptual maps presented by Clegg (1989), Kakabadse and Parker (1984) and Mumby (1988) will be used as the foundation of this section. These authors survey the literature from a historical and thematic perspective utilizing the three-dimensional model developed by Steven Lukes (1974) in Power: A Radical View.

The first of the three dimensions was formulated by Dahl (1957) in his now classic definition: "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (pp. 202-215). For Dahl, power

"responses were taken as an indicant of the power which stood as the cause of the measured reaction," or, phrased another way, "the power of an A could be measured through the response of an B" (p. 8). Pettigrew (1973) points out that Dahl's definition makes power "a property of social relationships" rather than a characteristic of actors (p. 26).

Based on his research in New Haven, Dahl concluded that "no one single elite does govern: different actors (people, in fact) prevail over different issues, producing a 'pluralist' rather than an 'elitist' distribution of power" (Clegg, 1989, p. 53). On the basis of Dahl's work and that of others, the pluralist model of community power emerged in the late 1950s which defined power

as most likely to be dispersed among many rather than fewer people; to be visible in instances of concrete decision-making rather than reputation; to be competitively bargained for rather than structurally pervasive; to be best viewed through relatively formal instances of voting and to be more widely dispersed than narrowly concentrated in communities (Clegg, 1989, p. 9).

This pluralistic perspective on power has been influential in the sociologically based organizational politics literature (e.g., Bacharach & Mitchell, 1981; Baldrige, 1971; Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

The second dimension of this threefold classification of power concepts can be found in the work of Bachrach and Baratz (1962). While they recognized power exists when B acts because of the wishes of A, they were critical of Dahl's insistence that power only exists when it can be observed. Clegg (1989)

has summarized the essence of their argument: "power can produce a situation in which there is little or no behaviorally admissible evidence of power being exercised, but in which, none the less, power is pervasively present" (p. 77). Power of this type prevents B, using Dahl's terminology, from raising issues which challenge the interests of A.

Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) concept of power incorporates two important subconcepts: the mobilization of bias and non-decision making. The mobilization of bias creates or reinforces "a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures . . . that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970 quoted in Lukes, 1974, p. 17). The latter suggests A can control the organizational decision-making process and is able to prevent the consideration of any issues that might be meaningful to B, if they threaten A's interests.

Clegg (1983), drawing on the work of Meacher (1980), points to four strategies which illustrate non-decision making. A rules of the game approach involves following decision-making protocol so rigidly that opposition is eliminated or prevented. When decision-making bodies receive preformed decision alternatives from an organizational committee or administrative group then a "fait accompli" method has been used. A reliance on expert advice in specialized areas has a similar effect because decision makers lack "the

critically informed reception" (Clegg, 1983, p. 18). Power holders through the "timing of papers" strategy can control the flow of information to decision makers to limit the time available to understand it.

Each of the first two conceptualizations of power are built upon the premises that A and B are aware of their respective interests, and, in a situation of conflict, A is able to exercise control over B. Lukes (1974) argues that the third dimension of power includes group A's ability to limit group B's awareness of the real interests before them by

shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial (p. 24).

Power of this type can be considered silent; it need not be exercised because relevant actors perceive the social world in a manner compatible with the powerful (Heydebrand, 1978). Hardy (1987) argues that a consideration of this dimension of power includes "the question of political inactivity and quiescence: why grievances do not exist; why demands are not made; why conflict does not arise, since these negative phenomena may also be the result of power" (p. 100). Conversely, group B can only be said to gain power by, first, becoming fully aware of its interests and grievances and the organizational and sociocultural forces which previously limited its awareness. Second, B must be able to bring the grievances into a decision-making arena and, third, bring

RESEARCH ON ORGANIZATIONAL POLITICS

The research literature was surveyed for studies which investigated colleges and universities from a political systems perspective consistent with this study's conceptual framework. Nine such studies were identified. According to Hines and Hartmark (1980) and Levin (1990), the political dimensions of governance have been neglected in the higher education literature. Research findings about college boards in Alberta are reported in Chapter 4 as a part of a consideration of the setting for this study.

The most frequently cited study of the organizational politics of colleges and universities is Baldrige's (1971) case study of New York University. The theoretical foundations of his research have been described earlier in this chapter. His investigation focused on policy formulation because "major policies commit the organization to definite goals, set the strategies for reaching those goals, and in general determine the long-range destiny of the organization" (p. 21). The five elements of Baldrige's politics model include the social context of diverse groups and divergent interests within the university, interest articulation by groups, the legislative stage, the formulation of policy as the product of the legislative stage and the execution or implementation of policy. Baldrige applied this model to three specific cases: changes in the University's educational philosophy, student revolt and departmental

the research and subsequent revisions (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1986) were presented in an earlier section of this chapter.

One example of the application of Baldrige's (1971) model can be found in Taylor's (1980) investigation of the formulation of policies about faculty appointments, promotions and terminations at the University of Calgary. His conceptual framework was derived from the policy sciences literature and organization theory applied to higher education. In the latter case, he drew upon the four governance models, reviewed earlier in this chapter, and the open systems model.

In the concluding chapter, Taylor applied each of the governance models to the data gathered from the case study and indicated the relative analytical and interpretive significance of each. No evidence of collegial processes was found in the case, largely because of the power imbalances which existed among the actors. Specific examples of the bureaucratic and organized anarchy models were identified. After analyzing the six assumptions found in Baldrige's political model, Taylor concluded it "was operative and was valuable in providing an explanation of many of the observed phenomena" (p. 210). A limited number of people were active in the policy-making system, and participation was relatively fluid with people moving "in and out of the process" (p. 207). Interest groups were clearly evident and their activities were "directly related to the perceived threat to their security" (p. 208). Conflict

seen as positive by the actors in contrast to the model's assumption. Contrary to the politics model, interest groups were not able to exercise power over the policy-making process because the final outcome reflected the interests of the administrators and did not contain any compromises. On the other hand, the faculty interest group was able to lengthen "the process by causing the issue to be considered by a new group of actors in a completely different arena" (p. 209). There was only limited evidence of external interest groups having an impact on the case.

Utilizing a qualitative methodology and grounded theory analysis, Conrad (1975) investigated four case studies of academic change at degree-granting colleges and universities. He formulated a power model of academic change which included political concepts such as interest groups, conflict, pluralism, coalitions and bargaining. After comparing his model with the complex organizational, planned change, diffusion of innovation and political models of change, Conrad concluded that his power model most closely resembles the political models of university organization and governance. The explanatory significance of such a model results from its ability to identify

several processes which link pressures for change and policy-decision to change: conflict and interest group pressures followed by power exertion, faculty leadership exercised through interest group advocacy, and compromises which are negotiated through administrative leadership (p. 272).

Childers (1981) began a study of decision making in three types of

... public comprehensive public research and private by assuming

that the bureaucratic, collegial and political governance models are independent as they are usually presented in the literature. As a result of a factor analysis of questionnaire data gathered from faculty and administrators, she concluded that bureaucracy and collegiality are dimensions of the same structural factor which "refers to patterns in relationships among organizational members which have been stabilized or institutionalized" (p. 40). This structural factor can be represented on a continuum with bureaucracy representing the formalized, hierarchical dimension on one end and collegiality representing the informal, professional dimension on the other end. The political model was revealed as a "process factor independent of but related to the bureaucratic-collegial factor" which "relates to the way in which issues are negotiated and resolved between individuals who have authority (by either legal or expert) positions" (p. 41).

In the context of the democratization of Canadian universities during the 1960s, Pannu's (1973) study at the University of Lethbridge examined "university governance in a process of change" by considering "the involvement and participation of university faculty and administrators in the internal structures of decision-making, including the establishment and development of the latter" (p. 8). After critiquing the natural system and functionalist models of organizations, he developed a political process conceptual framework based on conflict theory and the complex adaptive system model.

Pannu's summary of internal governance at the University portrayed interest groups, resulting from status and ideological differences within faculty, pursuing their demands through the policy-formulation and goal-setting processes. Conflict dominated the competitive struggle and there was little evidence of conflict resolution. One group became dominant and was largely successful in excluding the other group from policy making. As a result, Pannu observed that "power relations and group pressures more than anything else influenced the institutional development and characterized the faculty self-governance" (p. 355). He concluded that his findings suggest

the validity of our conceptualization of university organization and governance as a political process, dominated by conflict rather than consensus. It has indicated that the professionalization of the faculty does not necessarily reduce the importance of power and bureaucratization in organizational integration (p. 355).

Ryan (1984) investigated perceptions of politics among the faculty and administrators in a college in the United Kingdom. The research methodology was qualitative and the data analysis was inductive because Ryan wanted "to investigate what interpretations organization members were making of processes in which they were themselves directly involved, and to shift the analysis away from the researcher's interpretation of organizational phenomena" (p. 203). The study focused on the allocation of financial resources to individuals and units within the college.

Given the complexity of Ryan's case study, a summary of her findings must be highly selective. She organized her description and analysis into three

sections: perceptions of structure, perceptions of powerful people and perceptions of culture. People's perceptions of the nature and actual existence of the informal and formal structures of the college varied as well as their observations about the political significance of the various structural features. Ryan's consideration of power was centered on the head of the college and the senior academics. She presented a composite view of the role and power of the college head, but she was careful to point out it would not "correspond exactly to the perceptions of any one individual organization member" (p. 208). Senior academics were defined as powerful because of their formal control in some areas and influence in others. Ryan included perceptions of criteria for decision making as an element of the college's culture. There was widespread concern among college personnel about the ambiguity of the criteria used, and Ryan saw the ambiguity as an intentional strategy on the part of the powerful to ensure their control because "the attachment of particular meanings to ambiguous abstract concepts can be seen as a political process, as it serves the interest of particular individuals and groups, and disadvantages others" (p. 214).

Ryan's study points to the multiple social realities of any organization which is a central theme in the organizational politics literature. She believed that social scientists could construct a composite structural picture of this college, but it would not represent the social world of any one individual. Many factors such as organizational role, teaching and research areas, depart-

mental membership, committee involvement and career stage at the college interact to shape individuals' and subgroups' perceptions of political processes.

Some studies have examined the politics of one or more organizational units. Bucher's (1970) study of a state university medical school reveals the dynamic nature of power in an organization composed of professionals. At the departmental level, the chairmen held three sources of power based on their allocation of funds and space and their influence over promotion policies. Another source of power, assessed stature, was unrelated to office and resulted from positive assessments by colleagues of a department head's or a professor's human relations skills, judgement and professional and scholarly reputation. While department heads control power sources as a function of their office,

Persons who are not department heads or deans can have great influence by virtue of the stature attributed to them by colleagues. Conversely, the powers that office conveys to heads and deans can be eroded by a collective low assessment of the incumbent's stature (p. 47).

Individuals or coalitions with power of this type were able to "negotiate and persuade successfully, and it is primarily through negotiation and persuasion that the decisions that carry forward the work of the organization are made" (p. 30). Coalitions of individuals within a department were fluid with some persisting over the years reflecting enduring interests while others were issue specific and, on occasion, these cross cut the lines of ongoing coalitions. The

influence of a coalition was a function of the assessed stature of its members rather than its size.

Committees were an important interdepartmental political forum, and Bucher noted an establishment phenomenon in that a core group of senior faculty served on numerous key committees. This concentration of personnel resulted from seniority, assessed stature and willingness to serve. Lobbying and negotiations occurred outside of committee meetings as professors sought alliances and formulated positions which would gain support in the meetings. Almost all recommendations from the committees to the faculty as a whole were approved because, in the researcher's view, the "rough edges" had been removed by the committee and only organized opposition could block the momentum a committee's recommendation had before the faculty as a whole.

Pfeffer and Salancik (1974) measured the power of departmental subunits in a study of budget allocations at the University of Illinois during the period 1958 to 1970. They summarized their conceptual orientation by saying "that organizations operate as coalitions in many decisions, with subunits contending for resources and with resource allocations being shaped by considerations of relative political strength as well as more bureaucratic, universalistic criteria" (p. 137). The impact of political and universalistic processes on the allocation of resources to the university's teaching departments over time were measured and analyzed. The researchers' findings clearly suggest that subunit power and the bureaucratic criterion were significantly correlated with funding

over the twelve-year period. Pfeffer and Salancik concluded by pointing out that models of organizations which are built on bureaucratic, unitary and structural dimensions neglect the political reality demonstrated in this study. Hackman (1985), Pfeffer and Moore (1980) and Salancik and Pfeffer (1974) have conducted related investigations of departmental power and resource allocations within universities and have similarly confirmed the explanatory value of the organizational politics model.

Levin (1990) applied a politics conceptual framework to an analysis of president-board member relationships in three community colleges in British Columbia. He found that the actors adhered "to a negotiated, informal arrangement for exercising their authority" (p. 47). In particular, they formed a coalition in response to internal and external interest groups and coalitions. In the process they submerged individual interests and suppressed conflict in order to "survive both as a coalition and individually within the organization" (p. 48). In the absence of overt diverse interests, board members and the president adopted unitary goals which, in Levin's view, reflected "a public relations role rather than an educational role" (p. 48). The board-president coalition placed primary attention on the perceptions of internal and external interest groups in order to maintain political equilibrium.

Many of the theoretical propositions about higher education institutions as political systems are confirmed by these studies. Formal and informal interest groups (e.g., Taylor, 1980) reflect the diversity characteristic of colleges

and universities as complex organizations. Conflict results as actors pursue their demands in decision-making arenas (e.g., Pannu, 1973). Decision making frequently reflects processes of negotiation and compromise (e.g., Bucher, 1970). The outcomes of any decision-making process reflect the power of the actors involved (e.g., Pfeffer and Salancik, 1974). Individuals with position authority and high assessed stature can exercise their power over elements of the decision-making process (e.g., Taylor, 1980). Politics concepts subsume many of the organizational processes which occur within colleges and universities as a result of professional autonomy, decentralized decision making, differences in goals and ideologies, and organizational differentiation (e.g., Ryan, 1984).

SUMMARY

The theoretical perspective which guided this study was derived from a review of the governance of higher education and organizational politics literatures. A survey of the history of and role expectations for boards suggests that they exist to reflect society's interests and serve as an interface between the interests of the institutions and their communities. The central concepts from the politics literature applicable to an investigation of institutional participation were reviewed.

The origins of faculty, student and support staff memberships on the boards of Alberta colleges can be traced to the changes in university governance which occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. Proponents of institutional participation argued that the representation of employees and students would improve communications, reflect organizational values and implement basic propositions from the fields of organizational behavior and human resource development.

Four major models--academic bureaucracy, collegium, political system and organized anarchy--offer analytical insights about the organization and governance of colleges and universities. The models recognize numerous and diverse elements of higher education institutions such as goal ambiguity, rational and consensus decision making, power, conflict and hierarchical authority.

The politics model applies concepts such as power, conflict, decision making and interest groups to the study of colleges and universities with the premise that complex, formal organizations constitute political systems. This perspective suggests researchers examine the diversity of interests found within organizations and the dynamics associated with decision making. Power is central to understanding the emergence of decision issues, the nature of the decision-making process utilized and the choices which are made. Research studies have applied this theoretical position to the study of colleges and universities in general and to governance in particular. The findings from this

body of research demonstrate the validity of undertaking research utilizing a politics perspective.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The research design which guided this study and the methods of data collection and analysis which were used are presented in this chapter. In particular, a rationale is provided for the choice of an interview-based case study design. The pilot study is described. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the measures taken to ensure validity and reliability.

NATURE OF THE STUDY

As suggested by the research problem, the theoretical perspective and the review of the organizational politics literature, a design was required which would provide an in-depth description and explanation of the political processes associated with faculty, student and support staff representation on the boards of governors of colleges. Based on the theoretical and empirical literature, it was inferred that institutional participation is a complex social phenomenon which can best be understood by investigating numerous relevant factors and the relations among them. In addition, it appeared that the research process would have to provide opportunities to explore emergent topics and issues. More specifically,

the problem necessitated gathering data from board members and others about their experiences with, and perceptions and interpretations of, institutional participation as a part of board governance. The literature review indicated that the participants may have diverse experiences in relation to their roles suggesting a design which would effectively capture this diversity. In addition, it was assumed that institutional participation in board governance can be affected by contextual factors; therefore, a decision was made to collect data from three colleges in order to provide a broader perspective.

Case Studies

A case study design was chosen for the reasons just identified. In particular, a case study

offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. Anchored in real-life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon. It offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand its readers' experiences (Merriam, 1988, p. 32).

Yin (1981) indicates "the distinguishing characteristic of the case study is that it attempts to examine: (a) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 59). According to Merriam (1988), case studies in educational research often draw on disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, history and psychology "both for theoretical orientation and for techniques of data collection and analysis" (p. 23). This study is most closely aligned with sociology because it

is rooted in organization theory and draws on the qualitative research traditions of sociology.

Everhart (1988) has synthesized the fundamental assumptions characteristic of contemporary fieldwork research in educational administration. While not all cases studies involve fieldwork and fieldwork does not necessarily constitute a case study, Everhart's four points capture many of the themes reflected in the literature about case studies (e.g., Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988) and reflect the frame of reference which was brought to this study. First, fieldwork stresses a constructivist perspective. Participants in social settings are bearers and creators of knowledge, and this knowledge influences action which is purposive. Second, the process orientation of fieldwork directs researchers to consider social life as it evolves, shaped by contextual factors. Third, phenomena are seen holistically because dimensions of social life are interactive and no single factor or group of factors can capture the essence of the situation. Fourth, researchers become the instrument because they design studies, collect data by involvement with the social situation and interpret data. Researchers make choices throughout the study in light of the emergent nature of fieldwork.

The case study design necessitates identifying a phenomenon for investigation and distinguishing the boundaries, albeit artificial, which separate it from the larger social world. Merriam (1988) refers to a bounded system and Bogdan and Biklen (1982) speak of a "naturally existing unit" which "the participants

themselves see as distinct and the observer recognizes as having a distinct identity of its own" (p. 60). The research process includes demonstrating the linkages which exist between the phenomenon and the larger social unit. In this study, the bounded system is made up of faculty, student and support staff members as they participate in board-level college governance. They constitute a "naturally existing unit" because they are appointed in a specific manner, hold shorter terms of office, serve in an official capacity with their associations and continue in their primary role as employee or student in relation to the institution. The research subproblems focus the researcher's attention on the linkages between this "naturally existing unit" and the board and college as the larger systems.

Case studies can be conducted from a deductive or inductive orientation. In this investigation there is a blending of inductive and deductive elements. Organizational politics theory and research were used to deductively establish the theoretical perspective for the study. On the other hand, data collection and analysis were both shaped deductively and inductively by concepts from the literature and the topics and themes which emerged from the study.

The case study design does not prescribe the nature of the data required or the specific data collection techniques (Yin, 1981). Each such consideration requires a decision on the part of the researcher in light of the nature of the problem, previous research if available, theoretical orientation, real-world limitations and other factors. For example, case studies can be based on quantitative or qualitative data or some combination of both (Yin, 1984).

Consistent with the research goals outlined so far, qualitative data were chosen because of the attributes included in Patton's (1980) definition:

Qualitative data consist of detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behaviors; direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts; and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records, and case histories. [All of these] . . . are raw data from the empirical world. Qualitative data provide depth and detail (p. 22).

Interviews, documents and direct observation were the three data sources used in this study with the greatest weight given to interviews. Limited observation did occur at each of the three colleges. Documents were used as outlined in the next section.

Interviews

While interviewing has been central to social science inquiry over time, there has been a resurgence of the technique with the increased emphasis on qualitative, case study and fieldwork research. At the most fundamental level, an interview is a conversation "in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons" (Maccoby & Maccoby, 1954, p. 449). The interview, like any other research technique, should be used when it is the most appropriate choice in terms of research design; conceptual framework; and practicality concerns such as access to participants, time and the researcher's skills. Speaking of research in higher education, Crowson (1987) says

the interview (either structured or unstructured) provides an opportunity to gather data in the respondents' own words, to focus inquiry more pointedly toward a study's central questions, to draw data efficiently from a setting, and to seek information directly from the persons who are most in the know in a setting (p. 34).

Drawing on Merriam's (1988) logic of justification, the interview was used in this research because it afforded an opportunity to gather data spanning a one-year time span, encouraged participants to contribute their feelings and opinions, provided a way of surfacing the interactions and events most important to the participants, and directed the researcher's attention to emergent topics and themes within and across interviews.

Numerous typologies of types of interviews exist, but they all range from the highly structured to the highly unstructured. Patton (1980) points to three approaches: "the informal conversational interview; the general interview guide approach; and the standardized open-ended interview" (p. 197). The second approach involves identifying topics or issues for exploration, but questions are not prestructured or presequenced. The latter type is made up of formally worded and presequenced questions, and the goal is to minimize variation across interviews. Yin (1984) speaks of open-ended, focused and survey interviews while Denzin (1970) describes nonstandardized, nonschedule standardized and schedule standardized interviews which parallel Patton's categories. This study was based on semi-structured interviews (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982) reflecting an approximate midpoint on the structured-unstructured continuum with the goal of ensuring "comparable data across subjects" (p. 136). Interview guides were prepared for

each subgroup of participants, but the flexibility to rephrase questions, resequence questions, add site-specific questions and ask follow-up questions was maintained.

Site Selection

In addition to random sampling, Patton (1980) indicates there are six purposeful sampling strategies in evaluation research which include sampling extreme or deviant cases, sampling typical case(s), maximum variation sampling, sampling critical cases, sampling politically important or sensitive cases, and convenience sampling. These can be applied equally to case study site selection. The three colleges chosen for this study, from a population of eleven, were identified on the basis of Patton's sampling typical cases strategy which means avoiding any case which reduces the credibility of the results because that particular case is atypical. As a consequence of the researcher's commitment to ensuring anonymity for participants, as stated in the ethical guidelines, the criteria used to distinguish typical and atypical cases will not be outlined in this report.

RESEARCH METHODS

The design of the study, as outlined in this section, was based on the general principles of case study research presented above. Specifically, the pilot study is overviewed along with the changes which resulted from it. The approach used to gain access to the research sites is outlined. The processes of gathering interview

and documentary data are described along with the analysis techniques of transcription, participant verification, and topical coding and sorting.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted at the researcher's college in order to test the research design and refine the researcher's interview skills. Ten interviews were conducted with institutional members, public members, the board chairman and senior administrators. The recording of each interview was reviewed and notes were made about content and process. Three transcripts were prepared and returned to the participants. Each person judged the transcript to be an accurate record of his/her comments. Two tapes and accompanying transcripts were reviewed by two doctoral students in educational administration who were also conducting interview research. They provided positive feedback such as the researcher had "rigorously followed the questioning format while not straining or limiting the interaction" and suggested improvements in the technical quality of the recordings.

The following list summarizes the observations made by the researcher during the pilot study about the theoretical perspective, subproblems, research design and research methods.

- On the basis of the ten interviews, it appeared that questions about some topics and subproblems (e.g., conflict and the exercise of influence) would not reveal the richness of data suggested by the organizational politics model.

- **These interviews indicated that particular attention should be paid to differences in role behavior and power among institutional members.**
- **Some questions were deleted, others added and some reorganized. The changes included adding questions focusing on institutional members' participation in specific decision-making cases and their initial experiences as board members. A general contextual question was deleted because it was found to be redundant. Another question was resequenced to a position more consistent with the topical development of the interviews. A question inviting participants to discuss relevant but previously omitted topics was included at the end of the interview schedules.**
- **Prior to each site visit, the researcher should review the board's minutes for the previous year in order to provide context but also to suggest situation-specific follow-up questions.**
- **In-depth attention should be given to each board's decision-making process. General questions were necessary as well as questions specific to decision issues identified from the minutes or suggested by participants.**
- **The researcher should be constantly aware of the need for follow-up questions which would encourage participants to add concrete references to general answers.**
- **Each question from the schedule should be asked even if it appears the participants anticipated it. Additional data were often provided when the topic was raised a second time as a result of formal questioning.**

Ethical Guidelines

Consistent with the University of Alberta's policy on ethics in human research, the following guidelines were observed in this study.

1. Anonymity was guaranteed to the colleges and participants. Each college and each participant was assigned a pseudonym in the data reporting and data analysis phases of the research. Descriptive information about each college has been kept to a minimum in the case study chapters to prevent recognition of the institution by readers.

2. A statement of ethical guidelines was included in the researcher's participation request to college boards.

3. Participants were given a statement of the purpose of the research project and a copy of the ethical guidelines at the start of each interview. These were discussed with the interviewees, and they were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time.

4. Participants had the opportunity to read and revise the transcripts prepared from the recorded interviews. Informants were asked to mark any sections which they would not want quoted in the thesis.

Access to Sites

The researcher first telephoned the presidents of Henday Community College, Thompson Community College and Mackenzie Community College with a request to conduct research at their institutions. Following their suggestions, the

researcher then made a formal request by letter to either the board chairman or president including an outline of the study as well as a list of the ethical guidelines. A sample letter with attachment is presented in Appendix A. Each board granted approval within one month. Subsequently the researcher sent letters to all potential participants indicating appointments would be arranged in advance. A sample of this letter is provided in Appendix B. At each college, the secretary to the board acted as host and, in particular, assisted the researcher with contacting participants and obtaining the necessary documentation.

Data Collection

Based on the researcher's college experience, the theoretical perspective and the pilot study, 54 possible participants were identified at the three colleges. These can be grouped into five categories: institutional members, public board members, college presidents, presidents of associations and senior administrators. Members in this latter group were included because they attended all board meetings at these colleges and, on the basis of the pilot study, were judged to be effective observers of board dynamics.

A total of 49 usable interviews were obtained, and these are identified by category and frequency in Table 1. One vice president and one public board member were not interviewed at Thompson Community College because of time limitations. The support staff member at that college withdrew from the study after reviewing his transcript, possibly because of confusion about the nature of

Table 1

Distribution of Participants by College and Category*

Category	Henday Community College	Thompson Community College	Mackenzie Community College
Faculty board members	1	1	1
Student board members	1	1	1
Support staff board members	1	-	2
Public board members	8	6	6
College presidents	1	1	1
Presidents of faculty associations	1	1	1
Presidents of student associations	1	1	1
Presidents of support staff associations	1	-	2
Senior administrators	3	3	2
Total	18	14	17

*Based on usable interviews

the study. As a result, the interview with the president of his association had to be omitted as well. One public member at Mackenzie Community College declined to participate because she had just been appointed.

Additional data sources included documents and observations of board meetings. Appendix C lists the documents obtained from three colleges. These can be grouped into four categories: board minutes; minutes of academic councils; bylaws of each board, association and academic council; and college publications and planning documents. The researcher was able to attend one public meeting of each board, and these visits, while limited, did result in observations which complemented the interview data.

With only two exceptions, the interviews were conducted during an intensive five- to seven-day visit to each college in the spring of 1988. The interview schedules in Appendix D, arranged by category of participant, formed the basis of the semi-structured interviews. In addition, a number of college-specific topics were identified based on a review of board minutes, other documents and the comments made by participants. Questions about these topics served to draw out contextual data and provide opportunities to pursue emergent topics and themes. The following list provides examples of, first, the generic questions and, second, the college-specific questions.

- Faculty, student and support staff members - What experiences come to mind when you recall your first six months on the board?
- Public members and college presidents - What are the responsibilities of the faculty, student and support staff members of the board? From your perspective, how do the faculty, students and support staff board members define their responsibilities?

- Public members, college presidents and presidents of associations - Have you ever been in conflict with the faculty (student, support staff) board member? If so, what were the issues? How were they resolved?

- Henday Community College - What is the role of each of the Board's standing committees? Why are the institutional members not members of these committees?

- Thompson Community College - How did the faculty and student board members participate in the Board's decision to lay off instructors?

- Mackenzie Community College - How does the Chairman build social bonds among board members?

In almost all cases, the interviews were conducted in private offices with a minimum of distractions. Each interview began with a review of the purpose of the study and the ethical guidelines, and basic demographic data were collected from each participant. Interviews were recorded and ranged in length from 30-110 minutes with most exceeding 60 minutes. As the interviews progressed at each college, the researcher increasingly tested the ideas which were emerging about the board of governors and the institution. Whenever time permitted, the researcher listened to the tapes within 24 hours and made process and content notes.

Archival research was also conducted at the Department of Advanced Education Library, the Library of the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Archives of Alberta in order to trace the origins of institutional participation in

college governance. In addition, the current appointment process for institutional members was reviewed with an official of the Department of Advanced Education (Richardson, 1988).

Data Analysis

The researcher prepared verbatim transcripts of each interview and made analytical notes during the transcription process. On occasion, questions were inserted in the text in order to seek clarification or confirmation of a point. The transcripts were then sent back to the participants for review. The accompanying letter, reproduced in Appendix E, asked them to underline any material which they would not want quoted, consistent with the ethical guidelines. Eventually all but four of the participants returned their transcripts. No significant corrections were made and only a limited amount of material was underlined. Each transcript was subsequently updated.

A draft coding system was developed by reading transcripts, identifying topical units and developing topical descriptors until no new topics emerged. The first draft was used with the transcripts from one college and then revised until it could be consistently applied. The final version of the coding system is presented in Appendix F. Some of the categories parallel the subproblems and interview questions while others were identified from the data. Each code consisted of eight or 10 digits including two-digit identifiers for college, role, name, topic and subtopic, if applicable. The following example taken from one transcript illus-

brates the nature of the coding system:

- 03-08-14-06-11
- 03 - College - Mackenzie Community College
- 08 - Role - President of an association
- 14 - Participant - Ernest Garry
- 06 - Topic - The board's decision-making process
- 11 - Subtopic - Degree-granting status

Once all transcripts had been coded, the material was transferred from a personal computer to a main-frame computer and sorted and printed by college-topic-role-person. In addition, all documents were read and relevant items were photocopied, coded and included in the appropriate topical section. All topical sections were then reread to ensure reliability of coding. Approximately 10 per cent were recoded.

A topical outline for each case study was developed which reflected the subproblems and the major topics of the coding system. This topical outline was revised numerous times as the cases were written. In preparation for writing each section of a case, the researcher read all of the material organized by topic, systematically noting the relevant comments from the participants and the documents. Each quotation used in the case studies is identified with its code to document its source and facilitate substantiation of the description.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Regardless of the theoretical paradigm and research methods, "all scientific ways of knowing strive for authentic results" (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 31).

Because fundamental assumptions and research methods vary from one research tradition to another within the social sciences, the nature of tests for truth value vary as well. For example, the essential features of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) such as researcher as instrument, emergent design and inductive analysis mean that the carefully predefined controls and tests of experimental research are not applicable.

Within the positivistic social science tradition, the truth value of research is measured against the standards of validity and reliability. Validity is a measure of the accuracy of the findings and analysis while reliability reflects the extent to which one researcher's findings could be replicated by another researcher. More specifically, internal validity refers to congruence between the data and analysis and the social phenomenon under study. External validity is a measure of "whether a study's findings are generalizable beyond the immediate case study" (Yin, 1984, p. 38). Internal reliability "refers to the degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as the original researcher" (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 32). High external reliability indicates that other researchers would produce the same or similar findings if they undertook inquiry in the same setting.

In light of the paradigm differences which exist within the social sciences, researchers and theorists have sought to formulate concepts and criteria of authenticity which are applicable to non-positivistic research traditions such as naturalistic inquiry. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have proposed the umbrella

concept of trustworthiness which embodies four criteria: (1) credibility - the results mirror the social world studied, (2) transferability - the findings are applicable in other but clearly similar situations, (3) dependability - the findings could be replicated with the same or similar participants and contexts and (4) confirmability - the outcomes reflect the social phenomenon rather than the perspectives of the researcher.

Five major strategies were used to ensure internal validity. The research design included all relevant participants at each college in order to eliminate selection distortions. The guarantee of anonymity was designed, in part, to encourage more candid responses from the participants and a richer portrait of each site. At the conclusion of each interview, the interviewees were encouraged to offer information which was not identified by the interview questions. Independent corroboration was achieved by utilizing the same basic interview topics and questions for each subgroup of participants. During the preparation of the case studies, data about each topic were verified by integrating information from all relevant participants and the documentary sources. Quotations from the interviews are included in the case studies to directly reflect the participants' perspectives.

The inclusion of three colleges in this study contributes to the "comparability and translatability" (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 51) criterion as suggested by the concept of external validity. In addition, contextual information about the college sector, college boards and each board is presented to establish external

validity.

The criteria subsumed by the concept of internal reliability focus on the process of data analysis. All interviews were recorded and verbatim transcripts were prepared and returned to the participants for verification. The transcripts were updated upon receipt of the participants' corrections and additions. The coding system applied to the transcripts was revised until it could be used consistently. After the sorting process was complete, interview and documentary material were reviewed and recoded when necessary to ensure consistency between and within topics. The researcher maintained both descriptive and reflective fieldnotes as suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (1982) to record emerging ideas, reactions to the data collection and analysis processes and methodological decisions. This record makes it possible to reconstruct the processes used from the beginning of data collection until the completion of data analysis. Other sections of this chapter and the reflections on research section found in Chapter 9 summarize much of the content of the fieldnotes.

In this study external reliability was established by providing detailed information about the research context and the research and analysis processes. The semi-structured interview schedules were derived from the governance of higher education and organizational politics literatures and revised in light of the pilot study.

Several strategies from Lincoln and Guba's (1985) discussion of the concept of trustworthiness were implemented as well. Two types of triangulation

processes were used. Data from the interviews were integrated with data from documentary sources. While most participants were board members, they occupied significantly different roles and the comparisons of their perspectives constituted a triangulation of different sources. Because transferability not generalizability is the goal in the naturalistic paradigm, researchers are obligated to provide a sufficient data base so that research "consumers" can determine if the findings are relevant to other social situations. In this study, the description of the cases and the data collection and analysis processes address the transferability criterion.

SUMMARY

The goal of this study was to provide in-depth portraits of the political processes associated with institutional participation in board-level governance. For this reason the interview was chosen as the most appropriate primary technique of data collection. Relevant documentary sources were included. Transcripts were prepared, verified by the participants and analyzed utilizing a topical coding system derived from the research subproblems and the content of the interviews. The data are presented in case studies in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The next chapter provides background for the case studies by overviewing the college sector in Alberta; describing board composition, selection, authority and role expectations; and reviewing related research studies.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH SETTING: THE HISTORY AND GOVERNANCE OF ALBERTA'S COLLEGES

As a context for the presentation of the case studies, the three sections of this chapter provide historical and contemporary information about the college sector in Alberta as well as specific background relevant to this study. The first section traces the history of Alberta's 11 colleges and overviews their current program mandates. The second part describes the composition, selection and authority of college boards in Alberta and provides a general overview of the role expectations associated with board membership in general and institutional participation in particular. The last section presents findings from research studies which have examined other aspects of college governance in Alberta.

THE COLLEGE SECTOR

The ethical requirements of anonymity and confidentiality for participants in this study make it impossible to describe each of the case study colleges. For this reason, a general overview of the college sector is presented in this chapter rather than specific institutional profiles in the following chapters.

Origins of the Sector

The sector began in 1957 with the founding of Lethbridge Junior College. It continued to develop in the 1960s with the establishment of colleges in Red Deer (1964), Medicine Hat (1965) and Grande Prairie (1966) and the transformation of a private institution--Mount Royal College--into a public junior college. The first four institutions were initiated by one or more local school districts, and their boards of governors were made up of trustees appointed from the sponsoring school board or boards. Mount Royal College was established by the Methodist Church in 1910 and became a public junior college in 1966 by an act of the provincial legislature. The primary program focus of these five institutions during the 1960s was in the area of university transfer. Although Grant MacEwan Community College, the sixth public college, was not founded until 1970, the Edmonton Separate School Board had launched the first initiatives in the mid-1960s which had led to the later establishment of the college. Table 2 provides a summary of the origins of each college.

In response to growth and numerous issues concerning mandate, coordination and control, the provincial government replaced the The Public Junior Colleges Act (1958) with The Colleges Act in 1969 "which completely revamped the administration and financing mechanism for the public colleges, and reiterated the government's policy favoring comprehensive college programming" (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, p. 34). Under the terms of this legislation, boards of governors were appointed by government, the authority of the universities over

Table 2

Historical Development of Alberta's Colleges

Institution	Date Established	Notes
Lethbridge Community College	1957	Established by school district initiative under the authority of <u>The School Act (1952)</u> .
Red Deer College	1964	The colleges in Red Deer, Medicine Hat and Grande Prairie were established as a result of school board initiatives under <u>The Public Junior Colleges Act (1958)</u> .
Medicine Hat College	1965	
Grande Prairie Regional College	1966	
Mount Royal College	1966	Founded in 1910 by Methodist. Became public college in 1966.
Grant MacEwan Community College	1970	Sixth public college established.
Lakeland College	1975	Interprovincial college which was created from Vermilion College, founded as a school of agriculture in 1913. Board governance established in 1978.
Keyano College	1975	Founded as an Alberta Vocational Centre in 1965. Reconstituted as a college in 1975 with board governance established in 1978.
Old College	1913	Olds and Fairview Colleges were established as schools of agriculture under administration of Department of Agriculture. Designated public colleges with board governance in 1978.
Fairview College	1951	

Table 2 (Continued)

Institution	Date Established	Notes
Alberta College of Art	1985	Established in 1916 as a part of an institute of technology and art. Because autonomous institution 1985.

Source: Berghofer and Vladicka (1980) and Dennison and Gallagher (1986)

transfer programs was reduced, and the colleges' program mandate was broadened. In addition, sections 18-20 established a mechanism for the possible future transfer of the provincially administered agricultural colleges, technical institutes and vocational centers to the public college sector by order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council.

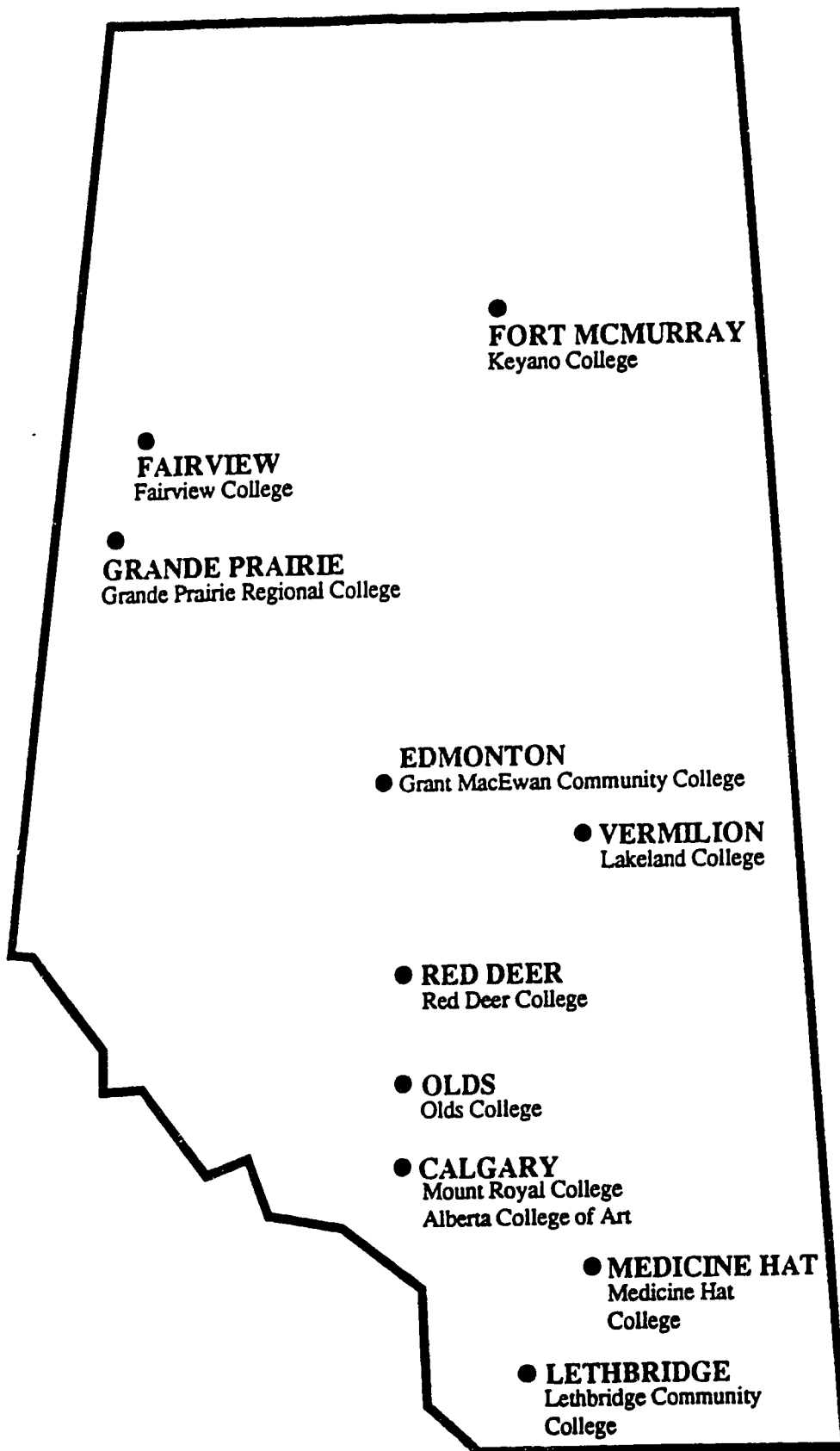
The College Sector, 1970s and 1980s

During the 1970s four existing institutions were integrated into the public college sector, consistent with the terms of the 1969 act. In 1972 the administration of the three agricultural colleges was transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the newly created Department of Advanced Education. One of the three agricultural colleges--Vermilion--was transformed into a public institution as Lakeland College with a regional, interprovincial mandate in 1975. In the same

year, Keyano College was created as a public college from a former Alberta Vocational Center. Olds and Fairview Colleges, the other two agricultural colleges, as well as Lakeland and Keyano Colleges became board-governed institutions in 1978.

In 1985 the Alberta College of Art became the eleventh institution to join the college sector. Since 1913 it had been part of the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art and its successor, the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology.

The map on page 101 identifies the eleven institutions which make up the college sector in 1991. Table 3 provides an overview of the program offerings and enrollments of these institutions. The first colleges were junior colleges with primarily a university transfer mandate, but, by the 1980s, the sector and most colleges had a highly diversified mandate. One-year certificate and two-year diploma career programs constituted, in 1988-89, 48 per cent of the full-time equivalents (FTEs) in the 11 colleges while academic upgrading and university transfer programs constituted 14 and 12 per cent respectively (Alberta Advanced Education, n.d., p. 78). Three colleges do not offer university transfer programs and one college, the Alberta College of Art, has a highly specialized mandate unlike its counterparts. Apprenticeship programs became an important part of college programming in the 1980s in most institutions outside of Edmonton and Calgary.



Map 1. The public colleges of Alberta.

Table 3

Program Offerings and Enrollment Patterns at Alberta's Colleges

College	Program Offerings*	Enrollment**
Lethbridge Community College	Diploma, academic upgrading,*** other, trade/vocational, certificate, apprenticeship	3,646
Red Deer College	Diploma, university transfer, other, academic upgrading, certificate, apprenticeship, trade/vocational	4,649
Medicine Hat College	University transfer, diploma, academic upgrading, trade/vocational, certificate, other, apprenticeship	2,183
Grande Prairie Regional College	University transfer, diploma, academic upgrading, other, trade/ vocational, certificate	1,458
Mount Royal College	Diploma, other, university transfer, certificate, academic upgrading	6,136
Grant MacEwan Community College	Diploma, other, certificate, university transfer, trade/vocational, academic upgrading	4,785
Lakeland College	Diploma, academic upgrading, trade/ vocational, other, apprenticeship, certificate, university transfer	1,442
Keyano College	Trade/vocational, academic upgrading, certificate, university transfer, diploma, apprenticeship, other	1,227
Olds College	Diploma, certificate, other, apprenticeship, academic upgrading	901

Table 3

Program Offerings and Enrollment Patterns at Alberta's Colleges

College	Program Offerings	Enrollment
Fairview College	Academic upgrading, trade/vocational certificate, diploma, apprenticeship, other	1,123
Alberta College of Art	Diploma	674

*Program offerings are grouped into seven categories and listed for each college from highest enrollment to lowest.

**Enrollment are expressed as full-time equivalents.

***Academic upgrading refers to programs offering curricula paralleling those offered in the public schools.

Source: Alberta Advanced Education, (n.d.). Alberta Advanced Education: 1988-89 Statistical Report.

COLLEGE BOARDS OF GOVERNORS

Provincial statutes and government policy documents define the composition and role of college boards. This section reviews these documentary sources and highlights selection processes for board members, the role of boards as corporate entities, the role of individual members, the role of institutional members and the mandate of academic councils in relation to boards.

Composition and Selection

An Alberta college board is made up of seven or more public members, the president, an academic staff member, a student member, and a non-academic staff member (Colleges Act, 1980; Advanced Education Statutes Amendment Act, 1987). The seven or more public members are appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. According to section 4(1)(a) of the Colleges Act (1980), institutional members are appointed by the Minister of Advanced Education after being nominated by their respective associations within the colleges. The faculty and student members are nominated by the "academic staff association" and the "students' council" respectively. The third institutional member, the non-academic staff person, "is nominated by the non-academic staff of the college at a meeting called for the purpose" (Advanced Education Statutes Amendment Act, 1987).

With regard to term of office, the Colleges Act (1980) makes no specific reference to institutional members. Their terms of office are determined by, first, section 4(3) which applies to all members. Each person holds office for an initial term not exceeding three years and a second term not exceeding three years. Second, section 4(6) states that an institutional member ceases to be a board member when he/she ceases to be an academic staff member, student or non-academic staff member. In the latter case, an additional clause, section 4(6)(c), disqualifies a non-academic staff member if he/she "becomes engaged in the administration of the college."

Board Authority and Role Expectations

The Colleges Act (1980), the Advanced Education Statutes Amendment Act (1987) and the "Guidelines for Boards of Governors" document, published by the Minister of Advanced Education (1986), when considered together provide both a statutory definition of the board's authority as a corporate entity and an important source of role expectations for the board as a whole and for individual members. The acts grant boards the authority to establish programs of instruction with the approval of the Minister, set admission standards, recommend tuition fees to the Minister, set policy, file reports with the Minister, ensure the college is operated in accordance with the acts and accompanying regulations, maintain its own records, designate academic staff positions, hire the president, appoint administrative officers and engage in collective bargaining.

The "Guidelines" document introduces board members to the nature and purpose of board governance and the nature of educational institutions. Boards composed of public and institutional members are presented as the best mechanism for balancing the interests of society at large with institutional interests. Collegiality is placed in its historical context and is recognized as a feature of Alberta's universities and colleges. The major responsibilities of a board are listed as

formulating the institution's mission, approving long-range plans, appointing the president, monitoring the performance of the president and the administration, approving personnel policies, establishing financial policies, board-government relationship, community relations, serving as a court of appeal and assessing board performance (Minister of Advanced Education, 1986, p. 27-33).

An additional section entitled "Responsibilities of Board Members" focuses on individuals rather than the corporate body and refers to all members sharing equally in the governing responsibility, being committed to the well-being of the institution, putting the general interest ahead of particular interests, ensuring a sufficient knowledge base for decision making, making a time commitment, serving as an intermediary between the institution and community, maintaining confidentiality and preventing conflict of interest.

The document states conflict of interest arises "whenever a Board member has or represents interests that could compete with those of the institution" (p. 43). Different types of financial conflict of interest are defined and a general statement is made about personal and professional conflicts. The "Guidelines" do not suggest a specific course of action in a case of a conflict of interest, but the document states "Procedures are usually established [by boards] requiring immediate disclosure of potential conflict and abstention from discussion and voting" (p. 43). Conflict of interest is mentioned only in this document and not in the act.

Role Expectations for Institutional Members

Three documentary sources define role expectations for institutional members across the college sector. First, the "Guidelines for Boards of Governors," makes specific reference to institutional members in the section on individual board members' responsibilities. Specifically, it states promoting "the

general interest of the institution . . . applies particularly to those Board members who are students or members of the faculty or non-academic staff of the institution" (Minister of Advanced Education, 1986, p. 42).

The second source is found in the appointment letters sent to institutional members by The Hon. D. J. Russell, Deputy Premier and Minister of Advanced Education. The text of these letters was revised in 1987 as a result of specific concerns at several colleges about the role of the faculty member on the board (Richardson, 1988). Russell's (1987a) letter indicates that faculty members are appointed to boards "to ensure that the unique concerns and perspectives of this important institutional group [faculty] are considered at the highest decision-making level." They are not to represent the views of the executive of their association; rather, they are "to act in the best interests of the board and the institution as a whole." Faculty board members are entitled to participate in all board business, and they must respect the confidentiality of board decisions. The text of the letter for support staff board members is the same. The letter sent to student appointees states they have equal status with other board members, and their presence "is intended to ensure that the views of the students will be included in the consideration of issues before the Board." This letter does not make any reference to the appropriate relationship between students and the executives of their associations.

The third source is correspondence between The Hon. D.J. Russell and Floyd Johnson, President of the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology Academic

Faculty Association in November and December 1987 which also resulted from the controversies mentioned above. The text of Russell's letter reproduced the main body of the appointment letters to faculty members as revised earlier in 1987 but adds this sentence: "Nonetheless, it is important that they [faculty board members] and other board members be made aware of the views and policies of your association" (Russell, 1987b). This letter was included in the Alberta College-Institute Faculties Association Presidents' Council agenda package for January 23, 1988, and an extract was published in the ACIFA Newsletter ("Board faculty," 1988) which was distributed to all faculty members in the colleges and institutes of technology in the province.

Boards of Governors and Academic Councils

Academic councils, first mandated by The Colleges Act of 1969, are an important element of college governance in Alberta because they address academic policy issues, are made up of representatives drawn from the colleges' constituent groups and are advisory to the boards of governors. Section 24(1) of the Colleges Act (1980) defines a council's composition in terms of specific administrative positions and three membership categories: chief academic officers, academic staff and students. By statute, an academic council

- may make recommendations or reports to the college board
- (a) with respect to any matters the board refers to academic council, and
- (b) on any other matters the academic council considers advisable (Colleges Act, 1980).

The mandate of academic councils has been broadened in the Advanced

Education Statutes Amendment Act (1990), but the earlier statement of purpose is included in this report because it was in effect at the time of the study. Within this legislative context, the working relations between the board and council at each college are further defined by policy and precedent.

RESEARCH ON COLLEGE GOVERNANCE IN ALBERTA

A context for the description and analysis of institutional participation in board governance is provided by the research of Konrad (1976, 1977a, 1977b) and Rainsforth (1987). Because the four reports are based in whole or in part on data from the Alberta college sector, they constitute a substantial reference point for the case studies.

The purpose of one study (Konrad, 1977a) was to investigate board members' "perception of the procedures used in their nomination and selection, to solicit their opinions regarding institutional membership on boards and to obtain suggestions for improving selection procedures" (p. 139). Thirty-five of the 37 public, faculty and student members appointed during an 18 month period were interviewed. In another study Konrad (1976, 1977b) included all college boards in Alberta and British Columbia and three of the four anglophone "Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel" in Quebec. In both papers much of the data was reported in aggregated form; as a result, the information from Alberta may have been skewed by the data from the other two provinces.

Whenever possible, data specific to Alberta are reported in this section.

The primary focus of Rainsforth's (1987) investigation was the nomination and selection processes for public members of college boards in Alberta. There were four data sources: a survey questionnaire distributed to the total population of public members, semi-structured interviews with persons formerly or presently involved in nomination and selection processes, semi-structured interviews with public members at four colleges, and documents.

Selection Processes

The findings presented by Konrad (1977a) summarize the interviewees' understanding of the selection processes for institutional and public members. Most public members had been nominated by a Member of the Legislative Assembly, service club, professional colleague or another college board member after a vacancy had been announced in the newspaper. None reported having any knowledge of the government's selection procedures once nominations were received. The selection process for public members was endorsed by 77 per cent of that group, 50 per cent of the faculty board members and 12 per cent of the student members. Faculty members were nominated by an election within their association and students were nominated in one of three ways: by election among their peers, by election within the students' council or by virtue of holding the president's office within the association.

While there were no statutory, policy or regulatory provisions governing the

nomination and selection of board members, Rainsforth (1987) was able to conclude that "implicit procedures have evolved to guide" (p. 74) these processes. The nominations process began with officials in the Department of Advanced Education advising the Minister of upcoming vacancies. The Minister then notified Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) and requested 3 or 4 nominations with resumes. Board chairmen made recommendations to MLAs and were consulted. College presidents were involved at some colleges. Frequently nominees were approached informally by their nominators to determine if they were prepared to let their names stand. The nomination criteria were implicit, but certain patterns emerged. Competence and ability came first, and these attributes were usually assessed by a person's reputation in his/her occupation and community service. Business expertise was seen as very relevant.

A staff member in the Department of Advanced Education, reporting directly to the Minister's Office, initiated the selection process by preparing summary resumes of each candidate for cabinet's review. The nominations were reviewed in the Minister's Office and a lot of screening occurred there. MLAs and board chairmen were consulted, and college presidents, while not a part of the process, did make discrete representations to their MLAs, the chairman, the Minister or deputy minister if they were not in agreement with a particular nominee's candidacy. Political affiliation was important as well as credibility in the eyes of the MLA and the Minister; as a result, "candidates must first be known to either the minister or one or more of the MLAs to qualify for further consideration"

(p. 86). Candidates did not have to be active party members, but, as a minimum, they had to have an active supporter within the party. The goal was to ensure that board members reflect the government's philosophy and thus increase the government's control over the college. Business credentials were given a lot of importance but other occupations such as lawyer, accountant were considered relevant to the work of the board. Regional and gender representation were recognized just like occupational representation. Personal traits such as the ability to understand colleges, respect and prominence in the community, strength of personality in a group situation, and interpersonal skills also were used as screening criteria.

The Minister rank ordered the nominees and carried only one name to Cabinet for each vacancy. There was little discussion within Cabinet because of the pressure of other business, the consultation which had occurred, and the unwritten rule to not tread on the territory of an MLA. After an appointment has been made by Cabinet the name was then forwarded to the Legislative Services Branch of the Department of Advanced Education which prepared the Order in Council for the Premier's signature.

Role Performance and Role Preferences

Konrad's (1976) research considered role performance and preference in terms of four subtopics: trustee activities, trustee reading habits, involvement in decision making and preferred authority structure. Ninety-nine per cent of the

boards met more than nine times a year and the five most frequently occurring activities included "attending full board meetings, attending committee meetings, conference with other institutional personnel, conference with the president, and ad hoc group meetings on campus" (p. 2). Trustees had only limited familiarity with relevant books and periodicals. After analyzing the respondents' ranking of their level of involvement with 30 decision areas common to boards, Konrad concluded

Trustees did not regard themselves involved directly in the decision-making process in any topic area. They regarded their actions as pro forma on decisions relating to physical plant, personnel, institutional development, instructional issues, and nomination and appointment of board and advisory committee members. In general, they had not been involved at all in matters of student life and external affairs (p. 3).

In contrast, when trustees were asked to rank the same 30 items according to preferred authority structure, a definite pattern emerged showing that they "prefer a hierarchical authority structure in which decisions are made by the board and/or administration alone and passed 'down' to other constituencies of the institution" (p. 4).

Characteristics of Board Members

In general terms, Konrad's (1977b) research portrays board members as male, well-educated, professional and middle aged. In Alberta, only 19 per cent of the members were female. The modal age group in the three provinces was 40-49 with one third older and one third younger. In educational terms, about half held a master's degree or higher and the occupations of 60 per cent of the

respondents were classified as managerial or teaching. Seventeen per cent of the Alberta members classified their political ideology as liberal on a three-point scale which included moderate and conservative.

As a part of her study, Rainsforth (1987) used questionnaire data to construct a demographic profile of public board members which can be summarized with the following:

- 69 per cent were male
- 67 per cent were between 40 and 59 years of age
- 74 per cent were graduates of colleges or universities
- 63 per cent held occupations classified as management, sales or professional
- 86 per cent reported family income greater than \$50,000
- 77 per cent rated their political ideology as conservative on a three-point scale including moderate and activist
- 92 per cent indicated preference for the Progressive Conservative Party
- 89 per cent were involved in a political party
- 94 per cent were active in churches, community organizations and other boards (pp. 98-103).

Rainsforth summarized the demographic data by saying public members

are middle-aged, well-educated, financially successful, professional people [males] who are long-time residents of the province and possess the same

Table 4

Primary Occupation of Public Board Members*

Primary Occupation	N	Per Cent
Business	8	40.0
Executive, large corporation	3	
Executive, small business	3	
Entrepreneur	1	
Other	1	
Education	0	-
Professional Service	6	30.0
Lawyer	3	
Architect	1	
Accountant	1	
Consultant	1	
Retired	1	5.0
Other	5	25.0
Civic worker/volunteer	2	
Farmer/rancher	1	
Homemaker	1	
Other	1	
Total	20	100.0

*Based on classification system from Association of Governing Boards (1986, pp. 31-32)

political philosophy as the party in office. They are in their first term of office, involved in party politics and very active in a wide range of community activities (p. 103).

Data collected in this study about public members' occupations confirm Rainsforth's (1987) observations about the high percentage of management, business and professional people. An occupational analysis is presented in Table 4. The data have been aggregated and presented in this manner rather than in individual cases studies because of the anonymity and confidentiality requirements. Eighty-five per cent of the public members were males, a percentage significantly higher than reported by Rainsforth (1987).

SUMMARY

The public college sector developed from its origins as one institution in 1957 to 11 institutions in 1991. Initially, Alberta's public colleges had a strong junior college orientation with primary program emphasis on university transfer studies; over time the mandate has broadened to include apprenticeship, academic upgrading, career and other vocational programs.

Research indicated boards were made up of well-educated, professional and business, conservative and politically active males. Public members were nominated and selected through a governmental and political process which is formalized through precedent rather than policy. The process was dominated by MLAs and the Minister of Advanced Education.

In essence, boards are the policy-making bodies for Alberta 's colleges; they are to further the well-being of the college and reflect the public interest while recognizing the defined authority of the Minister. Institutional members should act on behalf of the institution rather than the interests of their group. Academic councils are also an important part of college governance because of their statutory base and mandate as advisors to the board of governors.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY 1: HENDAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Sixteen people were interviewed at Henday Community College (HCC) during a two-week period in late April and early May, 1988. An additional two interviews were conducted in July. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 identify the 12 board and six non-board participants. Consistent with the ethical guidelines regarding anonymity, no descriptive profile of HCC will be provided as a part of the case study.

The case study presented in this chapter is based on a topical organization derived from the data analysis process described in Chapter 3. The description of the participation of the faculty, student and support staff members in board governance begins with the election processes which led to their nomination to the Minister of Advanced Education and subsequent appointment to board positions. The role expectations conveyed to them by means of formal and informal socialization are summarized. Their participation in the Board's decision making is explained in the context of a consideration of the Board as a decision-making body. In addition, the role behavior which was a part of their relationship with their associations is also described. After considering conflict

Table 5

Henday Community College Board of Governors

Name	Board Position	Date of Appointment/ Re-appointment	Length of Term
Robert Jefferies	Chairman (1983-1989)	1983 1986	3 years 3 years
Clare Morrison	President	1988	-
Elizabeth Radke	Academic Staff Member	1987	2 years
Susan Eberhardt	Student Member	1987	1 year
Gordon Dombrowsky	Non-Academic Staff Member	1986 1988	2 years 2 years
Alex Oberg	Public Member	1983 1986	3 years 3 years
James Sandstrom	Public Member	1986	3 years
David Kennedy	Public Member	1983 1986	3 years 3 years
Joan Ivaney	Public Member	1983 1986	3 years 3 years
Vincent Davison	Public Member	1983 1986	3 years 3 years
Donald Johnston	Public Member	1987	3 years
Clayton Becker	Public Member	1987	3 years

Table 6

Henday Community College Non-Board Participants

Name	Position	Date of Election/ Appointment to Position
Amy Hansen	Vice President Student Services	1987
Wayne Allison	Vice President Finance	1985
Ross Fast	President Faculty Association	1987
George Munawich	President Students ' Association	1987
Ken Canning	President Support Staff Association	1987
Earl Gordon	Administrative officer	1985

and influence processes as a part of the Board's functioning and the related experiences of institutional members, the chapter concludes with the participants' assessments of the impact of institutional members and their general evaluation of institutional participation as an integral part of community college governance.

BECOMING AN INSTITUTIONAL BOARD MEMBER

Elizabeth Radke and Susan Eberhardt, the faculty and student members, were nominated for board positions in 1987 as a part of the annual elections held by their associations. Elizabeth and Susan both won in two-person races. Elizabeth campaigned a little while Susan actively sought support among her peers. Elizabeth had a long history of involvement in the Faculty Association and had been president for one term and an executive vice president for two terms.

The President of the Faculty Association, Ross Fast, pointed out that his Association had a history of electing people to the Board who had been active members of the Association's executive. In his view, people who are leaders within the Association are the ones who "would want to be in the position of [board member] trying to have the Association recognized and heard" (01081501). If someone indicated an interest in the board position but had not served the Association "the executive [gets] in gear at that point saying this is a pivotal position. We have to make sure we have people in those spots that are in sync with the Association" (01081501). In such a situation, the executive would recruit appropriate candidates.

Gordon Dombrowsky, the non-academic staff member, was first nominated in 1986 after an active campaign based on speeches at meetings in various areas of the College. His main campaign message was communications: "a promise to get some information back to non-academic staff so they in turn could tell me

what it is I should be representing at the board" (01050501). His only opponent was John Anderson, the incumbent member. Gordon chose to run against John because he was dissatisfied with John's communications with support staff and his attendance at board meetings. The day before the election, John resigned from the college and Gordon received the nomination by acclamation. In 1988, Gordon was again nominated for the position by acclamation. Ken Canning, President of the Support Staff Association, indicated there were some people interested in running in 1988, but no one actually stood for office "because they [support staff] thought Gordon was doing the job properly. He was representing the staff, so why fix it when it is not broken" (01081701).

The Support Staff Association was based on voluntary membership. While all employees classified as non-academic support had to contribute to the Association through payroll deduction because they were receiving the benefits of the Association's collective bargaining efforts, only about 75 per cent of the eligible employees were members. Because of the statutory provision for a non-academic staff member on the Board, all support employees had the opportunity to vote in the election which was conducted as a part of the Association's regular election process. Gordon was very conscious of his responsibility to represent an employee group larger than the membership of the Association.

The terms of office for institutional members, as defined by their associations, were shorter than the statutory maxima. The bylaws of the Faculty and Support Staff Associations specified two-year terms with no more than two terms.

The Students' Association had a parallel provision in its bylaws except it limited individuals to two one-year terms.

LEARNING TO BE AN INSTITUTIONAL BOARD MEMBER

Formal Socialization

The most common orientation activity for new public and institutional members was a one- or two-hour meeting, often over lunch, with Robert Jefferies, Chairman, and Clare Morrison, President. The content of these meetings was somewhat similar for all new members and included discussions of college governance in Alberta, government relations, the role of board members and board functioning. Public and student members usually received more information about the organization, operation and senior personnel of the College than faculty and support staff members who were seen as having that knowledge because of their long service and high degree of involvement in the College. A number of board members mentioned receiving a lot of documents at these meetings. These packages included copies of collective agreements, college publications, goal statements and long-range plans, the Colleges Act (1980), annual reports, recent board minutes, financial reports and policy manuals. More reference to the expectations presented to institutional members in these meetings is made later.

Informal Socialization

Elizabeth Radke and Gordon Dombrowsky both made specific references to learning from their predecessors. Elizabeth indicated that Ross Fast, the faculty board member before her, had been disappointed with and cynical about the influence a faculty member could have in persuading the Board to accept a faculty viewpoint on issues. For Elizabeth, Ross's perspective confirmed "my belief that a faculty member on the Board was not going to have a significant impact and be successful in swaying the Board to a faculty viewpoint on all issues before the Board or even a majority of them" (01030304). Ross's experience contributed to Elizabeth concluding that she would be more successful by speaking only to selected issues. As Gordon assumed this role, his predecessor advised him to "pick your issues otherwise you are going to lose if you try to be a champion for everything. That was probably the best advice I had" (01050504).

The institutional members described the first six months of their terms as a way of recalling the part initial experiences played in their socialization. Elizabeth said she spent a lot of time analyzing other board members in terms of their personalities, interactions, philosophies and positions "to see how I am going to slide in here comfortably" (01030304). Susan, while active in student organizations and party politics, felt very intimidated during her first six months which affected her participation for some time. Susan captured the source of her anxiety when she said

Honestly I felt very insignificant. I grew up in . . . [an Alberta city] and along the side of the road there is a big sign, a big factory called . . . [a

man's name]. I grew up with that name in my mind thinking of it as a big company. One of the first people I met on the Board was . . . [that man] (01040404).

Gordon, on the other hand, felt very confident as he joined the Board and explained his confidence in terms of his personality, "I just get right in there" (01050504). Gordon vividly remembered a public member trying to tell him how to vote on a contentious issue during his first meeting. Gordon thought "the person was clearly putting me to the test to see if I could be intimidated by that" (01050504).

Institutional and public members commented on the informal socialization of institutional members which occurred as a part of group interaction at board meetings and social activities. Two general themes pervade their observations. First, public members did make occasional and largely indirect comments about the role of the institutional members, but these were limited in number and impact. Clare Morrison and Wayne Allison, Vice President of Finance, had observed such comments, but they were speaking of their total experience with the Board rather than making specific reference to the year under study. Second, institutional members engaged in "a watch and learn process" (01040404), in Susan's terms, as they tried to understand the ground rules of a Board dominated by people who were from outside the College and were not educators. Elizabeth mentioned learning which topics would be seen as red flags by the public members and Susan spoke of learning how to present herself. Gordon gave real significance to the watch and learn process by saying "I think the best orientation

occurs just by being there and looking around" (01050505).

As board members the institutional members assumed a new role in relation to the associations which nominated them to the Minister of Advanced Education. They and their presidents reported little that can be labelled a socialization process except for some informal discussions about the institutional members' reporting relationships as defined by the bylaws or constitution of their associations. Ken Canning, President of the Support Staff Association, said there was little need for any orientation because institutional participation had existed for a number of years, and it seemed to be well understood. Ross Fast, President of the Faculty Association, was Elizabeth's predecessor as board member, and they had had numerous conversations about the role during his tenure on the Board.

The Vice President of Student Services, Amy Hansen, met with each student board member as he/she assumed office. The topics discussed included the responsibilities of the student as a board member, a member of the student body and an officer of the Central Council of the Students' Association. Amy also reviewed the Colleges Act (1980) and previous board activity. She was willing to meet with a student member to review board agendas and help the individual clarify his/her position on the items. Susan wasn't receptive to Amy's orientation activities and drew away because she felt Amy's advice wasn't always in her best interest.

ROLE EXPECTATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

General Role Expectations

The 12 board members identified 10 major responsibilities of all board members. While there was variation in the views of the participants, there were no areas of disagreement and the responsibilities suggested were complementary. First, acting as an overseer of public funds or keeper of the public purse was the most often cited responsibility. The second and third items included ensuring sound management by monitoring the work of senior personnel and overseeing the college's financial affairs. The fourth item focused on addressing educational needs of the region, quality education and students' needs. Fifth, the Board should focus on the best interests of the College as a whole. The next three responsibilities involved bringing the environment into the College by representing the views of the public, reflecting the governing party's position on education and applying the expertise of non-educators to the management and development of the College. Policy setting, item nine, was mentioned twice. Tenth, attributes of good board participation such as preparation were mentioned by the President.

Role Senders

Documentary sources. The most direct source of role expectations for institutional members is found in a board policy entitled "Role of the Faculty, Non-Academic Staff and Student Members on the Board of Governors" (HCC

Board of Governors. n.d.). It states the Board's success is dependent upon all members acting in the interest of the Board as a group and the College as a whole. Institutional members are full members with the same rights and responsibilities as all other board members. Their role "is to provide a linkage between their respective constituents and the Board." Institutional members are defined as "representatives" rather than "delegates" which means they should

utilize their own perspective as a faculty member, non-academic staff member or student and judge what they believe is in the best interest of the College. Election as a representative presumes constituents have expressed confidence in the representatives' judgement and ability to interpret and communicate the view of faculty, non-academic staff or students to and on behalf of the Board (HCC Board of Governors, n.d., p.1).

The bylaws of each association further defined the role of an institutional member. The faculty board member was a member of the executive of the Faculty Association and was required to make reports at the Association's regular and special meetings as well as an annual report. In addition, the faculty board member "ensures that the concerns and interests of the Association are fairly represented to the Board" (HCC Faculty Association Constitution, n.d., p. U3). The Students' Association identified eight duties for its board member; the five relevant to this discussion include being "responsible to Central Council," attending Council meetings, reporting on relevant board discussions at Council meetings, submitting written reports to Council and serving as a liaison between the Council and the Board (HCC Students' Association Constitution, n.d., n.p.) The Support Staff Association's role prescriptions were similar to the other two.

The support staff board member was an ex officio member of the Association's executive committee and formal reports to the Association were required as well as regular communication to support staff. In particular, the support staff member "shall interpret the concerns and decisions of support staff and the Support Staff Association to the Board and interpret the Board's concerns and decisions to support staff and the SSA" (HCC Support Staff Association Constitution and Bylaws, 1987, p. 13).

Public members and the President. The range of role expectations for institutional members as defined by public board members and the President is reflected in the following quotations:

You are not a representative You come with your expertise in the environment you live in. - Jefferies (01010103)

You vote in accordance with your conscience, not in terms of what might be the hard line of the Association. I don't see their responsibilities differing from any other board member in terms of the main function of the Board. We don't see them as representing the biases of that constituency, but certainly they are there to present the views of that constituency. - Morrison (01020203)

Their role is identical to ours, to my role. Their role is to bring a perspective as a board member, that's a different perspective than I have because of their involvement in the College You are representing the public of Alberta. - Oberg (01060603)

They are, to a significant degree, on the Board to represent the interests of that group, the feelings. - Sandstrom (01060703)

They are full board members in every sense and they just happen to have a perspective. - Ivaney (01060903)

[Institutional members should be able to] think through a manager's eyes as well as an employee's eyes. - Johnston (01061103)

All participants expressed the view that it was the responsibility of institutional members to balance their association affiliation with their board participation. In essence, institutional members were drawn from constituent groups, but, as board members, they must act as individuals independent of their interest groups, particularly the executive of their associations. Institutional members had the same responsibilities as public board members, and their only additional or specialized responsibility included bringing a perspective to the board based on their college experience. The only suggestion of an interest group role came from James Sandstrom who spoke of institutional members representing the interests of their group, but he pointed out the constant expectation that they act as individuals.

The Board rewrote its bylaws in 1986 and several of the changes served to clarify role expectations for institutional members in terms of both their board and association participation. Until that date, institutional members made a regular report from their associations at each meeting. The practice was ended

at their request because it seemed to single them out as a different kind of member. Nobody else was expected to report on the basis of their representing the Alberta public. That was removed as a last vestige of singling them out as something different (01091812).

Article 3.23 provided for an open delegation time of up to one-half hour per meeting when individuals or representatives from organizations could make representations to the Board. Participants, regardless of role, saw this practice as highly desirable; however, only one presentation was made during the 1987-88 year. While the open delegation time was not widely used, its existence served to

define an institutional member's role as a representative rather than a delegate as suggested by Gordon's comment that it was an "opportunity for the respective associations to make their pitch and not put their board member in a compromising position" (01050512).

In addition, institutional members' roles were further clarified by the established practice of the associations' executives meeting regularly with senior administrators. During 1987-88 each executive committee participated in three or four such meetings. Association presidents also felt they had ready access to individual administrators and could meet with them as problems arise. This also limited pressures on institutional members to act as advocates for their group or their peers.

Conflict of interest. The Board's bylaws contained a detailed statement about conflict of interest. Three clauses addressed conflicts arising from business interests, and in such cases, a board member "shall abstain from participating in discussion with respect to the matter and voting thereon, and shall absent himself from that portion of the meeting" (HCC Board of Governors Bylaws, n.d., pp. 8-9). Article 5.4 referred to institutional members and treated their overlapping interests arising from their board and association memberships in a different manner:

if it appears that the interest of a member of the Board or of any committee of the Board results, directly or indirectly, solely by reason of being a member of a constituency of the Board entitled to membership thereon by nomination or appointment to office and affected by the contract or transaction, such member shall not be required to declare his

abstain from participating in discussion with respect to the matter or from voting thereon, though such member may, at his option, declare such interest and abstain from such participation (HCC Board of Governors Bylaws, n.d., p. 9).

All participants except two public members agreed with the principle expressed in the article.

There seemed to be agreement among the participants that conflict of interest issues were equally relevant to all board members; only the specifics varied for institutional and public members. Joan Ivaney reflected this view by pointing out the very real potential of conflicts given her business interests and the college's current development goals. The same could be said for most public members because of their entrepreneurial activities.

Confidentiality. The governing board at HCC deemed much of its decision-making activity to be confidential especially in areas such as negotiations, personnel problems, long-range development, financial planning and labor relations. Issues such as these were dealt with as a part of in-camera meetings and only the Chairman's subsequent report to the public meeting could be discussed outside of the Board. The maintenance of confidentiality was a major responsibility for all board members, but it was particularly significant for those whose work lives and student lives were within the institution and who were involved with the executives of their associations.

Presidents of associations. While the president and public members spoke with a relatively uniform voice about the topic of representational style, the views of the presidents of associations reflect some diversity. Ken Canning, President of

the Support Staff Association, expressed ideas very similar to those of the public members as reflected in the following statement:

The person should provide input for the support staff part of the college, to bring forth the concerns and problems that the support staff may be having and put it into policy that the Board of Governors may be developing. I see Gordon as a conduit of information between the Support Staff Association executive and the Board. The only accountability I think he has is to present the views and concerns of the entire group that he represents (01081703).

Ken expected Gordon to act as an individual, independent of the executive of the SSA. The communications responsibility should be equally balanced in both directions. In Ken's view, Gordon would have lost the objectivity necessary for effective board participation if he had acted as a delegate of the SSA. The support staff board member was an ex officio member of the SSA executive, but this was seen as a communications strategy rather than an accountability strategy.

George Munawich, President of the Students' Association, also emphasized independence of action and two-way communication flow and said, "The student member must 'represent' the diverse needs and wants of the student population but must ultimately vote for what he/she thinks is right" (01081603).

Susan was a member of the SA's executive and was responsible for making formal reports, but George did not expect that the positions taken by the executive would be her positions at the Board. Susan was asked and did carry forward several issues to the Board during her year in office.

The following statement from Ross Fast, President of the Faculty Association, reflects role expectations somewhat different from the pattern

reported so far:

The faculty rep is there to provide a balanced view of the inside of the institution. I see the faculty representative as somewhat of a watchdog in terms of providing the academic or employee side of issues. I think they are there to provide a faculty perspective which may or may not be consistent with their own views. I think our argument would be that they are nominated as our representative and are, therefore, accountable to us (01081503).

While there was accountability in Ross's eyes, it was not formalized except in the process of re-election.

Institutional Members' Role Definitions

Like other participants, the institutional members expressed their role definitions in terms of representational style. Gordon expressed ideas similar to those of other board members when he said

I am not their [the Support Staff Association] spokesman, their mouth-piece, I'm a representative from that group who serves as a conscientious member of the Board. When they have concerns I am happy to tell them [the Board] their concerns. I don't have to support them, but I am happy to pass them on. In turn I will pass down everything I can from the Board to make sure they are as well informed as possible (01050503).

While Susan's position was not as clearly formulated, there is a similar underlying theme in these comments: "I always feel that when I am on the Board I am representing the Students' Association which is not always the case. I am representing myself on behalf of the students" (01040403). Elizabeth certainly subscribed to the principle of independent action, but, in contrast to Gordon and Susan, she did place more emphasis on representing the perspective of her Association:

I think I am there to represent faculty. I have been elected to look after their interests and speak on their behalf I feel very comfortable presenting the Association's viewpoints on certain things, and I also feel comfortable in not having to vote the way the Association would vote if they were casting the vote. I can vote on what I think is best for faculty overall. The fact that you have been elected by a group of people places certain onus on you to represent them and make sure that their points are represented on certain issues (01030303).

Eight participants made comments about their perceptions of institutional members' role definitions based on observations and inferences. These perceptions provide one measure of congruence between role expectations and role behavior. From the perspective of the associations, Ross Fast and Ken Canning said Elizabeth and Gordon acted consistently with their role expectations. Clare Morrison and Alex Oberg saw a slight tendency on the part of the institutional members to slip into a delegate or advocate role. According to Joan Ivaney, institutional members "define their role as that of a full board member in every respect, not representing a jurisdiction but coming from a jurisdiction" (01060903). This perspective was also echoed by Amy Hansen when she said "in practice I can see all kinds of evidence of them attempting to play a very, active full participative role on the Board yet be linked to their constituencies" (01071303). Institutional members make a transition, in Wayne Allison's eyes, during the first year or eighteen months. At first they are concerned with representing their constituency to the Board, but over time, they become involved in representing each party to the other.

THE BOARD AS A DECISION-MAKING GROUP

Perspective and Interactions

While HCC's Board was made up of 12 individuals, an analysis of the data points to some shared perspectives which are relevant to understanding the decision-making processes of the group. Almost all board participants expressed opinions about the affiliations which most public members had with the political party in power. Elizabeth Radke and two public members were opposed to the practice of appointing members from within a narrow political circle. Other participants either supported the practice or talked about a mix of strengths and weaknesses. Supporters pointed to the Board's increased ability to lobby government on behalf of the College and cited the announcement of funding for campus expansion which was, in their view, the direct result of influence exercised by several public members. Two other persons supported linking college boards with the governing party because colleges are instruments of public policy. Clare Morrison pointed to a weakness when she said

I can see where we might want to do some things to raise hell as an institution and as a Board with the government of the day. But if we are dealing with people of the same stripe who are being put in board positions because of their stripe it becomes impossible to do that (01020211).

Several people mentioned the problems which would result for HCC's Board if the present government was defeated in an election.

The data presented in Table 4 point to the predominance of business and professional people among the public board members who participated in this

study. Several participants indicated there had been a tendency over time at HCC to increase the number of business and professional people on the Board. In particular, there appears to have been a move to recruit people from the more senior levels of business and the professions.

Several board members pointed to the effects which common political affiliations and socio-economic backgrounds had on the composition, perspectives and functioning of the Board. Alex Oberg said "there seems to be a clear attempt to have a broad selection [of professions], but clearly they don't bring, in most cases, a social perspective that might be represented by the NDP" (01060611). Gordon Dombrowsky felt there was tendency among public members to see college employees as "socialists." According to one woman institutional member, these trends have resulted in the Board having

a lot more men than we should have. Even if I was a community board member I wouldn't be included in the golf. I don't meet them at Rotary or sit at their table. I think by virtue of being a woman I am excluded from a lot of that. Before we had a few more women so it was not as easy for men to exclude us (01050512).

Clare Morrison attributed the unanimity which existed on most decision-making issues to the fact that public members "come from almost the same cut of cloth and they often think the same way" (0102020701).

Elizabeth Radke and Gordon Dombrowsky and two public members pointed to changes which had occurred in the way public members perceived and interacted with institutional members. Over time, public members had come to see the employee and student members as full and equal participants in the

Board's work. Gordon Dombrowsky's observation illustrates this theme:

I am pleased with the way I am treated and if they are just doing a show then they are doing a good job and I applaud them on it. Personally and speaking for a group of employees, I think the Board is pretty fair and they are commendable in their treatment of me and institutional board members. They've never made me look bad in public (01050512).

The four members attributed the changes to two factors. As discussed earlier, the bylaws were modified to clarify the role of the institutional members and the practice of having them make reports on behalf of their associations was ended.

Decision-Making Patterns

The decision-making work of HCC's Board can be described by considering two topics: decision issues and decision processes. The minutes of the public sessions for 1987-88 reveal that the decision issues included facilities planning, tuition fees, collective agreements, conflicts of interest policy for employees, academic policy areas referred from Academic Council, policy issues referred by the administration, college goals and program expansion. In the eyes of all participants, a large percentage of the decision issues originated with the college's executive committee, particularly the President. The only significant exception was academic policy items initiated by and referred from Academic Council. Some items came forward from standing committees. Rarely did a board member other than the President or Chairman initiate a decision issue. Alex Oberg's description of the Board's decision-making process reflects many of the comments offered by other participants:

I would guess that 80 percent of the ideas are originated through the executive officers. Where they come from to them, I don't know. They are the funnel through which the ideas come in most cases. From there they come usually as a recommendation from the President under his signature and he has a lot of say obviously about what issues get there. It is on the agenda, and it is presented as a recommendation of the President with the backing of the Executive Officers Committee. Depending on the issue, there will be a lot of debate, no debate, some debate and the decision will be made. Very few times are alternative positions put forward. There is a specific recommendation. Senior administration know that if they give too much information or too many options to board members there is too much discussion, too much going off on tangents and they are afraid that decisions won't come down the way that they want them. In many ways they are skilful in the way they present issues to make sure that they are the ones really making the decision (01060606).

As a general rule, personnel and finance questions received the most attention because, according to Elizabeth, the Board is "there to make sure the Alberta taxpayers are getting their dollars worth" (01030306). Academic policy and program-related matters received much less consideration because the Board saw that the expertise needed for those areas rested with Academic Council.

As Alex Oberg suggested, a draft policy or recommended action was presented to the Board, and in well over 85 per cent of the cases, according to Wayne Allison, it was accepted as presented. When changes were made, they were often minor. Some items were acted upon in one meeting, others were referred to standing committees or back to executive committee or other administrators. Some of the most important issues such as campus expansion had a history of four or more years and were dealt with over that time by one or more of the standing committees with regular updates to the Board. With regard to voting patterns, James Sandstrom pointed out that there is almost always

unanimity as the Board makes decisions, and, in his opinion, this resulted from an institution-wide commitment to the good of the College.

No one expressed any significant reservations with the Board's decision processes although several of the newer public members hoped that it would increasingly streamline its decision making, in Donald Johnston's words, by insisting on

getting a recommendation from the professional, dealing with the recommendations, making a decision, passing it along in an efficient decision-making process. Give the paid staff, the executive staff an understanding of what we want and that we trust their decision-making ability. Give us the pros, give us the cons, give us the opinion and we'll help decide, not rubber stamp, help decide (01061106).

Vincent Davison felt that the Board should continually monitor its activities to ensure that it did not become embroiled in areas of administrative responsibility.

Committees. The Personnel, Finance and Facilities committees were powerful standing committees of the Board. The Personnel Committee, for example, formulated negotiating strategies and bargained with employee groups. The Finance Committee reviewed proposed budgets on a line-by-line basis and brought recommendations to the Board. The Facilities Committee was the primary actor in the planning and lobbying for campus expansion. Table 7 lists each board member's committee memberships and points to the absence of institutional members from the standing committees although they may have served according to the Board's bylaws.

The primary justification for excluding institutional members from these committees was based on conflict of interest. The strongest statement of this

Table 7

Board Committee Memberships, 1987-88

Name	Board Position	Committees*
Jefferies	Chairman	<u>finance, facilities, personnel</u> (ex officio)
Morrison	President	ex officio on all committees
Radke	Academic Staff Member	college day
Eberhardt	Student Member	HCC outstanding employee
Dombrowsky	Non-Academic Staff Member	HCC Foundation Board, college day, distinguished alumni
Oberg	Public Member	<u>facilities</u> , art acquisition
Sandstrom	Public Member	<u>personnel</u> , Academic Council
Kennedy	Public Member	<u>finance</u> , ad hoc committees
Ivaney	Public Member	<u>personnel, facilities</u>
Davison	Public Member	<u>facilities</u> , HCC Foundation Board
Johnston	Public Member	<u>finance</u>
Becker	Public Member	<u>facilities</u>

*standing committees are underlined

position was made by Alex Oberg:

They haven't chosen to [serve on standing committees], and they haven't been asked to. I don't think they should be members of certain standing committees personally. Not because they don't have the ability or the confidence, but because there is a potential for conflict and potential for creating some difficulty in having proper kind of debate and discussion (0106060601).

Additional reasons mentioned by other participants included lack of business experience, lack of political acumen, lack of expertise about the issues, reduced credibility for the committees in the eyes of government, and the likelihood of institutional members focusing on administrative matters.

The institutional members did not agree with their exclusion from the committees although Gordon recognized the time commitment would be a problem for him. He felt institutional members had voluntarily chosen not to seek committee memberships, and he accepted the situation "as long as it [the bylaws] says I could be if I wanted to be. The day they tell me I can't be is the day I will fight to get on any one of the committees" (0105050601). In another context, Gordon indicated it was time to try to get an institutional member on the Facilities Committee. Susan's perspective was very different: "When we were discussing committee memberships the institutional members were passed over; it was made very clear that we would be passed over" (0104040601). Her frustration with the distinction between public and institutional members is reflected in this statement:

I think we have a lot to offer. Just because we have been elected and come through a different way doesn't mean that it is less than a patronage appointment. Obviously there is some good being elected and there is

some good about being appointed. Use them both (0105050601).

Elizabeth felt she should have been able to serve on the Facilities or Finance committee and indicated the former president had blocked her first try for a committee membership:

I made a half-hearted effort to get on the Finance Committee at the last board retreat, and it was the President who had the problem with it. I didn't push it. I got the message that he was somewhat opposed to it and felt I should reconsider. I thought as a new board member, I should reconsider in that respect so I didn't push it at that time (0103030301).

She also indicated plans to actively seek a position on the Finance Committee at the next board retreat.

Not all public board members were in agreement with the practice of excluding institutional members from the standing committees. Robert Jefferies, James Sandstrom, Joan Ivaney, Donald Johnson and Vincent Davison expressed a willingness to have institutional members serve on the Facilities and Finance committees. James said the exclusion "is something that ought to be looked at, and I intend to do it to ensure that they do sit on some of those committees" (0106070601).

The exclusion of the institutional members from the standing committees affected their participation in decision-making. All other board members served on at least one such committee and were able to contribute to the most important decision issues at the formative stage. When recommendations came to the board meetings from the committees, the institutional members did not have the same knowledge as a basis for participation. Wayne Allison made this point most

emphatically when he said: "information is power and there is no question that board members on the standing committees get more information. Members of one committee get more information about what other committees are doing because there is committee cross-talk" (01071409). They also were privy to much less confidential information.

Academic Council

Based on the formula specified in the Colleges Act (1980), Academic Council was made up of eight students, eight faculty members, the President, three vice presidents and four other administrators. Its constitution contained the following statement of purpose:

Academic Council serves as the heart of internal college governance. Its purpose is to provide a forum for dialogue wherein college constituents may debate ideas and concepts leading to the development of academic policies. Council derives its form and function from many bases including a post secondary tradition of collegiality; educational philosophy which emphasizes life-long learning; an organizational model which endorses participation in decision making; and, formal recognition in the College's [sic] Act of Alberta (n.d., p. 1).

In addition, the constitution specified four functions: recommending academic policies to the Board, monitoring the implementation of academic policies, making recommendations to the Board about future program directions, and identifying relevant educational and social trends.

Council met eight times between September 1987 and June 1988. During the course of the year 12 major policy issues were considered including challenge exams, advanced standing, learning resource centres, skills appraisal, admissions

criteria, convocation-graduation and long-range academic planning. The Board received reports from Council at seven of its 10 meetings during the same time period. All of Council's policy recommendations on issues such as grading, challenge exams and skills appraisal were approved as recommended.

While the Council was not a decision-making body, it had substantial influence within the College because the Board deferred to its recommendations about educational matters. In Clare Morrison's view, Academic Council

makes very few to no decisions in our institution but recommends a lot of things to the Board. All of our academic policy is fought out, discussed and hatched, if you like, at Academic Council. If you are in control of the making of academic policy in the institution, there is no question that you have a tremendous impact on the institution (0102021201).

Earl Gordon, speaking from an observer's perspective, offered a complementary view when he said "the Board seems to have taken the view that their job is to manage the finances, the facilities and policies, and for the academic side there is another body, Academic Council, that looks after that" (0109181201).

The positive working relationship which existed between Academic Council and the Board and the recognition given to Council's recommendations had an impact on the faculty and student institutional members' participation and influence in board decision making. The decision issues which fall under Academic Council's mandate are the natural areas of expertise for faculty and student board members. Council, including eight faculty and eight students, gave extensive consideration to educational issues before they were sent to the Board.

Wayne Allison said faculty board members "are left without a special role to play because Academic Council has already expressed their [faculty] view" (0107141201). The same statement could be made about the student board member.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS' ROLE BEHAVIOR

Institutional Members' Participation in Decision Making

There was consensus among public board members and senior administrators that Elizabeth, Susan and Gordon contributed to the Board's decision making by serving as an information source about the college community. They used phrases such as "they bring the perceptions" (0101010501), "they bring a perspective that is different and valuable because of their exposure to educational issues" (0106060501), "they give the feeling to me of what is really going on" (0106070501), and "they serve as a bit of a pulse" (0107140501). The institutional members were recognized as providing information in both the formal board meetings and in social situations where public members may seek information or check perceptions. Their contributions were focused more on educational issues than on financial matters or government relations because these were not their experience base.

Consistent with public members' role expectations, institutional members were seen as speaking and voting as individuals rather than as delegates of

associations. Amy Hansen captured the predominant view when she said

I don't have a sense of these particular people representing a special interest group. I see them as having that as part of their experience but when they sit at the table, I see them attempting to deal with issues as a board member first and foremost (0107130501).

Similarly, they were seen as voting with the rest of the Board even if they expressed reservations or concerns on a particular issue. Wayne Allison offered this interpretation of the institutional members' voting patterns: "It's almost as if they are saying we want you to take our reservations into account, but we are prepared to lend our support given those recommendations" (0107140501). In addition, participants were quite emphatic that institutional members had adhered to the role expectations with regard to confidentiality.

The institutional members' portrait of their own participation was consistent with the descriptions of other board members. Elizabeth talked about "speaking from my understanding of how the faculty would react" (0103030501) and presenting her case as well as she could with supporting reasons. In particular, Elizabeth believed she held positions similar to those of most or all of the other board members:

There have not been any issues since I have been on that I've had to argue at length with or felt strongly enough about that I felt I had to sway the whole group in my direction. What I have generally found is that I've not been a lone voice in the wilderness on anything yet. There are always one or two other people around who are expressing the same kind of view (0103030501).

Gordon saw careful research as central to effective participation: "So long as the Board can see that I have done my homework, persuading them is not too

difficult" (0105050501). He was careful to have contacted and gained the support of one board member--public, institutional or the president--before he raised an issue. Sometimes Gordon made a statement or raised a question to create an opener for Susan if he felt she was uncertain about speaking. Susan said she had not spoken often in meetings and probably spoke less often than most of the other board members. Over time, she became more comfortable talking with board members during the informal activities associated with meetings. As mentioned earlier, the three institutional members guarded against being seen as delegates by having the presidents of their associations present their positions on specific issues directly to the Board during the open delegation time.

Several public members felt that the institutional members did not make the number and quality of contributions which might be expected in light of their knowledge of the College. In addition, Vincent Davison saw a tendency on their part to deal with questions that were really administrative, and they should have been encouraged to concentrate on broader issues. When these perceptions were mentioned to Amy Hansen, she replied that "the two employee members of our Board speak more and with a greater sense of clarity than some of our lay members do" (0107130501). Clearly there was a majority-minority view on the question of degree of participation, and there is no evidence in the interviews or documents which clarifies or explains the differences in perceptions.

Decision-making case 1. Based on the Board's priorities, the most important decision issue during 1987-88 was campus expansion. This area had

been a priority since 1985 and culminated in 1988 with the government approving campus expansion of the type and scale desired by the Board. In Joan Ivaney's view, this decision issue had been largely a board initiative in contrast to other issues which were "internally driven," (0106090603) that is, brought to the Board by senior administration or some other group within the College. The College as a whole and the Board had long felt that HCC had inadequate facilities in relation to other Alberta colleges and in relation to present and potential enrollment. In this context, the Board's Facilities Committee initiated, during 1986, independent market and facilities strategy studies. College personnel from first-level supervisors to senior administrators were surveyed and/or involved in the process. The Board received the facilities development recommendations of the consultants in April 1987. This was part of a major process of formulating clear facilities goals as described by Wayne Allison:

A singlemindedness on the part of the Board wasn't there as the outset of the studies. Different board members felt that we should have . . . [one of three alternatives]. At almost every step of the way it was easy for the Board to be influenced by a subgroup and so a lot of work was done with the studies, and with the consultants through the auspices of the Facilities Committee, to bring the Board together around a common objective (0107140603).

At this stage, the Board through the Facilities Committee developed a political strategy which resulted in the Committee, and, in particular, its Chairman and the Chairman of the Board making direct representations to the Minister of Advanced Education and other elected officials. Senior administrators maintained frequent contact with senior public servants. The Committee presented regular

updates to the Board. It appears that a decision was made in an in-camera meeting sometime between April and July, 1987 to seek the particular type of campus expansion which was subsequently announced by the Minister in April 1988.

A number of factors limited the institutional members' participation in this decision-making issue. First, Elizabeth and Susan joined the Board in mid-1987 and were handicapped by a lack of knowledge of earlier developments. Second, no institutional members sat on the Facilities Committee. Third, discussions of the issue during this year were held in camera, and, thus, the institutional members could not actively seek input from their associations.

On the other hand, the college community knew the Board was actively pursuing campus expansion and was aware of the alternative which had been recommended to government. As a result, the Faculty Association had developed its preferred alternative. Elizabeth voted against the final concept adopted by the Board because it was not acceptable to her personally and not consistent with the Faculty Association's position.

Decision-making case 2. In direct contrast to the campus expansion issue, this case focuses on decision making about an issue brought to the Board from within the College. During the 1986-87 academic year, students from one program appeared before the Board during its open delegation time with a request for a fall convocation because their academic year extended beyond the spring convocation. This student group had not approached the Students'

Association or the college administration before appearing before the Board. The Board granted two convocations in 1987 but launched a review to determine the number of ceremonies per year and whether the ceremony should be a graduation reflecting program completion or a convocation including the appropriate cohort of students without necessarily requiring program completion.

At the August 1987 meeting of the Board, a report was received from senior administration which posed two alternatives: one graduation in the fall or two convocations in April and August. These were referred to Academic Council and the Students' Association, and the issue received extensive discussion at each meeting of Council until February 1988 when a motion was passed to endorse two convocations per year. Later that month the Board accepted Council's recommendation even though some board members strongly supported the graduation concept.

Susan carried the issue to the Students' Association executive, and it became a priority item for the Association. A student survey indicated 65 per cent of the respondents favored convocation. George Munawich, President of the Association, indicated Susan was directed to take a pro-convocation stance. Susan recalled the issue as "a lengthy discussion . . . and I heard discussion on both ends. I lean towards convocation but hearing discussions had to lean towards graduation but then I was swayed back" (0104040605). The Students' Association presented its position at Academic Council, and the Chairman of Academic Council carried the Association's position to the Board as a part of his report.

Susan "made a very clear presentation on behalf of the Students' Association" to the Board (0107130605).

The Faculty Association executive discussed the question but did not take a clear position. In Ross Fast's view, Elizabeth was speaking as an individual on this issue at the Board.

This decision issue is in direct contrast to the campus expansion decision issue. The question was "internally driven" rather than board initiated. The Board referred it to Academic Council because it was a broadly based representative group and students held one-third of the seats. All discussions and decision making took place in open forums thus making it possible for Susan to consult with her Association. The most affected institutional member was able to have direct input, but her contributions only served to confirm the Students' Association's more extensive and direct participation at Academic Council.

Institutional Members' Relationships with Their Associations

While much of the institutional members' role behavior was a part of their board participation, a second major area included their involvement with the executives of their respective associations. As Elizabeth and Gordon talked about this topic, they reported no difficulties maintaining confidentiality. Neither felt any pressure from their executive although, on one occasion, Elizabeth was asked for insider information by the Chairman of her Association's Negotiating Committee. "The only problem you have," according to Elizabeth, "is walking

around knowing all this stuff and hoping nothing slips out" (0103030302). On the other hand, Susan said she found it hard to maintain confidentiality when working with the Students' Association because one major decision issue in 1987-88 would directly affect students in a positive way. She said, "I was bursting to let people know that there was . . . [campus expansion] on the way and that we should start planning for it" (0104040302). Ross Fast, speaking both as an association president and a former board member, suggested that his executive was more accepting of the confidentiality limitation than some individual faculty members might be. Because institutional members were excluded from the Board's standing committees, they were privy to much less confidential information and this limited pressures on them in terms of their interaction with their associations.

The two-way dimension of confidentiality was mentioned by Elizabeth when she pointed out that she had parallel responsibilities to her Association executive because of her knowledge of negotiations issues. The Support Staff Association executive also recognized this two-way dimension and did not discuss negotiations strategy in detail when Gordon was in the meeting.

Elizabeth made a report at each executive meeting of the Faculty Association and was sometimes asked how she voted on a particular issue and her rationale for the vote, but her positions were never challenged. Because she could not report on issues discussed during in-camera meetings, these requests did not establish the accountability relationship that might appear at first glance.

Both Elizabeth and Ross Fast confirmed that her working relationship with

the Association's executive was very positive for a number of reasons. They agreed that her previous involvement with the Association and service to the College were major contributory factors. From Elizabeth's perspective, there was general agreement about

how this Association relates and interacts with the Board, and I think there is a good understanding now by our side anyway . . . [about] what you can expect to find out and what you can not expect to find out (0103030502).

In another context, Ross talked about the Association choosing to work with senior administration rather than the Board because, in his words, "the Executive Officers' Committee provides the true direction within the College. The Board basically follows their recommendations so we aim for the soldiers I guess"

(01081512). This approach reduced the likelihood that the Association's executive would expect Elizabeth to carry a particular issue or position directly to the Board and prevented role conflicts for her. Ross said Elizabeth sometimes swayed the executive because of her personal credibility. In his view, this was a general pattern because the views of the institutional members "tend to be very strong views that have been heard throughout the Association. They tend to be leaders and people listen to them" (0108150502).

Susan was a voting member of the Students' Association General Council. She submitted a written report each month, and there was discussion of it at Council meetings. Susan carried student-related issues from the Board to the Students' Association, but rarely did she do the reverse.

The communications element of Susan's role was affected by a number of

factors including the confidentiality requirements. Susan indicated there was limited communication with the George because, in her perception, he saw her as a threat to his power. George Munawich, President of the Association, felt he did not have access to some of the information he needed to "establish direction for the Students' Association" (0108160502). In addition, the practice of the President of the Students' Association communicating directly with the President of the College or Chairman of the Board created confusion for Susan:

I kind of felt inadequate in the sense of what is my job here then. But then I would excuse it as I'm a representative, I'm there to represent the students not the executive and to make decisions on behalf of the students and I suppose I wrote it off in that light (0104040502).

Gordon and Ken Canning, President of the SSA, agreed Gordon was very powerful within the Association as a result of his personality and service to the College and the Association rather than his board position. Ken described Gordon's unique position within the SSA in this way:

He has something to say about each of the items on the agenda. Gordon has a strong personality so that is quite evident. But when it comes time to vote, he doesn't vote. He goes to the general meetings, the special meetings, all the social functions we put on. I would say he is one of the strongest supporters of SSA we have. He does go out and beat the bushes for members on the negotiating committee when we do need them. He recruits members for the executive. He is more of a board member than he is an executive member, but he participates as much or more than some of our actual executive members (0108170502).

In his board role Gordon was a non-voting ex officio member of the executive. He submitted a written report at each executive meeting as well as the annual general meeting. Effective communication was a very important part of his role definition. For this reason, he sent out five memos to support staff employees

during the year and published articles in the SSA Newsletter.

INFLUENCE PROCESSES

Almost all participants acknowledged influence processes existed. The information they provided can be grouped into two categories: influence processes which were a part of parliamentary-style debate and influence processes which occurred outside of board meetings. Only the latter category will be considered in this section in light of the earlier discussion of decision making. These processes, commonly called lobbying by the participants, occurred infrequently and took one of two forms. First, one board member telephoned another to discuss an issue with a view to building support for his/her position or with a view to jointly formulating a position on an issue. This type of lobbying was often associated with committee members preparing to make presentations to the full Board. Second, a board member actively sought support from his/her peers through discussions before meetings, at breaks or over dinner.

Elizabeth Radke and Susan Eberhardt were less aware of, and not involved in, the lobbying that did go on in contrast to the public members and Gordon Dombrowsky. Elizabeth had never contacted another board member for lobbying purposes and similarly had never been contacted. Susan had not participated in lobbying, but she indicated that sometimes ideas she had expressed during informal discussions with public members were presented by these members as a

part of general board discussions. In addition, she had occasional discussions with Elizabeth, but she saw those as information sharing and clarification rather than trying to persuade the other person. Several board members indicated Susan and Elizabeth were not involved in the limited lobbying that did occur.

In contrast, Gordon, by his own definition, was a very active lobbyist. He cited one case which clearly outlined his strategy:

The information that came to the Board in my mind was incomplete. So I did some homework, filled in the blanks that I didn't feel I should be asking at the Board for a couple of reasons. I phoned a couple of board members and said I have some more information and gave them that and said I think this is a really good idea. Do you support it? Does it sound any better with this information? Yes, yes, that's good, we're with you on that one. I said I'm not prepared to make a motion. I am prepared to speak to a motion once it is made. I don't want to start it, will you? You bet (0105050701).

An additional part of Gordon's strategy was to be selective about which issues to champion as a way of maintaining his credibility. If the issues appeared to be contentious for him as an institutional member, "I will always get my mouthpiece to be a community board member" (0105050701). Gordon consciously avoided Elizabeth and Susan in his lobbying process because he wanted to avoid the perception of delegate status or an institutional bloc. Joan Ivaney, probably one of the public members mentioned by Gordon above, confirmed that she had spoken on behalf of institutional members:

I'll have an institutional member either phone me or take me aside at coffee and say, "What we are talking about here is really bullshit from our perspective. But I can't say anything." At that juncture, I will open my mouth and say that I understand that there are lots of people in the institution who are not too happy with this idea. . . . [President] or . . . [Vice President], can you elaborate or tell us something about that?

Very often we will get into a discussion which will come down on the perspective of the institutional member (0106090701).

Some participants offered explanations for this low level of lobbying which pointed to important features of the Board. Two public members expressed a strong dislike for lobbying because it took valuable time, led to meddling in administrative matters, and distorted individual decision making. Because public members were appointed through a political process and shared similar socio-economic backgrounds, they often saw issues from the same perspective. Public members were not seeking re-election in contrast to their colleagues on hospital or school boards. Lobbying may have declined because of the retirement of one or more pro-lobbying members and the recent appointment of two members who were not fully integrated into the Board at the time of the interviews. In Elizabeth's view, there were not many issues "where one person made a case that is very different from what the majority are making, and he/she is really determined to get them to swing over" (0103030701). Most public members held major corporate/professional and community service roles which meant they had little time or energy for lobbying activities.

Lobbying was almost non-existent in the relationships between institutional members and senior administration, their associations and their college peers. As a general rule, associations did not try to influence their respective board members on particular issues. There were few if any examples of the institutional members' peers approaching them about specific issues. Similarly, there was almost no interaction of this type between the institutional members and the vice

presidents.

CONFLICT

Participants provided little evidence of conflict. Several persons mentioned differing viewpoints, but they did not consider these to be conflict situations because ideas had been expressed in a professional manner. Only two cases were labelled as conflict by the participants because negative feelings and actions accompanied one person being in direct opposition to another. The first one involved two public members of the Finance Committee and resulted from a personality clash and differences in fiscal objectives.

Gordon described a second case which resulted, in large part, from his dual role as an employee and board member. While it occurred about six months before the 1987-88 college year, it is included here because it is the only conflict situation reported by an institutional member. As a result of the Board's review of the budget for one service area, Gordon made this statement in his newsletter to support staff:

[The Board] received an interim report on the . . . [service area], which has managed to reduce its operating budget by \$25,000. A further report was requested in spring 1987. (Note: The report indicates that the savings generally occurred by either reducing the hours worked by, or the hourly rates of, support staff. While the savings are admirable, I wouldn't mind some feedback from the staff as to how/whether these changes have affected the . . . [service area] and themselves) (01050508).

The manager of the area was very displeased with this statement and wrote to

Doug Martel, Clare Morrison's predecessor as college president, questioning Gordon's actions and role, in particular, his request for feedback from support staff in light of the manager's upcoming report to the Board in the spring of 1987. Doug forwarded a copy of the manager's memo to Gordon who replied in writing with a definition of his role; a justification of his intent in this case; a statement of the benefits he gained from the visit to the area and an apology to Doug, the manager, the area staff and the Board for any trouble resulting from his actions. The clear theme in the letter was that such activities were very legitimate for an institutional member. Subsequently, Doug invited Gordon to meet with him and recommended he meet with the manager in question. Gordon felt that Doug remained neutral in the issue. In Gordon's eyes, the manager backed down in their meeting and the issue was ended.

Susan Eberhardt did report some "tension in the air" in her relationships with Gordon Munawich, President of the Students' Association, but there were no specific issues or incidents. Susan felt there was some jealousy on George's part, and he may have seen her board position as a threat to his power. George recognized differences of opinion between them.

There is little direct evidence in the interviews which explains the low level of conflict either within the Board in general or associated with the institutional members' dual roles. The exclusion of institutional members from standing committees and the confidentiality requirements associated with in-camera meetings may have limited conflict situations. By inference, it appears that the

mix of personalities during 1987-88 led to less conflict than during earlier years. In addition, most of the major issues before the Board in 1987-88 were related to growth and development and could be supported by all.

IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

All participants evaluated the impact which Elizabeth, Susan and Gordon had on the Board's functioning and decision making during 1987-88. In Wayne Allison's opinion, this topic was really asking the question: "Would the world be different if they weren't there?" (01071409). Most participants offered lengthy and detailed observations.

Assessments of Impact

The public board members and the President expressed a range of views as they made statements about the institutional members' impact. On one hand, Joan Ivaney said, "They certainly have an impact on me, and I believe they have had an impact on the other people who are deemed to be the influencers on the Board" (01060909). Vincent Davison, on the other hand, expressed a different view:

The Board reacts to what the administration brings to it; not a hell of a lot is initiated at the board level. Unless administration is way off base on an issue or unless it is some minor point that boards like to chew over, the addition of those institutional members has not had much bearing on what comes forth from administration (01061009).

While divergent views do exist in the data, the most common view was that the institutional members had only limited impact as reflected in phrases such as "some fairly subtle influence" (01061109), "board members are influenced considerably [by them] . . . but not very often" (01020209) and "not a great deal with some important exceptions" (01060909). There is no direct evidence which explains the divergence cited above. By inference, the difference may result from the participants' length of term on the Board, professional and community experiences and personal views about administration and governance.

The President and five public members rank ordered the five most influential board members in order to establish a more concrete assessment of impact. They did not place an institutional member in the top five. In addition, the President and three public members pointed out that the three institutional members did not provide that much input. They made statements such as "for the most part, the institutional members have been quite reticent" (01060709), "I don't see them saying as much as they could say" (01060809), and "I think they could bring more information to the Board" (01061109).

In contrast to the other participants, Joan Ivaney provided the most positive assessment of the institutional members' impact. For this reason, it is important to consider her reasons. She relied a lot on Elizabeth, Susan and Gordon and their predecessors for input which gave her a "balanced perspective of what is going on" (01060909). Institutional members, particularly the student, helped Joan focus on the Board's purpose and prevented other members from

becoming too detached. In addition, they acted as a check and balance on administration thus providing a way for her to monitor the implications and accuracy of what is being presented to the Board. Without the institutional members, the Board's decisions would have been of a much lower quality.

Amy Hansen and Wayne Allison, as observers of board dynamics, differed in their views like some of the public board members. Amy quantified her assessment by saying "out of every 100 issues they would probably influence less than twenty per cent. On some specific issues, they would influence 80 per cent" (01071309). She clarified her response by identifying those areas where the institutional members had an impact:

If we are talking about an issue that is personnel related, financial, capital acquisition and those sort of things, I think they feel a little intimidated. Almost those items that fall within the private session of the Board. Where there is something that is a bit more at the local level, maybe a ceremonial thing, maybe something about how we treat students, maybe an in-house type of activity. I would say they are more active (01071309).

Only Amy rated an institutional member as one of the five most influential board members. She indicated Gordon was one of several people who fell in fifth place, depending on the issue. Wayne, on the other hand, thought the institutional members were influential, but his justification was philosophical in nature and will be dealt with in a later section.

The institutional members' assessments of their own impact also varied.

Clearly Gordon believed he had meaningful impact:

I prefer to be active, and, as a result, they have to recognize me as being active and credible. So I have an impact. My impact depends entirely on the issue. Generally instructional things, policy-type things, I think I can

make an impact, more opportunities to revitalize ourselves, instructional development (01050509).

His perspective is consistent with the views of a number of public members who considered him to be the most influential of the three institutional members.

Susan saw herself as a symbolic reminder of the Board's purpose: "My impact on the Board was someone to look at and allow the members to remember who they are working for. At times members would look in my direction and see whether I had a look of disapproval or approval" (01040409). Elizabeth saw the nature of the position resulting in her having

minimal impact on the decisions of the Board. I probably accept that given, being one member, first of all, and being an institutional member, number two. Not that I'm faculty. I don't think that has anything to do with it, it's just that I'm an institutional member. Your impact is more than a figurehead, its more than tokenism but I'm not sure sometimes if it is a whole lot more (01030309).

Ross Fast and Ken Canning, presidents of the two employee associations, were confident institutional members had significant impact. In Ross's view, "they play, by their very presence, a public conscience. [If they weren't there,] the president and the institution would have a free rein. I think that their presence is sufficient to change the atmosphere" (01081509). His response was based both on his experience as a board member and President of the Faculty Association and hence was not limited to the 1987-88 year. Based on informal feedback from public board members, Ken Canning believed, "The public members do feel that Gordon has something significant to say to the Board. He doesn't have the experience that some of the public members have, but they do

take his concerns to heart" (01081709).

George Munawich indicated the student board representative was one element of, and inseparable from, the Students' Association's participation in the administration and governance of the College. He said the students' contributions to Academic Council and the periodic meetings between his executive and the Board and senior administration were equally important. In George's view the Association was very influential in the College because of the student-oriented nature of the institution.

Factors Affecting Impact

Each participant discussed the factors that positively or negatively affected the impact of the three institutional members. The first group of factors relate to personal, social, experience and expertise characteristics of the public and institutional members. Clearly Gordon was very outgoing and did not feel intimidated by the style and accomplishments of the public members, and this accounts, in part, for the recognition that he was the most influential of the three members. Susan, in her view and in the view of other respondents, was intimidated. Elizabeth appeared to be a quiet person, but, in James Sandstrom's opinion, she "is so well respected that when she does say something she is well listened to" (01060709).

A number of respondents pointed to differences in social characteristics between the public and institutional members and said these differences had

negatively affected the institutional members' potential for impact. Clare Morrison spoke forcefully about this point:

I think the barrier they [public members] set up sometimes is that they are pretty imposing people in the way they speak and their background. That is the greatest barrier I would see. Feelings of insecurity with high profile people (01020209).

Alex Oberg made a similar point: "some of them [institutional members] feel a little intimidated because they feel the outside people are more important, and their contribution is not as important" (01060609). Similarly, Joan Ivaney saw the same social differences at work: "we are talking about somebody [the student member] who may be 18 or 19 years old and in the bear pit with the . . . [a public member] of the world who has made zillions of dollars. They are fifteen strata apart" (010609009). Elizabeth pointed to the status hierarchies which exist in society and which were reflected in the Board:

I guess if I wanted to maximize my influence I would go out and get myself a law practice or a standing elsewhere other than being in education. I see that as a reality and something that comes with the profession. I am not saying I agree with that necessarily. I think it is a reality of the situation, and it is probably a reflection of the society as a whole (01030309).

Likewise Gordon confirmed the significance of socio-economic status when discussing his participation in decision making about the campus expansion: "I have no impact. I don't golf with the Premier. I don't know the Minister of Advanced Education or his executive assistant" (01050509).

The experience and expertise differences between the two groups of board members were perhaps as dramatic as the social differences. While comparisons

are difficult to make, an examination of the backgrounds of the public members suggests that six of the eight public members had professional, entrepreneurial or community experience equal to or approaching that of a college president. This pattern is to be expected in light of the Board's very deliberate practice of recommending individuals to the Minister of Advanced Education who shared a similar worldview and could make a contribution to the work of the Board. It is not surprising then that six people mentioned a lack of experience and expertise as having limited the impact of institutional members. They made statements such as "they don't have the outside experience" (01061009), "many of the issues . . . are not within the experience of certain of the institutional members" (01060709), and "all three positions suffer . . . [from] the lack of the big picture on an ongoing basis" (01071309).

Five of the factors identified by participants reflect the organizational processes of the Board and the College. As discussed earlier, the Board had delegated, in recent years, all instruction-related policy development to Academic Council. This indirectly limited Elizabeth's, and to a lesser extent Susan's and Gordon's, opportunity to be influential in their natural areas of expertise.

The exclusion of institutional members from standing committees of the Board has been discussed in earlier sections, and five participants, other than the institutional members, mentioned this was a limiting factor. In this context, Clare Morrison pointed to the effect exclusion has:

I think we have isolated those people by not having them on the subcommittees of the Board; they are often not very knowledgeable about

issues, the real issues. They get the superficial stuff that comes in the motion from the Facilities Committee but they really haven't been involved in the guts of the stuff that gave rise to that (01020209).

Joan Ivaney made the same point and described the exclusion as a "great disadvantage."

It is possible that the presence of the President as a full board member and the participation of the vice presidents in all board meetings also served to reduce the institutional members' impact, especially in the case of the employee members. Three public members offered this as part of their explanation, but the Elizabeth, Gordon and Susan did not. Gordon's comment in another context about using a public member as his mouthpiece on certain issues may be related, in part, to this factor.

Two other factors which are not part of the above two categories were identified by Elizabeth Radke and Wayne Allison. First, Elizabeth said the impact of institutional members was shaped by the nature of the relationships between the respective associations and the Board and the College's administration. Positive relationships could enhance the influence of an institutional member, and, correspondingly, negative relationships could weaken an institutional member's impact. Whenever such relationships were mentioned, they were described as positive in 1987-88.

Second, Wayne Allison identified a limiting factor which is related to the conflict of interest issue. If employee members were too vocal or forceful about any issue affecting their constituency, they ran the risk of being seen or acting as

delegates and, thus, undermining their credibility with the rest of the Board. In his view, institutional members "do restrain themselves from expressing a strong view whereas public members are unrestrained in their expression of views, whether they are well informed or not" (01071409). In other words, institutional members continually balanced their degree of involvement on any issue with their long-range goal of maximizing their credibility with their board peers. By seeking to optimize the latter, according to Wayne's argument, they may have weakened their impact on any given issue.

EVALUATION OF INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION

In addition to considering the impact which Elizabeth, Susan and Gordon had on the Board's functioning and decision making during 1987-88, most participants evaluated institutional participation in college governance from a generic perspective. In several cases, participants offered suggestions for improvements.

The President and all public members endorsed institutional participation fully or with varying degrees of reservations. Institutional members provided communication from the Board of Governors to the college community which increased the credibility of the Board because of the greater information flow. They provided a valuable source of input for decision making because they were in a good position to anticipate the impact of board decisions. A spirit of

collegiality within the College was strengthened by staff and student participation in governance. Donald Johnston said institutional participation provided a way for public members to determine if "there is cohesion between the administration and the staff representatives" (01061110). In addition, Joan Ivaney argued that institutional members were able to provide more objective input than presidents of associations because they were less tied by role to particular political postures on issues. Other comments were general in nature.

Of the reservations expressed by the President and the public members, the most cogent points were made by Alex Oberg and James Sandstrom. Alex saw strengths in the process, but he also felt there were two major weaknesses which adversely affected governance. First, the presence of institutional members in board meetings limited full disclosure on budgets, negotiations and other matters because "there is concern about what some of the institutional board members will hear and how they will use that information" (01060610). As a result of this concern, the institutional members' "involvement in certain parts of board meetings stifles the ability for open and free discussion on issues that are extremely important to the Board and the College. It is extremely important to have free and open debate" (01060610). Like Alex Oberg, Clare Morrison thought the presence of institutional members inhibited public members when they joined the Board, but she saw this as a temporary hurdle which individual members struggled with. Second, Alex Oberg believed that the Board received less input from the associations because they falsely concluded their interests were

being adequately represented by staff and student members on the Board. The other concrete reservation was expressed by James Sandstrom who, while supporting institutional participation as a process, wanted to see more definitive conflict of interest guidelines which would have resulted in institutional members leaving board meetings while certain topics were discussed.

Amy Hansen and Wayne Allison, speaking as vice presidents and observers of board dynamics, provided insights which were different from those of public members and placed significant value on institutional participation. Amy spoke of her experiences in colleges in another province and observed that HCC had the best atmosphere because of the various opportunities for participation in decision making which existed at the College. She spoke of institutional participation as a pressure or release valve because the institutional members'

constituent groups know there is a voice in the private session. Everybody has access to the public session so I guess you could say that's there anyway, but the truth of it is that you've got representation, you've got a voice, you've got some kind of valve that is there in the private session (01071310).

In addition, Amy said institutional members limited arbitrary action on the part of college administrators because they acted as a check and balance at the board level. Similarly, Wayne spoke of institutional members as a check and balance on administration and indicated their presence meant administrators had to make sure their presentations to the Board were credible in the eyes of the internal members thus reducing the potential for a "management filter" coloring the information received by the Board.

Elizabeth, Susan and Gordon endorsed institutional participation as a governance process, but provided only limited evaluative reactions to it. Elizabeth, like the vice presidents, spoke of checks and balances and the reduced likelihood of decision making in a vacuum. The contributions of institutional members served as a context for decision making because they could speak to the outcomes or impact of particular decision alternatives. Susan recommended greater orientation for all board members but particularly for the student member in light of the one-year term.

Ross Fast and George Musawich evaluated institutional participation in a positive light. Both Ross and George made reference to the composition of boards at Alberta technical institutes and recommended two members from their groups serve on college boards. Both expressed the same rationale suggesting that two members would be more able to reflect the diversity of views within their associations. George suggested that one of the two members be the president of the Students' Association so the information barriers created by the Board's confidentiality rules would not be a factor for the individual in his/her presidential role.

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented data about the participation of faculty, student and support staff representatives on the Board of Governors at Henday

Community College during the 1987-88 college year. Each was appointed to the board position by the Minister of Advanced Education after being nominated by his/her associations. They were given a short formal orientation to the role, and they reported a number of informal ways they had learned about the role expectations.

The institutional members shared the same responsibilities as all other board members. They received additional expectations resulting from their roles as representative of a group, employee or student, and executive member of their associations. In essence, they were expected to reflect the views and concerns of their constituents while acting as an individual member independent of their groups. There was general agreement about the nature of their role among all participants. Concerns about conflict of interest were significant, but no problems existed during 1987-88.

Institutional members had equal opportunity to participate in decision making at the board level, but their exclusion from standing committees limited their knowledge base and denied them an opportunity to contribute to the formulation of policy recommendations at the committee level. Similarly, Academic Council was an effective mechanism of internal governance and thus indirectly reduced the opportunity for institutional members to shape decision making about educational issues.

By virtue of their board positions, the faculty, student and support staff

appears that largely unstated expectations and understandings had evolved which made it possible for institutional members to serve their associations without being placed in situations of conflict.

Lobbying and conflict, as political processes, were present within the Board, although at a low level. Only the support staff member was an active lobbyist, and there were no reports of conflicts involving institutional members during the 1987-88. The numerous explanations for the low levels of lobbying and conflict can be related to the composition and decision-making processes of the Board and the nature of part-time, politically appointed public members.

While institutional members were seen as making a valuable contribution to the Board, they were not deemed to be particularly powerful despite their knowledge of the College. Their impact was limited by personal and social factors as well as the dynamics and processes of the Board. Similarly, institutional participation as a governance process was seen in a positive light, but, in general terms, it was not valued as highly by the public members as the institutional members or the presidents of the associations.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY 2: THOMPSON COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Interviews were conducted at Thompson Community College (TCC) in May 1988. The ten board interviewees are identified in Table 8, and the six non-board interviewees--senior administrators and association presidents--are listed in Table 9. Dennis Pearson, the support staff member of the Board, was interviewed, but he subsequently withdrew from the study; for this reason, no mention is made of this position.

The organization and presentation of interview and documentary data in this chapter parallel Chapter 5. The recruitment and socialization of institutional members are considered with particular emphasis on the role expectations set by other board members and the presidents of the associations. Each institutional member's contribution to the Board's decision-making activities is portrayed in relation to some of the essential characteristics of the Board. Subsequent sections describe the faculty and student board members' relationships with their associations and their experiences with conflict and influence processes. The chapter concludes with two evaluative sections: the first considers the impact of the faculty and student members and the second examines institutional

Table 8

Thompson Community College Board of Governors

Name	Board Position	Date of Appointment/ Re-appointment	Length of Term
Duane Lundgren	Chairman	1982 1985	3 years 3 years
Colin Davey	President	1981	-
Robert Faulkner	Academic Staff Member	1987 1988	1 year 1 year
Rod Michakeski	Student Member	1987	1 year
Dennis Pearson	Non-Academic Staff Member	1986	2 years
Blair Clark	Public Member	1985	3 years
Doug Levanon	Public Member	1984 1987	3 years 3 years
Sean Gibson	Public Member	1984 1987	3 years 3 years
Ina Kearney	Public Member	1985	3 years
Garth Nielsen	Public Member	1987	3 years
David Hyska*	Public Member	1987	3 years

*Mr. Hyska was not interviewed.

Table 9

Thompson Community College Non-Board Participants

Name	Position	Date of Election/ Appointment to Position
Larry Michetti	Vice President Instruction	1980
Bryce Fullerton	Vice President Academic Services	1984
Frances Perkins	Vice President Student Services	1987
Blake Parkes	President Faculty Association	1987
Maureen Hollinger	President Students ' Association	1987
Malcolm Lockwood	President Support Staff Association	1987

participation as a governance process.

BECOMING AN INSTITUTIONAL BOARD MEMBER

Each year the Faculty Association nominated one of its members to the

_____ of its annual elections.

The Students' Association followed a similar practice. Both associations defined the term of office as one year. The Faculty Association set a maximum of two one-year terms for its representatives.

Roberta Faulkner, the faculty board member, was nominated for the position after the elections of April 1987 and April 1988. In 1987 there were two other candidates while in 1988 she was elected by acclamation. Roberta, like most faculty board members at TCC, had been active in the Association before her nomination. Blake Parkes, President of the Faculty Association, stated that the Association had always sought to nominate someone to the position who would be credible in the eyes of the Board:

We try and get someone in there who we think is going to be able to speak well with the Board and develop some degree of respect at the board table. I think [credibility results from] a combination of long service, possibly having, as in Roberta's case, served in an administrative position. Just generally active with the Association but not seen as a trouble maker (02081401).

The constitution of the Students' Association provided for a two-week nomination period in March followed by a campaign period of equal length. Several people ran for the position in 1987 and Rod Michaleski campaigned actively. He was very well-known in the College having been a student there since 1985 and having served on 26 committees for the Association and the College during the 1986-87 college year. According to Maureen Hollinger, President of the Students' Association, this position "is usually one of the most contested positions because it is seen as the position where a student can make the most difference with the way the College is run" (02081501).

LEARNING TO BE AN INSTITUTIONAL BOARD MEMBER

Formal Socialization

The Board and administration of TCC did not hold any formal orientation activities for new public or institutional members. Several public members said they got their appointment letter from the Minister of Advanced Education, received a telephone call and an agenda package from the board secretary, and then attended their first meeting with no previous contact with the Board or College. This lack of formal orientation resulted from a conscious choice on the part of the Colin Davey, the President, because

I want to avoid the appearance of, particularly with the institutional members, trying to get them on side or trying to coerce or bring any pressure on them. I think the Board's secretary does a great deal in the background, and they go to her much more often than they go to me. I think that is a good way to go. They find out but don't feel that I am getting in there as the heavy to tell them how to behave as board members (02020204).

Colin extended a general invitation to new members to meet with him but few did. Some new members were given a tour of the College early in their term. For a number of years, the Board's annual retreat in September served as an important orientation activity because it included topics such as the responsibilities of a board member, board governance and goal setting. The timing of the retreat was useful for new institutional members because it occurred early in their terms, but some public members who were appointed as vacancies arose had to wait a number of months before the next retreat. Several public and institutional members identified the annual provincial board of governors conference

as valuable for them, but they did not cite specific topics or ideas.

Informal Socialization

Most of the information provided by participants about informal socialization can be related to Colin Davey's observation that "the way board members learn about the Board is by sitting in on meetings" (02020204). In his view, it took a year or two for them to learn the language of the College and specific areas such as finance. Public members had to learn how the College works and the employee members had to learn how to see the College from a board and college-wide perspective. Three public members made related observations about socialization through watching and learning. Blair Clarke said

I attended every meeting, and I tried to observe as much as I could and absorb as much as I could. It was an awful lot to absorb; I feel I am still new and it is three years (02060604).

Ina Kearney recognized:

there is an attempt at [retreats to] involve new board members in understanding their role, [but] it is a quite awhile after before they feel comfortable enough to express some of their points of view and be involved in the ongoing discussion (02060904).

Based on less than one year's experience as a board member, Garth Nielsen was frustrated with watching and learning:

I think the first major experience was being lost from the point of view of having a very efficient organization, lots of background material provided. There was no real involvement for me. It would be very easy to sit on a board like that and not contribute anything because the information is there. I had difficulty getting a grasp of [the role of a board member] which is always the way when you are around professional people because they tend to take everything for granted (02061004).

Roberta and Rod commented about their initial experiences as board members as an indirect way of recalling informal socialization. Roberta quickly mentioned "the most devastating first experience" (02030304) which occurred when she was asked by the President to leave for one agenda topic during her first meeting. A possible grievance involving the Faculty Association was being discussed in camera, and she was told there was a conflict of interest because she was a member of the executive of the Faculty Association. On the other hand, Roberta was asked soon after being appointed to serve on a committee with the President and a public member to plan the program for the Board's retreat. This she found puzzling because she was very new. These two incidents early in Roberta's term contributed to her impression that Colin Davey had sent "very mixed signals and this has been a little confusing. One minute you can be a full member and the next minute you are faculty. Very mixed signals" (02030304).

Rod's recollections of his first six months were also vivid. He felt his previous involvement in student and college affairs gave him a knowledge base which he could have contributed to the Board's decision making. Rod recalled:

I didn't realize that if you had information or if you wanted to question that those things weren't really desired. I was involved in so many things so I had a lot of background and understanding of things and if something was done here how it would affect different areas. It took a few meetings to realize that you don't bring this information because it was definitely information that wasn't to be spread around (02040404).

In addition, Rod was called into the President's office early in his term to discuss an issue regarding faculty salaries which had been before the Board. He had spoken out at a board meeting because "I didn't really like the way some of

the public members were speaking about the faculty in front of the faculty, in front of the staff" (02040404). From Rod's perspective, Colin Davey provided background about the particular issue and said he "was out of line for telling this person off" (02040404).

Participants who were not board members reported little socialization activity. The presidents of the associations, along with Roberta and Rod, did not mention their organizations doing anything to convey role expectations to the two individuals. Only one of the College's vice presidents was so involved. Larry Michetti reported meeting informally with both the new student and faculty members because as a former instructor, faculty board member and Faculty Association president he wanted to share his insights and maintain contact with students and faculty. Three main themes underlie the observations he shared with them. A student or faculty board member should be aware of all student and program groups within the College so that he or she can reflect the whole group not just one specific area. A faculty or student member should be sure to speak about his/her whole constituency and reflect the diversity within that constituency. He encouraged them to be both assertive and effective.

ROLE EXPECTATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

General Role Expectations

Many of the role expectations for institutional members were expressed in

relation to expectations for all board members. The President and the public board members spoke of the Board setting policy, providing education in harmony with community needs, ensuring sound financial management, acting as trustees for the government and preparing long-range financial plans. Roberta and Rod emphasized decision making for the betterment of the College and, in particular, seeking out relevant information when it was needed. The presidents of the associations offered a complementary set of responsibilities which included maintaining the College's quality of education and service to the public, establishing policy, monitoring the performance of college administrators, protecting the integrity of the institution and acting as intermediaries between the College and the government.

Role Senders

Documentary sources. Role expectations in this category exist in two forms: sector- and system-wide documents from the provincial government and the bylaws of the associations. The Faculty Association identified three responsibilities for its board member: respect the Board's bylaws; provide information to the Association and, where possible, "elaborate on discussions surrounding Board business and decisions"; and consult with the Association and "convey to the Board the points of view and interests of the Association members" (TCC Faculty Association, 1985, p. 4). The Students' Association's constitution listed four expectations paralleling those of the Faculty Association. These include

attending and making reports to various association meetings, distributing board minutes, and "consult[ing] with and inform[ing] Students' Council on all matters at the Board level pertaining to student affairs" (TCC Students' Association, n.d., p. 4).

Public members and the President. The following quotations reflect the major role expectations stated by the President and the public members:

The institutional members represent a special interest group, but I don't see their position as any different from any board member because every board member is interested in the well-being of the College. In that respect, they have to separate themselves from the individuals they represent to a certain amount, but they have to go back to their constituents and say this is why we are doing this and to keep them informed which is what any board member does. - Lundgren (02010103)

They are there as members of the group with a viewpoint that comes from being a member of the group, but they are not there to represent constituents in the sense of an accountability back to them. The faculty member will often say now I haven't consulted my Association, but here's my opinion. That's what we are after. - Davey (02020203)

I think they are supposed to be the same as the public board members. There may be things that we as public members do not realize or do not see which they live with on a day-to-day basis. They shouldn't show favoritism toward their side. I'd like to see them to straight down the middle. - Clarke (02060603)

I think they serve a purpose because they give us the other side. Some of us are businessmen . . . [and we] are successful because we cut corners and don't really consider who it is affecting. They bring to our attention that there are some human beings out there that maybe need a little different treatment - Levanon (02060703)

Four complementary themes exist in these statements and in other expressed by the public members and the President. Institutional members should hold the same responsibilities as public members, and these revolve around the well-being

of the College as a whole. They were recognized as having to balance the two roles of board member and association member but the former should be given precedence. Faculty and student members should fulfill their role by reflecting their group's views and interests rather than being accountable to the associations. Employee and student members should serve as a medium of two-way communication between the Board and the college groups.

Conflict of interest. The Board's bylaws contained two clauses about conflict of interest which were general in content and applied to all members with no specific reference to internal members. No definition of what constituted a conflict of interest was provided. Board members were responsible for declaring a conflict prior to the discussion of an issue and their abstention from voting was recorded in the minutes.

Role expectations regarding conflict of interest for the faculty board member were clearly defined by the practice of requiring Roberta to leave when negotiations with the Faculty Association were discussed and similarly when a grievance involving the Association was discussed, as mentioned earlier. In contrast, Rod was a full participant in the discussions about tuition fee increases despite the fact that the issue was of direct personal significance to him and the members of his Association. The student board member was not mentioned by participants in their discussion of this topic.

There was no policy base for excluding the faculty board member at certain times, and it appears Colin Davey set and enforced the expectation. While Duane

Lundgren, Chairman, indicated the institutional members chose to leave the meetings, Colin said

occasionally, at the beginning of someone's term, they don't know enough to get up and leave. Either the chairman of the board or I will point out to them that maybe they should leave. At times they don't understand that. Various members use their own discretion and use it well. Some don't (0202020301).

Other board members except Rod supported the practice as did one vice president, Larry Michetti. Their justifications centered around the institutional members' involvement with the executive of their associations which made them a part of the vested interests of that association. In addition, there seemed to be a sincere desire to protect institutional members from awkward situations as suggested in Duane's comment: "my concern is not that they are going to leak information to their group or anything like that. It's the pressure that puts them under which is unfair" (0201010301). Only Sean Gibson qualified his support for the existing practice by saying the employee members had a common interest with their peers and not a direct, individual interest which he saw as the essence of conflict of interest. Several public members were unaware that this was a significant source of irritation for Roberta and Rod.

Frances Perkins, Vice President, and Blake Parkes, President of the Faculty Association, were the only participants, other than Roberta and Rod, to question the status quo. Both believed the current practice conveyed a message of lack of trust:

individual's willingness and ability to maintain confidentiality. I think it is wrong. It is my understanding that the Minister does not feel that it is necessary (0208140301).

Presidents of the associations. Blake Parkes said the faculty board member was responsible for

ensuring that the members of the Board have a good understanding of the faculty views, faculty perspectives. I don't see the board member as being an advocate. I see the board member bringing those views to bear and then in voting, presenting one vote which presumably, will be in support of the faculty attitude, perspective (02081403).

Blake's commitment to Roberta's autonomy is revealed in the statement: "I have never and I don't think I ever would feel right in asking Roberta to take a particular position at the Board" (02081403). Roberta very clearly had received a message of independence from Blake and the Association:

They have made it very clear what the role is. They couldn't be better as far as saying you are totally autonomous. Whatever I do in there [the board room] I do as an individual, and I'm not accountable to them. I don't take forward their position. I think they have worked that out over the years (02030303).

Neither Roberta nor Blake knew the origins of this general consensus within the Faculty Association which was the basis for this commitment to autonomy. Roberta felt that it could be attributed to trust in her because of her involvement in college and association committees and activities. Blake felt that faculty board members understood faculty perspectives without direction, given

the kind of people who are selected. There are no guarantees and no written rules. Typically the faculty member on the Board is a long-serving member who has been part of this system for many years and who has

Neither the Association's executive nor faculty at large expected Roberta to deal with their workplace problems. The executive acted on behalf of its members and worked directly with the executive of the College when such situations occurred.

Maureen Hollinger, President of the Students' Association, said the question of role expectations for the student board member constituted a "wonderful gray area" (02081503). From her perspective, "students vote for that person to be on the Board of Governors as a student advocate to take the viewpoints and concerns of students from the concourse, the meeting areas to the Board" (02081503). On the other hand, she was convinced the Board didn't want a student voice

representing the opinions of a group of people. They want one person stating his/her own opinion. There has been a lot of flack over the years because some representatives have been very vocal and refused to be intimidated by the Board so they end up not being listened to at all, just pushed off to the side (02081503).

Maureen and her executive did not suggest positions to Rod about issues; they only asked that he attend general council meetings so that he could be well informed about student concerns.

Institutional Members' Role Definitions

Roberta defined her role as acting independently of her Association while reflecting a faculty view:

I think institutional members have the same responsibilities as any other board member. I don't believe I should be [an advocate of the faculty] in

total involvement, the total implications of any decisions. I think I have a responsibility to flag any area where it hasn't gone through proper channels, where people aren't aware, where I will have some concern that a wrong decision is going to be made (02030303).

Her comment about thinking in institutional terms is consistent with the public members' role messages for her. In addition, she said a new faculty board member must be knowledgeable about, either through previous experience or research, Academic Council, the President's leadership style, the priorities and activities of the Faculty Association, and the Board's recent decisions.

Rod, like Roberta, defined his role in terms of independence from his Association:

The Students' Association can ask me questions and this type of thing, but I vote on how I feel. I can not vote how the students want. I am not a delegate. I am a trustee. The information I got from the Minister of Advanced Education when I was appointed made it quite clear that I wasn't a delegate, I was trustee. It seemed reasonable (02040403).

In addition, Rod's personal role definition included references to his understanding of the Board's dynamics. Regardless of how outspoken or inquiring he thought he could and should have been, he recognized "that the Board is very strongly behind the President, that if they are not behind the President they are pretty much telling him they don't want him anymore" (02040403). It appears Rod had to redefine his role over time because the Board's support for the President made it impossible for him to take the activist position he had originally favored.

Eight of the public members, the vice presidents and the presidents of the

definitions. In the case of the faculty member, there were no differences among the role expectations sent to Roberta, her role definition and the participants' perceptions of her role definition. She was seen as thinking in institutional rather than interest group terms. Larry Michetti said Roberta had

very definitely made the effort, and quite successfully, to deal with the broader perspective. At the same time she has been quite a good resource to the Board in terms of being able to respond and say here's how the faculty will feel about, or would receive, such a direction (02071103).

Blake Parkes's assessment of Roberta's role definition was highly congruent with her view. By citing Roberta's action with regard to one particularly difficult decision-making case, Sean Gibson inferred that Roberta took an institutional perspective: "If she had been there as a lay person, I am sure she would have taken the same position" (02060803). With regard to perceptions of Rod's role definition, little information was offered, but Larry Michetti and several others felt Rod's actions on occasion suggested a delegate or advocate definition.

THE BOARD AS A DECISION-MAKING GROUP

This section provides background information about the Board by describing some of the attitudes and opinions of board members, their working relationships, general decision-making patterns, the work of the Board's committees and Academic Council's role in relation to the Board. These topics provide many of the contextual factors relevant to understanding Roberta's and

Perspectives and Interactions

The public members of the Board were united by a common political background. While data were not gathered about individual public members' political affiliations, it is clear from their comments that at least five of the six were members of the provincial Progressive Conservative Party. The six public members did not express any strong opposition to board appointees being drawn from the governing party although Blair Clarke saw it as unnecessary and Garth Nielsen felt it was a weakness in general terms but not for TCC's Board as he knew it. Sean Gibson and Ina Kearney were convinced the board members' party involvement was a base for lobbying government to, in Ina's words, "at least provide some of the financial wherewithal to meet the objectives of the College that are in place" (02060911). Sean cited the case of the campus expansion project as one time when public members had been able to use their influence for the College's benefit. Colin Davey, Roberta Faulkner and Rod Michaleski supported the existing appointment process because public members with affiliations to the governing party had the potential to seek resources for the College. Roberta believed "smart" colleges guide the appointment process to make sure they have board members who are proactive in lobbying, and the "dumb" colleges have sought people who are self-made and respected but don't have a lot of political clout. She saw TCC as being somewhat in the latter group, and she was convinced "we need much stronger board members, people who have a lot more connections" (02030311).

Four public members offered comments about a number of other topics which revealed some of their attitudes and opinions about the College and the Board. Ina Kearney felt that Colin Davey, as President, "has become the Board and this is really unfortunate" (02060911). Sean Gibson thought there should be more board involvement in some issues such as the work of the Finance Committee. In addition, he mentioned that there had been too many public members with direct or indirect ties to education when he joined the Board, and "I spoke to my MLA about it and since then I notice that about two-thirds of the public members are really public members" (02060812). When comparing the College's Board with the local city council and other boards, Sean felt it sought and received more input from employees than he had ever seen before and this practice "has its good points and it has its weaker ones of course" (02060814). Garth Nielsen saw the Board as being different from a town council because members were not seeking re-election, there were fewer contentious issues, and the input from administrative staff was of high quality. In the context of a discussion of the layoff of three instructors, Doug Levanon expressed the view that the College and the Board were most fair:

If you are working for the private sector and you are filling bags of potatoes and all of a sudden there are no potatoes to fill those bags, we are not going to keep you on staff until we get some more potatoes (02060712).

In Roberta's view the public members of the Board did not understand the nature of the educational organization they were leading:

They are really much more into an autocratic boss-employee situation. Many of them are self-employed businessmen and have had limited

exposure to anything that is different. It is just that we live in an entirely different world than most of the public board members. The board members really don't have the background, don't understand some very basic things such as the collegial model, the organizational structure of the College, their role (02030312).

In particular, Roberta was most concerned about the Board's lack of knowledge about its role, and the administration's failure to provide leadership in helping them understand. She pointed out how her attitudes toward the Board had changed: "So I think I went from looking at them as not doing their job to having a bit more empathy as not knowing what their job really is" (02030312). She felt that there were negative attitudes toward the faculty and its Association among the public members, and "the animosity I feel toward the faculty is fostered, maybe not intentionally, by the administration" (02030312).

Rod's opinions paralleled Roberta's in some ways. In general, he felt the Board was not active enough in promoting the development of the College and its mandate within the region. Some public members were content "as long as we are providing education and we are within budget" (02040412) while others conscientiously tried to maximize educational opportunities within the budget limitations. Rod also noted negative attitudes toward faculty. In short, he felt that "there should be more of a responsibility to this [board membership] and it should be less prestigious and more work" (02040412).

The Board as a decision-making group was influenced by the nature of the interaction among board members. It is clear from the comments of public and institutional members that Colin Davey was seen as a strong president and that

the public members gave him almost unqualified support. Roberta indicated public members

have said we can't disagree with the President or we are really saying that we no longer have faith in his administration. They have made that quite clear that they have a sense or a feeling that they have to endorse his decisions (02030312).

Rod saw the President and the public members' reaction to him in much the same light:

I felt there was one person who was directing, leading, giving information and really expecting rubber stamping. [As a result,] I felt the public members weren't getting information and weren't really asking for more information to make an informed decision (02040412).

According to Colin, the presence of the vice presidents at the board table intimidated the institutional members and some public members who felt they were not as knowledgeable about the issues as those people who were full-time administrators. Roberta confirmed Colin's statement: "I'd like to get at the truth but at the same time I don't want to particularly embarrass anyone or put anyone on the spot. It doesn't facilitate good dialogue when they are there" (02030314). Most public members had met or knew of each other before they joined the Board, largely through Progressive Conservative Party connections. The public and institutional members did not develop a close working relationship because they did not have this prior contact and because the internal members had a shorter term of office. Colin indicated that during 1987-88 there were several times when the Board split into two factions because the institutional members and one public member voted against the other board members. This

public board member was a former faculty member; her presence was an irritant for Colin, but Roberta and Rod saw her as a source of support.

Decision-Making Patterns

A review of the Board's minutes for 1987-88 indicates there were only two major decision issues--campus expansion and operating budget--during that year. Policies were adopted in three areas: nepotism, personnel records/files and sexual harassment. These appear to have been dealt with in one meeting, and the policies were presented to the Board in draft form from administration. Much of the Board's activity centered on receiving reports, correspondence and information items as well as approving tenure, administrative and committee appointments. Three participants provided comprehensive overviews of the Board's decision-making process such as the following statement from Rod:

An agenda item comes up, the President speaks to it, it's open for discussion, frequently there is a leading question from the Chairman to help clarify certain points so information can be directed at the people who might not understand. Of course the information presented all supports the original presentation and then a motion is made to support the recommendation or the position the President has taken or wants to take and a vote is called and it has always been passed (02040406).

Roberta and Larry Michetti confirmed Rod's description. Larry pointed out that many of the decision issues were routine annual occurrences for which the Board relied heavily on the input of administration.

Committees. The Board had three major standing committees: Finance, Facilities and Personnel. Other committees were either ad hoc or minor standing. The President and the public members each served on one or more of these three committees; Roberta and Rod were members of the Finance Committee. The faculty board member was a designated member of the Finance Committee.

These standing committees did not seem to play a major role in the Board's decision-making process. During the August 1987 to May 1988 period, the Finance Committee made reports eight times. In four of those cases the Board's minutes do not record any discussion of topics or issues from the Committee's minutes as they were tabled. Roberta's description of the Finance Committee provides a similar perspective:

There is generally a good presentation by the Vice President of Finance about a particular thing that is happening. I go there to learn and find out what's happening and hopefully I make some contributions in asking questions or making suggestions about what they are doing. Not what I would think is a very high-powered Committee. It seems to be just a way of informing part of the Board about what is happening. I haven't seen an enormous amount of discussion (0203030601).

The Personnel Committee, in addition to other responsibilities, conducted negotiations with the Faculty Association and the Support Staff Association and so its reports to the Board were made in camera. The Facilities Committee reported monthly and each time there was a record in the Board's minutes of the issues and topics discussed.

Academic Council

The Council was made up of senior administrators, faculty, students and board appointees consistent with the requirements of the Colleges Act (1980). While the Act defined the role of Council as "mak[ing] recommendations or reports to the college board," the Council at TCC functioned in a manner parallel to the Board. This relationship is revealed in the preamble of the Council's constitution:

The Academic Council shall be the principal internal governing body of the College with respect to academic matters, and shall have the authority to act on behalf of the Board on those matters identified in this Bylaw, and such additional matters as may be delegated to the Council from time to time by the Board (TCC Board of Governors, 1986, n.p.).

Council's activities and powers are revealed in its minutes. During 1987-88, Council dealt with an average of 12.75 items per meeting, and these included committee appointments, committee reports, new course approvals, course revisions, program changes, admissions requirements, grading policy and review of the College's budget. On the other hand, only one item was referred to the Board from Council during the same period. The curriculum and program subcommittees of Council reviewed proposals for new courses and programs as well as course and program revisions. These were then approved by Council. Colin Davey carried new program proposals to the Board for information in his role as chief executive officer and not as a spokesperson for Academic Council. While the Board did have statutory authority over the decisions of Academic Council, in practice it was removed from almost all areas of program-related

decision making, and this limited Roberta's and Rod's participation in their natural areas of expertise.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS' ROLE BEHAVIOR

Institutional Members' Participation in Decision Making

Roberta and Rod presented detailed portraits of their participation in the Board's decision making. In Roberta's words

I contribute to the Board's decision making by asking questions that I think should be asked, trying to secure information that I think people should be aware of and certainly not being afraid if I disagree with a decision to speak against it and vote against it. I have tried to be very rational. Any questions I ask have to be based on something that is objective (0203030501).

She explained educational issues to public members and encouraged them to lobby for the resources necessary to maintain a quality College. She made a conscious effort to see the public members as individuals outside of their board role and project empathy for the difficulties they encountered because they did not have a day-to-day working knowledge of the College. She ensured that she was not seen as creating dissension, but she did disagree with administration by asking questions when she felt it was warranted. On occasion, Roberta also supported the President, for example, when a public member challenged his recommendation. In addition, she made a conscious effort to avoid entanglement with issues over which she could have little or no influence:

So lots of times I say nothing if it looks like it is already decided and there

isn't anything to be gained, I won't say anything. I will work it another direction either through something being changed in the contract, I'll go back to the Faculty Association and say we are the ones who have the problem here (0203030501).

She saw herself as being very vocal and was somewhat frustrated because, in her eyes at least, "I end up asking the questions or end up being seen as the one who is always sitting on the other side of the fence" (0203030501).

Roberta chose not to challenge the President's directive after being excluded from a portion of the first meeting although she had a lot of support from her peers. She and the Association's executive "felt that we would let this one go but if it ever happened again, we would definitely protest" (0203030301). Several months later, she received copies of the correspondence between Floyd Johnson (1987), President of the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology Faculty Association, and The Hon. D. J. Russell (1987b), Minister of Advanced Education. She saw the Minister's position as "my ace in the hole. I haven't used it yet" (0203030301). Blake Parkes confirmed his Association's opposition to the action, but they consciously chose not to act unless Roberta asked for assistance. In his view, "we would jeopardize the independence of our faculty member by becoming her defender in terms of her relations with the Board" (0208140301).

Roberta's participation was seen by other board members and the vice presidents in the light she intended. The Chairman felt she put the college first over association concerns and did not take positions different from the rest of the Board. Another public member said Roberta participated as much as any other

member and made more contributions than other institutional members. Bryce Fullerton, Vice President, indicated Roberta "handles the situation very well. She contributes, raises red flags when there is an issue being debated that could endanger something the faculty would value but doesn't take an extreme position" (0207120501). Doug Levanon, a public member, offered the most descriptive portrait of Roberta's participation:

She asks real good questions and when she asks a question you feel that she is on your side. She is asking a question because she doesn't understand, but she is on your side. Her predecessor, whether he belonged to a different political party or what have you, his questions always had a little bit of that . . . [reference to an opposition politician] sarcasm even if it was an ordinary question. With Roberta, she's one of us (0206070501).

Rod saw himself as very active in decision making because he had such an extensive knowledge of college operations in contrast to the public members. He brought a student's perspective, for example, on tuition and other fee questions, but sometimes he voted from what he considered to be a college perspective rather than the particular interests of the Students' Association. When he disagreed, he used leading questions to advance his position with the hope that other board members would follow suit. On occasion, however, Rod said he "felt so angry that I just gave information and be darned" (0204040501). Sometimes Rod made a point raising his hand very quickly when voting against a motion so that the definiteness of his position would cause other board members to ponder

not seen in a positive light. Duane Lundgren and Blair Clarke identified he had trouble balancing his board and student association roles. In Blair's view, his participation, by the end of his term, was from the Students' Association perspective. Colin Davey said Rod was more vocal than his predecessors and he "has not been well received by some of the community members including the Chairperson . . . [because] he tends to get his emotions tangled up with reality when we are talking about tough times" (0202020501). Bryce Fullerton believed Rod's partisanship extended "well beyond the bounds of propriety" (02071209), and Frances Perkins saw him as well meaning but criticized him for being unprepared, expressing his ideas poorly and thinking in a naive way about governments and boards. Roberta's description of Rod's participation is perhaps more balanced and provides some context for the concerns raised by others:

I felt sorry for him and I would often say to him don't worry about this, don't raise this, we'll work at it another way. Don't jump in there and bang your head against a brick wall. You are not going to make any difference. He would get fired up about some of the things that were happening and would come on fairly strong. He was not afraid to speak out. He got very disillusioned, very disenchanted with the public members' participation and understanding of the College (0202020501).
On the whole, the six participants who commented about confidentiality

were confident Roberta and Rod adhered to the Board's expectations. Because institutional members were not part of the Personnel Committee and Roberta was excluded from the Board's discussions of negotiations, they were not privy to

Board led to the Department of Advanced Education awarding planning money in 1985. Subsequently, the Board focused on approving a functional plan and carrying out political action to gain funding approval. The June 1987 board minutes indicate the College had received ministerial approval to proceed with the working drawings.

During 1987-88 the Facilities Committee of the Board monitored the work of the architect who completed his task in April. At the time of the interviews in May, the Committee, the Board and the administration were facing a crisis because the budget estimates prepared by the architect and the consultant differed greatly.

The Facilities Committee and the administration appeared to be active participants in the decision making about the project with the Board's role confined to receiving information. The Committee was made up of four of the seven public board members, the President, the Vice President - Finance and one employee, acting as an advisor. The Committee was chaired by the Chairman of the Board. From a reputational perspective, the public members appear to have been the four most influential public members, and, in addition, three of the four had career or community service experience relevant to the construction of large projects.

Roberta's and Rod's participation in this decision issue was obviously

was aware of the budgetary problem prior to the full Board receiving the information. Her comment about the meeting when this information was presented does confirm the Board's limited role in this decision issue:

I was surprised that other board members didn't start to query, that is the ones who aren't on the Facilities Committee and are not part of the College. I was surprised the other board members didn't say what are you talking about? What is the hold up? Who made the mistake?
(0203030607)

Decision-making case 2. From the perspective of all participants, the 1988-89 budget was the most important decision issue for the College and the Board during the 1987-88 year. In essence, the budget resulted in the layoff of three tenured instructors. In the case of one instructor, a major protest developed because of concerns regarding process, implications for the affected program and general concerns among faculty about job security.

The budget development process used in 1988 at TCC was a complex one which provided for participation by members of the college community and widespread knowledge of its contents prior to submission to the Board. First-level managers and their departments prepared budget drafts. These were reviewed by the Executive Committee and the College's Budget Committee which was made up of senior administrators and one representative from the faculty, students and support staff. Colin Davey chaired the latter group and exercised final authority over the contents of the budget at this stage. After this Committee had

reviewed the proposed budget in-camera during its regular monthly meeting on March 14th. A special meeting was scheduled for March 28th to approve the budget. This process resulted in institutional members and their associations having access to the budget two weeks prior to the Board's decision-making meeting on March 28th which gave them an opportunity to consider the three possible layoffs.

In order to present a balanced budget to the Board, the College's Budget Committee recommended closing one vocational program and releasing three tenured instructors. One of the two affected instructors from the vocational program opted for the retraining clause in the faculty collective agreement, and the second vocational instructor chose to leave the College and the city. The third person to be laid off was Dr. Joan Saunderson, an experienced instructor in the social work program. Administrators indicated Joan's position was eliminated because of low enrollments in the program and in her courses as well as her inability to teach other courses in the same department because of her specialized training.

Controversy quickly surfaced around the recommendation to release Joan. While administrators and some public board members presented a clear justification for the choice of her position, other public members and the college community were unaware of or did not accept the criteria and, more importantly, the process used to make the decision about which program and position would

the Dean of the Division. There were repeated references to perceptions of unfair action at the committee level. As a result, a split occurred between the Faculty Association and its members in the social work program. Some people felt that the loss of one instructor would threaten the breadth and quality of the program. Rod and others saw the layoff resulting in program requirements being changed through the budgetary process rather than through Academic Council.

The issue came to a head on March 28th when about 50 faculty and students attended the Board's special budget meeting. According to Blake Parkes, the Faculty Association executive chose this strategy because they hoped their action and presentations would lead the Board to direct Colin Davey to reconsider. A number of people, including Blake Parkes and Maureen Hollinger, spoke stressing Joan's qualifications, teaching ability and the need for her specialization within the social work program. Later in that meeting Ina Kearney introduced a motion to adopt the budget as proposed but to defer the redundancy decision for one year. The motion was defeated with the institutional members and Ina being outvoted by the other members of the Board. No further motion was entertained. Subsequent to the meeting, Colin Davey and the Faculty Association reached an agreement to delay the termination notice for one month beyond the contractual deadline of March 31st. Colin agreed to consult Plains University to determine if Joan's qualifications were adequate to teach other transfer courses in the program. The answer was negative. Joan received

Because the contents of the proposed budget were well known in the College before the March 28th meeting, both the Faculty Association and the Student Association were active in addressing the issue of redundancy for Joan. She approached the Faculty Association because she was dissatisfied with the process which had taken place at the departmental level. The Association struck a committee which concluded there was a process problem, and the Association took the report

to the President in confidence and said you review this. Nothing really happened. He sort of ignored it or chose to ignore it. This is why we decided to go more public and turned out at the board meeting on the 28th (0203030608).

The Students' Association was active as well. Petitions were signed, the Association's office was designated as a meeting place for concerned students and Maureen made a formal representation to Colin Davey on behalf of students. At this stage, Roberta and Rod were involved as members of the executives of their associations.

The issue was very challenging for Roberta and Rod. Roberta and Joan were colleagues and friends, and Roberta was deeply disturbed by the process. She did not feel pressured by the Faculty Association to take any specific action although the Association did keep her well informed, and she, in turn, kept them well informed. Blake Parkes confirmed the Faculty Association hadn't expected Roberta to have much impact because they were working directly with Colin

redundancy issue] gets to that place [the Board], there is very little that can be done" (0203030608). Joan phoned Roberta at home not so much to pressure her as to keep her informed and to caution her not to "do anything, you are in jeopardy" (0203030608). Roberta described her board participation in this way:

I stated it is the perception of faculty and from my knowledge there were problems with the process. Remember I'm saying this in front of . . . [the administrators] who created the problem or sanctioned it. This became very difficult but I had support from one board member who was also saying, "It looks to me like the decision was made and then there were ways and means of backing up and substantiating that decision." The reaction I got was that very few board members were listening to what I was saying. If they were listening, I got a very strong feeling they didn't understand what I was really saying (0203030608).

Ina Kearney, in all likelihood the board member referred to by Roberta above, provided an assessment of the impact Roberta's participation had on that issue:

I think Roberta had a very good point of view. The information she gave the Board, although it didn't have an effect on changing the decision, at least they looked at it over a longer period of time . . . [because of] some of her points of view about how the decision was taken. It delayed the process but didn't change the direction (02060909).

Larry Michetti's observations about Roberta's style of participation echoed those of other participants:

Roberta, I am sure felt she was being pulled in three or four directions. I think she fairly strongly tried to maintain her statesman role because of her own nature and because of the fact that she was feeling the obligation to represent the interests of the Association (0207110608).

Rod, like Roberta, was deeply disturbed by process issues and felt a strong personal bond with Joan. He was active in lobbying and contacted at least one public member prior to the meeting on the 28th because, according to Ina

(0206090608). Rod emphasized two points in his questions and comments in both the in-camera and public board sessions on the 14th and 28th. He questioned the enrollment figures which administration presented to justify redundancy because, in his view, the numbers were inaccurate. At the March 14th meeting he "tried to warn the Board in a gentle way" (0204040608) that this action was going to create problems with the faculty. Rod felt he became quite emotional about the issue which was confirmed by several other people.

Institutional Members' Relationships with Their Associations

Roberta and Rod were members of the executive of their associations by virtue of their board positions, but it is clear they were very granted a high degree of autonomy by their executives. Roberta did not make formal reports to the Faculty Association but did "flag" issues which required their attention. There was no attempt to direct her position on any of the issues before the Board even in a case as significant as the layoff of instructors. Blake Parkes indicated Roberta had never been pressed for confidential information, and she had been very true to the Board's confidentiality requirement. There is no direct evidence about contact between Roberta and Blake, but it appears interaction was confined largely to executive meetings.

Rod's experience was much the same. According to Maureen Hollinger, Rod was supposed to make reports at executive and general association meetings.

... .. Rod indicated

the time limitations of the meetings reduced his opportunities to report. For Rod the confidentiality requirements of the Board limited his ability to report "because it was very difficult to keep the in-camera discussion separate" (0204040502). On one occasion, the Students' Association executive wanted Rod to take their request to sell cigarettes on campus, which he could not support, to the Board. This issue brought Rod's "double mandate" to the fore. He felt the executive found it hard to accept his declared intention to vote as an individual rather than a delegate. Maureen and Rod appeared to have had frequent, but informal communication.

Both the Faculty and Student Associations had established working relationships with the College's administration which indirectly reduced pressure on Roberta and Rod to act on behalf of their peers and associations. Blake Parkes was convinced the interests of faculty were best addressed when he and his executive worked directly with senior administrators because

I don't think the Board of Governors is a major force in directing this institution and controlling the activities that take place and where we are going. The faculty representative on the Board is a token thing much like all the other members of the Board. We don't really go after that route in terms of being a source of information or a vehicle of change (02081412).

Blake had ready access to the President. In addition, he said faculty realized that they shouldn't go to their board member with problems but should turn to the Association instead. Because of the power of the President and the public members' support for him, Roberta agreed that faculty's interests were best served by President-to-President contact: "If any decisions are going to be

changed, they have to be changed before they get to the Board" (02030312).

Maureen Hollinger also stated that the Students' Association did not see Rod as their problem solver but for different reasons. In Maureen's experience the best avenue to follow was direct contact with Colin Davey because

He feels that one of the best ways to maintain a nice atmosphere in the College is to start a lot of direct communication. That feeling of his stretches down through the whole operation where in that case as the President of the Association I was able to cut short a lot of problems (02081512).

INFLUENCE PROCESSES

Influence processes or lobbying, outside of parliamentary debate in board and committee meetings, were at a low level during 1987-88. While Colin Davey, Roberta and five public members stated lobbying did not exist, some of them made supplementary comments which suggested some influence activities occurred, albeit infrequent in number. Colin Davey said that institutional members, in general, and Roberta, in particular, often presented their views in informal settings with a view to increasing board members' awareness about the College and educational issues rather than "buttonholing board members into supporting them to do what they want if an issue comes to the board table" (0202020701). Blair Clarke mentioned that the institutional members sometimes made casual comments indicating their displeasure with something, and he felt these were intended to sway or alert him. Rod spoke with him directly on one

occasion and said board members should stop rubber stamping decisions although no specific issues were mentioned.

Rod and Ina Kearney were the only two persons to report the existence of lobbying. Rod said students and faculty approached him frequently because of his visibility in the College and contacts with faculty members because of his committee work. As a result,

it wasn't unusual for it to take 45 minutes for me to get from the Students' Association office to the end of this hall because of different people telling me what position I should have and giving me information because they knew I would speak out (0204040702).

He telephoned several board members for the first time during the budget controversy because "I felt it was a real burden, and I didn't want to carry this knowledge alone" (0204040701). Throughout the year he tried to use informal discussions prior to meetings and during breaks to share his views. Ina indicated that institutional members contacted her by telephone and, more commonly, expressed their opinions to her about board and college matters during informal conversations at functions they attended together. She said she had used information from institutional members as she presented her views at board meetings.

While no direct evidence was presented in the interviews which explained the lack of lobbying, several inferences can be drawn. Three public members were from outside the City so their contacts with other members were limited. A high percentage of the Board's business involved routine matters which limited lobbying. The power of the President and the high degree of support granted to

him by the public members also reduced the potential for competing interests. In addition, three of the public members did not see themselves taking an active role within the College and, as a result, did not become particularly involved with the issues before the Board.

CONFLICT

There appears to have been little conflict during 1987-88 among board members as a group, between institutional members and other board members, or between the faculty and students members and their associations. Nine of eleven participants who spoke about this topic said there had been no conflict. Although there were a number of references to differing points of view and heated discussions, these were seen as a part of parliamentary debate which did not go beyond the issue or topic under consideration. These exchanges were among public members, public members and Colin Davey, and the institutional members and Colin.

A clear-cut example of conflict involving an institutional member occurred when Roberta was told by the President to leave her first meeting because a faculty labor relations issue was next on the agenda. Roberta, her peers and the Faculty Association were shocked by Colin's action, and the Association urged her to contact the Minister of Advanced Education. She opted not to protest at that time and so defused the conflict. This choice appears to have been based on

a desire to build long-term credibility with the Board rather than deal with one specific irritant.

When Rod discussed this topic he clearly painted a portrait of himself in conflict with other board members, particularly Duane Lundgren and Colin Davey. In Rod's eyes, Colin's opposition to him was evidenced when he "went up one side and down the other" during an in-camera discussion of the budget and when he delivered a "dressing down" to him during a discussion of the College's mandate (02040408). Rod's meeting with the President early in his board term was described earlier. This came about because of a position Rod had taken about faculty negotiations and because he had "told one person off" (02040404), in his words, during a board meeting. His conflict with the Chairman took the form of Duane ignoring him.

Rod felt he progressively lost credibility with the Board throughout the year because he took stands on various issues such as the three identified above. The culminating point came in the last two months of his term with the budget issue:

Whenever I took a stand that wasn't the same as Colin's, I was always losing ground so you could imagine by the time the Saunderson layoff thing came, I jumped on to another island. It wasn't their territory anymore, and it was my own and I wouldn't let them on it. It was almost getting scary for me for awhile because I had to speak out, I had information and yet I knew I was going to be sneered at or whatever which made me tongue tied. When I looked around and thought you people would be much more happy and comfortable if you didn't get any information. I am not. If my year hadn't been up, I would have resigned. I am not going to rubber stamp and I am not going to sit here and bring valid information and be blown out of the water for it (02040408).

None of the other participants confirmed Rod's portrait of his conflict

situations. Duane Lundgren mentioned Rod "got a little emotional" (02010108) in the discussion of faculty negotiations, and Blair Clarke mentioned some tension between Rod and other board members. Ina Kearney provided a different perspective:

I think Rod had some real strong feelings on certain issues and he expressed those feelings. He lobbied to have his point of view supported. At the board table, his point of view was at least listened to, and in a number of cases I felt he had a very good position. I think he was respected for his point of view. I didn't hear any feedback that was negative maybe because I supported Rod in some of his concerns (02060908).

While Rod's statement certainly reflects his perceptions of his experience and were very real for him, it is unlikely other board members saw as much conflict as he did. The earlier discussion of Rod's style of participation captures the perceptions of his board peers and the vice presidents.

Colin and Roberta both reported, in Roberta's words, not "seeing eye to eye" (02030308) as a result of differing philosophies of governance and education; however, both individuals said they had worked at preventing these differences from becoming conflicts. Colin resisted Roberta's emphasis on strategic planning and said, "I was getting antagonistic to the whole game and then decided that was stupid and that has come down off its potential to be a conflict" (02020208).

While speaking in general terms about her interaction with all board members,

Roberta expressed much the same sentiments as Colin when she said "I've

worked very hard at [avoiding conflict] because I realize there is a time to holler

Only Maureen Hollinger reported conflict involving an institutional member outside the board situation. Rod held a part-time job and was often unable to attend meetings of the Students' Association General Council. As a result, "council members proposed that he show up or be asked to resign and that really caused a situation" (02081508). After a number of discussions, Maureen and Rod were able to "resolve the problem to a certain degree but the feelings that were between Rod and the General Council never did mend" (02081508).

There is little direct evidence which explains the low level of conflict reported here. Certainly the inferences identified in the section on influence processes apply. Additionally, Roberta's goal of influence through credibility meant that she emphasized diplomacy. A number of the public members, as part-time community volunteers, did not identify with the issues or interests at stake. Both associations granted their institutional members a high degree of autonomy on issues which reduced the potential for conflict.

IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

Assessments of Impact

All participants made assessments of the impact which Roberta and Rod had on the Board's decision-making processes and outcomes during 1987-88. The President and public members saw them making positive contributions

following quotations illustrate the range of opinions reflected in their assessments:

I think all the board members listen very carefully to what they have to say because they are in the institution, they know exactly what's going on. - Lundgren (02010109)

The institutional members are there to keep us honest and so people in the College don't have to worry that behind closed doors the Board is doing something that it shouldn't be doing. - Davey (02020209)

The institutional members know what some of the necessities are at the College and would like to see. They work in the environment everyday. - Clarke (02060609)

The institutional members have the same effect as anybody else. - Gibson (02060809).

Garth Nielsen - I think their impact is positive, limited but positive. - Nielson (02061009)

Vice Presidents Frances Perkins and Larry Michetti believed institutional members had a very significant impact as reflected in Frances's statement: "Board members will listen to well-prepared institutional members and they can have a tremendous impact on decisions the Board makes because they are from within the institution" (02071309). Their comments, however, appear to be based on their long years of contact with the Board rather than the current year. The President of the Students' Association said: "Having a student on the Board makes a difference. Sometimes not a very big difference but at least there is a voice that is heard" (02081509). The President of the Faculty Association was pessimistic: "If the faculty didn't have a board member right now, I don't think we would see much difference. Our Board sees our faculty member as an

Roberta was ranked as one of the five most influential board members by the President, four public members and the vice presidents. They justified their choice of Roberta in a very similar manner with phrases such as "shows leadership" (02060609), "very level headed" and "presents her facts in a strong confident manner" (02061009), "not given to emotional decisions" and "very good academic knowledge of organizational dynamics and she knows how to play an audience too" (02071109). Colin Davey provided a specific example of Roberta's influence:

Those three voices, particularly the faculty one, make the Board more aware of relationships. I think it is Roberta's constantly bringing up the topic that has made me more aware that the Board has shifted in the last couple of years and this is not doing good things for the College. I think she is right and I've become more aware. I think it is important that the kind of things Roberta has suggested happen (02020209).

Probably due to his participation style, Rod was not mentioned by any one of the same participants. No one cited an example of a decision issue which had been influenced or initiated by institutional members during 1987-88.

Roberta and Rod also made assessments of their impact as board members. Roberta's comments are in contrast with those of her board peers and the vice presidents:

I don't think I have a high impact, but I'm not sure anyone does in their first year. I have felt that there has been generally a respect for me and for my positions on things. Because of the way I see the board run, I have very little impact at the board table. Maybe through other mechanisms and other means such as "flagging" issues and private conversations (02030309).

challenged the "groupthink" he saw in the Board. He said:

I also believe that they had some uncomfortable times even it was after the fact knowing that some of the things that I had said were true, some of the things I had been roasted for. I do believe that they started to say I'm making this decision, how I am voting (02040409).

He felt he had made a greater contribution through his participation on Academic Council because it is "the heart of this place" and because it dealt with issues of greater interest to him.

Blake Parkes, President of the Faculty Association, believed the faculty board member had little impact, not because of Roberta's abilities or efforts but because of board and college factors. Colin Davey had a high level of expertise because of his position and personality. For this reason, the Board turned to him for information and felt obligated to support him as their chief executive officer. Blake was also convinced that the public members of the Board saw the faculty member "as an advocate and they do not get the input that that faculty member could provide in decisions that affect faculty" (02081409). In his view, there were other more effective mechanisms for communication and problem solving such as frequent President-to-President contacts and the college-wide Budget Committee.

Maureen Hollinger, speaking from the Students' Association viewpoint, valued the position of student board member because the Board needed a student voice but also because the Association got "a better understanding of what's happening on the Board. That directed source of information is very, very important to students" (02081509). Maureen was well aware that Rod had not

Rod had a difficult time. Eventually he was shut down. He cares a lot and he tries hard and he was shut down, from what I gather, a couple of months into the year. They just let him talk (02081609).

Maureen did not offer any reasons why Rod was "shut down."

Factors Affecting Impact

The factors which affected the institutional members' impact, as individuals or as a group, can be grouped into three categories: attributes of the institutional members, attributes of the College as an organization and attributes of the Board as an organization. Many of the participants tended to speak in general terms about this topic and so their comments are not necessarily specific to 1987-88.

The personalities, interpersonal skills and organizational skills of the institutional members constitute the first category. Bryce Fullerton said employee members needed greater tact and diplomacy than public members because of the inevitable master-servant relationship for employees. Roberta was mentioned frequently as someone with the necessary interpersonal and organizational skills while Rod was mentioned as lacking those. An institutional member's breadth of experience within and knowledge of the College contributed to his/her influence with the Board. The board role, according to Maureen Hollinger, was particularly difficult for student members because they lacked that kind of organizational experience. If institutional members were able to balance the interests of their groups with those of the whole College, as defined by the Board, then their

most influential category of institutional members because of their educational and professional experience, and the Faculty Association's practice of electing senior people who had the skills and credibility for the position.

Certain features of the organizational life of the College affected the institutional members' impact at TCC. Academic Council had a high degree of authority over educational matters and this reduced the opportunity for the faculty and student members to make contributions in the area they knew best. The relationships between the associations, especially the employee groups, and the Board and senior administration colored the public members' perceptions of the institutional members. In Larry Michetti's view, they "are tainted positively or negatively by the particular action orientation of the group they come from" (02071109). Both association presidents reported ready access to and frequent contact with Colin Davey and the vice presidents which served indirectly to increase the institutional members' influence. Workplace problems were addressed in this way thus preventing pressure on them to be advocates on specific issues.

The largest group of factors relate to the organizational functioning of the Board. The interaction of public and institutional members in any given year created a particular style of group dynamics which either strengthened or weakened the impact of the institutional members. Colin Davey's power within the Board and its reliance upon him for direction minimized the impact of both institutional and public members. The Board saw the faculty as the highest status

group within the College and this implicitly gave greater credence to the views of the faculty member. The institutional members had shorter terms than the public members and this reduced their impact because, from the Chairman's perspective, "the longer you are on the Board, the more credibility you have. The less time, the less credibility" (02010109). The presence of the President and four vice presidents at all board meetings had an intimidating effect for some institutional members as illustrated by Ina Kearney's statement:

At times they don't respond to certain policy matters because politically they feel intimidated somewhat. If they respond a certain way then their administrator is there. They don't often speak out on issues because of the ramifications, with the exception of the student members. They are usually more vocal related to those types of issues and don't feel as intimidated because they are not directly employed (02060909).

Ina believed that public members may discount the institutional members' contributions because "the issues they raise are looked at as the groups' issues and, therefore, the public members don't accept another point of view" (02060609).

EVALUATION OF INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION

Eleven participants said institutional participation was a worthwhile element of college governance and supported its continuance even though some of them thought institutional members had little impact. Duane Lundgren, five other public members, Colin Davey and Rod Michaleski spoke of institutional participation as a strength. They justified their evaluations with comments such as

"how else are we going to know what they want, what are we doing wrong as far as they are concerned" (02060710), "the institutional members broaden the base of the Board because the odds are you are going to get a different political philosophy from them" (02060810), "every piece of input you can get is valuable," "there are so many things you [the Board] don't understand when you are not physically involved" (02061010) and "I think it [institutional participation] does try to make it look like the Board is part of the whole group. I like that closeness" (02040410).

Colin Davey believed there was a relationship between institutional participation and a positive organizational climate in an educational institution. He developed this idea by saying

There is more of an atmosphere of trust. If you don't have mechanisms to make it possible for people to intercede in a college, you have a very explosive situation. I think it meets that need. I think we would have far more groups making presentations to the Board, submissions to the Board, much more going on about what is the Board up to, suspicion and issues created where there weren't really issues (02020210).

Larry Michetti, like Colin, described the impact institutional participation had on organizational climate:

I think symbolically it is good and functionally it usually validates that symbolic worth. I think it makes people feel good that they [the institutional members] are there, and, as long as the dynamic stays fairly positive, they feel that at least they are being heard even if they aren't agreed with (02071110).

Doug Levanon suggested that institutional participation prevented two armed camps from developing because institutional members facilitated bilateral communication which helped the Board comprehend the needs of the constituent

groups and helped those groups understand the Board.

Colin Davey, Larry Michetti and Bryce Fullerton provided illustrations of the safety valve at work in their reflections about their presentations to the Board.

Colin's observations were the most direct:

Perhaps because I am aware they [the institutional members] are there, I am shaping recommendations in such a way that they are acceptable to the total Board. I try not to, I guess it is sort of unconscious, not to get them [the institutional members] taking different sides at the Board (02020209).

Larry said he consciously monitored his use of language so that he would not be misinterpreted by the faculty member because "words and symbols are emotional things" (02071109) for academics. At the same time "the recommendation is still in essence the same" (02071109). Bryce recalled one occasion when his presentation to the Board "paid a little more heed" (02071209) to faculty concerns because of the status of the Faculty Association within the College. In addition, he pointed out how the vice presidents' contact with the institutional members increased their administrative effectiveness and, by inference, improved the climate of the College:

We pick up impressions, attitudes from those three representatives that sometimes make us a little more cautious or watchful and maybe a little more perceptive in how we deal with those populations. If you are thinking and observing, there are cues that can make your job a little easier (02071209).

While there were no objections to institutional participation, three board members either specified conditions which made it work or made recommendations for its improvement. Duane Lundgren and Colin Davey said institutional participation worked only if the institutional members were prepared to give up

partisanship and if they were willing and able to "learn about the College overall" (02020210). Duane and Ina Kearney both emphatically stated that the relative shortness of the institutional members' terms weakened institutional participation, particularly in the case of the student member who had only a one-year term. Duane didn't see any solution for the student member because the College is a two-year institution, but he and Ina stated that the faculty board member should have a longer term. The faculty members, in Ina's view, were always more ready for the board role than the other two, and, for this reason, the Support Staff and Students' Associations should prepare their members for this role. Ina also recommended more representation from each constituent group.

Maureen Hollinger and Blake Parkes, as association presidents, made definite but very different recommendations. Maureen wanted to see two students on the Board to create "some real voting power. One person can always be shot down" (02081509). In addition, she wanted a change in the role expectations given to the student member by the Minister of Advanced Education so he/she can act as a delegate, speaking very directly for the Students' Association. Blake said the executive of the Faculty Association had considered removing the faculty board representative from their executive. He believed that while the faculty board member was a part of the Association's executive, his/her credibility with the Board would always be weakened by concerns about conflict of interest, confidentiality and delegate status. This change would have been accompanied by the establishment of the office of board observer who would

attend all public board meetings and report to the Faculty Association.

SUMMARY

The faculty and student board members were nominated through an election process within their groups and then appointed by the Minister of Advanced Education. Like public board members, they received no formal orientation and limited informal orientation. Both persons recalled negative experiences during the first months of their terms which created role confusion for them.

The public members and the President defined the role of institutional board members as facilitators of two-way communication within the college community. They should act as individuals focusing on a college-wide perspective but reflecting the views of their peers. Both Roberta and Rod defined their roles in a manner consistent with the expectations of other board members. Board members perceived Roberta's self-definition as similar to their expectations, but some felt Rod deviated into an advocate's role.

The role definition provided by the President of the Faculty Association did not differ from that of the public members while the President of the Students' Association spoke of both an advocate's role and a trustee's role.

The faculty board member contributed to the Board's decision making by providing specialized knowledge about educational matters and addressing

questions of organizational process. She was very careful to ensure that her actions enhanced her credibility. The student board member wanted to be a major contributor based on his insider's knowledge but often his contributions were not well received by his board colleagues.

Both persons were members of the executives of their associations by virtue of their board positions. The executives did not try to influence their board participation because they had effective working relations with the College's administration and because they knew the institutional members had to act autonomously.

Conflict and influence processes were at a low level during the year under study. There is little direct explanatory evidence, but, by inference, it appears that the routine nature of much of the Board's work, the influence of the President, and the public members' role as part-time, politically appointed members served to limit both conflict and influence processes.

Both institutional members said they had not had as much impact as public members, but most of their board colleagues and the vice presidents saw the faculty member as one of the five most influential members. This influence resulted from her personality, experience within the College, professional and organizational skills, and the status of faculty in the board members' eyes.

All participants considered institutional participation to be an important feature of college governance even though they did not make parallel assessments of institutional members' impact. In essence, public members believed their

knowledge of the College was broadened, and they were reminded of the nature of the institution they were governing.

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDY 3: MACKENZIE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Interviews were conducted at Mackenzie Community College (MCC) during a two-week period in May 1988. Tables 10 and 11 identify the ten board and seven non-board participants. This latter group included two college vice presidents, four interest group presidents and one former board member. This person, Lorne Michaud, had held the non-academic staff member's position until March 1988 and, for this reason, was included in the study.

The presentation of the data in this chapter follows the topical organization used in Chapters 5 and 6. Recruitment and socialization processes are considered along with the role expectations communicated as a part of the initial and ongoing socialization activities. The institutional members' participation in decision making is considered along with their participation in their associations and their involvement with influence and conflict processes. The chapter concludes with an examination of the impact of the institutional members and the participants' evaluation of institutional participation in college governance.

Table 10

Mackenzie Community College Board of Governors

Name	Board Position	Date of Appointment/ Re-appointment	Length of Term
Nick Marsden	Chairman	1982 1985	3 years 3 years
Boyd Emerson	President	1984	-
Janice Delaney	Academic Staff Member	1986	2 years
Patricia Neuman	Student Member	1986 1987	1 year 1 year
Lyle Parlby	Non-Academic Staff Member	1988	2 years
Ellen Fairhurst	Public Member	1985	3 years
Byron MacGregor	Public Member	1985 1988	3 years 3 years
Lionel Palmer	Public Member	1985	3 years
Chris Oliver	Public Member	1987	3 years
Wade Kelloway	Public Member	1983 1986	3 years 3 years
Keith Leonard*	Public Member	1988	3 years

Table 11

Mackenzie Community College Non-Board Participants

Name	Position	Date of Election/ Appointment to Position
Dale Raffu	Vice President Academic	1985
Barry Robertson	Vice President Finance	1987
Earnest Garry	President Faculty Association	1987
Bernard Jansen	President Students' Association	1987
Derek Lidstone	President Alberta Union of Support Staff	1986
Ken Holmes	President Employees' Association	1987
Lorne Michaud*	Non-Academic Staff Board Member (1986-88)	

*Lorne Michaud was included in the study because his term had expired only two months prior to the research.

BECOMING AN INSTITUTIONAL BOARD MEMBER

Association. One other person stood for election. Prior to this appointment, Janice had been active in the Association as a member of the executive at different times over the years, but she had never been president. When Janice's two-year term expired in 1988 she chose not run again because she had other interests to pursue. In addition, she felt it was important for other people to have the opportunity.

Students seeking the office of board representative first had to be nominated by 20 peers, and, if there were a number of such nominations, they were interviewed by the Students' Council. This body was made up of the Students' Association executive and two representatives from each of the College's instructional divisions. Elections occurred within the Council. Patricia Neuman first ran for office in 1985 as one of a slate of five candidates. After being defeated, she became very active in the affairs of the Students' Council and was successful in 1986 when only one other last-minute candidate ran. In 1987 Patricia was re-elected by acclamation.

The non-academic staff position was filled in a different manner because there were two support staff organizations: the Alberta Union of Support Staff (AUSS) Local 109 and the Employees' Association. Members from both groups voted for one board representative from a common slate, and the election process was managed by the College's Personnel Office. Lorne Michaud from the Employees' Association was elected in this way in 1986 as was Lyle Parlby from

peers and he had the support of the AUSS executive although the nomination was not initiated by them. Prior to the elections, the AUSS executive sent a memo to the members of both organizations reminding them of the election and outlining Lyle's qualifications. Lyle was one of the founding members of the Local and had served as secretary treasurer on several occasions and as a member of the negotiations committee.

The defeat of the incumbent was sparked, in part, by dissatisfaction among AUSS members and by rivalry between the two organizations. Derek Lidstone, President of AUSS, said his "membership felt Lorne was not a very loud voice on the Board and that was the feedback we got from other board members" and he was not seen as "a very communicative representative" (03081601). His workplace was isolated from the main areas of the College and his job was different from most jobs within the AUSS Local. From Derek's perspective, "our membership felt that he had no concept of what the problems are regarding staff working in the College, and I didn't see any attempt on his part to find out" (03081601). The rivalry stemmed from the Employees' Association being a relatively new organization trying to define its place in the College as well as a perception held by AUSS members that their counterparts in the Employees' Association held negative views about unions.

LEARNING TO BE AN INSTITUTIONAL BOARD MEMBER

Formal Socialization

The structured orientation process for new public and institutional members included meetings with the Chairman, President and the Board's Orientation Committee. Nick Marsden, Chairman, met with potential public members as part of the recruitment process and sometimes after the person had been appointed. Boyd Emerson, President, was a part of the pre-appointment meetings, and he met individually with new public members. Nick did not meet with new institutional members, but Boyd met with them one or more times. An Orientation Committee, made up of Janice and Patricia, was struck during the year and met with new members after each meeting. In addition, each person received a resource package which included materials such as recent board minutes, bylaws, an organization chart, a statement of college goals, the strategic plan and collective agreements. Related activities included periodic tours to different areas in the College for the full Board, presentations to the Board from various program and service areas, the Board's annual retreat as well as the annual provincial conference for college and institute boards.

Some participants offered comments about the content and significance of these various activities. Nick Marsden indicated the Committee met with new members to "raise issues, go over what happened at the meeting, answer any

of his meetings with new members by saying:

I help them get an understanding of the agenda, what is in there and I make sure they don't feel intimidated. They may have a question but they are not really sure they are comfortable in being able to ask it at the board meeting. Provide a little forum for that kind of discussion. Provide background information that otherwise wouldn't necessarily be in the package. As well then address the question of how they are doing as a board member (03020204).

Patricia labelled her meeting with Boyd "a general orientation session" where the latter "tried to give me an overview of the job description (03040404)." She also mentioned that Boyd had made it very clear that she should not fly the Students' Association flag. Similarly, Lyle Parlby indicated the President had said, "I should remember that I am not an AUSS member and I am not a support staff member, I am me" (03050504). Lorne felt he had had a very poor introduction to the Board. Dale Oliver, a public member and recent appointee, described the content of his meetings with Boyd and Nick in this way:

Make sure you are prepared. Read the agenda package, raise any questions you aren't familiar with. Be prepared and come willing to participate if you can. If you can't, try to absorb as much as you can. Nothing more than straight commonsense (03061004).

Lyle Parlby and Dale Oliver said their first provincial board conference in 1988 was a valuable general introduction to their responsibilities. Janice considered her first board retreat in 1986 to be beneficial because of the discussion of strategic planning.

Informal Socialization

initial experiences as board members provided insights about the informal socialization which had occurred. Janice, the faculty member, found her first six months to be very challenging:

I was quite apprehensive because everything was political in the sense of how were people going to take what I said and was I saying the right things not only in terms of the Board but in terms of the faculty. During my first six months, I was always trying to weigh very carefully everything I said because of the possible perceptions and implications of what people say. It was enjoyable, it was interesting, but it was fairly stressful I found (03040404).

Despite her concerns about misperceptions, there were none to her knowledge and after six months she "started to feel much more my own person" (03030304).

Patricia, the student member, found her first six months difficult because of trying to master the budgeting process which began soon after her appointment and because of conflict with the President of the Students' Association. Her experience with the Board was very positive because "Everybody was very nice, almost too nice" (03030304). The Board's annual retreat, held soon after Patricia joined the Board, provided a way to build social contacts with the rest of the members.

Lorne, the support staff member from March 1986-March 1988, felt he was made to feel welcome, but he also revealed mixed reactions. He was quick to mention that "I really didn't know what I was getting into" (03050604) because he thought the Board would be dealing with operational matters which he discovered was not the case when he tried to put such an item on the agenda.

Lyle, the support staff member, was in the second month of his term. He

didn't feel intimidated by his board role because he knew most of the members and was very familiar with the College, having worked there for 17 years. Soon after being appointed, he attended the provincial board conference and found he was very comfortable with his board colleagues.

Boyd Emerson spoke of a "baptismal fire" process for new institutional members, especially faculty. Public board members, consciously and unconsciously, tested new institutional members to determine if they were defining themselves as trustees or delegates. This testing took the form of

purposeful questioning addressed to them and which is intended to elicit a response which can be interpreted to determine if they are behaving as a board member or are they in fact there representing only the interests and concerns of the group from which they are drawn (03020204).

If, in the view of the public members, an institutional member responded to such a question as a delegate, he/she was quickly reminded of the board role. Should the board members not be comfortable with making that point then the Chairman or the President would do it privately. These testing questions often occurred in committee and were often associated with sensitive issues such as negotiations.

Janice agreed with the image of baptismal fire and felt that such testing was most often associated with the faculty member because of the size and power of the faculty. In a more general sense, Patricia had experienced some testing through jokes and "digs" but not to the same extent as Janice because faculty were seen as fair game, particularly in the context of negotiations, and because "students have a little place in the sun in the Board's mind" (03040404). Vice President

taste and sometimes not" (03071204), as ways of conveying messages but said they resulted, in large part, from Janice 's predecessor taking a delegate 's role. Dale felt the number of jokes and "digs" had declined during Janice 's term because she had "worked hard to minimize that" (03071204).

ROLE EXPECTATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

General Expectations

The public board members, the President and the institutional members at MCC functioned within the context of the role constraints and directives spelled out in the Colleges Act (1980) and the "Guidelines for Boards of Governors," (Minister of Advanced Education, 1986). Seven board members, responding to questions about the Board 's role, identified eight major responsibilities: setting policy, approving budgets, maintaining financial accountability, formulating an institutional mission, monitoring program offerings in relation to the region served, facilitating College-community communication, ensuring quality education and representing the College to government. A board document, adopted in 1982, listed all of the items suggested by the participants but placed more emphasis on evaluative functions such as periodic reviews of the Board 's role and performance and the institution 's "general direction" and "the various components of the College that enable it to meet its Purpose" (MCC Board of Governors Job Description, 1982, p. 3).

Role Senders

Public members and the President. A sample of the role expectations for institutional members, as defined by their board colleagues, is contained in the following quotations:

We advise elected representatives that they are full-blown board members, their vote is as important as anyone else's vote and we want input from them. We want them to challenge the Board, challenge administration and to make sure that their viewpoint, be it personal or if they want to bring a point of view from the group they represent so long as they make that known. - Marsden (03010103)

They have to come to grips with the issue of being a board member first and foremost. They should be a representative of as opposed to being a representative for the constituency. - Emerson (03020203)

Their basic role should be the same as ever other board member. They provide some unique things, without them the only feedback we would receive from within the institution as lay persons would be what the president wanted us to have. - Fairhurst (03060703)

They should have the same responsibilities as the rest of us. They are not there representing faculty or the students or the support staff. - Kelloway (03061103)

This group of participants was unanimous in their view that the institutional members held board positions identical to those of other board members; consequently, the role expectations for them were the same. Even though their appointment resulted from elections within associations, these participants stressed that institutional members must place their board role first. In so doing they had to develop a board and college-wide perspective and contextualize the interests of their associations in relation to those of the College as a whole. More concretely, Boyd Emerson said institutional members had to arrive at a personal role

definition which resolved the tension between their association and board memberships by placing the association's role first. The confidentiality requirements of the Board are an example of Boyd's general statement; however, little mention was made of this expectation.

Faculty, student and support staff members could make a valuable contribution by providing input from the college community, but this should be from their perspective as individuals rather than as spokespersons for constituent groups or, more particularly, the executive of their associations. Nick Marsden qualified this commonly held expectation by saying he accepted institutional members reporting the viewpoint of an association as long as it was presented as such. Providing input from within the College had particular significance for Boyd Emerson because

By coming from a particular sector the institutional members will have the views that tend to be typical of people in that sector. In the sense they have a similar value system, they will bring to bear the kind of concerns or interests that would generally represent the kinds of interests or concerns that would come from that sector (03020203).

All institutional members held executive positions with their associations except when the support staff member was from the Employees' Association. Board participants did not think that this interest group affiliation was in conflict with their expectations for institutional members. In Ellen Fairhurst's opinion, membership on the executive of an association contributed to the communications function of an institutional member's role. She was comfortable with the dual roles for institutional members because

I look at the model [of institutional participation] and say this is probably where the private sector is going to have to go someday and here's an opportunity to demonstrate to the world that here is a model that can work and can work effectively (03060703).

Boyd McGregor saw no problem with the interest group involvement. Wade Kelloway cited an example of only one institutional member in his six years as a board member who hadn't been able to handle the dual roles successfully. Similarly, vice presidents Dale Raffu and Barry Robertson suggested no difficulties, and Barry explained why, in his view, there hadn't been problems:

The Board makes a major effort to really instill upon these people that they are board members and they are not representing a group. That is strictly means of getting them on to the Board, being nominated and elected by that group (03071303).

Conflict of interest. Article 6.0 of the Board's bylaws specified appropriate role behavior for members in situations of conflict of interest. When a member had a business or financial interest in an issue before the Board, he/she had to declare the interest at the start of the discussion, refrain from participating in the discussion and abstain from voting. The same article made an exception, directly applicable to institutional members, for those "questions of a general benefit to a class to which he [a board member] is by statute or collective bargaining agreement necessarily a member" (MCC, By-Laws of the Board of Governors, 1987, Article 6.4). In effect, employee members could be full participants in the discussion of and voting about the collective agreements with their associations.

Nick Marsden expected institutional members to participate in discussions of negotiations issue because

I appreciate their input, I want to know where they are coming from, I want to know what their complaints are, why they think they are being screwed by the Board or administration. If you don't get the truth out on the table, how are you going to deal with it if it is always in the back of somebody's mind (0301010301).

Other participants' comments about institutional members participating in discussions of grievances, employee dissatisfaction, employee discipline and so on were less clear-cut. It appears they were willing to accept institutional members' input, but, there seemed to be an expectation that institutional members would approach such problems from a problem-solving perspective rather an advocacy perspective.

Presidents of associations. While the four associations at MCC did not identify any role expectations for their institutional members in their bylaws, the presidents of the groups spoke at length about their expectations for the member from their group. With the exception of Kent Holmes, each president's definition paralleled those of public board members. Ernest Garry, President of the Faculty Association, provided background for his position by saying Janice's predecessor, Ralph Lockerby, had adopted the role of a delegate, and this had been problematic:

The Board expressed dissatisfaction with the approach because they never sensed they were getting a board member's independent view. Other board members began not to pay attention to his representations. They waited for him to quit talking the party line (03081403).

Based on Ralph's experience and conversations with Janice and Boyd Emerson,

Ernest concluded that Janice should act independently. The Faculty Association did not lay out any role- or issue-specific expectations for Janice because

We have an expectation that she will interact on the Board in a professionally responsible way that will be a credit to our Association. Those involve a fairly large number of unwritten rules of conduct, but I think most faculty members would understand (03081403).

Ernest and his executive dealt with specific workplace problems by working directly with the President and the vice presidents or by making presentations to the Board with the goal of avoiding conflicting role expectations for their representative. Janice's board position made her an executive member of the Faculty Association, and, as a part of that role, she was expected to give reports to executive and association meetings.

Like Ernest Garry, Bernard Jansen, President of the Students' Association, said Patricia should act independently, but, at the same time, he and his executive ensured there was clear and complete communication between Patricia and the executive and the Students' Council on specific issues. Patricia was a part of the executive in an advisory capacity only, but she was a full member of the Students' Council which was made up of the executive and divisional representatives. She was expected to attend the weekly meetings of Executive Council as well as the semimonthly meetings of the Students' Council and to make reports. Bernard said the Council and/or the executive discussed board decision issues with Patricia to ensure she was well aware of the Association's position. In those

going to say to the Board about how students feel. We have given her leeway this year, but we have always asked in advance what is she going to do, what is her position (03081503).

Patricia and Bernard were in agreement about her role which probably resulted from conversations they had prior to Bernard's election. Like Ernest Garry, Bernard saw direct representations to the Board as the best route for solving specific problems or dealing with issues such as tuition increases.

The Association's executive during the previous year had thought Patricia should act as a delegate; in fact, a former executive member had told Bernard that "I should make the student board rep report to me and that I should prepare a detailed report and tell him what to say in the board room and how to say it" (03081503). According to Bernard, his interpretation of representational style differed from that of the former executive member because of "the person [Patricia] I was dealing with" (03081503).

Derek Lidstone, President of the AUSS Local and a former board member, indicated the role of institutional member required a person to be a good communicator with all individuals and groups in the College, a knowledgeable resource person about college issues, an effective speaker at board meetings and an approachable individual who does not become conceited because of the board position. Derek was prepared to ask Lyle to represent the AUSS Local to the Board on certain issues. As an example, Derek referred to the program expansion which had been just announced for MCC and his concern for

Will you please emphasize this point at the Board to make the Board and the administration more aware of the fact that we are going to be watching them. They are not just going to start dumping all the work and we are not going to sit back and say nothing (03081603).

On labor relations issues, Derek presented two alternative scenarios, and the distinction between them is not clear in his comments. On the one hand, he would ask Lyle to carry a problem to the Board if the Local had worked with administration and had not found a satisfactory resolution. On the other hand, he argued forcefully that association presidents should make representations to the Board because

When it comes down to having to do with any dirty work, it's better that the presidents do the dirty work because they don't have to sit on the Board. That way the institutional board member can sit there and see it from the board perspective without going through all the nitty gritty of things that need to be said and maybe as a board member you would hesitate to say them (03081603).

Kent Holmes said "institutional members are there to represent the group, they are not there to voice their own opinion on anything as far as I am concerned; however, they have to go into a meeting completely unbiased" (03081703). Support staff board members often faced conflicting expectations. Members of the AUSS Local and the Employees' Association wanted their representative to carry certain problems to the Board, but then the members had to "say my hands are tied, I can't move, I can't do anything with it" (03081703) because the items were not board or policy related. While he wanted to see a situation where an institutional member could carry more to the Board, he also

the College" (03081703). Most of his understanding of what institutional members can carry to the Board is derived from

first-hand information from the board representatives themselves. They have tried to air some kind of a problem or something to the Board and they are told quite bluntly that is not board business, the Board is not concerned with that, that is the president's job. So they are squashed right there (03081703).

Like other association presidents, Kent identified specific interpersonal and communications skills which institutional members should have.

Institutional Members' Role Definitions

The institutional members' role definitions are reflected in these quotations:

I would say that my role is the same as any other member of the Board except I bring to the Board my particular background and expertise being a faculty member. The additional role that I might have is to bring to the agenda a faculty perspective, not necessarily arguing on behalf of faculty but maybe saying this is how faculty might see something like that. - Dalaney (03030303)

I think the first duty of anyone on the Board has to be the welfare of the College and I agree not to be necessarily representing an interest group. I agree to putting the welfare of the College ahead of the students. I can't see how there can be any difference anyhow. I put the welfare of the students ahead of the Students' Association. - Neumann (3040403)

I am not an Alberta Union of Support Staff member, I am not an Employees' Association member. I am an employee who is on the Board and that is the way I handle it. I am me. - Parlby (03050005)

You don't represent anybody in the College, you represent the College as a whole. When you come to a board meeting, you are now a member of the Board of Governors. You are no longer an employee. - Michaud

Clearly all four institutional members accepted the role expectation that they act as individuals rather than as delegates, and their special contribution would arise from their insider knowledge and their ability to speak as an instructor, student or support staff employee. On this point, Janice compared herself to a public member who was an accountant. They shared the same role but the accountant made a special contribution because of his profession just as she made a special contribution because of her experience as an educator.

Janice explained several concrete elements of her role definition. She felt her effectiveness and credibility were dependent upon her level of preparation which resulted from understanding and researching issues, being well organized, maintaining contact with the Vice President - Academic on issues within his area, "making productive use of contacts and alliances," and "maintaining good contact with the Students' Association" (03030303). She also saw an implicit role to educate public board members about educational issues, and, in a related vein, felt that an institutional member should not hesitate to ask questions because "public members might not want to speak in case they might appear to be ignorant" (03030303). Despite all the signals which warn institutional members against any appearance of partisanship, Janice believed, at the end of her two-year term, that in certain cases

There are times when, because of your special knowledge, you have to communicate some of that about an issue and that may be perceived as being partisan but if it is an important piece of information about the problem then I think you have to do that. For example, if we [the board]

Janice illustrated how an institutional member's role definition can change during his/her term of office with this statement:

There is a little joke about when you start on the Board you are feeling that you are going to make sure that the faculty view gets expressed and then what happens after two years, you want to make sure the Board's point of view is expressed here [within the College] because you do see things from a much broader perspective and you understand why the Board makes decisions the way they do sometimes (03030303).

A number of participants made observations about institutional members' role definitions which provided some perspective over time. The institutional members who held office at the time of the interviews were seen as having appropriate role definitions, but participants mentioned former members whose role definitions had been substantially different from the Board's expectations. Boyd Emerson had observed institutional members for a period of six years, and he said, "I have been able to observe the transition, the individual coming to grips with the role" (03020203). In cases, however, when an institutional member had not accepted the role expectations, that person was "almost ostracized. You see more conversations around him, not with him, with regard to those things where there is a potential role conflict" (03020203). Based on over three years of observation, Byron McGregor, a public member, concluded that the way an individual institutional member defined his/her responsibilities "is strictly a function of the individual" (03060803). He noted Janice had wisely invited Ernest Garry as President of the Faculty Association to make the monthly Association report to the Board which helped the Board to see Janice as an individual. Dale

dependent" (03071203). Faculty and student members had been more successful in meeting the Board's expectations while, on the other hand, "the support staff members, and I have watched three of them now, all get much more involved in bringing problem issues from that area to the Board that they want the Board to resolve" (03071203).

THE BOARD AS A DECISION-MAKING GROUP

Perspectives and Interactions

While participants were not asked questions about these topics, the ongoing analysis of the transcripts revealed three areas of interest--social and working relationships among board members, social characteristics of the public members, and the role of the President--which are relevant to a consideration of decision making.

Six participants initiated comments about relationships among members, and they essentially echoed Nick Marsden's perception of the group as "very cohesive, cooperative, friendly" (03010112). Nick mentioned the Board's voting patterns as a way of supporting his observation about the high level of cooperation. In almost all cases, board members voted unanimously in the public meeting and with almost as a high frequency in the in-camera sessions. There had been no divisions within the Board during his six-year term, despite some highly contentious issues because

we let everyone have their kick at the cat, even more than they should, even back to repeating themselves. We have the vote and we have always managed to maintain cordial, good relationships on our Board on a personal basis. If you have that personal basis it is almost like having a fight with your wife, you might be mad but the next morning you are going to kiss and make up (03010112).

Nick also attributed the Board's social cohesion and cooperative working relations to the public service orientation of the community members:

Everyone is there for the overall benefit of the College and we have some extremely intelligent and hard-working people on the Board . . . , but they are not grandstanders. They are there for the right reasons not that there isn't a certain amount of prestige with being a board member which is nice but they put that aside (03010112).

Boyd Emerson also mentioned that the Board did not have standing committees as a way of enhancing solidarity within the group.

According to Nick and other participants, he consciously worked very hard at developing a sense of social cohesion among the members. He was seen as very personable, and his style set the tone for the Board. As Chairman, Nick also kept the meetings informal as a way of helping people feel comfortable. The retreats were described as an important way to build relationships. While Patricia recognized social and ideological differences between her and the public members, she also said she hadn't felt excluded in a social situation.

While the Board clearly used multiple criteria such as regional representation and expertise in recommending individuals to the Minister of Advanced Education, all "public members have to be acceptable to the political process but it's not fundamental" (03060712), according to Ellen Fairhurst. Seven parti-

effectiveness of the Board. In general terms, they saw the political linkage as beneficial when it strengthened the College's influence with government, but, the Board may have been unwilling to differ with government in the interests of the College. According to Dale Raffu, board members made the generalization that the institutional members didn't belong to the right party, especially in the case of the faculty members.

Patricia offered her perceptions of the social characteristics and world view of the public members in these words:

I really feel that some of these people, particularly when you talk about money and the effects money decisions will have on people, I don't think they really understand the way the world is out there. I think they are all hard-working people . . . but I think they have been removed from the nuts and bolts of it long enough that they don't have the same kind of empathy for certain groups that I would have. I had never experienced a feeling of the American free enterprise system in a group before. There is just one way to do it and to be a good person (03040412).

Ernest Garry spoke of the public and institutional members being drawn from different social circles, and many public members were "successful independent individuals" (03081409) in contrast to the institutional members who worked within a large organization. Dale Raffu saw small businessmen having trouble understanding the functioning of a large institution. In a discussion of conflict of interest as it applied to institutional members, Janice said the public members represented special interests because of

their political affiliation, their professions, their socio-economic status, all their own values and groups they belong to. It is not that they are being totally objective, they are bringing in a certain agenda or certain interest, maybe representing an interest group of sorts as well (03030303).

Indirect evidence of the differences between public and institutional members is found in several participants' references to joking among board members. From Lionel Palmer's point of view

what makes our mix work with the institutional and public members is that we do a lot of joking. If we are talking about faculty negotiations we'll say something to our faculty rep, point blank things. He has to laugh. They can feel a bit more comfortable (03060912).

When asked about these joking practices, Chris Oliver saw them as quite harmless. Boyd Emerson, Nick Marsden and Wade Kelloway liked "to keep things light" and "the faculty are the obvious ones to take a crack at because there are a couple of hundred of them" (03061012). As discussed earlier, this humor was not harmless fun in Janice's and Patricia's eyes. On one occasion, Janice phoned Nick Marsden

because of some reference he made to faculty. I said it was a derogatory remark. I told him you are the Chairman and you should be setting an example. It is bad enough for any board member to talk like that but especially you. He was quite apologetic (03030308).

As President, Boyd Emerson was seen as competent and adept at achieving his goals. When asked if institutional members limited Boyd's power, Dale Raffu indicated "they don't because the President is a master manoeuvrer, that's the personality type he is" (03071209). Patricia expressed essentially the same idea. Dale went on to say that this Board had delegated a lot of power to Boyd, in contrast to previous boards, and "has their permission to do a lot of things without taking it back to them" (03071214). Janice, Ellen Fairhurst and Dale Raffu spoke of Boyd being powerful because of his position and his presidential

style. Like any chief executive officer, Boyd had a distinct advantage because of his knowledge base and his capacity to initiate. Janice went further and pointed to the power block which existed because of Boyd's and Nick's close working relationship: "to the extent that Nick and Boyd get along well and have a good understanding, that's where a lot of stuff gets dealt with. The rest of us sit around and put up our hands now and then" (03030311).

Janice and Dale Raffu drew upon their historical knowledge of the College and described a change made by Boyd which reveals both his presidential style and points to an important contextual feature of the Board's decision-making work. The college community had defined itself as collegial for years, but sometime during Boyd's presidency the concept of consultation was operationalized. In practice, this meant that Academic Council changed its constitution to eliminate its subcommittees; they were re-established as committees of the office of the Vice President - Academic. Other committees which had been decision-making committees were clearly defined as recommending bodies. By 1987-88 the most powerful committees in the College were the College Affairs Committee (CAC) and the Academic Policies Committee (APC) which were chaired by the President and the Vice President - Academic respectively. While the shift from the collegial to the consultative model did not affect the Board directly, it is relevant to understanding the origins of many of the recommendations which the Board received.

Decision-Making Patterns

The Board met once a month during 1987-88; each meeting was divided into public and in camera sessions. On average, the public portion lasted between 80 and 90 minutes, and the minutes reveal four categories of activities and decisions. First, there were detailed reports from the Chairman, President, Academic Council, the Foundation, the Faculty Association, the Students' Association and the non-academic staff organizations. Second, financial expenditures for renovations, capital purchases and contracts were approved at almost every meeting. Third, action was taken on annually recurring decision areas such as collective agreements, the operating budget and the financial report. Fourth, new initiatives included decision issues such as academic policies, endowment investments, program expansion, institutional evaluation, program proposals and college goals.

Items in the first three categories arose in a somewhat routine and regular manner as determined by college policy, established practice and government requirements. Items in the fourth category appear to have originated with one of three sources: internal policy recommending bodies such as Academic Council, APC and CAC, the board's annual retreat or senior administration. Monthly agendas were set by Nick Marsden, Boyd Emerson and the Board's secretary, and, in Nick's view, public and institutional members would not be aware of the origins of the items on the agendas they received. He said a majority of the decision issues "are from administration because they are there day in and day out. They know what the issues are that are affecting them. They are the ones

who get the letters from the Department" (03010106). Sometimes board members called him and asked to have an item placed on the agenda. Byron McGregor, Wade Kelloway and Dale Raffu indicated the Board's retreats were the origin of new initiatives. At these meetings, in Byron's words,

we set the tone around certain topics we want to talk about, gather statistics, try to generate as many options as possible, review them and establish broad direction for ourselves. Based on that working base, we then hone in on one or two of the options in order to do the detail work and take it through staff work to completion (03060806).

As a decision-making body, the Board appeared to follow the recommendations of Academic Council, CAC and administration based on a review of the minutes of the public meetings and comments from Janice, Chris Oliver and Dale Raffu. Four items were referred to the Board from Academic Council during .987-88 and these were adopted as submitted. Some of the recommendations which came to the Board from Academic Council were initiated by the APC chaired by Dale Raffu and composed of faculty, students, the Registrar and one other administrator. The CAC, an advisory committee to the President, was made up of the vice presidents, deans and several service area directors and "the Board will not accept anything that has not come through CAC" (03071212). It was the result, in Chris's view, of "the Board's respect for administration. My idea is that the Board has confidence in administration and we follow what they say" (03061006). Dale observed that the Board always followed Boyd Emerson's recommendations because they were afraid disagreement would be interpreted as nonconfidence.

An important feature of the board's decision-making activity was an informal discussion period of about 15 minutes at the start of each meeting. This in camera session gave board members an opportunity to raise questions and concerns or ask for information in an informal setting. For the first part of the session, the vice presidents were not present to facilitate discussion of items within their areas of responsibility. The nature of the issues discussed varied greatly, including requests for status reports on negotiations, questions about upcoming agenda items or expressions of concern about an operational matter from either a public or an institutional member. All items were accepted and none was ruled out of order. Boyd Emerson indicated institutional members had raised workplace problems approximately two to three times each year. By the end of his second month on the Board, Lyle Parlby reported having tabled one such issue. According to Nick Marsden, the Board's response to concerns about operational matters took one of three forms: referred inquirer to one of the senior administrators, discussed the issue and gave informal feedback to administration or asked for more formal follow-up from the inquirer or his/her association at a subsequent meeting. Nick Marsden felt that even in cases when he decided, after hearing the member's concern, that the matter was an administrative concern "I could do something to bring some sort of satisfaction to the person" (03010112). At least the person had been able to raise the concern, there had been discussion, other members had been alerted to the issue, and he could recommend some action such as a meeting with the President. This informal discussion period was

endorsed highly by all board participants.

Several board members who were involved in negotiations reported varying their decision making and communications approaches because of the presence of employee board members. Byron McGregor, speaking of his experience with faculty negotiations, said he, one other board member and the Vice President - Administration prepared their initial negotiating position and called upon the Vice President - Academic and the President as resource persons. While they were preparing that position they made only synoptic reports to the full Board because

I think I have some responsibility not to put the institutional members in a compromising situation. We didn't hide anything from her [the faculty member], but it wasn't the full Board and certainly not the institutional members who were involved in setting that negotiating position. I think we watch what we say around the table. It is not that the public members will go off and talk about something. That doesn't happen. I think we are very conscious of not wanting to put that faculty or support staff member in a bad situation (0306080301).

Boyd Emerson went on to say that "a bad situation" would have existed if the faculty or support staff member had known the Board's opening position before it was presented at the negotiating table. He felt that the Board's other negotiating teams acted in the same way. He also had refrained from asking his board colleagues certain questions during a meeting and had contacted his colleagues on an individual basis. Lionel Palmer indicated there had been less than full disclosure because of the presence of the employee members. Boyd Emerson said

early kind of [role transition] period You would also see things couched in terms that other board members would understand more than that particular individual" (0302020301). While differences exist in Byron's and Boyd's statements, it is clear that concerns about conflict of interest and confidentiality had had some impact on the Board's functioning.

On one occasion, according to Dale Raffu, one of the negotiating committees called together all the public members and the President for an off-the-record meeting about negotiations because of concerns about confidentiality. Nick Marsden as Chairman was uncomfortable with that meeting because "He was very concerned that the internal members are also equal members" (0307120302), and, for this reason, meetings of this type did not reoccur. Dale also pointed out that several times in the past year the President had contacted influential public members on a one-to-one basis with the result that "the public members had more information than the internal members" (0307120302) as discussion of a particular issue began in camera.

Committees. The Board had consciously chosen not to establish standing committees because of a desire to build solidarity within the Board and avoid segmentation. Boyd Emerson expressed the rationale for the choice in this way:

We are aware that some of the boards operate with a large number of committees and a lot of work is done in committees and with the board itself, it is just a formal approval. We very deliberately are going in the exact opposite direction in that all matters are discussed within the Board with all members. In this approach all board members are equal board members (03020212)

exception was the audit committee which received and responded to the annual auditor's report.

All other committees of the Board were ad hoc. These included three negotiations committees appointed annually. During 1987-88, there were four additional ad hoc committees: Orientation Committee, Unmet Communications Needs Committee, Investment Policy Committee, and the President's Evaluation and Contract Committee. Each institutional member served on one or more of the orientation and communications committees. The latter had been established as a result of concerns expressed by Janice and Patricia at the board retreat.

Academic Council

The Constitution of the Council at MCC stated that its purpose is to "make recommendations to the Board of Governors with respect to principles and policies related to the academic affairs of the College" and facilitate communication within the college community (Constitution of the Academic Council of MCC, 1987, Article 2.0). These purposes were operationalized in a powers and functions article which identified 14 areas of academic policy within the Council's mandate, and these included admission and graduation requirements, grading standards and examination policy, awards, program review, academic schedule, course changes and program proposals.

The Council met 12 times between October 1987 and July 1988. There

decision or information areas: academic policy with emphasis on program-specific policies, program changes, program proposals and matters of college-wide concern such as academic schedule, convocation and college goals. During the year, Council received information about six new program proposals and made decisions only in one case which was to approve admissions and graduation requirements. The Board heard reports from Council on seven occasions. Throughout the year the Board addressed a total of four decision issues which had been referred to it by Council or which had been developed by a third group and considered by Council en route to the Board. It is not clear what criterion was used to determine which of Council's decisions were referred to the Board.

Several patterns emerge from this description of the Board's and Council's decision-making activities with regard to academic matters. Academic Council operated without subcommittees and responded to items referred to it by departments, divisions, the APC, the CAC and other groups such as the strategic planning committee. There is no evidence in Council's minutes to suggest that it initiated any decision issues. New program proposals did not require the approval of Council or the Board before they were submitted to government which means major initiatives affecting the mandate of the College could be taken as administrative action. Very few decision issues of an academic nature were considered by the Board upon referral from Council. It appears, then, that academic decision making was primarily within the realms of Academic Council, APC, CAC, and CAC thus limiting the Board's involvement and reducing

the institutional members' opportunity to contribute to the areas they knew best.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS' ROLE BEHAVIOR

Institutional Members' Participation in Decision Making

The comments of nine participants provide a clear picture about the nature and frequency of institutional members' contributions to the Board's decision-making activities. Although most participants took a long-term perspective rather than focusing on 1987-88, it is clear they saw Janice, Patricia and Lorne as representative of the three categories of institutional members over time. Ellen Fairhurst's comments, based on three years of board service, reflect the views of other participants:

The faculty members generally are very good resource people. If in the decision-making process you need some support in terms of background or current theory, they are generally very good in terms of helping provide that. Generally faculty have a fairly clear picture of what they want to get. The support staff members tend to get wrapped up in detail that really becomes an administration situation as opposed to policy making. I think our student reps bring to the discussion and the process a completely different perspective than what anybody else does and it is very useful (0306070501).

The institutional members' degree of participation varied from individual to individual and from issue to issue. As a group they spoke more than some public members but less than most. Dale Raffu said they responded most to specific issues in the areas of personnel, labor relations and budget while Barry Robertson indicated faculty members were active on questions of academic policy

and student members were active on students' concerns such as tuition and other fees. In his view, the support staff members had not been particularly active on any issues. Byron MacGregor made much the same assessment about participation levels but went on to say that institutional members--on the basis of their life experience, serious consideration of the issues and experiences as employees--"can bring some stronger issues or points, opinions about things" even if they have less managerial experience than many public members (0306080501).

Patricia summarized her contributions to the Board's decision making by saying "I do honestly try to reflect a student view. I see that as one of my strengths. I am not afraid to identify in that respect at all. That is bringing in special information they need" (0304040501).

After only two months on the Board, Lyle felt he had been able to bring two significant issues to the table. The first was "a very serious morale problem in one department" (0305050501) which was brought to his attention by his peers. After Lyle aired his concern with the Board, he found that the Chairman had also been approached about the problem. The Board responded by appointing a committee and charging it with reporting to the next meeting. In the second case, the issue

was something that I had been lobbied for and something that I had brought forth in the meeting and everybody else turned it down. After the meeting I wouldn't give up and they went back and changed their opinion [at the next meeting] (0305050501).

Dale Raffu's descriptions of Janice's and Lorne's role behavior were

... [faded text] ... further participants: Janice ... Dale's words "tried to

bring an institutional perspective to discussions and not an interest group perspective" (0307120501). On the other hand, Lorne brought only his personal experiences and not a general support staff perspective or the perspective of the two support staff associations.

The earlier discussion of conflict of interest indicated institutional members were eligible to participate in the discussion of and voting about any issue which affected their association. In practice, their participation was slightly different. When negotiations were discussed and when collective agreements were ratified, the institutional members were present. They did not vote by choice, and they requested their abstention be recorded. As a general rule, it appears that institutional members were able, over the years, to participate in discussions about the agreements for their associations. Janice indicated she had contributed to discussions about the Faculty Association agreement during both years of her term while Lyle said he had not spoken during the ratification of the AUSS agreement. During Janice's first year, the negotiating committee

brought out an opening position, and there were a lot of things in there that I had some concern about from what I thought was a college perspective. I went through a whole bunch of those and then I realized afterwards that probably I shouldn't have done that. Probably hurt my credibility a little bit in that I was too partisan on that issue (0303030301). Although Janice was concerned about partisanship, she had received no negative feedback and "people listened and no one tried to cut me off" (0303030301).

Decision-making case 1. The Unmet Communication Needs Committee, established at the Board's retreat in 1986, originated from concerns raised by Janice and Patricia during the retreat because they saw serious problems within

the College: "There were a lot of rumors going around. It was really bad for awhile" (0303030614). Janice recalled talking about "communications and how it interacts with climate and there was a fair degree of sensitivity [among the board members] around that once we started talking about climate because they explicitly didn't want to deal with that because of . . . [historical reasons]" (0303030614). According to Janice, Nick said, "you [Janice and Patricia] seem to have a concern about it, form a committee and do something and report back to the Board" (0303030614). Lorne Michaud was a member of the Committee, and Boyd Emerson worked with it on an occasional basis. Janice tried to get a public member on the Committee to give it credibility, but "there was quite a bit of resistance to that. It almost felt like we were being given busy work to do. You make your report and that will be the end of it" (0304040614). Byron McGregor did become a part of the Committee during its last months in the spring of 1988.

Janice and Patricia were able to identify five examples of concrete actions which had resulted from their efforts. Because they made no reports to the Board, it appears these actions were initiated by the President based on Patricia's description of a meeting with him:

We met with him with our list of concerns and he was very open about it and if there was something he didn't agree with, he said so. He was frank about it and he acted upon the other things. We went in with a list of 15 or 20 items and probably we were successful with 10 or 12 (0304040614).

They were scheduled to make a final report to the Board in June 1988, one month after these interviews were conducted.

This Committee differed from other Board committees on two counts: it did not report to the Board and it addressed operational rather than policy matters. Both Janice and Patricia could not offer any explanations for the differences. Dale Raffu, although not a participant at the 1986 retreat, suggested a number of possible explanations such as Nick lost sight of the administration-policy distinction, Nick was confused about the problem, and Boyd Emerson wanted to have the institutional members offer suggestions for change rather than making criticisms.

Decision-making case 2. Like several colleges in Alberta, MCC actively considered the question of degree-granting status during 1987-88. The issue had come forward at various times in the College's history, but it had not been given serious consideration in recent years until the fall of 1987 when the two largest universities in the province announced enrollment controls. These environmental changes created concern about MCC's present and future university transfer students gaining admission to universities as well as discussion of the need to meet the demand for undergraduate education if the existing universities could not accept all qualified students.

Discussion of degree-granting status and degree-completion arrangements took place at the Board's retreat in November. This was the first time the Board had taken serious interest in the topic during Patricia's term, and she felt this was because Boyd Emerson had supported consideration of the question. Janice saw the outcome of the discussion was a decision to

Open the door to look at it. Before we always had the door closed. Let's open the door, not in that we are going to actively support it, but let's take a look at what is involved so that if a change is made or if the government changes, we are ready to go (0303030611).

At the retreat the Board identified consideration of the degree-granting and degree-completion question as one of its goals for 1987-88.

At the December board meeting, Boyd Emerson made a detailed presentation about the universities' plans, the implications for MCC and its students, and the Government's refusal to establish degree-granting status for another institution. The Board adopted his four recommendations which called for exploratory and alternative generating activities. Subsequently, Boyd appointed an internal committee to consider the implications of degree-granting status for the College. During January the Board's draft goal statements were reviewed by the CAC and Academic Council. The relevant specific objective, as approved by the Board, stated: "To develop a plan for implementing at least one degree program" (MCC Board of Governors, 1988b, n.p.). The list of 11 college-wide goal statements and accompanying objectives were approved by Academic Council after a ten-minute discussion.

Neither institutional nor public members, other than the Chairman, were active participants in this initiative which had far-reaching implications for the mandate and development of MCC. The topic was accepted as a priority by the Board at its retreat as a result of Boyd Emerson's recommendation. Patricia actively supported degree granting at the board retreat and Janice did as well although to a lesser extent. At the December meeting the Board received Boyd

Emerson's analysis and accepted his recommendations. From that point forward, he made periodic reports to the Board. Janice was a member of internal task force investigating the question but her membership on the committee was not a function of her board position. The task force reported to the President rather than to the Board.

Institutional Members' Relationships with Their Associations

The earlier discussion of the associations' role expectations for institutional members pointed to the autonomy granted to them. In practice, the working relationships between three of the four institutional members and their groups reflected the spirit of independence expressed in the role expectations. In Patricia's case, she met regularly with the Executive Council and Students' Council and she had almost daily, informal contact with Bernard. She talked with the table officers on a monthly basis to gather material for her report to the Board. Patricia had no problems maintaining the Board's confidentiality even though she served on her Association's executive. Bernard reported they worked well together, largely, it appears because of a shared understanding of Patricia's role.

Janice and Ernest Garry had only informal and occasional contact outside of the Faculty Association's executive and general meetings. Sometimes Janice's colleagues or fellow executive members "asked me how does the Board feel about [this issue]. Does the Board understand our position? It is more of a query

as opposed to you make sure that you inform the Board about that" (0303030502). Janice, like Patricia, was able to manage the confidentiality requirements very comfortably. In one situation, Janice was asked, probably by an executive member, to "feel out the Board about a negotiations issue" (0303030502) and when she did Nick Marsden became upset. Upon reflection, Janice realized

he had become upset because it had to do with something that happened the year before and there were some pieces of information that I wasn't even aware of. I really got caught in a bad place and I said I am not doing this middleman stuff because I don't know if I have all the pieces of information (03030308).

As the support staff members, Lyle and Lorne had different working relationships with their associations because they belonged to different organizations. Lyle was a member of the executive of AUSS, and he did discuss board actions from the public meetings at each executive meeting. Before each board meeting, Lyle phoned Derek Lidstone to "ask him if there is anything he wanted brought up at the board meeting" (0303030502). At the time of the interview two months after his appointment, Lyle had not had any involvement with the Employees' Association because the group was not active at that time.

Lorne was not a member of the Employees' Association executive, but he did attend their meetings most of the time. When he made a report he felt "they expected me to be able to report more than I could, but I was limited because of confidentiality. Their personal problems I believe they expected me to represent them at the board level which I couldn't do" (0305060502). In addition, the

Board's confidentiality requirements caused him a lot of stress because "I knew one side of the story at the board level and I knew the other side at the college internal level" (0305060302). He did go to some of the AUSS Local's general meetings but found "they did not have time for me on their agenda" (0305060502) and eventually stopped going.

The Board's practice of dealing with some of the most sensitive issues in camera and the accompanying confidentiality requirements narrowly circumscribed institutional members' working relationships with the executives of their associations. Dale Raffu mentioned the case of one board decision which had resulted in the layoff of AUSS members, and no one, other than board members and senior administrators, knew of the layoffs until the employees received their notices. Lyle had vigorously represented their interests to the Board, but he was not able to bring the issue to the attention of the AUSS Local before the decision was announced.

INFLUENCE PROCESSES

In general, influence activities occurred infrequently and some board members were not aware of their existence. A number of participants appeared to have used somewhat different understandings of influence processes and lobbying which means their observations are not easily comparable.

Janice said she hadn't been contacted by a public member about any

board decision issue. She had contacted Nick and another public member on one occasion each. She didn't feel these were influence processes because, in the former case, she was questioning a procedure, and, in the latter, she was seeking information. Janice and Patricia both reported they met prior to board meetings to review the agenda. Dale Raffu indicated the faculty and student members had done that in previous years. Lorne and Lyle were not part of this process.

The public members offered only a limited number of observations about influence processes. Chris Oliver, in the seventh month of his term, was not aware of influence processes outside of parliamentary debate. Lionel Palmer indicated members did call each other at home about issues, and he regularly called one other member after reviewing the agenda package if he had "a problem getting something straight" (0306090701). Ellen Fairhurst didn't think lobbying occurred but she had seen members who were on opposite sides on issues get together over dinner to try and understand each other's position.

Among the public members, the only concrete example of influence processes was given by Nick Marsden in his description of his own activities:

There are times when I will phone a number of board members, if not all of them, and say, there is this particular issue, these are my thoughts, this is the way I think we should handle it. It is going to be coming up at the Board, if we can all think about it for a bit, maybe we won't have to spend two hours on it. There is no question what I am trying to lead them down my way of thinking, but I have had them do the same to me (0301010701).

Nick's additional comments suggested his calls often were limited to the most influential public members.

Boyd Emerson, by his own comments and those of Dale Raffu and

Patricia, certainly became involved in trying to influence public and institutional members on issues coming to the Board. He referred to his plan for a college-wide task force on degree-granting status and said he had reviewed it with the student and faculty board members and several public members prior to presenting it to the Board. As a general pattern, he said his contact with board members

takes the form of knowing if somebody has a particular interest in something. Make sure they are aware of what's happening so that they are not surprised, but, on the other hand, I also can get the benefit of any suggestions and advice (0302020701).

Dale confirmed Boyd's practice of contacting members prior to meetings and said Boyd usually chose to contact the Chairman, at least one other public member and the faculty member to make sure he had at least "at least three people who he knows are going to support his idea if it is going to be a problem to try to take it through" (0307120701).

Only indirect evidence explains the very low level of influence processes within the Board. The absence of standing committees meant that, in most cases, all public and institutional members had the same level of knowledge and involvement with decision issues. The Board's reliance on Boyd Emerson's direction had the effect of limiting diversity of views because most decision areas came to the Board with an explicit or implicit recommendation. Despite some evidence to the contrary, the Board's rejection of operational matters as outside its role limited its involvement with issues closest to home for institutional members and,

CONFLICT

Almost all participants discussed conflict. It is clear they thought about it in different ways on the basis of the examples they provided, many of which do not fall within the conceptual boundaries of social science definitions of conflict. This section presents the participants' experiences as they recounted them without making any definitional distinctions.

The vice presidents and a number of board members had seen or experienced what they considered to be conflict. Over the years, according to Ellen Fairhurst, the President had become defensive when institutional members brought issues which were operational in nature to board meetings. Frequently the Chairman defused the situation by referring the item to administration but asking for a report about it at some future time. Barry Robertson reported conflict between employee members and public members over salaries and benefits in times of fiscal restraint. Lorne Michaud felt he was cut off by Boyd Emerson when he offered something from an employee's perspective, and he described being chastised by a public member because of a position he took about one decision issue. Dale Raffu said Lorne had been isolated within the Board because of the other members' reaction to his personality and his representational style. Patricia mentioned an incident during her second retreat when Lionel Palmer challenged her by saying institutional members shouldn't be on the Board. By the discussion time all forgotten the next day! (03040408) As

discussed earlier, Janice had a difference of opinion with Nick Marsden when she tried to play middleman between the Faculty Association and the Board on negotiations issues. Janice phoned Nick on one occasion to express her displeasure about "a derogatory reference he made to faculty" (03030308). In addition, Janice said she received "a little flack" from her dean because she was pushing for divisional meetings as a part of her work on the Unmet Communications Needs Committee (0303030614).

Lorne and Patricia experienced conflict in their relationships with the associations they represented. Lorne spoke of "very painful experiences between me and AUSS and it was never resolved" (03050608). He attributed the problems to the Local 's surprise that one of their members hadn't been successful in the election. Patricia said the President of the Students' Association during her first term had expected her to carry certain positions to the Board. Because she wouldn't do that their relationships became strained. As a result, the President of the Association tried to direct her and criticized her in Council meetings.

Some participants reported little or no conflict. Ernest Garry, Bernard Jansen and Kent Holmes, speaking as association presidents, reported no conflict with the board member from their group. Boyd Emerson observed that "the potential for conflict far exceeds the amount of conflict. I see a real big potential but I don't see a lot of evidence of conflict" (03020208). As evidence of the low level of conflict he said the Board almost always voted with unanimity, and

Janice confirmed it was rare to see people voting in opposition to each other. Despite some of her experiences, Janice felt there was a "very minimal" level of conflict within the Board (03030308).

A number of explanations were offered for the lack of or low level of conflict within the Board. Boyd Emerson stressed the Board's commitment to functioning as a committee of the whole without standing committees which meant "the potential for conflict is being addressed quite actively. People have an opportunity to express themselves, they don't feel left out" (03020208). He saw Nick Marsden as being a particularly skilful Chairman, adept at "ensuring the Board works well together" (03020208). Lionel Palmer felt there would have been more conflict without institutional members because their "presence inhibits the discussion by public members who are afraid of offending someone" (03060909). He also said conflict doesn't result if everyone thinks in terms of the common goal of the good of the College. This emphasis on the good of the College was pervasive throughout the interviews and may have served to restrain the institutional members because of a fear of being labelled partisan if they differed with other members, particularly on the sensitive issues.

Janice's and Patricia's explanations for the low level of conflict differed from those of their board colleagues probably because of their different roles and experience bases. They both agreed that conflict was reduced because the public members, in Janice's words, "come from very common social, economic and ideological backgrounds" (03030308). The public members had a limited sense of

involvement because "they have been appointed and as long as the College seems to be doing what it is supposed to be doing, that is the extent of their role" (03030308). A lot of the Board's role, according to Janice, was delegated to the President which also limited the board members' engagement with the issues, and many items "come through the system and by the time they get to the Board, we are just agreeing with it" (03030308). Board members also either avoided conflict because they saw it as bad or suppressed it and used jokes and "little pokes" as a way of expressing their feelings (03030308). Patricia and Boyd Emerson were "both careful not to set that kind of thing [conflict] up. He's very careful. He's a very adept politician (03040408).

IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

Assessments of Impact

In general terms, the public members, the President and the vice presidents felt that as a group, Janice, Patricia, Lorne and Lyle made valuable contributions and served as important sources of information about the college community. Wade Kelloway's and Dale Oliver's perceptions are typical:

[They] have a positive impact because they do have a feel for what is going on within the College itself. Without them there we would be more or less just getting the opinion of the President and the higher administration. I think they do perform a task there all right (03061109).

[The institutional members' contributions at board meetings] are not an eye opener but certainly they are good contributions. Nothing that made

think they are wasting their time. When they contribute they are talking about things they know. I find it very useful (03061009).

There was a consensus that Janice was the most influential, followed by Patricia and Lyle. When participants identified the five most influential members, only three placed one institutional member, Janice, at the bottom of their lists of five. Boyd Emerson said that the question of relative influence was best understood by looking at categories of issues before the Board:

On anything that had to do with programming, the nature of the program, the direction we might be going in a programming sense, determining what kind of public we are attempting to serve, anything about the mix and balance in our programs, clearly the faculty member would be on [the list of the five most influential] and often the student member would be on (03020209).

Over time, the faculty member had been the most influential of the three institutional members, and Janice was seen as being typical of that pattern. Ellen Fairhurst said Janice was "very good in terms of being broad, saying what is the broad issue here as opposed to the specifics," and she went on to say "I have a lot of respect for her, and I think I value her counsel" (03060709). Byron McGregor interpreted the reasons for her influence in this way:

I see her as a facilitator, conciliatory style. She has a good problem-solving model because she is searching for alternatives and making sure about the method and the factors that you are going to use to evaluate those alternatives. I think she has a problem-solving method that allows her to walk around the problem (03060809).

As an example, Boyd Emerson referred to the cutbacks made during an earlier budget process and pointed out that Janice and the President of the Faculty Association at that time "did a good job of talking to us and kept reminding us

that our goal should be to maintain quality throughout all of this" (03060909).

Byron said Janice had been able to divorce herself from her association role.

Patricia was seen as a particularly effective student member because of her maturity; life experience; and organizational, communications and interpersonal skills; however there is little evidence which gives a concrete picture of the degree of influence. One long-serving public member saw her as having "probably done the best job as a student rep" (03010109).

Only a few comments were made about Lorne's and Lyle's impact as the support staff members. Clearly Lorne had very little influence and Lyle had only served for two months. Boyd Emerson said support staff members over time have "lived a little closer to home," that is, focused on internal matters and have lacked "the same visionary breadth" (03020209).

Dale Raffu, speaking about institutional members as a group and surveying his three years as a board observer, was not convinced they had any impact. He supported his observation by saying

when I see the institutional members raise an issue where they are not supporting the way the public members are going, they never win. It wouldn't matter how many times they brought a logical, rational argument forward, I have never seen them be able to sway the public members on a vote. That suggests to me that the public members listen but not very well. They kind of have their minds made up ahead of time (03071209).

This was in large part a function, in Dale's view, of the Board's support for and reliance upon Boyd Emerson which limited the impact of all board members. At the same time, Dale did mention three types of situations which suggest, by

...

institutional members. Boyd communicated with individual institutional members just as he did with public members "to be sure he has them on his side" (03071209). He used dialogue with them as an informal way of testing ideas and getting ideas into circulation without making formal representations to groups. When potentially conflict-ridden situations arose, Boyd spoke with individual institutional members "before the issue gets out there and they come in reacting to it" (03071209).

Janice talked at length about her impact and interpreted the dynamics which shaped her impact. The rest of the Board received information about education and the college community which would not have been available to them without her position; "otherwise they rely just on the information the President gives them, which is only a certain kind of communication" (03030309). Even if institutional members had no information about a particular topic, they were more likely than public members to know what questions to ask. In another context, she expressed the same idea when she said institutional members "can educate the public members a little bit" and "they have been receptive to anything I have brought in" (03030309). Speaking speculatively, she felt the Board may have made better decisions because there were people from within the College who created an implicit sense of accountability. Janice saw her presence and that of Patricia and Lyle as having reduced the likelihood of inevitable bias from the President and vice presidents because "when they are making comments or reports they know that you are there and certainly that might

influence them" (03030309). Janice presented a comprehensive statement about the personal attributes which an institutional member needs in order to be influential:

A lot of it has to do with discernment. Being able to discern when to speak out and when not to and when to question and when not to and when to push a point and when not to. So part of that discernment involves being able to understand who those other people are and your interaction with them. I guess it is understanding the political nature of this group and how to influence people, how to gain friends, how to express yourself and being able to pick up subtle nuances (03030309).

Patricia was convinced institutional members did not have much impact; when making a list of the five most influential members she said "that if you took all three of the institutional members and lumped us together we might make the fifth on the list" (03040409). She felt the institutional members most significant contribution resulted from "bringing a half-decent flavor of what the College is about to the board room and transmitting that to the other board members" (03040409). At an individual level, she felt she had been able to improve relations between the Students' Association and the Board in contrast to the "bad feeling" which had existed the year before. Her account of the skills and attributes necessary for impact included logic, honesty, good communications and the personal maturity necessary for the give and take characteristic of the Board.

Lorne was convinced he had had little impact as a board member: "I really wanted to do it and it is the only thing that I have attempted to do that I feel like I never accomplished very much, next to nothing" (03050609). Janice and Patricia agreed that Lorne had little influence. Lorne attributed his situation to the

Board's lack of interest in "human resources" (03050609), insufficient orientation to the board role for him, and his board colleagues' lack of interest in him as a person.

The presidents of the associations did not consider the institutional members to be particularly influential within the Board, although they had limited first-hand information. Ernest Garry observed "that the institutional members appear to me to be less powerful members on the Board than others" and "the other board members do not look to our institutional members to be highly influential" (03081409). Ernest had attended most of the public board meetings during the 1987-88 year and said that the institutional members speak less on average and similarly make fewer recommendations for action. As an aside, Ernest pointed out that while faculty members may not be particularly powerful within the Board, the position often has been "empowering to the individuals who gain more influence within the institution and it certainly has an effect on their career in the long run" (03081409).

Bernard Jansen saw the student member as a reminder to the Board of the College's purpose of serving students. He spoke in general terms about the student member monitoring the budgeting process to ensure the College's basic purpose as he defined it was maintained. This was probably a prescriptive statement because neither he nor Patricia offered any relevant evidence.

Derek Lidstone indicated his AUSS Local felt Lorne had not been a strong voice at the Board. He was confident, based on his own experience as a

board member, that a support staff member could be influential as long as he/she "has a good attitude toward being willing and showing that willingness and support of the College" (03081609). Kent Holmes, speaking for the second support group, saw the question of potential influence in a very different light: "They are basically there I think as a token person to appease the groups" (03081709). He also felt Lorne had not been influential and explained this in terms of barriers within the Board, a topic which will be considered in the next section.

Factors Affecting Impact

Public members, the President and the vice presidents identified twelve factors which either positively or negatively affected the impact of Janice, Patricia and Lorne during 1987-88. These can be grouped into three categories. The first includes comments about institutional members being disadvantaged by the relative shortness of their term. In Barry Robertson's words, the consequence was "that they have to establish their credibility very quickly," more quickly than public members (03071309).

Second, personal traits, including those described earlier, can strengthen or weaken an institutional member's impact. Boyd Emerson said their effectiveness was directly affected by their

ability to be able to change hats and know which hat they are wearing. To compartmentalize their roles and to be able to recognize the role they are in at any time. I think they have to be really skilled to be able to manage
that (03070200)

Barry Robertson expressed the same idea more concretely and specifically in the context of the Board's work: "[influential institutional members] don't try and carry the party line initially. They come in and talk as a board member as opposed to somebody who is representing a group that elected them" (03071309). From Ellen Fairhurst's perspective, the influence of institutional members is weakened by their tendency "to be a little short-sighted, let's worry about today as opposed to the long-range thing" (03060709).

According to most of the participants, Janice and Patricia had the organizational and interpersonal skills necessary to have a positive impact, and they were also able to balance the multiple roles in the way described by Boyd Emerson. On the other hand, Lorne's influence was limited because he was not comfortable with the role of board member. Ellen's observation about short-sightedness was a general one, and she did not make any reference to Janice and Patricia.

The third category includes factors relating to the Board's structures, social dynamics and the members' fundamental assumptions and perceptions. As Chairman and President, Nick Marsden and Boyd Emerson encouraged the institutional members' integration into the Board, and this served to increase their impact. The informal discussion period strengthened their impact, although Janice, Patricia and Lorne did not use it frequently during 1987-88. While no institutional member wanted to serve on the negotiating committees, their exclusion isolated them from contact with other board members and one of the

Board's most important functions. While it might appear that institutional members were advantaged by their knowledge of the College, Barry Robertson pointed out that on policy matters, the proper mandate of the Board, they didn't have any advantage over public members. In fact, policy matters such as endowment investments were closer to the life experience of many public members than institutional members. In addition, employee members' impact on matters affecting their groups was sometimes limited because they had to balance contributing their knowledge with maintaining their credibility by not being perceived as advocates or being in conflict of interest situations. Dale Raffu observed that support staff employees were a low-status group within the College and this indirectly affected how board members perceived the board member from that group and how that member defined his/her identity and role.

Janice, Patricia and Lorne suggested fewer factors which positively or negatively affected their impact. Janice said Nick Marsden had been good about setting a pattern of valuing the work of the employee and student members, but there were a "few times when he had made dumb comments or he has let other people make dumb comments" (03030309). According to Janice, the Board's perceptions of employee groups and each institutional member's predecessor affected how board members responded to an institutional member. Janice's predecessor had left negative feelings with board members but by the end of her term, and probably long before that, these were not relevant for her any more. She also said the President's role as her employer created

an interesting dynamic . . . [because] to what extent are you being evaluated by the President in the action you are taking. He is your employer and might have something to say about your evaluation. How far do you go in pressing him on something or calling him (03030309)?

Both Janice and Patricia identified the interpersonal and organizational skills necessary for a positive impact. Patricia saw social class differences separating the institutional and public members. She also mentioned the shortness of the term of office for institutional members. In Lorne 's eyes, the Board 's lack of interest in internal matters limited his impact, especially when he saw one major area needing their attention. While the members of the Board were approachable, Lorne did not feel comfortable with them.

The presidents of the four associations identified five factors which affected the institutional members ' impact. Derek Lidstone, like board members, identified the same personal traits and knowledge. Ernest Garry said institutional members did not participate in the same social circles in the community which limited their opportunity to build up influence networks. He felt the public members did not expect the institutional members to be particularly influential and did not want them to be because that would jeopardize the Board 's independence from college groups. Kent Holmes, like Ernest Garry and Patricia, saw social barriers at work:

[The public members] are usually business oriented people; they have done quite well for themselves. They have a certain air about them and this air comes across, it is apparent when they are dealing with someone who is beneath them, below them according to their standards (03081709).

EVALUATION OF INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION

In addition to assessing the impact of the three institutional members during 1987-88, participants evaluated institutional participation as a feature of governance and offered recommendations for its improvement. With the exception of Lionel Palmer, all participants, regardless of role, endorsed institutional participation. Lionel's objections were based on concerns about conflict of interest, institutional members acting as delegates, and the presence of institutional members inhibiting dialogue among public members. He recognized that input was necessary, but it should be provided by other means. In essence, the other participants said institutional members served as a valuable information source for the Board which, in Byron McGregor's view, "assures continued focus on the reason we are there. I think it has a good balancing effect to have the people who are underneath the umbrella looking up providing some insights and comments" (03060810). Boyd Emerson presented much the same idea and developed it further by saying the institutional members frequently take an "internally driven" focus and the public are "totally externally driven" and the mix of perspectives "brings a nice balance" (03020210) to the Board's decision making. In more concrete terms, Ernest Garry saw the presence of institutional members as preventing "the development of opinions about the staff members of the College and it prevents the expression of opinions about staff that are not well thought out or for which there is no evidence presented" (03081410). Derek

Lidstone felt that the establishment of a support staff position on the Board in 1981 was "one of the best things that ever happened at the College as far as support staff are concerned" (03081610) because the position opened up opportunities for two-way communication. Ellen Fairhurst's believed the college model of institutional participation could be relevant for the private sector.

Three participants said that the presence of institutional members served to keep presidents honest, although they made it clear they were not making specific references to Boyd Emerson. Because of the institutional members' insider knowledge and their understanding of the interests and concerns of their groups, presidents had to be more attuned to the institution and thus were less likely to "paint themselves into a corner and become much more supportive of their decisions than they really should . . . and they end up getting in more trouble" (03010110). From Boyd's perspective, institutional participation was a good thing because "I have a better informed employer which is able to advise, coach me more effectively by having that broader perspective within it" (03020210). On the other hand, institutional participation had caused "organizational bypasses" (03020210), albeit infrequent, when an institutional member brought a workplace problem to the Board which really should have been dealt with through the administrative structure.

Only three participants made recommendations for improving institutional participation. Lorne suggested more orientation. Ellen Fairhurst argued that the institutional members should hold office for longer terms because "most people

recognize that it takes a better part of a year to really get your feet on the ground" (03060710). Byron McGregor believed the Board should utilize the institutional members as a way to sell its decisions within the College.

SUMMARY

The Faculty Association and the two non-academic staff associations nominated their representatives to the Minister of Advanced Education on the basis of the outcomes of their annual elections. The student member was nominated after an election within the Executive Council of the Students' Association. Once the institutional members were appointed to the Board, they entered a period of socialization consisting of formal activities such as meetings with the President, the Chairman and the Board's Orientation Committee. Almost all participants defined the institutional member's role as providing input from within the College but from an individual perspective rather than a delegate's perspective.

As a context for a consideration of decision making, the social dynamics and characteristics of the Board were described. The public members appeared to be relatively homogeneous in socio-economic background and world view. Social relationships among the board members were positive in large part due to the leadership of the Chairman. The President was seen as a powerful board member.

As a decision-making body, the Board met once a month in both public and in camera meetings. Many of the items dealt with were routine in nature. In most cases the Board's decisions reflected the recommendations of administration, Academic Council, the College Affairs Committee and the Academic Policies Committee.

The institutional members' participation in decision making varied significantly from individual to individual with the faculty member being the most active and influential. Their contributions were greatest in number when matters relating to their organizational experience were being discussed.

Three of the four associations granted the institutional members a high degree of autonomy consistent with the Board's expectations. One of the support staff groups appeared to have wanted the member from their group to adopt a delegate's role and give priority to operational rather than policy matters.

Influence processes and conflict were at a relatively low level. This appeared to be the result of social dynamics within the Board, the President's influence over decision issues, the Board's role as a policy-making body, the nature of most of the decision issues before the Board and the institutional members' acceptance of their role as defined by the other board members.

The institutional members were not seen as having an impact proportional to their numbers and their potential for expertise as members of the organization being governed. The institutional members' assessment of their impact was similar to that of their board colleagues. At the same time, public members

placed significant value on their contributions, and said they presented unique perspectives needed by the Board. All participants highly endorsed institutional participation as a feature of college governance.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION IN COLLEGE GOVERNANCE

This chapter provides an analytical examination of institutional participation in board governance as described in the case studies. It is organized around four topics and related subtopics. These were developed by identifying key ideas from the case studies, the researcher's field notes and notes prepared during the transcription process. Each idea was placed on a card, and these were grouped and regrouped until these topics emerged. Each topic is interpreted from the perspective of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, and additional literature is introduced as necessary.

THE POWER OF THE BOARDS

The literature review and the theoretical perspective suggest college boards are powerful decision makers for their institutions. In contrast, the data presented in the case studies indicate the power of the boards was circumscribed by a number of factors specific to individual boards or generic to college boards in Alberta. This section examines those factors and indicates how they shaped the

participation of both public and institutional members. It provides a context for understanding and interpreting the political experiences of faculty, student and support staff board members.

Board Composition

The public board members shared a number of political and socio-economic characteristics. Consistent with the research of Konrad (1977b) and Rainsforth (1987), almost all public members were affiliated with the governing political party. Eighty-two per cent were males. Many were drawn from the independent professions and the entrepreneurial sector, again paralleling the findings of Konrad (1977b), Rainsforth (1987) and research in the United States (Association of Governing Boards, 1986). Only four public members had any experience with educational institutions as employees, administrators or trustees. More than two thirds lacked experience with complex organizations, unions and professional associations. Most public members at Mackenzie and Henday colleges were from socio-economic levels significantly higher than almost all college personnel. At Henday College, a number of participants spoke of the College's increasing tendency to seek out board members of higher professional and/or community stature because of the specific contributions they could make to the institution's long-range development and relations with its environment. This pattern was also identified by Eakin (1984) in her study of hospital boards in Quebec.

The appointment of public members from the college's city and region was consistent with the board's role as the trustee of the public's interests and its role as an interface between the institution and its community. As documented by Rainsforth (1987), the appointment process included Members of the Legislative Assembly suggesting names to the Minister of Advanced Education, frequently after consultation with college presidents and board chairmen. These were screened in the Minister's office and one name was taken to cabinet for review. As a result of this selection process, public members neither represented a specified constituency nor were seeking re-election. For these reasons, the public members in this study did not bring defined interests to their board participation as was the case in Kerr's (1964) study of school boards. Zald (1969) argues that there is a direct relationship between a board's degree of power in relation to an institution's administration and the degree to which board members represent the interests of external groups.

The impact of these similarities in appointment process, political affiliation, socio-economic status and economic values can be considered together. Pfeffer (1981) argues that such homogeneity within an organization reduces the level of political activity and also reduces the members' sensitivity to issues outside their experience. Some institutional members saw a social class bias among public members which sometimes precluded them from understanding employee and student issues. There were a number of references which suggested an entrepreneurial value system was being used to interpret colleges. In addition,

the public members' lack of experience with educational institutions and their part-time, volunteer status made them very dependent upon the information they received from the president and senior administrators.

Social Cohesion

The case studies suggest a high level of social cohesion and unanimity within the boards. The general role expectations identified for the board by the president and public members at each college were largely similar. As participants discussed their board's decision-making process and specific cases, there was only limited evidence of divergent interests, conflict and lobbying. At Mackenzie College members expressed pride in the social cohesion which existed within the Board and were comfortable with the largely unanimous decision making.

A number of explanations for these patterns may be derived from the data and relevant literature. The political, social and economic similarities among public members suggest they would approach their roles with a common frame of reference. Vredenburg and Maurer (1984) propose that the degree of political behavior within organizations is influenced by "the degree to which an organization's climate and history are political" (p. 56). The case studies revealed few issues during 1987-88 which created dissension and political activity within the boards or between the boards and college interest groups. Organizational norms (Porter, Allen & Angle, 1981) frequently become institutionalized within complex

organizations such as college boards which means

they take on the status of objective social fact. . . . aspects of the organization become defined as part of the organization's culture and are seen and accepted by participants in the organization as a natural part of their membership in that particular social system (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 289).

At each college, there was evidence that norms such as cooperation, mutual support and respect for expertise strongly influenced the board members' relationships with each other. On the basis of a political analysis of board-president relationships in three British Columbia colleges, Levin (1990) indicates social cohesion also results from boards and presidents acting as coalitions in relation to internal and external coalitions. As a result, "it appears that tensions and conflicts [among the actors] are controlled if not masked or eliminated, and individual interests which diverge from those of the collective must be submerged" (p. 48). Each board, consistent with Levin's analysis, functioned as a collectivity which sought to present a unified voice to the college community and government. The presidents' and public members' frequent emphasis on the good of the college in discussions of role expectations for institutional members illustrates their desire to establish a unity of interests within the board and to divorce themselves from the interests of the college's constituent groups.

The shared norms and sense of solidarity within the Henday and Mackenzie boards can be attributed, in part, to the socializing role of the president and board chairman. Eakin (1984) and Kerr (1964) found administrators, along with incumbent board members, playing a socializing role in hospital and school board members into the norms of the group

Cistone (1977) challenges Kerr's finding that school superintendents were instrumental in that socialization because he found "novice members shared the norms of the system before they entered it" (p. 32). The commonalities in experience and world view among public members lend support to Cistone's findings as well.

At each college this tendency toward social cohesion and unanimity limited the influence of institutional members by restricting their opportunity to pursue interests they defined as important as well as introduce dissenting opinions. One institutional member at Thompson College and one at Mackenzie did not understand or agree with some of the norms of their boards, and, as a result, their attempts to introduce problems specific to their group or divergent points of view were not accepted.

Power of the Presidents

The three presidents--Clare Morrison, Colin Davey and Boyd Emerson--held dual roles as chief executive officers and board members which granted them two types of mutually reinforcing position authority. For example, the administrative role gave them access to institutional and system knowledge which was a major resource in their board participation. As board members they were able to exert influence favorable to their administrative role by debating, voting and making motions. Participants at Thompson and Mackenzie colleges saw Colin Davey and Boyd Emerson as powerful board members. They were recognized as

having personal styles which both complemented and magnified the authority of their dual positions. At Thompson College, a number of public members believed they had to endorse Colin's recommendations in order to show support for his administration. Boyd was able to achieve his goals because he was a "master manoeuvrer," and his position was strengthened by close bonds with Nick Marsden, the Chairman. As a result, the public and institutional board members were participants in decision-making processes where the president, as their colleague, held disproportionate power and political resources.

The power of the three college presidents who participated in this study was similar to the power of school superintendents and other public agency chief executive officers as demonstrated by a number of studies. Tucker and Zeigler's (1980) literature review documents the power of superintendents and attributes it to professional expertise, the separation of education and politics, and school boards' reliance upon the superintendents' educational and governance visions. Based on research findings drawn from investigations of governing boards in education and other public sectors, Nachmias and Greer (1982) concluded that

boards' decisions are strongly influenced, and often dominated, by a fulltime professional staff. It is usually staff which prepares the agenda, presents policy recommendations, negotiates with other organizations, and largely controls the flow of information to board members (p. 113).

Zeigler and Jennings (1974) point to the superintendents' knowledge advantage in policy making, and their opportunity to "exert control over the kind of information to which the board is privy" (p. 154). They have control over the board's agenda and they formulate the alternatives which come before the board

Bacharach and Mitchell (1981) identify a number of tactics used by superintendents to build consensus within boards such as establishing a distinction between policy and operational matters, controlling the information provided to the board, emphasizing rational decision making and the attendant need for expert knowledge.

Decision Making

The significance of the dual roles and power of the presidents can be seen in the boards' decision-making processes and outcomes. At each college almost all decision issues originated within the college, usually from the president or executive committee. Issues were presented to the boards in a defined way including recommended alternatives. There was little evidence that board members modified the recommendations brought to them. Almost all votes taken in public meetings were unanimous.

The existence of academic councils within each college also had an impact on the power of the boards. In varying ways, each of these boards had devolved authority to its council beyond the minimum statutory requirements. While these councils are consistent with the evolution of higher education governance and reflect the collegial and political models, they do serve to circumscribe the power and authority of the boards on matters affecting the academic program of the institutions.

The nature of the boards' committees and their roles in decision making

point to an area of significant difference among the three boards. Henday's Board had three powerful standing committees and several ad hoc committees; in contrast, Mackenzie's Board had no standing committees and several ad hoc committees. Thompson's Board had three standing committees, but there is little evidence of their power. Each public member at Henday College belonged to one standing committee which increased his/her power in relation to decision making on finance, personnel or facilities issues. In addition, the distinction between public and institutional members on this dimension reinforced the different identities and statuses of the two groups. Roberta Faulkner and Rod Michaleski were members of the standing finance committee at Thompson College, but its influence was not sufficient to enhance their power. On the surface it would appear that Mackenzie's committee structure would be most favorable to institutional members because it prevented board subgroups from controlling decision premises, decision alternatives and information about those alternatives. It appears, however, to have had little or no impact because of other factors such as the power of the president and the public members' world view.

Pfeffer's (1981) analysis of the relationship between power and decision making clarifies the limitations which affected decision making at Henday, Thompson and Mackenzie colleges. Authority resulting from organizational position gave some actors such as the board chairmen, the presidents, some

and the information to be included in the process. This control over one or more elements of decision making only served to increase these actors' power.

In addition, Pfeffer's (1981) analysis suggests why each board's decision-making process was accepted by most participants. In all likelihood board members were influenced by the organizational norms "that persons trust and respect each other's judgements and motives" (p. 116). Each person assumed that others shared the same goal, "the good of the college," and the information which they are brought forward about the decision alternative(s) would reflect that goal. This is particularly true, as demonstrated in Eakin's (1984) study, when public and institutional members do not have the knowledge to effectively challenge the assumptions, analyses and conclusions being presented. Pfeffer (1981) argues that most "actors in a decision situation will preemptively accept almost any reasonable assertion, particularly about constraints and feasibility issues, without challenging the source of the validity of the information" (p. 117) because such a challenge would violate norms of trust, cooperation and social cohesion. Should actors

challenge the process--and conducting the activities in parallel would clearly be perceived as a challenge . . . [they would be] openly express[ing] distrust of the process and those actors involved in the process. Such an action is at once an invitation to conflict and is likely to be perceived as illegitimate and harmful to the organization's solidarity and the fundamental beliefs in organizational goals and organizational rationality (p. 121).

A number of studies indicate that the decision-making processes reported

Bucher's (1970) study of a medical faculty confirms the impact which a person's or a committee's control of decision alternatives and information about alternatives can have on a decision-making body. She found that "once a recommendation has survived the committee structure and is placed before the faculty, it almost always gains faculty approval" (p. 45). Once a recommendation leaves a committee its "rough edges have usually been smoothed," and "it takes considerable prior organization of a determined opposition to stop a proposal" (p. 45).

Evidence from the research of Konrad (1976) and Paltridge, Hurst and Morgan (1973) appear to confirm the decision-making processes documented in this study. Konrad (1976) asked college board members in Alberta, Quebec and British Columbia to rate, using a four-point scale, their "perceived level of involvement" (p. 3) in decision making about 30 topics. Board members "did not regard themselves involved directly in the decision-making process" (p. 3) about any one of the groupings of topics. They "approved or confirmed" items in five categories of topics and "reviewed and advised" in one category. Board members did not think they had any involvement with two categories. Paltridge, Hurst and Morgan (1973) investigated board decision-making activity at 19 four-year colleges and universities in the United States. Their findings speak very directly to the influence which presidents and senior administrators can have on board decision making:

be presumed that most of these matters which passed through the hands of committees originated from administrators. Only 4.6 percent of all board actions originated in an independent motion of a trustee (p. vi).

Eakin's (1984) study of hospital boards in Quebec also points to the power which presidents and senior administrators can have. Her research examined the functioning of hospital boards after 1973 when their composition was "democratized" with the addition of employees and a broader base of community members. She concluded that the participation of the two new groups was limited by a number of factors including "their lack of a clear conception of how laypersons could participate in a domain so heavily dominated by professionals" (p. 404).

A comparison of the actual decision-making patterns at the three colleges with Baldrige's (1971) political model of colleges and universities and the subsequent revisions to the model (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1986) point to a degree of congruence. Decision issues before the boards included in this study arose from the presidents, senior administrators, chairmen and board committees and not from the interaction of interest groups as suggested by Baldrige (1971). On the other hand, the case studies demonstrate that these people constitute interest groups which are dominant in relation to others in the colleges. Clearly these groups shape the decision-making process and decision alternatives consistent with the model. Political action was not present in this study to the extent suggested by Baldrige (1971). The findings are more consis-

included reducing the emphasis on political action, balancing the bureaucratic with the political and recognizing that situational and environmental factors can intensify or reduce the degree of political action within a college or university over time. With the exception of the staff layoff issue at Thompson College, there was little evidence of intra-college or environmental factors during 1987-88 which could have intensified political action. A later discussion of power further examines the administrative dominance over the boards' decision making but portrays that dominance as a political process rather than rational-bureaucratic decision making.

ROLE NEGOTIATIONS

Despite the potential ambiguities associated with employees and students participating in the governance of their colleges, the nine focal persons in this study functioned within a highly structured social situation which limited their opportunity to negotiate the nature of their participation. In this section the structured elements of the situation will be examined in juxtaposition to the negotiable elements. In particular, a symbolic interactionist perspective (Hall, 1972; Maines, 1977; Mangham, 1979) will be used to analyze the shared understandings, the non-negotiable and negotiable elements of the situation and "the structural and organizational reasons" (Hall & Spencer-Hall 1982 p. 337) for the

perspectives of symbolic interactionism, there is evidence that the balance between negotiable and non-negotiable elements had changed over time at each college. While this study is based on only one academic year, illustrative references to previous definitions of the situation will be made when possible.

Definition of the Situation

Almost all participants held a common view about the responsibilities of the institutional members. All board members, regardless of role, were expected to think institutionally, placing the needs of the whole college over those of specific interest groups. While institutional members were supposed to act as trustees rather than as delegates, they were encouraged, in that context, to facilitate two-way communication and contribute their special knowledge and insights resulting from their participation in the college community. The public members and the president recognized that institutional members held several roles but expected them to make the necessary adaptations so that their board participation would be within the defined parameters. The institutional members' role definitions, the perceptions of other interviewees and the low level of role conflict confirm that most institutional members accepted, in large part, the role definitions conveyed to them.

At least during 1987-88 this consensus was immutable. The expectations expressed by the presidents and public members were almost unanimous and were

was defined at their colleges. The formal socialization activities for institutional members at Henday and Mackenzie colleges laid the ground rules. The government's publication, "Guidelines for Boards of Governors," (Minister of Advanced Education, 1986) conveyed the same message. Informal socialization activities such as conversations with former institutional members, observation of board dynamics, casual comments from public members, and pointed remarks and questions at Mackenzie College confirmed the more formal definitions of expectations.

More specifically, institutional members and other board members stated shared understandings of the conflict of interest question for employee and student members at Henday and Mackenzie colleges, except as it applied to standing committees at Henday. Clearly the question had been controversial at Henday prior to the 1986 bylaw amendment which defined interests arising from constituent group membership as outside the Board's definition of conflict of interest. At Thompson College Roberta Faulkner did not agree with being excluded from the discussion of certain topics; however, she chose at that time to accept the constraint rather than challenge the power of the President and Chairman. The public members at Thompson College either supported the practice or were unaware of the controversy surrounding it.

The nature of the institutional members' relationships with the executives of their interest groups was another area of general acceptance among almost all

members of the executives of their associations. Despite the potential for perceptions of conflicts of interest and violations of confidentiality, there was acceptance of the practice among other board members. In fact, some college presidents and public members endorsed the arrangement because two-way communication was enhanced.

This high level of consensus about the role of institutional members and the attendant social pressures rendered many elements of their role non-negotiable. In particular, they could not serve their constituencies by raising operational matters of concern to their college peers because of the board's policy orientation and because they would be seen as acting as delegates. In effect, their detailed operational knowledge of the college which could have been a power base was defined as out of bounds. Rod Michaleski at Thompson and Lorne Michaud at Mackenzie did try to add a stronger interest group perspective, but the effect was to weaken their credibility in the eyes of their board peers. Rod and Lorne discovered, in Fine and Ross's (1984) words, "the subtle and not so subtle constraints which effectively make the consequences of bucking the established negotiated order painful" (p. 239). Eakin (1984) found that the participation of employee representatives on hospital boards was constrained "because the raising of personnel issues was frowned upon, [as a result,] much of the potential contribution of the nonprofessional employee representatives was preempted" (p. 405). The low level of conflict evident in the three colleges can

members' roles were circumscribed and non-negotiable, many of the issues and topics which could have generated conflict were kept out of the board's arena.

Negotiative Activity

When the 1986-87 and 1987-88 academic years are considered together, there is evidence to indicate institutional members actively negotiated some elements of their board participation. One example occurred at Henday College in 1986 when the Board, as a part of a large-scale revision of its bylaws, established an open delegation time and ended the practice of each institutional member making an association report. The change was made at the request of the institutional members. Their goal was to reinforce a definition of the situation which affirmed their equality as board members. The open delegation time provided a mechanism for interest groups to speak directly to the Board without the institutional members having to speak on their behalf and risk their credibility in the eyes of other board members.

There are a number of examples of negotiative activity at Mackenzie College which reflect transitions over time. While Patricia Neuman and the President of the Students' Association during 1986-87 had different views about her role, she and the President during 1987-88 were able to establish a shared understanding based on extensive discussions and mutual trust. Janice Delaney faced a problematic situation when she became a board member in 1986 because

with the Board as a result. In contrast, Janice chose to re-establish a trustee's role, and several board members acknowledged this enhanced her influence. In addition, Janice wanted to be seen as an autonomous board member so she broke with established practice and invited the President of the Faculty Association to make the monthly report to the Board. Her goal was recognized and supported by a number of her board colleagues.

Several examples of negotiation can be identified from the 1987-88 year at Henday College. Gordon Dombrowsky defined a lobbying role for himself by involving one or more of the public members as his "mouthpiece," in his words. Joan Ivaney evolved a symbiotic relationship with the institutional members, drawing upon them as a major information source as she defined her positions on issues. Elizabeth Radke said she planned to seek a seat on the Finance Committee at the next board retreat which could result in a restructuring of board relationships and definitions of the role of institutional members.

At Thompson College Roberta Faulkner and Rod Michaleski encountered a more ambiguous social situation than the institutional members at the other two colleges because there was no formal socialization, the President conveyed mixed messages in their eyes and the definition of conflict of interest created frustration for Roberta. Her long-range goal was to assist the Board in redefining its role so that it would assume its proper leadership position. This she did by emphasizing the value of long-range planning, contributing to the Board's retreat and stressing

institutional member because he felt institutional knowledge such as his could significantly improve the board's effectiveness. He was unsuccessful, partly because of his personal style. Like Gordon Dombrowsky at Henday College, Rod also established a lobbying relationship with at least one public member.

The establishment and functioning of the Unmet Communications Needs Committee at Mackenzie College is the most concrete example of institutional members modifying the nature of their participation. Janice and Patricia brought operational problems to a board retreat, and the Chairman appointed them as the core members of a committee. They worked without reporting to the Board, and the President implemented many of their recommendations. Certainly the issue and committee were outside the Board's purview, but they were able to successfully challenge established understandings and procedures. While it is not clear why they were able to do this, it appears that their success in doing it is a measure of their influence.

Constraints Affecting Negotiative Activity

The institutional members' ability to negotiate the nature of their participation was constrained, in large part, by the power imbalances which existed within each board. According to Cobb (1986), powerful actors within organizations can be identified by using three criteria: positional, decisional and reputational. An application of these three criteria to the case studies indicates

powerful members of each board.

The positional criterion points to the individuals who hold key administrative roles and committee and board positions which give them "control over information, resources, or other decisions" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 57). In this case, this criterion clearly suggests the board chairmen and the presidents because of the knowledge and authority associated with those positions. The power of several public members such as Alex Oberg, Joan Ivaney and Vincent Davison at Henday College was strengthened through their positions on standing committees which formulated recommendations on the key decision areas before the Board.

Decisional power can be measured by ascertaining which individuals have directly influenced specific decision issues. While no direct measures of decisional power were collected in this study, there was evidence that the presidents, chairmen and several public members at each college had the most impact on decision making.

A reputational measure involves asking organizational members to rate the power of other people. At Thompson and Mackenzie colleges, the board members and vice presidents consistently identified the president, the chairman and several public members as the most powerful group of five. Most such references at Henday College were to public members partly because the president was new and partly because the question was phrased in a different way during the first case study. Of the nine institutional members who were partici-

be consistently rated as one of the top five. Gordon Dombrowsky and Janice Delaney received one and three such ratings respectively.

The institutional members' opportunity to negotiate the nature of their participation was influenced, in part, by the ideologies held by their board colleagues. The definitions presented by Bacharach and Lawler (1980), Beyer (1981) and Meyer (1982) suggest that ideologies are a set of beliefs, shared by and unifying a group of people, which shape both their understanding of and response to their social world. They serve to legitimize action and mobilize people to act. According to the ideology held by public board members and the presidents at the three colleges, a board must act in the best interests of the whole college and emphasize policy rather than administrative matters. Institutional members were equal members of their boards, and they were expected to take a college-wide perspective rather than act as a delegate for their interest groups. Each element of this ideology was accepted uncritically; for example, public members assumed they could determine the best interests of their institutions even though they were lay persons serving in a part-time capacity. This ideology limited institutional members' ability to redefine their situation and reflected and perpetuated the interests of the president, the board chairmen, senior administration and some public members. This analysis is consistent with Morgan's (1986) view that ideologies can "be used as a means of shaping the organization to conform with the image that best suits specific ends" (p. 187).

be pluralist organizations (Morgan, 1986) characterized by internal diversification and varied interests which would suggest a high level of political activity. The data do not confirm this interpretation. In this case, they more closely resembled unitary organizations (Morgan, 1986) characterized by common goals and the absence of conflict. The earlier discussions of the recruitment of board members, socialization, social cohesion, ideology, administrative pre-structuring of decision making, and policy-operational distinctions explain the absence of a diversity of interests. As a result, institutional members encountered a stable and unified social situation which reduced the opportunities for role negotiations.

Two other aspects of the institutional members' participation are also relevant. First, they served shorter terms, as defined by their associations' bylaws, than the public members. As a result, they spent a much larger percentage of their term learning about the board and were less able to seek change if they so desired. Second, they lacked experience and expertise in many of the boards' decision areas such as budgeting and campus construction which limited their ability to develop credibility on substantive issues which could then serve as a resource in negotiating their role.

Power and Negotiative Activity

The theoretical significance of the structural and organizational factors which shaped the balance between the negotiable and non-negotiable elements of

interpreted from the vantage point of Lukes's (1974) three-dimensional model of power. Hall (1972) indicates power has not been central to symbolic interactionist thought, but he demonstrates that "the concept of power provides us with a vehicle for understanding the outcomes of negotiated interactions and for analyzing the processes by which those outcomes were determined" (p. 46).

While Lukes is a conflict theorist rather than a symbolic interactionist, his model is compatible with this analysis because he deals with the constraints shaping negotiations.

Dahl's (1961) pluralist perspective, Level 1, analyzes observable decision making by identifying

which participants . . . initiated alternatives that were finally adopted, had vetoed alternatives initiated by others, or had proposed alternatives that were turned down. The participants with the greatest proportion of successes out of the total number of successes were then considered to be the most influential (Dahl, 1961 quoted in Lukes, 1974, p. 12).

This Level 1 or decisional analysis, considered earlier, points to the distribution of power within the boards, but it does not clarify the mechanisms which constrained the power of the employee and student members.

In this study, the Level 2 concept of power (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962) is illustrated by the earlier discussion of ideology. Consistent with the subconcept of mobilization of bias, presidents, chairmen and some public members perpetuated a set of "values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970 quoted in Lukes, 1974, p. 17) about board governance and

emphasis on boards as policy-making bodies protected the president and senior administrators from the operationally minded institutional members.

Clegg's (1983) application of Meacher's (1980) analysis of information control strategies to nondecision making points to a number of examples in the case studies of this type of Level 2 power. Certainly the "fait accompli ploy" and the "expert advice ploy" were evident in each case. The first ploy is readily recognizable at Mackenzie College where, for example, many of the policy recommendations which came to the Board had been developed by either the College Affairs Committee or the Academic Policies Committee, chaired by the President and Vice President - Academic respectively. Other decision issues were presented to the three boards by the vice presidents or other administrators consistent with the expert advice ploy. While these examples of nondecision making limited the power of institutional members, they also limited the power of public members as well.

Two significant limitations on nondecision making power can be identified at Henday and Mackenzie colleges. At Henday College there was an open delegation time in each meeting which made it possible for any college group to make direct representation to the Board. The convocation-graduation decision issue illustrates one student group using that mechanism to bypass the administrative hierarchy and get their interests before the Board. Each meeting at Mackenzie College began with an in-camera informal discussion period which

agenda item or about college affairs. Participants indicated some significant issues were raised during 1987-88.

The Level 3 concept of power points to the impact powerful actors can have on the values and beliefs of other actors. Consistent with this conceptualization, seven of the nine institutional members accepted the role expectations for their positions and the other board policies and practices which limited their power. With one exception they did not question, for example, the ratio of institutional and public members. They accepted the assumption that credibility, as defined by their board colleagues, was their primary source of influence. College presidents and board chairmen, in the words of Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980), have "constituted and institutionalized their provinces of meaning [about institutional participation] in the very structuring of organizational interactions so that assumptions, interpretations, and relevances become the generalized interpretive frame, the cognitive map, of organizational members" (p. 8). As a result, much of the conflict which might be anticipated when employees and students participate in governing their institution does "not exist because powerful actors have influenced the perceptions and desires of others to ensure that they will not be challenged" (Hardy, 1987, p. 100).

The descriptions of socialization processes and role expectations in the case studies demonstrate many of the ways in which powerful actors "provinces of meaning" were conveyed to institutional members and other board members.

the social norms of the boards were very significant. In particular, it is important to note that some interest groups, particularly the faculty associations, had nominated representatives on the basis of their ability to work within the established "provinces of meaning" to ensure they would be credible in the eyes of other board members. This suggests that a particular concept of credibility had been institutionalized well beyond the bounds of the boards.

There is some evidence, however, to suggest that institutional members were conscious of "the institutionalization or legitimation of the social power process" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 299) within their boards and colleges. Rod Michaleski was very vocal about the power of the president over the Board and its isolation from the real issues. The three institutional members at Henday College questioned their exclusion from the standing committees. Elizabeth Radke felt that her influence was limited because she was an educator rather than a lawyer, a situation which she regarded as a reflection of society as a whole. Lorne Michaud knew that the issues which were important to him and his peers were defined as outside the Board's mandate because of the policy-operational distinction accepted by his board colleagues.

This analysis points to institutional members entering social situations with highly defined role expectations which constrained their ability to act and renegotiate the definition of the situation. Lukes's (1974) three-dimensional view of power highlights the nature, variety and significance of "the structural and institutional process" (Hall & Taylor, 1993, p. 227) which limited their

power. While power has been measured most frequently in terms of decision making, the less observable dimensions of power identified above are particularly relevant to understanding institutional members' political experiences.

ACHIEVING CREDIBILITY

The power analysis based on the reputational, positional and decisional criteria did not point to, with one exception, the institutional members as part of the most powerful group within each board. On the other hand, most participants perceived institutional members as making valuable contributions to the work of the boards as evidenced by their assessments of impact and their evaluations of institutional participation in governance. In addition, some institutional members such as Roberta Faulkner, Gordon Dombrowsky, Elizabeth Radke, Janice Delaney and Patricia Neuman were more successful than others in making their voice heard and in establishing credibility with their board colleagues. This topic examines institutional members' role behavior to determine how most of them worked within the limitations before them and achieved a degree of influence.

Impression Management

While college board members like other office holders in formal organizations hold certain authority by virtue of their position, the power which they hold

individual's power is related to correct action according to the expectations of the role and/or convincing others that the action is within those expectations. Within organizational settings, people who act "outside the normative bounds of . . . [their] position[s]," (Biggart & Hamilton, 1984, p. 540) diminish their power.

Based on a study of power achievement within the executive branch of the California state government, Biggart and Hamilton (1984) concluded that power of this type is achieved in two ways. People achieve personal legitimacy by acting according to others' expectations such as deferring to the power and authority of senior personnel, enhancing the image of the politician, exhibiting reliable task performance and placing group needs before individual needs. Power also arises from "getting others to define one's role performance as appropriate" (Biggart & Hamilton, 1984, p. 543) through the symbolic interaction processes of impression management and interaction rituals. Power through impression management involves affecting "the conduct of others for one's own interests . . . by influencing the definition of the situation in which all are involved" (Hall, 1972, p. 51). Interaction rituals include actions which demonstrate the incumbents' adherence to the expectations before them.

This approach to personal power recognizes the structures and definitions of the situation, discussed earlier, which constrained the power of faculty, student and support staff board members. At the same time it suggests explanations for the differences in influence among institutional members which were reported by the participants. These institutional members who achieved the greatest

recognition from their board peers were the ones best able to establish personal legitimacy and execute impression management and interaction rituals. Consistent with the concept, personal attributes such as knowledge, initiative and verbal skills contributed markedly to the achievement of influence. The most credible institutional members were the ones best able to project a willingness to clearly differentiate between their board and interest group roles.

Elizabeth Radke, Gordon Dombrowsky, Roberta Faulkner, Janice Delaney and Patricia Neuman were identified by their board colleagues and board observers as having the most credibility. The following application of this model of personal power to the role behavior of these institutional members clarifies the strategies they used to achieve influence and endorsement. In each case, the person had carefully considered expectations, planned actions, regularly reflected upon these actions, and modified actions in response to experience.

Roberta Faulkner was the only institutional member to be consistently recognized as part of the most powerful group by her board colleagues and senior administrators. To establish and maintain her personal legitimacy she made sure she had a total grasp of the implications of any decision before she entered the board room. In meetings she provided information, asked questions to draw out a position when she didn't agree, spoke for or against the President's position based on its merits and voted accordingly. Her strategy, in summary, involved putting the institution first and trying to be very rational. Any questions she asked had to be based on something that she considered to be objective.

Roberta consciously tried to enhance her power through impression management and interaction rituals. She took time to explain topics and issues to public members and made sure they felt comfortable asking her questions. She stressed their importance to the well-being of the College. She interacted with public members as individuals and consciously projected empathy for their role. In addition, she treated the position of the President with respect and did not challenge him when nothing could be gained from the challenge.

Janice Delaney was very self-conscious about the question of personal legitimacy; as a result, she was very sensitive, particularly at the outset, about everything she said and other people's perceptions of her ideas. She tried very hard to discuss issues from an institutional rather than an interest group perspective. She referred to the Faculty Association in the third person and reported rather than supported their views. To further define her independence, she invited the President of the Faculty Association to make the monthly report to the Board. Like Roberta, she did her homework because organization and preparation were the keys to credibility.

Gordon Dombrowsky, Elizabeth Radke and Janice Neuman's strategies to establish and maintain personal legitimacy were similar. Gordon was an active participant in meetings when the topics were of interest and he felt knowledgeable. He carried concerns, on occasion, from the Support Staff Association to the Board but always with actions that defined his independence so that he wouldn't look like the group's delegate. He attended all the board-related

functions to demonstrate his seriousness to other board members. Janice's and Elizabeth's activities included presenting ideas effectively, distancing themselves from their interest groups, focusing on the merits of the issue and maintaining and projecting personal honesty.

Assessed Stature

In any organizational setting, group members make judgements about the merits of other group members; the criteria they use "are likely to vary from position to position, task environment to task environment . . . [and reflect] the value system of the group" (Pettigrew, 1973, p. 232). Bucher (1970), Pettigrew (1973) and Pfeffer (1981) use the concept of assessed stature to describe this process of status assignment. From a politics perspective the concept suggests that high stature is a source of power which enhances the ability of a person to "persuade and negotiate successfully" (Bucher, 1970, p. 37). In the case of boards of governors it is likely stature is based on criteria such as verbal skills, interpersonal skills, knowledge and cooperativeness.

This concept complements Biggart and Hamilton's (1984) concept of personal power because it focuses on the perceptions which group members hold of the focal actors. An application of the personal legitimacy and assessed stature concepts to the institutional members' role behavior measures the congruence between their self-conscious attempts to establish credibility and their board colleagues' perceptions of them. The earlier identification of Elizabeth Bodke

Gordon Dombrowsky, Roberta Faulkner, Janice Delaney and Patricia Neuman as having the highest assessed stature demonstrates that their role behavior was perceived by the presidents, public members and vice presidents in a manner compatible with the personal legitimacy they sought. The board members and the vice presidents based their assessments on criteria such as degree of participation, clarity of expression, objectivity and leadership.

Institutional members' role behavior can also be analyzed from the perspective of a body of organizational behavior research which identifies and classifies political tactics, determines frequencies of use and/or measures perceptions of those tactics (Allen, Madison, Porter, Renwick & Mayes, 1979; Kipnis, Schmidt & Wilkinson, 1980; Mowday, 1978; Schilit & Locke, 1982). A total of 35 categories, some of them overlapping, are identified in the four studies. An application of these categories to the five institutional members identified above indicates that they used only a limited range of them. All five identified "the use of information" (Allen, Madison, Porter, Renwick & Mayes 1979), and "logically presenting ideas" (Schilit & Locke, 1982) as tactics they used. They were also very conscious of "creating and maintaining a favorable image" (Allen, Madison, Porter, Renwick & Mayes, 1979) in order to establish and maintain credibility. Gordon built a base of support, "associating with the influential" (Allen, Madison, Porter, Renwick & Mayes, 1979), before he made a representation to the Board. None of the five reported using any tactic which might be classified unethical or unprofessional. The public members, presidents and senior

administrators explicitly or implicitly confirmed the institutional members' descriptions of their tactics.

SIGNIFICANCE OF INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION

Many of the ideas identified by reviewing the "impact of institutional members" and "evaluation of institutional participation" sections in each case study relate to the significance of institutional participation in college governance. These were grouped into three topics--organizational communications, checks and balances, and higher education governance--which make up this section.

Organizational Communications

The significance of institutional participation for organizational communications within colleges is examined in terms of three elements--medium, message and communication effects--of Krone, Jablin and Putnam's (1987) model of communication. These were chosen on the basis of their relevance to the data and the topic and are applied to communication between institutional members and other board members and to communication between institutional members and their interest groups.

The media of communications were numerous and almost all included face-to-face talk. Faculty, students and support staff participated with their board colleagues in public and in-camera meetings, committee meetings, conferences

and workshops, and other related activities. They were a part of the executive and general meetings of their interest groups. They also had daily informal contact with their employee or student peers. Other informal but important communication vehicles included one-to-one meetings with college presidents and interest group presidents.

A communication message "refers to the verbal and nonverbal cues each communicator conveys" (Krone, Jablin & Putnam, 1987, p. 21). Some categories of content included role expectations, facts and opinions about current issues in the college, normative statements about the board's role, facts and opinions about decision issues before the board, and facts and opinions about the college's environment. Public members agreed that institutional members provided input about the college in general and about specific decision issues which were particularly important in light of their lay and volunteer status. Several stressed the importance of obtaining information about issues from people representing the groups affected by the board's decisions.

The concept of communication effects "typically refers to the outcome or general results of the message exchange processes" (Krone, Jablin & Putnam, 1987, p. 21). Some of the participants' assessments of institutional participation emphasized its effects on organizational climate. One vice president believed her college had a better climate than those in some other provinces because of the numerous and varied opportunities for institutional participation. The presence of employees and students on college boards made people feel good because people

knew their voice was being heard. Institutional participation helped create an atmosphere of trust because colleges, by their nature, need vehicles for participation. The presence of institutional members in the in camera meetings created trust because members of constituent groups believed their voice was being heard and there were "watchdogs" present to represent their interests. This relationship between organizational climate and institutional participation was documented by Glanville (1986) in his comparative study of policy making in a board-governed technical institute in Alberta and a provincially administered technical institute in Saskatchewan. He concluded that

broad, mandated participation of stakeholder groups on institutional governing bodies fostered a positive organizational climate marked by views among the study participants that decision making was effective and individual initiative was not stifled (p. 296).

Institutional participation also had an impact on the board's relationships with the rest of the college. The public members and the president at one college learned to put more emphasis on intra-college relationships because of the repeated concerns expressed by the faculty board member. Institutional members served as a medium of communication from the boards to their constituent groups and increased the credibility of the boards. Because two-way communication was improved, "armed camps" did not develop between the board and the employees or the board and the students. While not board members, vice presidents similarly benefited in their relationships with members of the college community by being sensitive to the issues and concerns presented by institutional members.

were expressed in relation to the boards' decision making. Institutional members were valuable sources of information about decision issues which could not be duplicated by any other medium. In particular, they provided information about the possible impacts of decision alternatives. Public members received a more balanced perspective on issues because the presidents could not be expected to know all the ramifications of issues for constituent groups. Faculty, student and support staff board members provided a more objective view than their interest group presidents because of the role expectations for them. Faculty board members had an opportunity to educate public members about the college and the issues which were important to instructors.

Although any member of the college community could attend and make a presentation at a public meeting, only institutional members could provide input during in camera meetings. As a result, the institutional members were present to represent the views of their peers when particularly difficult issues were being discussed. Their presence served as a release or safety valve at times when tension was building within the institution because interest groups knew their voice was being heard.

The communication effects of institutional participation in relation to the interest groups are difficult to assess because neither group presidents nor institutional members made particular reference to this dimension of the two-way communication flow. Eight of the nine members were very active in their groups, and they often made reports but only about action taken in the boards' public

meetings. In all likelihood, there was a positive effect resulting from informal communication on a day-to-day basis although this could be limited by the size of the institution.

Checks and Balances

While the political science concept of checks and balances is not used in organizational theory, it has applicability to a politics perspective on institutional participation in higher education governance (Worth, 1972). The origins of the concept can be traced to Montesquieu (Scruton, 1982), and it has been used throughout American history to refer to the separation of powers among the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government as well as different departments and levels of government in a federal system (Plano & Greenberg, 1985). As a result, the power of any element in a political system "can be prevented from becoming absolute by being balanced against, or checked by, another power" (Scruton, 1982, p. 60).

Applying the literal meaning of the concept to faculty, student and support staff participation in board governance, it is clear that institutional members didn't have constitutional authority to limit the power of other office holders. In contrast, their ability to act as a check and balance resulted from their opportunity to provide information, offer reactions, ask leading or challenging questions and report the perceptions of their peers. The significance of these activities was

which the president, senior administrators, the chairman and public members anticipated institutional members acting in that capacity and modified their actions accordingly. There appeared to be a direct relationship between an institutional member's personal legitimacy and his/her ability to act as a check and balance.

Tallerico (1989), in an analysis of school board-superintendent relationships, describes social processes which illustrate this anticipatory dimension at work. By drawing on Cobb and Elder's (1983) concepts of systemic agenda for decision making and pre-decisional social processes, she points out that the activities of board members and superintendents outside of decision-making arenas control and shape what eventually becomes a part of formal decision-making processes. Some examples of such activities include "the cultivation and utilization of information sources, seed-planting of ideas and directions, persuading, scrutinizing, challenging, fact-finding, anticipating board and community zones of tolerance, gatekeeping information" (p. 224). While superintendents typically establish the institutional or formal agenda for each school board meeting, they do so in context of the systemic agenda. From this perspective, the "behind-the-scenes behaviors and interactions" which make up the systemic agenda "help define the alternatives, and create the conditions that lead to subsequent formal decision making" (pp. 224-225). In the context of this study, Tallerico's analysis suggests college presidents anticipate the interests and

student and support staff members' monitoring of and contributions to systemic agenda building constitute an informal but significant check and balance on the power of the presidents.

One president and several vice presidents recognized this anticipatory quality in their own behavior. Colin Davey said the institutional members remind the Board of its responsibilities, and he indicated he shaped his recommendations to the Board to reflect the interests represented by the internal members. According to Amy Hansen, the college must be true to its own standards because internal members were at the board table. The most direct example was suggested by Wayne Allison when he recognized that his credibility in the eyes of the Board could be tested by the institutional members and so he made sure his presentations were credible to them.

There are additional examples of institutional members acting as a check and balance based on the perceptions of other participants. Public members were able to monitor the cohesion between administration and staff by attending to the reactions of institutional members. The presence of internal members at Mackenzie College kept the president more objective in his presentations and more attuned to the college community. The inevitable managerial bias of the president and vice presidents was checked for the same reason.

While the power of the institutional members was limited as discussed in topic 7 the concept of checks and balances points to a type of power which is

unconsciously anticipate the interests of the institutional members and respond accordingly, then institutional participation has an impact on governance. This type of power is not directly observable in the decision-making process but is reflected in what is brought to the boards. The administrative pre-structuring of decision making provides the medium in which this responsiveness occurs.

Higher Education Governance

The significance of institutional participation for the governance of colleges can be assessed by contrasting the data presented in the case studies with prescriptive and analytical arguments from the higher education literature. A cross-section of arguments supporting and opposing institutional participation were identified from the works of Canadian and American scholars and practitioners.

Eleven basic assertions, which can be grouped into five categories, were identified in the arguments supporting institutional participation. Employees and students, as participants in and consumers of education (e.g., Riley, 1977), should be given a voice in decision making because "they are the ones most affected by the decisions" (Gould, 1973, p. 219). Certainly the constituent groups at the three colleges did have voice at the board table through the representatives which they selected. The effectiveness of that voice is affected by organizational and personal variables, as discussed previously.

and their constituent groups (e.g., Gould, 1973; Konrad, 1980). Participants believed this role was fulfilled although several public members at Henday College thought the three internal members should have provided more input. There was only limited reference to communication from the board to the interest groups largely because of the established role expectations, especially confidentiality. Glanville's (1986) research supports this dimension based on his conclusion that "Two features of board governance--a stable structure for the policy organization, and legislated involvement of representatives of stakeholder groups--established the basis for appropriate channels of communication within the policy organization" (p. 276).

Colleges are professional organizations with distinctive needs in terms of participation and communication and the process of institutional participation responds to that need (Kolesar, 1968b; Pitman, 1986). The presence of employee and students members on the boards operationalized values such as collegiality, professionalism and representation, which explains, in part, the widespread support for institutional participation from the interest group presidents.

Institutional participation should increase a board's responsiveness to the needs of the college community. From Konrad's (1980) perspective, sensitivity to "the inner workings of the an institution " is essential to a board "effectively perform[ing] its trust responsibilities" (p. 100). On the one hand, there is little evidence to indicate that boards modified recommendations because of input from

been the same without them. On the other hand, the anticipatory quality previously discussed points to an impact on the recommendations which came to the boards from senior administration.

The application of democracy to organizational life is reflected in institutional participation as expressed by Perkins (1973): "the policies of . . . universities must conform to the social aspirations of its members and . . . its very style and organization must conform to the idea of a democratic society" (p. 12). There was a reflection of democratic principles in that constituent groups nominated a representative and exercised some accountability by suasion and the elective process. Mortimer and McConnell (1970) address the application of democratic principles to university governance and observe that at a societal level

In the absence of . . . crises, the lines of accountability of the executive and of the legislature to the electorate at large become relatively vague and may be largely replaced by accountability to constituent interest groups which supposedly act in behalf of their membership. In practice then, the citizen in a democracy either explicitly or implicitly delegates the protection of his individual interests to the various formal and informal groups of which he is a member (p. 119).

While institutional members were representatives of interest groups, they did not act as the protectors of the specific interests of their groups or peers because of the largely non-negotiable role expectations they encountered. The presidents of the three faculty associations and several of the other interest group presidents chose to take their members' problems directly to senior administration because that was the most effective route as well as to prevent their board member from

groups' general interests rather than member problems if they were able to set those interests in the context of institutional interests.

Nine basic arguments reflecting opposition to institutional participation were identified. Institutional memberships on college and university boards are inappropriate because trustees are the corporate authority serving as the agents of the public's interests (e.g., Rauh, 1973). In Alberta the composition of college boards as defined in the Colleges Act (1980) maintains a strong public presence. The role expectations for institutional members and the distribution of power reported in these case studies indicate that the presence of institutional members did not weaken the boards' mandate to be the trustees of the public good.

Faculty or student board members are not necessarily representative of their constituent groups (The Carnegie Commission, 1973). The faculty board members were representative in that they were senior members of faculty, had a long history of service to their colleges and associations, and were credible in the eyes of their peers and administrators. The majority of the student and support staff members apparently were also representative, defined as being knowledgeable about their groups' interests and reflecting views common within their groups. On balance, the problem of representativeness is not unique to college governance; it exists whenever one person is selected to speak or act for a group.

Riley (1977) has summarized the common arguments presented against student board participation in this way:

protest role, using board membership to act out authority problems; complex problems are dealt with superficially by joint groups of students, trustees, and administrators--with the real problem solving done later by smaller groups of trustees and members of the administrative and faculty decision structure (p. 244).

These are not substantiated by this study. While the three students varied in their credibility and effectiveness, there was substantial support for their board position, largely because they represent the "consumers" of the colleges' educational services.

Institutional members represent interest groups which means their participation constitutes a conflict of interest (e.g., The Carnegie Commission, 1973; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986). In philosophical terms this point could be argued at length. In practical terms, there is little evidence of concerns or problems at Henday or Mackenzie colleges. The problem at Thompson College resulted not from conflict of interest, but from the decision of the President and Chairman to exclude institutional members from some parts of the board meetings because of fears of conflict of interest. At the Henday and Mackenzie colleges it appears that the clarity of role expectations, the conflict of interest bylaws, the acceptance of the role expectations by the institutional members and the interest groups prevented any real or perceived problems. While Dennison and Gallagher (1986) have reservations about institutional participation, they say "Alberta colleges have been successful with faculty members on boards by making, and respecting, the distinction between faculty members 'selected by'

This analysis of arguments which support and oppose institutional participation indicates that most of the espoused goals were achieved at these three colleges. The potential problems associated with institutional participation are not supported by the data largely because, as Dennison and Gallagher (1986) suggest, the conflict of interest issue has been resolved in practice. While this analysis based on the higher education literature considers general goals and philosophical positions, it does not address the institutional members' degree of influence.

SUMMARY

The participation of faculty, students and support staff representatives in the governance of three colleges was analyzed from the perspective of organizational politics and higher education governance. Four topics were identified inductively from the case studies and the researcher's field notes. On the whole, there is a high degree of similarity among the three institutions.

The power of the boards of governors is limited by a number of factors such as their part-time involvement, the expertise of the presidents and the technical nature of the decision making. A number of research studies conducted in a variety of settings support this analysis.

Institutional members entered defined social situations characterized by a

real and potential sanctions, they were not able to significantly affect the norms and role expectations shaping their involvement. Although there was some role negotiation, it largely reflected transitions over time from one member to another. An analysis of the relevant factors affecting the institutional members' participation highlighted the impact which definitions of the situation can have on individuals' action orientations.

Most institutional members worked within their role expectations to establish a degree of influence. The complementary concepts of impression management and assessed stature provided the conceptual tools for identifying institutional members' actions to achieve credibility and their board colleagues' perceptions of these actions.

Institutional participation was a significant aspect of college governance in several ways. Organizational communications were enhanced. Consistent with the concept of checks and balances, senior administrators' anticipation of the interests reflected on the boards increased, to a degree, the boards' responsiveness to the institution. Most goals for institutional participation were achieved without any of the negative consequences suggested in the literature.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The origins of faculty, student and non-academic staff memberships on the boards of governors of Alberta colleges can be traced to reforms in higher education governance which took place in the 1960s in North America. Faculty and student board members were first appointed after passage of The Colleges Act (1969). A legislative amendment in 1981 provided for non-academic staff representation. These institutional members are appointed by the Minister of Advanced Education after they have been nominated by their respective associations. The other members of college boards in Alberta include the president and seven or more public members from the college's city or region appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council.

From the perspectives of higher education governance and political processes within organizations, this composition of college boards and the associated selection processes establish a number of important political interactions. The faculty, student and support staff members serve as board

members along with the president who is both their colleague and their chief executive officer. The formal members hold dual roles as board member and employee or student. While the institutional members hold the office of board member, they also have ongoing relationships with their interest groups, most frequently as voting members of the executives of their associations. In addition to the president, the institutional members' board colleagues include public members who are volunteers, selected and appointed through a political process.

Purpose

In light of the relationships and interactions identified above, this study was designed to address the question: "What is the nature of the political processes associated with the participation of academic staff, students and non-academic staff on the boards of governors of Alberta colleges?" More specific areas of interest were identified in these subproblems:

1. How are institutional members recruited for board positions?
2. What formal and informal socialization do institutional members experience as they become board members?
3. What role expectations are communicated to institutional members by other board members and college groups? What role expectations are perceived by institutional members?

participation in the decision making of the boards?

5. What is the nature of institutional members' participation in the activities of their respective associations? What impact does it have on their board participation?

6. What influence processes are used by institutional members? What influence processes are directed toward them by other board members and members of the college community?

7. What, if any, conflicts are associated with institutional members serving on college boards? How are they resolved?

8. From the perspective of institutional members, other board members, and college groups, what impact do institutional members have on the processes and outcomes of boards' decision making?

9. What effect does institutional participation have on the governance and organizational life of colleges?

More specific topics and questions were explored at each college in order to gather contextual data and investigate emergent topics and themes.

Theoretical Perspective

Based on preliminary research and interviews with college personnel, the politics perspective within organizational theory was chosen as the theoretical foundation for the study. The organizational politics model suggests that formal

characterized by processes paralleling those found in societal political systems. Organizational diversity resulting from human differences and task differentiation both generates and reflects multiple interests. Political actors--individuals, formal groups and informal groups--make demands upon the administrative and policy making structures of the institution. The resolution of competing demands occurs through decision-making processes, and the outcomes are one measure of the distribution of power within the institution.

A political perspective was assumed to be relevant to analyzing the relationships and interactions associated with institutional members' nomination by interest groups, ongoing involvement with those groups and participation as board members. Faculty, student and support staff members belong to associations which articulate interests while, as board members, they and their board colleagues make choices among competing interests. Furthermore, boards of governors constitute a unique interest group within colleges because of their composition and power. They interact with other interest groups such as employee groups, the students' association and senior administrators. While the boards are a subsystem of the larger political system of the college, they also may be viewed as a political system characterized by collective interests and diverse individual interests that are reflected in their decision making premises, processes and outcomes.

Research Design and Data Collection

Based on the literature review, the researcher determined that the political experiences of institutional members and the political processes associated with their participation in governance could best be investigated by collecting in-depth data from board members, senior administrators and presidents of faculty, student and support staff associations. For this reason, decisions were made to adopt a multisite case study design and to collect data by interviewing and examining documents.

A pilot study was conducted at the researcher's college. After conducting ten interviews, preparing several transcripts and obtaining feedback from two key participants, the merit of using the case study design was confirmed. Modifications were made to the interview schedules to place greater emphasis on some topics and to reduce emphasis on others. As a result, more attention was given to contextual factors and less attention was given to some topics which did not appear to be as relevant as suggested by the literature.

Permission to conduct research at each site was obtained by first contacting the college president and then making a written request to each board. An overview of the study and the ethical guidelines were included in the submission to the boards. A letter was sent to each prospective participant after the permission of the board had been obtained.

The participants at each college can be grouped into five categories: public

members; senior administrators; and the presidents of employee and student groups. Semi-structured interviews based on the subproblems and reflecting the theoretical perspective were conducted with 51 participants. Questions specific to each board and college were included, with particular attention being given to selected decision issues. Most interviews exceeded 60 minutes in length; all interviews were recorded. Relevant documents were collected at each college and from the Department of Advanced Education.

Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed by the researcher. Consistent with the ethical guidelines, the transcripts were returned to the participants for verification. Once this had been done, a coding system was prepared by reading transcripts, marking topical units and identifying category descriptors. Fourteen numerical categories (e.g., role expectations, role behavior and conflict situations) and related subcategories were created. Each topical unit was identified with an eight or 10 digit code such as the following:

03-08-17-06-11

03 - College - Mackenzie Community College

08 - Role - President of an association

17 - Participant - Kent Holmes

06 - Topic - The board 's decision-making process

11 - Subtopic - Degree-granting status

The coding system was used and revised until it could be applied consistently.

The transcripts were sorted and printed by computer according to college topic

manner and included with the interview material. Each topical section (e.g., socialization) of the sorted interview and documentary material was read as a unit to ensure reliable coding of each item, and items were recoded as necessary.

The topical organization of each case study parallels the subproblems and the coding system but also reflects some modifications which were made to ensure clarity of presentation. Prior to writing each section of the case studies, the researcher identified, listed and organized the information which was to be included. Quotations from both data sources are included in the case studies along with the appropriate codes to facilitate substantiation of the narrative.

FINDINGS

The major findings are presented in this section in a format consistent with the subproblems. Each subproblem is restated followed by a summary of the results.

1. How are institutional members recruited for board positions?

The Minister of Advanced Education appoints faculty, student and support staff board members after receiving nominations from their respective associations. Seven of the eight organizations included in this study selected their nominees by general election. In one case the nominee was selected by ballot among the members of the students' association council. Limited campaigning

Minister by the association and was either one or two years in duration.

Most organizations, particularly the faculty associations, chose nominees who had effectively served the group over time and were well known in the college. There appeared to be a consensus among the presidents of the faculty associations that their interests were best served by nominating representatives who had achieved credibility with their peers and the administration of the college and who could be equally credible with the board.

2. What formal and informal socialization do institutional members experience as they become board members?

Formal orientations for new public and institutional members at two colleges consisted largely of meetings with the president and the chairman in one case and with the president in the other case. Both colleges provided new board members with information packages which included material such as government documents, bylaws and minutes. One board had an orientation subcommittee which met with new members. The third board did not conduct any orientation activities because the president believed he would be seen as pressuring new members. Most institutional members mentioned their boards' annual retreat and the provincial board conference as valuable learning experiences.

The institutional members reported that watching and learning were their most important informal socialization activity. They paid particular attention to

expressed by their colleagues and the unwritten rules relevant to their participation. Reference was also made to occasional and indirect comments from the public members which conveyed role expectations.

Only limited socialization activities were initiated by the associations. On occasion, informal discussions about role responsibilities took place between nominees or newly appointed members and individuals from the executives of the associations. The faculty associations, it appears, did not identify a need for orientation processes because their representatives were formal and informal leaders who shared the views commonly held by association members.

3. What role expectations are communicated to institutional members by other board members and college groups? What role expectations are perceived by institutional members?

New employee and student board members quickly became familiar with the general role expectations for their board as defined by statute, government policy and other board members. While different sources placed different weight on the expectations, there were commonalities which included the boards' responsibility to set policy, guide the overall direction of the college, respond to the educational needs, manage public funds, communicate with the environment and represent the institution's interests to government.

Public board members and college presidents spoke with an almost

they were either employees or students and were nominated by election within their associations, institutional members were expected to be trustees first and to share the same general responsibilities as their colleagues appointed from the community. The interests of the institution should be given precedence over those of their constituencies. While they represented an interest group, they should speak and act as individuals. A number of participants expected institutional members to report the concerns and interests of their peers but in an objective rather than advocacy manner. They were expected to provide information to their groups about the priorities and work of the board.

Government documents addressed conflict of interest as it applied to all board members and did not make specific reference to the special circumstances of employee and student members. The bylaws of two boards excluded those issues which affected the institutional members' associations from their definition of conflict of interest. In practice, however, one of these boards excluded institutional members from major standing committees partly because of concerns about conflict of interest. The bylaws of the third board defined conflict of interest but did not make specific reference to employee and student members. The faculty member was excluded from board meetings whenever faculty labor relations were discussed, apparently at the initiative of the president.

The presidents of the associations spoke with a less clear-cut view. Although the majority of the presidents saw their representatives functioning as

the college from an insider's view. Other presidents offered more ambiguous role definitions which suggested some desire for a delegate's role while recognizing the need to work within the board's expectations.

The faculty, student and support staff board members perceived the expectations as communicated to them and, with only limited exceptions, defined their roles consistent with those expectations. Individuals spoke of placing the institution first, voting as individuals and communicating their knowledge and insights based on their primary college role. Several emphasized conveying the opinions of their employee or student peers along with or in addition to the interests of their association's executive. These perspectives, however, were best presented in a detached manner with a recognition of the differing views which existed within the association.

4. To what extent do institutional and other board members differ in their participation in the decision making of the boards?

Institutional members, according to their own descriptions and those of their board colleagues, were active participants in board decision making. Their contributions took the form of offering information, asking questions, raising concerns and voting. A number of public members made particular reference to the ability of institutional members to contribute information about the college community which was valuable to them as part-time, lay trustees. Consistent with

rather than as delegates. The degree of participation varied widely from individual to individual. As a group they were more active on educational, student and employee related issues matters than on financial affairs or government relations reflecting their experience base. No distinctive voting patterns were evident among the institutional members.

The institutional members' participation in decision making differed to some degree from that of the public members and of the president. Like most public members, the institutional members were less active than the college presidents because of the knowledge and power which came from the presidents' dual roles. Institutional members did not have the knowledge and experience base to make the same contributions about financial matters, government relations and capital projects as many of their colleagues from the community. Because educational matters were largely delegated to the academic councils, the institutional members did not have the opportunity to draw on many of their areas of expertise. At one college the employee and student members were excluded from the board's major subcommittees which seriously limited their participation. Several participants, both public and institutional, believed that institutional members sometimes had to limit their participation on certain issues to avoid the appearance of acting as a delegate. For these reasons, institutional members at two colleges were described as participating more than some public members but less than the most influential public members.

5. What is the nature of institutional members' participation in the activities of their respective associations? What impact does it have on their board participation?

By virtue of their board positions, all institutional members were members of the executive of their associations. All but one had voting privileges. Most made written or oral reports about board activities at general and/or executive meetings. There were only a limited number of attempts by individuals within their groups to establish some accountability over the institutional members' actions as board members. On the whole, relationships between the institutional members and their groups were positive largely because of shared understandings of the role which recognized the need for independent action.

Several factors increased the likelihood of positive relationships and reduced the demand for accountability. The majority of the executive committees chose to work directly with the college administrators when they experienced difficulties in order to preserve the autonomy of their board members and because they recognized the power of the college presidents. The confidentiality requirements of the in camera meetings limited the interest groups' awareness of many of the most important issues before the board. Most institutional members had established high credibility within their associations before taking on the role of board member.

Institutional members' active participation in their interest groups did not

members because almost all of them balanced the elements of their dual roles in the manner expected. Several participants endorsed the institutional members' participation in their associations because this increased their opportunities to reflect the board to the groups.

6. What influence processes are used by institutional members? What influence processes are directed toward them as they interact with other board members and members of the college community?

Influence processes were only a limited part of institutional members' experiences. Only two of the nine employee and student members defined themselves as active lobbyists. They were successful in having one or more public members present specific information and raise issues with the full board. Only one of the nine had been the recipient of influence processes from College peers and interest groups. One college president sought to influence the faculty and student members whenever decision issues of interest to them were coming to the board.

Participants did offer some explanations for the low level of influence processes. Many boards members did not like lobbying. There was little diversity of views about most decisions because of administrative pre-structuring of the issues. In addition, the public members came from similar backgrounds and were appointed part-time trustees.

7. What, if any, conflicts are associated with institutional members serving on a college board? How are they resolved?

Participants reported a limited number of incidents of conflict involving institutional members. Two of the nine employee and student members described very specific incidents, but these were isolated in nature. A student member believed he had been in conflict with the president and chairman throughout the year, but other participants did not see the situation in the same light. Institutional and other board members at one college mentioned some tensions and annoyances, but these did not really involve individuals in opposition to each other. Situations of conflict were dealt with through direct discussion or acquiescence; some situations were left unresolved.

Limited evidence was provided by participants to explain the low level of conflict. Indirect evidence points to administrative pre-structuring of decision making processes, the power of the president, the selection and background of the public members, the policy making rather than operational role of the board and the general acceptance of role expectations by institutional members.

8. From the perspective of institutional members, other board members, and college groups, what impact do institutional members have on the processes and outcomes of board decision making?

Participants' assessments of the impact of institutional members varied

impact on decisions involving educational, employee and student matters in contrast to financial and governmental matters. There was consistent and clear recognition of the range of impact which existed among the institutional members as a group. Only one member was consistently rated as one of the five most influential members of the board. Faculty members were seen as having more impact than student or support staff members. Institutional members' assessments of their impact were lower than those of their board colleagues.

While these assessments were based on the institutional members' participation in decision making, other assessments pointed to a significant impact on less tangible matters. The contributions of employee and student members resulted in better informed boards, a clearer focus on the purpose of the institution, less administrative dominance of the boards and a more positive outlook on employees and students and their associations.

Numerous factors were suggested to explain the degree of impact exercised by faculty, student and support staff members and the differences in impact found within the institutional members' subgroup of each board. One category of factors refers to the personal and interpersonal abilities of the institutional members and the effectiveness of their role behavior. The college characteristics category includes the role assigned to academic council by the board and the nature of the relations which existed between employees and student associations and senior administration and the board. The board attributes category subsumes

degree of influence exerted by the president and the structure and power of board committees.

9. What effect does institutional participation have on the governance and organizational life of colleges?

All participants, including those who said the incumbents had limited impact, endorsed institutional participation in board governance. Numerous benefits to the institution and the board were identified such as communication from the board to the college was improved, the board received more information directly from employees and students, the board was reminded of the mission of the institution and the collegiality values of higher education were operationalized.

Several participants stressed the positive impact which institutional participation had on organizational climate. Employee and student groups had a mechanism for ensuring their views were heard, and, as a result, they placed greater trust in the work of the board. Presidents and vice presidents gave greater attention to the views of employees and students, and the natural tendency for administrative bias was checked.

In summary, institutional members, considered as a group, were active participants in the work of their boards. Their participation was defined and limited by role expectations, the power structure of the boards and the decision-

low level. The impact of the institutional members varied from person to person depending upon contextual factors, role performance and personal attributes. Almost all participants believed institutional participation was central to the organizational life and governance of community colleges.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions derived from this research are presented as working hypotheses (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) in this section. These express propositions about institutional participation as a governance process and suggest relationships between structural and organizational factors and the nature of the political processes associated with employees and students serving as board members. These may be relevant to human service organizations with similar governance structures and processes. By their nature, working hypotheses are tentative and subject to rejection or refinement because "there are always differences in context from situation to situation, and even the single situation differs over time" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 124).

1. The nature of an institutional member's position generates numerous arenas of political interaction as well as the potential for political tensions.

As individuals became institutional board members, they were placed in

institutional members held two major roles in relation to some or many other members of the college community. Former relationships as peer, student or subordinate continued but, upon board appointment, the institutional members assumed the board's role as the employer of, and the highest decision-making authority for, those same people. As individuals, institutional members had to balance personal interests as employees or students, group interests as representatives and college interests as board members.

2. Institutional participation in college governance is characterized by political processes which are somewhat different in nature and frequency from those suggested by the theoretical perspective.

All of the fundamental concepts introduced in this study were evident in the data; however, influence processes, conflict and diversity of interests were not present to the extent suggested by the theoretical models. Analysis of the data revealed that, in large part, the role expectations for institutional members effectively precluded the anticipated expression of diverse interests at the board level. Influence processes and conflict were minimized because of the public members' appointed status, the similar world views shared by the public members, the power of the presidents, the board's policy orientation and norms of social cohesion and unanimity. Results of this study confirmed the significance of power in decision making but also demonstrated the importance of unobtrusive power which was used by key actors such as the college presidents to control the

emergence of demands and shape individuals' perceptions of their interests and roles.

3. College presidents and public board members unequivocally define the institutional members' role as trustee rather than delegate with the explicit or implicit goal of integrating them into the board's culture, social dynamics, and decision-making priorities and processes.

Institutional members were expected to assume the general role expectations for all board members, balance their board and interest group participation and give priority to their board role in tradeoff situations. They were expected to bring special expertise as members of the college community but not be advocates for the interests of their associations. These expectations were conveyed through formal and informal socialization. Anticipatory socialization was very significant especially for faculty representatives. The clarity of the role expectations among the president and public members reflected a realization that institutional members acting as delegates would reduce social cohesion among board members, introduce a diversity of interests which could increase political activity within the college and board as well as threaten the power of the president and the chairman. New public members were also socialized into this view of institutional members.

4. Boards and associations evolve procedures and shared understandings to minimize political interactions and the potential tensions associated with employees and students participating in governance.

The confidentiality requirements of in camera meetings prevented institutional members from conveying decision issues to interest groups. The policy emphasis of the boards limited institutional members' opportunity to represent the concerns and demands of their groups. The employee and student associations, for the most part, nominated individuals who could work within the role expectations for the position. Most associations accorded a high degree of autonomy to their representatives. Some of these procedures and shared understandings reflect a desire to increase the credibility and effectiveness of institutional members while others indicate a desire to reduce their political activity.

5. The power of boards as a corporate body is limited by factors which also reduce the power of individual institutional and public members.

The characteristics of public board members and the power exercised by presidents directly and indirectly reduced political activity within the boards and circumscribed decision-making processes and outcomes. The public members perceived decision-making issues from a common world view based on similar political views and socio-economic characteristics. Their volunteer, part-time status increased their dependence upon senior administrators for their

understanding of the college. Because public members were appointed, they did not represent a specified constituency. The dual role of college presidents increased their power. Most decision issues were brought to the boards by senior administrators with a recommended decision alternative. These factors and the norms of cooperation and unanimity made it very difficult for any member, public or institutional, to advance different interests.

6. Personal factors such as ability, education, organizational knowledge and interpersonal style affect institutional members' readiness for their board role and subsequent effectiveness.

The institutional members' impact ranged from limited to moderate. The three faculty members fell into the moderate category, and, in each case, it was possible to identify the significance of their education and previous leadership and/or administrative positions. Each was skilful in group processes, an effective communicator and successful in interpersonal relationships. On the other hand, the full range of impact was evident in each of the other two subgroups.

Education, age and previous experience did not appear to be the features which distinguished individuals with moderate impact from those with limited impact. For example, two mature students with the same educational level differed significantly in impact. In these cases it appeared role readiness and effectiveness were related to personality traits such as self-confidence, communications skills, political judgement and group participation skills.

7. Institutional members can achieve credibility and a measure of power by working within the defined expectations.

Institutional members were not able to redefine significantly their role because of the explicit role expectations conveyed to them and the sanctions which accompanied non-compliance. For these reasons, most employee and student members consciously sought to achieve credibility in the eyes of their board peers by working within the role expectations with the goal of gaining influence in that way. Their understanding of the elements of credibility was based on previous experiences, formal socialization, careful observation of board dynamics and reflection.

Those institutional members who were rated as having the most impact were also the ones who were described in another context as adhering most closely to the role expectations. In order to achieve credibility, most institutional members recognized the norms of the group, followed established procedures, communicated with logic and persuasion, and demonstrated commitment to institutional rather than interest group values and concerns. The faculty subgroup was most successful in achieving credibility and attendant influence; there was greater variation within the other two subgroups.

8. Institutional members contribute to a balancing of interests within boards and serve to reduce the likelihood of arbitrary action.

Concrete measures of impact in relation to decision making do not reflect

significant but less tangible contributions. The presence of faculty, student and support staff representatives reminded the boards of their educational mandate and their responsibilities as employers. Administrators were aware that the employee and student trustees brought an insider's perspective to decision issues and anticipated those views in their submissions to the boards. Impact of this type occurred largely prior to an issue entering the board's decision making arena.

Some presidents and senior administrators recognized that dissension from influential institutional members would weaken their credibility in the eyes of the public board members. Those individuals, it appears, wanted to see the norms of social cohesion and unanimity maintained within the boards. As a result, presidents and senior administrators shaped their actions in anticipation of the institutional members' responses just as they considered the reactions of public members. On balance, however, difficult issues such as budget cuts, layoffs and employee discipline were not avoided because of the presence of institutional members.

9. Faculty, student and support staff participation in board governance broadens organizational communication within the college community.

Traditional images of organizational communications suggest that messages flow along upward and downward channels in a prescribed manner. Institutional participation both supplements and challenges those channels. Institutional

members provided direct information to the boards from three college groups which occupied the lowest levels of hierarchical communication networks. They raised questions about issues, anticipated their peers' reactions, emphasized educational and student needs and stressed the importance of appropriate decision-making processes in colleges. Public members received messages not subjected to managerial filters. Institutional members served as direct communication links between the public session of the board and their college peers and associations. College presidents, in both their roles, received more direct messages about constituent groups' views and concerns. The senior administrators, as board observers and resource persons, similarly benefited from the added communication sources with both their board and administrative responsibilities. Individuals and subgroups--the presidents, the public members, the vice presidents and the institutional members--were conscious of their multiple audiences, and, as a result, shaped their messages to recognize the differing interests.

10. Institutional participation in board governance operationalizes values and beliefs characteristic of the culture of higher education institutions.

The three major constituent groups were represented in both the public and in camera sessions of the board thus formalizing one avenue of participation in decision making for members of the college community. The professionalism of employees and the unique qualities of colleges as professional organizations

were recognized by institutional representation. The importance of students as participants in the educational endeavor was confirmed by their membership on boards. The trustees' obligation to respond to the needs of the college they served by giving college groups a mechanism for voicing their needs. The statutory provision for nomination of institutional members by their peers recognized colleges as models of democratic values.

These examples point to the symbolic value of institutional participation for members of the colleges' constituent groups. Most institutional members and the presidents of their associations considered the composition of their boards to be an important reflection of values and beliefs about collegiality, participation and professionalism in higher education organizations. As a result, it appears their identification with the institution as well as their sense of personal and group efficacy was enhanced.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings and conclusions suggest recommendations which can be grouped into two categories. The first will be of interest to practitioners such as faculty, student and support staff board members; public board members; college associations; colleges presidents and senior administrators and higher education policy makers. The second will be of interest to researchers whose fields of inquiry include the governance of colleges, universities and human service

organizations; participative governance and management; and the politics of organizations.

Recommendations for Practice

1. Faculty, student and support staff participation in the governance of higher education institutions should be continued.

While measures of tangible impact did not point to the institutional members as the most influential board members, less tangible assessments and the general endorsement from participants, regardless of position, confirm the significance of institutional participation. The involvement of faculty, student and support staff representatives clarifies the board's mandate, enhances bilateral communication, operationalizes organizational values and contributes to congruence between the processes and priorities of the board and the needs of the college.

2. Board members and college associations should continue to define an institutional member's role as a trustee rather than as a delegate.

Numerous shared understandings, procedures and processes within colleges and boards establish and protect the autonomy of faculty, student and support staff board members. Associations, for example, have chosen to address labor relations problems with college administrators, partly to protect the independence of their board members. Similarly, associations have established a separate board

position as a part of their executives rather than designating an existing office holder as the board representative. Institutional members and associations generally accept the role expectations for the position as defined by other board members.

Without the autonomy central to a trustee's role, institutional members would not be able to establish credibility in the eyes of the public members. Credibility--arising from a trustee's role and other personal, experiential and interpersonal attributes--constitutes the fundamental political resource which institutional members can use to influence their board colleagues. A delegate's role would result in increased conflict and the probable isolation of employees and students as individuals or as subgroups.

3. College boards and associations should eliminate any factors or barriers which unnecessarily affect the integration and effectiveness of institutional members.

Numerous examples of necessary changes can be identified from the case studies. Institutional members should have proportional participation on all board committees except, in the case of employee members, those dealing with labor relations. Faculty and support staff members should not be excluded from any portion of board meetings regardless of the topic. Employee associations should review the length of term they specify for their representatives with a view to lengthening their service. More emphasis needs to be placed on the orientation

of new institutional members, especially student and support staff representatives. Board chairmen need to be particularly sensitive to integrating institutional members into the board as a social and decision-making group, given their shorter terms and, in some cases, more limited experience base. None of these suggestions would jeopardize the institutional members' autonomy.

4. Faculty, student and support staff associations should nominate their most effective members to the board position in light of the complexities of the role and to ensure their interests will be advanced and respected during the board's decision-making processes.

Individuals who are highly credible within their associations and the college community are the most likely to achieve influence with their board colleagues. Credibility results from ongoing role performance and encompasses effective technical, interpersonal, organizational and communication skills. Given the complexities associated with the simultaneous employee-student, interest group-board roles, it is essential that nominees have demonstrated prior abilities in complex organizational situations. For this reason, the associations should periodically clarify their understanding of the role and the attributes necessary for success.

5. College administrators should ensure that organizational structures and processes are consistent with organizational values.

Institutional participation operationalizes values such as professionalism, participation in decision making and organizational democracy, and, by inference, contributes to organizational stability and faculty, student and support staff satisfaction. While organizational cultures are not static, certain attributes such as the core values identified above are relatively stable over time. The congruence between institutional participation and organizational values identified in this study suggests that college administrators and higher education policy makers should give careful attention to the implications of organizational values as they design decision- and policy-making processes and procedures.

Recommendations for Further Research

1. Further research should be undertaken to investigate issues suggested by this study.

Because this study focused on the interaction of institutional members with the presidents of their associations and other board members, there was no investigation of the perceptions held by members of the college community. What influence do they see their representatives having? How is their understanding of the board shaped by information provided by the representatives? Do employees and students perceive any barriers which limit the influence of institutional members? Do institutional members, in the eyes of their college peers, redefine

their role during their term of office?

Comparative studies may also clarify the generic processes and implications of institutional participation. Is the nature of institutional participation similar or different in community colleges and universities? Do colleges with and without participatory governance processes have similar or different organizational climates and communications patterns? Do faculty and students perceive institutional participation in the decision making of academic councils as a more or less effective voice for their interests in contrast to institutional participation in the decision making of the boards?

2. The politics of organizations model proved to have heuristic and analytical value and should be used more widely to investigate the administration and governance of educational institutions.

In contrast to unitary and structuralist models of organizations, the theoretical perspective for this research suggested considering political interactions, diverse interests, conflict and power. While the findings suggested modifications to the framework, each of the fundamental elements of a politics model was identifiable in the case studies. The study demonstrated the value of a politics perspective for investigations of educational institutions, given their professional nature, complexity, differentiation and culture. More specifically, this conceptual approach made it possible to identify overt and covert relationships between power and decision making, power and role expectations, and power and

organizational structure.

3. A comprehensive model of power should be an integral part of inquiry about the politics of organizations.

The theoretical perspective presented in Chapter 1 reflected Dahl's (1957) concept of power which focuses on measuring A's impact on B's actions. This choice was consistent with much of the organizational politics literature. Analysis of the data pointed to actors such as college presidents exerting control but not always in the observable manner suggested by Dahl. Lukes's (1974) three-dimensional model proved to be more effective in pointing to the ways in which powerful actors can effect their will by controlling decision-making processes and shaping perceptions and shared understandings of the organizational world so that their power is not challenged. This study then demonstrates the need for a more comprehensive model of power which provides for a "deeper analysis of power relations" (Lukes, 1974, p. 57).

4. Theory and research about institutional participation in higher education governance should be contrasted with theory and research about industrial democracy.

There is a substantial body of research (e.g., Chell, 1983; Clegg, 1983; Hammer, Currall & Stern, n.d.; Nightingale, 1982) which considers the implications of and dynamics associated with workers holding full voting

memberships on the boards of directors of corporations. Industrial democracy is widespread in a number of European countries as result of co-determination legislation. While industrial democracy arises out of a different ideological context, there may be generic issues and processes associated with workers and college staff and students participating in the governance of their organizations. For this reason, researchers should carry out comparative empirical studies and/or contrast the fundamental propositions and research findings contained in the institutional participation and industrial democracy literatures.

REFLECTIONS

Completion of the study prompts reflection about the research design and methodology as a complement to the preceding presentation of findings, conclusions and recommendations. Attention is focused on those aspects of case study design and qualitative data collection and analysis which may be interest to other researchers.

Case Study Design

The study was predicated on the assumption that only the in-depth exploration inherent in a case study using qualitative data would provide an adequate portrayal of the phenomena of interest. The diversity of the participants' perceptions and experiences, as suggested by the conceptual

framework, was confirmed in the interviews. Relevant contextual factors were identified. Extended interviews facilitated drawing out the level of detail required by the research problem. Numerous dimensions of the problem were identified which could not have been anticipated from the literature and the theoretical perspective.

A case study design requires the identification of social and temporal boundaries for the phenomenon under investigation. The research subproblems and interview questions did address effectively institutional participation as a bounded system within board governance. All participants recognized the faculty, student and support staff members as a subgroup of the board and were cognizant of the dynamics and issues associated with the institutional members' board participation.

Identifying temporal boundaries for the topic was somewhat problematic in this study. Data were collected in May and June 1988 and the time period under study was limited to the previous academic year to minimize the effects of change in board membership and to limit the effects of forgetting. As participants were interviewed, they often spoke of their total experience which often exceeded one year. As a result, the researcher had to ask follow-up questions to determine the time period, eliminate data which was outside the focal year or present data in the case studies with the necessary caveat.

All field-based research designs and methodologies are dependent upon the investigator achieving the appropriate degree of access. In this study, the

researcher obtained ready access to all board members and the minutes of public meetings and was able to attend public meetings. All participants but one were very cooperative. As anticipated in the study design, the researcher was not able to observe the boards' retreats and in camera meetings. An assumption was made that sufficiently rich data could be obtained about the public sessions. The findings confirm the assumption. In addition, many participants provided observations about public and in camera sessions without formal distinction while others offered direct information about the in camera sessions recognizing that the researcher would respect the confidentiality involved. While access proved not to be a problem, the experience does point to the need for careful assessment of all matters related to access early in the design process to ensure that there are no insurmountable barriers.

A case study design does not dictate the number of sites which should be included. A decision was made in this study to base the research on three colleges to broaden the data base and to enhance the validity of the results. Because purposeful rather than representative sampling was used, no generalizations can be made about the population of Alberta colleges. The similarities reported in the findings demonstrate, however, that common political processes are associated with institutional participation when the contextual factors are parallel. In addition, the inclusion of three sites protected the study from problems such as inaccessible and uncooperative persons. Both types of problems existed at Thompson Community College and would have jeopardized the study if

it had been the only site.

Interviewing

The participants in this study reflected substantial diversity on a number of continua despite their relatively high educational levels and significant involvement with the research topic. Most importantly, there was variation in their level of knowledge, analysis and reflection, probably due to differences in education, life experience, work experience and personality. Some participants provided much fuller descriptions and analyses of institutional participation and, consequently, became key informants. There was also variation in the degree of candor and trust. The former was reflected in the nature and level of the detail provided and in the extent to which participants offered unsolicited information and introduced new topics. With regard to trust, some participants took significant risks in providing information which had the potential to damage their positions and relationships with others if confidentiality had been violated.

The interviews were strengthened or weakened by a number of contextual and procedural factors. The researcher's position as a first-level administrator at an Alberta college appears to have resulted in greater cooperation, candor and trust. In all circumstances but one, the interviews were conducted in settings where there was privacy and a minimum of distractions. The inappropriate setting for one interview reduced its quality.

Interview research within a case study design must be a flexible process.

As the interviews proceeded, some topics were dropped because of irrelevance, others were introduced and still others explored in new ways. Key analytical points were tested as they emerged. For these reasons, it was necessary to go beyond the interview schedule while adhering to the central topics and questions. Decisions had to be made during the course of each interview about the appropriate degree of probing, the amount of detail which could be sought, the phrasing of follow-up questions and the exploration of emergent analytical insights.

These interviews pointed to the need for concrete reference points as researchers develop case studies based on qualitative data. The interviewer had to ask for more detail, return to topics for further clarification and seek confirmation of data obtained from other participants to counter the tendency of participants to speak in general and evaluative terms. Without this kind of probing and follow-up data, constructing meaningful portrayals of each case would have been difficult. The documents identified in Appendix C were valuable in providing the context for this kind of questioning and the reference points for the description of particular topics and issues.

Data Analysis

Several central process features of qualitative data analysis were highlighted in the study. In general terms, the analysis process consisted of a cumulative immersion in the data which resulted from conducting the interviews, reviewing tapes during the site visits, preparing the transcripts, coding the

transcripts, verifying the accuracy of the coding, recoding when necessary, reading topical sections of the transcripts in preparation for writing, and checking and rechecking data as the case studies were written and edited. More specifically, the researcher recorded methodological and analytical observations throughout the data collection and transcription phases. This activity was most productive during the latter phase. These insights became the basis for the analytical sections of the report.

As the information and perspectives provided by the participants were compared and contrasted, surface or real contradictions appeared on occasion about the same topic or issue which could not be attributed to differences in roles, attitudes and ideologies. Some differences appeared to be the result of poor memories. Others were reconcilable by determining which persons had more immediate knowledge of the topic. In some cases judgement had to be made based on the credibility of the participants. On several occasions it was not possible to identify the reasons, and, as a result, differences were reported as such in the case studies.

At the same time, the significance of the deviant voice in qualitative research was demonstrated. Such a person's view was not the result of errors but a more insightful description or analysis. On the surface, such a minority voice could be overlooked in contrast to the presentations of highly credible participants. A student board member and one support staff association president, for example, were particularly effective in seeing social dynamics

unnoticed by others perhaps because they had experienced less organizational socialization.

. . . .

In this study an organizational politics perspective was applied to the examination of faculty, student and support staff participation in the governance of three Alberta colleges. The outcomes of the research make a number of contributions to practitioners and researchers. Institutional participation was demonstrated to be a feasible and desirable process for operationalizing the values of colleges and universities. Employee and student board members were shown to be making a significant contribution, although more limited than might be expected. Many of the factors which contribute to the success of institutional participation were identified as well as those factors which could be changed with a view to increasing effectiveness. From a theoretical perspective, the results of the study confirm the utility of the organizational politics model. The results offer evidence directly relevant to the debate about institutional participation which exists in the higher education literature. To date, this debate has been dominated by philosophical and ideological positions because there has been little empirical data. The outcomes presented in this report should provide a basis for a more grounded consideration of the issues in future.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF REQUEST TO BOARDS OF GOVERNORS

February 25, 1988

.....
Chairman
Board of Governors
..... Community College
....., Alberta

Dear :

On the suggestion of President, I am writing to request permission from your Board to conduct research for my doctoral dissertation at your College. The study focuses on the faculty, staff and student members who participate on the boards of governors of Alberta colleges. The research will be based upon interviews with board members, senior administrators and the presidents of the college groups which nominate board members. The attached statement provides more information about the study, my professional background and the ethical guidelines for the research.

I would like to spend one week at your College sometime between April 25 and May 27. Before the campus visit, I will make appointments with each interviewee, and the interview will be held at times and places convenient for the participants. An interview will require about 90 minutes.

I hope I will be able to include your College in my study. I would be most willing to answer any questions which you or members of the Board may have.

Yours truly,

Dean Wood
Chairman
University Transfer Dept.

cc: (President)

FACULTY, STAFF AND STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN COLLEGE GOVERNANCE

Nature of the Study

The Colleges Act of 1969 established the principle of faculty and student participation on the board of governors of a college. This principle was extended in 1981 to include a representative from the non-academic staff group. By 1985, this governance structure had been established for a total of 14 colleges and technical institutes. This provision for institutional participation in governance is based on a university model, and it is found in only a minority of the college and institute systems in Canada and the United States.

The faculty, students and staff who become governors take on a secondary role in addition to their primary role in the college. In so doing, they work with public members who have been appointed by a governmental process. While board members, the institutional members continue to participate in the college groups which nominated them. On one hand, these three members are a part of the board which is the highest decision-making authority for the college, while, on the other hand, these individuals, in their primary college role, are affected by the decisions of the board and the college's administration. These relationships and other similar ones suggest that faculty, staff and student participation in college governance deserves serious study.

The research study will be conducted at three colleges in Alberta. Data will be gathered by interviewing about 15 people at each college. The interviewee group will include board members; senior administrators; and the presidents of the faculty, staff and student associations.

The Researcher

I have been Chairman of the University Transfer Department at Keyano College since 1981. My teaching responsibilities include courses in education and business. I have been active in college affairs as a member of Academic Council, Curriculum Committee, faculty association committees, editorial board and other ad hoc committees. Prior to moving to Fort McMurray, I was a high school teacher and university instructor for 12 years. In 1986 I began a doctoral program in educational administration at the University of Alberta with an emphasis on post-secondary education. My supervisor for this study is Dr. Erwin Miklos.

Ethical Guidelines

In 1985, the University of Alberta adopted a policy on ethics in human

research which governs all investigations conducted by faculty and students. Consistent with the requirements of this policy, I have established the following guidelines for this study which have been approved by the Ethics Review Committee of the Department of Educational Administration.

1. After I receive permission to conduct the study at a college, I will telephone each possible participant to request an interview and set a time and place convenient for the participant.
2. At the start of each interview, I will give the participant a copy of this overview of the study, and I will review these ethical guidelines.
3. Participants will be asked to give me permission to record the interview and prepare a transcript of it.
4. No one other than a secretary will have access to the tapes or transcripts of the interviews.
5. Participants will have the opportunity to read and revise the transcripts prepared from the recordings of their interviews. Each participant will be asked to mark any section he/she would not want quoted in the study.
6. Participants will be advised of their right to withdraw from the study at any time and to have all records of their interviews destroyed.
7. As I write the dissertation I will assign a code name to each college and a pseudonym to each participant. The Alberta college system will be described in general and no distinguishing features of each college will be included.

Dean Wood
Keyano College
February, 1988

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS

April 11, 1988

.....
.....
.....
.....

Dear :

I have received a letter from indicating the Board of Governors of Community College has agreed to participate in my study of institutional representation on college boards. I greatly appreciate the Board's cooperation.

I am planning to spend the weeks of in meeting with you and your colleagues. In the near future, I will call your office to make an appointment. As I indicated in my letter to the Board, each interview will require about 90 minutes.

I look forward to talking to you and learning about your experiences as a board member.

Yours truly,

Dean Wood
Chairman
University Transfer Dept.

APPENDIX C

DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL

HENDAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

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Thompson Community College Faculty Association (1985). Constitution.

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MACKENZIE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

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- Mackenzie Community College (1987). By-laws of the Board of Governors.
- Mackenzie Community College Academic Council (1987). Constitution.
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- Mackenzie Community College Board of Governors (1982). Job description.
- Mackenzie Community College Board of Governors (1987, July-1988, May).
Minutes.
- Mackenzie Community College Board of Governors (1988a). Board orientation package.
- Mackenzie Community College Board of Governors (1988b). 1988/89 college goals.
- Mackenzie Community College Employees' Association (1988). Constitution.
- Students' Association of Mackenzie Community College (1982). By-laws.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

FACULTY, STUDENT AND SUPPORT STAFF BOARD MEMBERS

1. What experiences come to mind when you recall your first six months on the board?
2. What are the responsibilities of a member of your college 's board of governors? What are your responsibilities as the faculty (student, support staff) member on the board?
3. What messages do you receive from the public members of the board about your responsibilities? the college president? senior administrators? the executive of your association? other groups in the college? your peers?
4. Describe your relationship with the faculty (student, support staff) association after you became a board member.
5. You were nominated for your board position by the faculty (student, support staff) association within the college, and while you are a board member you continue to be part of your association. How do your ties with your association affect your participation on the board?
6. How does the board go about making decisions? In what ways do the president and the public members contribute to the board 's decision making? How do you contribute to the board 's decision making?
7. What two issues before the board have been most important to you during your term of office? What have you done in relation to those issues? What have other board members done about those issues?

8. How do members of the board try to influence each other's opinions and actions? How do you try to influence other board members? How do they try to influence you?
9. How do your peers and groups within the college such as your association and senior administration try to influence your opinion and actions on the board? Do you try to influence senior administrators on college issues? If so, how?
10. What conflict situations have you encountered as a board member? What happened as a part of the conflict situations? How were the situations resolved?
11. How much impact do you have on the decisions and working procedures of the board?
12. Colleges are governed in different ways across Canada because each province has established its own structure and process of college governance. Based on your experience, what are the strengths and weaknesses of the Alberta model of college governance? How could college governance be improved?
13. Are there any relevant topics which haven't been discussed so far?

PUBLIC BOARD MEMBERS AND COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

- 1. What experiences come to mind when you recall your first six months on the board?**
- 2. What are your responsibilities as a member of your college 's board of governors?**
- 3. What are the responsibilities of the faculty, staff and student members of the board? From your perspective, how do the faculty, student and support staff board members define their responsibilities?**
- 4. How did you learn about your responsibilities as a board member and the functioning of the board? What help do you provide to faculty, student and support staff members as they join the board?**
- 5. The faculty, student and support staff members of the board were nominated by their groups within the college, and they continue to be active in those groups. Does their involvement in a college group have an impact on their participation on the board? If so, how?**
- 6. How does the board go about making decisions? In what ways do you contribute to the board 's decision making? In what ways do the faculty, student and support staff members contribute to the board 's decision making?**
- 7. What two issues before the board have been most important to you during your term on the board? What have you done in relation to those issues? What have other board members done?**

8. How do members of the board try to influence each other's opinions and actions? How do you try to influence the faculty, student and support staff members? How do they try to influence you?
9. Have you ever been in conflict with the faculty, student or support staff member of the board? If so, what were the issues? What happened as a part of the conflict situations? How were they resolved?
10. How much impact do the faculty, student and support staff board members have on the decisions and working procedures of the board?
11. Colleges are governed in different ways across Canada because each province has established its own structure and processes of college governance. Based on your experience, what are the strengths and weaknesses of the Alberta model of college governance? How could college governance be improved?
12. Are there any relevant topics which haven't been discussed so far?

**PRESIDENTS OF THE FACULTY, STUDENT AND SUPPORT STAFF
ASSOCIATIONS**

1. What are the responsibilities of a member of your college 's board of governors?
2. From your perspective, what are the responsibilities of the faculty (student, support staff) member on the college 's board of governors? Again from your perspective, how does the board member from your association define his/her responsibilities?
3. Does your executive set out any expectations for the board member from your group once he/she is appointed? If so, what are the expectations and how are they communicated?
4. Describe the day-to-day working relationship which your association has with the board member from your association.
5. Do you and other members of your executive try to influence the faculty (student, support staff) board member 's opinions about and actions on specific issues before the board? If so, how?
6. Have you ever been in conflict with the faculty (student, support staff) board member? If so, what were the issues? What happened as a part of the conflict situations? How were they resolved?
7. From your perspective, how much impact does the faculty (student, support staff) board member have on the procedures and decisions of the board?

8. Colleges are governed in different ways across Canada because each province has established its own structure and processes of college governance. Based on your experience, what are the strengths and weaknesses of Alberta's model of college governance? How could college governance be improved?
9. Are there any relevant topics which haven't been discussed so far?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATORS

1. **What are the responsibilities of a member of your college 's board of governors?**
2. **From your perspective, what are the responsibilities of the faculty, student and support staff members of your college 's board of governors?**
3. **Do you play a part in helping faculty, student and support staff board members learn about the responsibilities and the operations of the board? If so, how?**
4. **The faculty, student and support staff members of the board were nominated by their groups within the college, and they continue to be active in those groups. Does their involvement in a college group have an impact on their participation on the board? If so, how?**
5. **How does the board go about making decisions? In what ways do the faculty, student and support staff members participate in the board 's decision making? Contrast their contributions with those of the public members.**
6. **Do you try to influence the faculty, student and support staff members ' opinions about and actions on specific issues before the board? If so, how? Do the faculty, student and support staff board members try to influence you on college issues?**
7. **Have you ever been in conflict with the faculty, student or support staff board members? If so, what were the issues? What happened as a part of the**

conflict situations? How were they resolved?

8. How much impact do the faculty, student and support staff board members have on the decisions and working procedures of the board?

9. Colleges are governed in different ways across Canada because each province has established its own structure and processes of college governance. Based on your experience, what are the strengths and weaknesses of Alberta's model of college governance? How could college governance be improved? How could the participation of institutional members be improved?

10. Are there any relevant topics which haven't been discussed so far?

APPENDIX E

LETTER REQUESTING TRANSCRIPT REVIEW

August 20, 1988

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Dear :

When I interviewed you, I indicated I would be preparing a verbatim transcript of our conversation. Please read the attached transcript and feel free to add comments or make corrections. I would appreciate any reactions to the interview which you may care to make.

I would like to review the confidentiality guidelines I mentioned when I met with you. As I write about each college, I will assign a pseudonym to it and the people I interviewed. Wherever possible, I will avoid mentioning distinguishing features of the colleges such as program offerings or historical development. The transcripts and tapes will not be seen or heard by any other person.

Most of the text in the chapter will consist of my digest and analysis of all the material I have gathered. Sometimes, however, a direct quotation from an interview is the most effective way of making a point. Please review the transcript and underline any sentences you would not want used as a direct quotation bearing in mind the anonymity guidelines mentioned above.

If at all possible, I would like to have the transcripts returned by mid-September. Thank you for your cooperation with the interview and the transcript review process. I enjoyed our conversation, and I appreciate the help everyone at your College provided. I believe I have the material I need for a very interesting dissertation.

Yours truly,

Dean Wood
Chairman
University Transfer Dept.

APPENDIX F
CODING CATEGORIES

CODES AND SUBCODES

- 01 recruitment of institutional members
- 02 role expectations for boards of governors
- 03 role expectations for institutional members
 - 01 conflict of interest
 - 02 confidentiality
- 04 socialization
- 05 role behavior of institutional members
 - 01 in relation to board activities (e.g., decision making)
 - 02 in relation to interest groups
 - 03 in relation to presidents as CEOs and senior administrators
 - 04 in relation to peers
- 06 board of governors' decision-making processes
 - 01 committees
 - 02 decision-making case - program expansion - HCC
 - 03 decision-making case - campus expansion - HCC
 - 04 decision-making case - honoraria for board - HCC
 - 05 decision-making case - convocation-graduation - HCC
 - 06 decision-making case - tuition fees - HCC
 - 07 decision-making case - campus expansion - TCC
 - 08 decision-making case - budget - TCC
 - 09 decision-making case - goals - TCC

- 10 delete
- 11 decision-making case - degree granting status - MCC
- 12 decision-making case - strategic planning - MCC
- 13 decision-making case - university transfer program expansion - MCC
- 14 decision-making case - communications - MCC
- 15 decision-making case - board orientation - MCC
- 16 decision-making case - tuition - MCC
- 07 influence processes
 - 01 as a part of board decision-making and activities
 - 02 involving institutional members outside of board activities
- 08 conflict situations involving institutional members
- 09 impact of institutional members on the functioning and outcomes of the board
- 10 evaluation of institutional participation in college governance
- 11 Alberta model of college governance
- 12 contextual features (structures, processes and social dynamics) of individual colleges and boards of governors relevant to institutional participation
 - 01 Academic Council
- 13 interest groups
- 14 other

VITA

VITA**DEAN D. WOOD****Personal Data:**

Date of birth: April 10, 1947
Place of birth: Amherst, Nova Scotia

Education:

B.A. Acadia University, 1967
B.Ed. Mount Allison University, 1968
M.Ed. University of Alberta, 1972

Professional Experience:

Vice President - Instruction, 1989-present

Dean, March 1989-August 1989
Academic and Career Programs

Chairman, 1985-1989 (Study Leave, 1986-1987)
University Transfer Department

Head, 1981-1984
College Preparation and University Transfer Department

Keyano College
Fort McMurray, Alberta

University Associate, 1979-1981
Faculty of Education
University of Calgary

Teacher, 1971-1979
County of Mountain View
Didsbury, Alberta

Graduate Teaching Assistant, 1970-1971
 Faculty of Education
 University of Alberta

Teacher, 1968-1970
 Amherst Regional High School
 Amherst, Nova Scotia

Publications:

- Kamra, A. & Wood, D. (1987). Multiculturalism across the curriculum. In K. A. McLeod (Ed.), Multicultural education: A partnership (pp. 119-127). Toronto: Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education.
- Wood, D. (1975). Resurrecting the past from archaeological data: Newfoundland's first people. This History and Social Science Teacher, 10(4), 39-41.
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- Wood, D. (1983). Schools in a multi-ethnic society: Responding to prejudice and discrimination. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 15(2), 125-129.
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Wood, D. (1989). Multicultural education: Origins, goals and Monday morning. In R. Magsino & M. Yu (Eds.), Multicultural education: Concepts, issues and practices (pp. 7-22). St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Association for Multicultural Education.

Wood, D. & Remnant, R. (1980). The people we are: Canada's multicultural society. Toronto: Gage.

Wood, D. (Ed.). (1981). The History and Social Science Teacher, 17(1).

Wood, D. & Tremblay, F. (Eds.). (1986). Communique, 5(2).

Awards:

National award for service to multicultural education,
Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education, 1984

John Walker Barnett Fellowship in Education,
The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1986-1987