# THE COLLEGIAL EFFECT: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF HOW FACULTY MEMBERS PERCEIVE COLLEGIALITY AND ITS EFFECTS ON INDIVIDUALS AND DEPARTMENTS

By

Raymond D. Robinson

# A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Higher, Adult, and Lifelong Education—Doctor of Philosophy

2015

#### **ABSTRACT**

# THE COLLEGIAL EFFECT: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF HOW FACULTY MEMBERS PERCEIVE COLLEGIALITY AND ITS EFFECTS ON INDIVIDUALS AND DEPARTMENTS

By

# Raymond D. Robinson

Faculty members in American higher education institutions are the stewards of their institutions (Astin & Astin, 2000). They practice this stewardship both by performing well as individuals and as groups. Faculty members hold one another accountable, specifically through decisions on hiring, promoting, and granting tenure to colleagues. Their three-fold responsibility of teaching, scholarship, and citizenship requires both independence and interdependence. Furthermore, faculty members desire to work in supportive, collegial environments. They want to work with collegial people.

What is less clear is how faculty members define collegial behavior and how that behavior affects individual and collective work. This dissertation study explored how faculty members in various disciplines define collegiality. Data were collected to address this goal through interview questions asking them to describe collegial and un-collegial peers and their behaviors. I then explored how faculty members perceived the effects of those behaviors on individual and departmental work. The results of this study help establish and strengthen definitions of faculty collegiality, and suggest that collegiality affects both individual and departmental work in a variety of ways, including productivity and efficiency.

This study began with a conceptual framework of collegial attributes and behaviors that guided interview questions. Twenty-three faculty members representing

many disciplines from a single research institution (RU/VH) participated in interviews. Participants described personal perceptions of collegiality and un-collegiality. They also explained how collegial and un-collegial behaviors affected their work and the work of their department. The interview data helped refine the initial framework and provided examples and stories of best practices in cultivating collegial behavior and culture.

Collegiality was described by all participants as a variety of behaviors demonstrating care for others and their success. Collegial faculty members expand others' perspectives and opportunities, work in collaborative ways, are unifying in their work, and are future-oriented. The effects of collegiality identified by participants include increased productivity and efficiency for individuals and departments, an increased sense of community, and a positive culture. Un-collegiality was described as a variety of behaviors that could be characterized as self-centered. Un-collegial behaviors include selfishness, lack awareness of others, negative behaviors, use perceived academic superiority or institutional hierarchy to claim power, and in some circumstances, discriminate. The effects of un-collegiality identified by participants included decreased efficiency, isolation of self and others, missed opportunities, and *talent quarantine*, which I defined as restricting the institution's ability to take full advantage of an individual's skills and knowledge.

The results of this study will provide helpful information to faculty members, department chairs, and other higher education leaders who seek to develop and encourage collegiality; the results will also be useful to researchers and scholars who study academic work.

Copyright by RAYMOND D. ROBINSON 2015

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. You teach me in practice what caring for others means—and what caring for others does.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to thank the faculty members from many disciplines who contributed to this dissertation study. I thank my advisor, Dr. Ann Austin, along with my helpful and supportive committee members, Dr. Marilyn Amey, Dr. John Dirkx, and Dr. Theodore Curry, for their substantial guidance throughout the dissertation process. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Kim Cameron, who was instrumental in his generous guidance and support; and Dr. David Warner, who offered significant support at work. Finally, I wish to thank my wife Julie, who carried both the physical and emotional load required to finish.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	X
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
Background	
Collegiality	
Collegiality among faculty	
Purpose of This Study	
Project Overview	
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	2
Collegiality	
Overview	
Organizational structure	
Institutional climate and culture	
Individuals	
Focus of the Current Study	
Conceptual Framework	
Empirical Studies	
Collegiality as engaging, generative	
Collegial communications and belonging	
Collegial behaviors improve department culture	
Collegiality and productivity	
Theoretical discussions	
A Framework for Collegiality.	
Exploring Perceptions of Collegial Behavior	
Department as the Organization for Analysis	
Literature Review Summary	
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	23
Introduction	
Design Overview	
Research Questions	
Procedures	
Interview	
Sample	
Instrument	
Analysis	
Ethical concerns and limitations of interviews	
Summary	
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS	33
Introduction	22

Overview of Participants	33
Perceptions of Collegiality	36
Caring About Others	36
Mentoring	37
Showing personal interest	39
Showing compassion	40
Showing appreciation	41
Being trustworthy	42
Expanding Others' Opportunities and Perspectives	43
Collaborative	44
Unifying Others	46
Including others	47
Load sharing	47
Future-oriented	48
Vision for the future	48
Investing in the future	
Card Selection of Collegial Behaviors	50
Disciplinary Differences in Perceiving Collegiality	
Summary of Perceptions of Collegiality	52
Effects of Collegiality	52
Productivity	53
Individual productivity	
Departmental productivity	
Building Unity and Community	56
Strengthening a Positive Culture	58
Other Effects of Collegiality	
Disciplinary Differences in Perceptions of Effects of Collegiality	
Summary of Effects of Collegiality	
Perceptions of Un-collegiality	
Self-centeredness	
Selfishness	
Self-promoting	65
Lack of awareness of others	66
Seeing/presenting oneself as superior	
Negative Toward Others	
Claiming Privilege Because of Hierarchical Status	
Discriminatory	
Card Selection of Un-collegial Behaviors	
Disciplinary Differences in Un-collegiality	
Summary	
Effects of Un-collegiality	
Inefficiency	
Isolation	
Missed Opportunities	
Talent Quarantine.	
Disciplinary Differences in the Effects of Un-collegiality	84

Summary	85
Summary of Results	
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION	88
Overview of the Study	88
Study Rationale	
Research Questions	
Methods	90
Summary of Key Findings	91
Usefulness and Limitations of Framework and Study Design	94
Discussion of Results	
Collegiality	97
Effects of Collegiality	100
Un-Collegiality	102
Effects of Un-Collegiality	105
Additional Observations	107
Summary of Discussion	108
Implications for Policy and Practice	110
Policy	111
Practice	113
Departmental practices	113
Individual practice	116
Further Research	117
Concluding Remarks	120
APPENDICES	122
APPENDIX A Table A1. Interview Protocol Table	123
APPENDIX B Interview Protocol	
APPENDIX C Dissertation Study Email Invitation	128
APPENDIX D Research Participant Information and Informed Consent	Form 130
REFERENCES	132

# LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Biglan's Typology of Disciplinary Cultures and Example Fields of Study	24
Table 2. Initial Coding Scheme	28
Table 3. Revised Coding Scheme	29
Table 4. Participant Information and Disciplines	35
Table 5. Faculty Perceptions of Collegiality and its Effects on Individual and Departmental Work	87
Table A1. Interview Protocol Table	123

# LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Preliminary framework of collegial behaviors and attributes	19
Figure 2. Refined framework of collegial behaviors and attributes	95
Figure 3. Framework for further study	119

#### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

# **Background**

Faculty members in American higher education institutions are the stewards of their institutions (Astin & Astin, 2000). They are primarily responsible for the teaching, research, and service commonly identified as the three pillars of higher education. They are the individuals who provide the public and private benefits that higher education offers, including a skilled workforce, educated citizens, advanced knowledge, and enriched culture (Zusman, 2005).

As pressures from within and without higher education institutions continue to evolve and grow, the faculty continues to change in response. They face pressures to perform individually as they compete for research funding and tenure. They face pressures to perform collectively as groups in various disciplines work to establish and maintain their value to various stakeholders. They are responsible for the decisions regarding the hiring, promotion, and tenure of their colleagues. The increasing diversity among faculty members—in demographics, disciplinary orientation, and life circumstances (Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2007)—can generate additional pressures and challenges.

Although many factors contribute to a clear understanding of faculty members and their circumstances, the purpose of this study was to explore one particular factor that has an impact on how faculty members evaluate one another in tenure and promotion decisions, how they perceive their working conditions, and how they judge the work generated within those conditions. The purpose of this study was to explore collegiality.

# Collegiality

Collegiality is a concept that is often used but not often clearly defined.

Collegiality may refer to an organizational structure, an aspect of institutional or unit climate and culture, or a set of individual attributes and behaviors. As one author expressed, "Collegiality . . . is like pornography—I know it when I see it" (Bloom, 2005). Despite the ambiguity, authors throughout the literature agree that collegiality is desirable in higher education.

This dissertation study explored how faculty members in various disciplines define collegiality through interview questions asking them to describe collegial and uncollegial peers and their behaviors. It then explored how faculty members perceived the effects of those behaviors on their own work and on the work of their departments. The results of this study help establish and strengthen definitions of faculty collegiality, and suggest that collegiality affects both individual and faculty work in a variety of ways, including their productivity and efficiency.

# Collegiality among faculty

This study builds on previous work, which suggests that collegiality is a desirable aspect of work for faculty members specifically. The literature suggests that individuals want to work in collegial environments and that institutions want to retain collegial individuals. At least implicitly, and in many cases explicitly, collegiality is a consideration for tenure and promotion decisions (Connell & Savage, 2001). Faculty members who engage in un-collegial behavior may harm the productivity of the whole department (Riccardi, 2012).

The literature that addresses collegiality primarily describes the culture and climate resulting from collegiality. However, the existing literature discussing collegiality as it relates to the behaviors and attributes of individual faculty members is limited.

Because of the demonstrated importance that faculty members place on working in collegial environments with collegial individuals, more knowledge would be useful concerning how individual faculty members perceive collegial behavior and attributes in their peers and how collegiality affects both individual and departmental work. An understanding of the practices that can strengthen collegial behavior in individuals and in faculty groups will benefit individual faculty members and university leaders. Finally, because working relationships and expectations of productivity differ across disciplines, explorations of collegiality require attention to disciplinary contexts.

# Purpose of This Study

The purpose of this study was to explore faculty members' perceptions of key elements of collegiality and the impact collegiality has on faculty members individually and on their departments. If, as Bloom (2005) suggests, collegiality is recognizable, what does it look like? More specifically, what do collegial faculty members do and what are they like, as understood by peers in a department? How do faculty members perceive that collegiality affects the work of individuals and departments? How do faculty perceptions vary across disciplinary cultures?

#### Project Overview

The intent of this dissertation study was to contribute to the understanding of collegial behavior and attributes by exploring perceptions of individual faculty members and the way they understand the effects of collegiality. The term *collegiality* is used

regularly in a variety of ways, and authors and faculty members generally seem to perceive it as desirable; however, a more thorough understanding of collegiality may lay a foundation for further studies that could strengthen higher education institutions and offer suggestions for practices that may encourage collegial behaviors.

This dissertation includes a review of literature, which established the scope of previous work and facilitated the development of a conceptual framework for this study. This framework provided the foundation for the interview protocol and subsequent analysis of data, leading to a discussion addressing the following research questions:

- 1) How do faculty members perceive collegial behavior and attributes in their peers?
- 2) How do faculty members understand the effects of collegial behavior on their own work and the work of the department?
- 3) How do faculty perceptions of collegial behavior and the effects of that behavior vary across disciplines?

This study, as a qualitative exploration, did not generate data sufficient for generalizing beyond the interview participants and the represented academic units.

Rather, this study provides data for discussion and suggests directions for further research and implications for individual and institutional practice.

#### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to provide a scholarly context and rationale for the current study. First, I will discuss collegiality, providing a foundational definition of the notion, and then explore definitions or elements of collegiality in the higher education literature. This discussion reflects several ways that collegiality is defined in the literature. Collegiality is defined as an organizational structure, a feature of institutional or unit climate and culture, and finally as a set of individual attributes and behaviors. The final definition of collegiality—referring to individual attributes and behaviors—is the operational definition for this dissertation.

Following an overview, I will discuss the conceptual framework for this study, drawing on the literature to synthesize both what is known and what may be hypothesized about each of the research questions, and also to clarify areas of inquiry.

Finally, I'll provide a summary argument offering a rationale for this study in context of the conceptual framework.

# Collegiality

## Overview

Collegiality is referred to and defined in several ways in the literature. This review will acknowledge these definitions, discuss how they relate to each other, and clarify the definition to be used for the purpose of this study. Collegiality has been used as a term to describe: (a) a specific type of organizational structure, (b) a description of the climate or culture of an institution or a unit, and (c) a set of behaviors and attributes belonging to individual faculty members. The following sections will discuss collegiality in each of these three ways, with particular focus on collegiality as a set of behaviors and attributes demonstrated by individuals.

### Organizational structure

Collegiality, from an organizational perspective, refers to decision-making processes that rely on consensus building among members with diverse but equal position (Waters, 1989). In contrast to a structure such as a bureaucracy, typified by efficient administration and quick decision-making, collegiality values the slower processes required for diverse viewpoints to find common ground, protecting an organization against self-interest and authoritarian decisions (p. 946).

Collegial structures in universities have a long tradition from medieval times, resulting in the ideal that universities are governed by the faculty members, which constitute a community of scholars (Altbach, 2005). A university that is primarily governed by the collective faculty is considered to have a collegial structure. Universities today most often have decision-making structures that include aspects of both administrative bureaucracy and a collegial structure. The size and complexity of modern universities have made structural collegiality less common at the university level, but still retained somewhat at the college and department level (Tapper & Palfreyman, 2002). This move away from collegial structures and toward bureaucratic administrations is cited as a cause for declining faculty morale and sense of community (Altbach, 2005; B. Clark, 2001).

#### Institutional climate and culture

Collegiality also describes the climate and culture of an institution or unit.

Collegiality has been described as one of five pillars making up a framework for creating environments likely to attract, retain, and support the flourishing of faculty in the future.

The pillar of collegiality "refers to opportunities for faculty members to feel that they

belong to a mutually respectful community of scholars who value each faculty member's contributions to the institution and feel concern for their colleagues' well being" (Gappa et al., 2007). An institution or unit with a collegial climate or culture "becomes integrated around a sense of joint effort" (Clark, 2001, p. 18).

Faculty members expect to work in a place they consider collegial, and expect their peers to demonstrate collegiality. The Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education (COACHE) study, conducted by Harvard University, measures collegiality and climate together as an institutional feature. This and other studies suggest that a collegial climate and culture is a significant factor in faculty members' intent to remain at an institution (Ambrose, Huston, & Norman, 2005; COACHE, 2007).

An institution or unit with a collegial climate or culture may be described as a place where prospective and current faculty members feel valued and connected to colleagues and to the institution (Gappa et al., 2007). Clark (2001) has argued that collegiality fosters institutional change and growth through shared vision and experience, as opposed to individualism, which retains institutional status quo. In other words, institutional growth requires a culture of collegiality.

The absence of a collegial climate and culture may negatively affect institutional improvement efforts. A study conducted across 20 colleges and universities regarding faculty members working together to improve undergraduate teaching indicated that uncollegial institutional features such as fragmented communication factors, competition for scarce resources, and evaluation and reward systems impaired improvement efforts and collaboration (Massy, Wilger, & Colbeck, 1994).

A culture of collegiality is valuable to the institution and to individual members of the institution. Culture and climate at work affects psychological well being, including levels of depression and self esteem (Repetti, 1987). As previously stated, a collegial culture and climate is a major factor in faculty members' intent to remain at an institution, and is an important factor to consider in recruiting new faculty members (COACHE, 2007; Gappa et al., 2007). These studies underscore the impact that culture has on individual and institutional success.

The importance of a collegial culture is emphasized by statements from department chairs suggesting that it is valuable to attempt to increase collegiality through encouraging both professional and social interaction (Taylor, Kim, Dessart, Adams, & Green, 2006).

#### Individuals

The line between collegiality as it refers to individuals and as it refers to culture and climate can be somewhat blurred. This is understandable, as culture and institutions are foundationally collections of individuals (Argyris & Schon, 1977). Culture is created by the collective interactions of individuals over time. The relationships among faculty members regarding both professional and personal development are key to the future of higher education (Bennett, 1998), and collegiality may be a key to discovering and implementing the changes in higher education required for universities and colleges to thrive under increasingly intense public scrutiny (Massy et al., 1994).

The literature suggests that collegial individuals help create collegial cultures which may lead to more successful institutions through faculty satisfaction, retention, and productivity. However, an examination of the literature discussing collegiality at the

individual level reveals a paucity of empirical research exploring how faculty members perceive collegiality and its effects. Additionally, I have not been able to find literature that explores how this might differ across disciplinary cultures.

The existing literature on collegiality as an individual phenomenon refers to the behaviors and attributes of faculty members, as well as the relationships that result. A simple definition is "the cooperative relationship between colleagues" ("Collegiality," 1999). At minimum, collegiality has been referred to as the absence of negative behaviors by individuals (Fischer, 2009) and peaceful coexistence among them (Bird, Rhoton, Fehr, & Larson, 2010).

Discussing collegiality as a phenomenon dealing with individual behaviors and attributes implies a spectrum of both positive and negative examples. For the purposes of the current study, this will require an exploration of negative collegiality, which I will refer to as un-collegiality, as well as positive collegial behaviors, which I will refer to as collegiality.

Much of the literature on collegiality speaks of a minimum threshold of collegiality, or an absence of un-collegial behaviors. Cipriano and Buller (2012) describe an instrument designed to measure collegiality for the purposes of assessing faculty behavior and influencing it. Their instrument listed the following as collegial behaviors: collaboration, committee service, completing professional tasks, respecting group decision-making processes, respectful communication, and relating to others in constructive, supportive, and professional ways. These behaviors are helpful in developing an understanding of collegiality that is expected as part of faculty employment.

This minimal level of collegiality is in contrast to an ideal of collegiality that not only includes civility, but also cordiality, respect, trust, and cooperation (Hutcheon, 2006). This minimal level of collegiality or the absence of harm and behaviors such as tolerance and civility have been described as *baseline* collegiality, and behaviors demonstrating mutual respect as *affirmative* collegiality (Seigel, 2005; Seigel & Miner-Rubino, 2008).

The notion of affirmative collegiality has also been described as productive relationships with colleagues, suggesting a generative aspect of collegial behavior and relationships. (Bloom, 2005; O'Meara & Terosky, 2010). The generative aspect of collegiality includes supportive relationships, shared work, and a *total presence* achieved when individual faculty members invest themselves in many opportunities to contribute to the work of the institution (Katula & Doody, 1990).

While collegiality may have effects on others, it may also have effects on individual faculty members, by connecting them to their workplace and making the work meaningful. Faculty members are *socially embedded* by their length of tenure, networks, and position, and each of these are factors in determining an individual's capacity to complete job expectations and affecting his or her desire and ability to go beyond what is required (van Emmerik & Sanders, 2004). In other words, faculty members are likely to extend themselves as members of the community when they are socially connected to and invested in others' and institutional success. This view is consistent with the construct of *meaningful work*, in which work is defined as service to self and others, and that service is part of a cohesive view of life rather than defining work as separate from other parts of life (Chalofsky, 2003). When faculty members are engaged in this version of meaningful

work, they are likely to desire to remain associated with the institution. This suggests that the relationship may go both directions, meaning that being engaged in meaningful work, including service to others, increases satisfaction and creates a positive culture. In other words, faculty members desire to work in a collegial culture, which increases their satisfaction, and when individuals are collegial, their satisfaction also increases.

As I have discussed in this section, the literature regarding collegiality is more abundant in theoretical and descriptive writing than in empirical studies. Individual experience currently contributes much of what is understood about collegiality, underscoring the importance of developing a deeper empirical understanding of collegiality and its effects. Whether speaking of minimal or baseline collegiality, or of affirmative, generative collegiality, the literature suggests that individuals expect to work with collegial peers.

# Focus of the Current Study

The three versions of collegiality previously discussed, pertaining to structure, culture, and individual experience, are intertwined. Because my own experience as a faculty member and administrator lead me to believe that significant cultural change happens at the individual level, I am primarily interested in collegiality as perceived and demonstrated by individuals. More specifically, I'm interested in individual faculty members' perspectives of collegial behavior and attributes, and in how they perceive that collegial behavior affects them and their colleagues individually and departments collectively. While I am particularly interested in the most salutary effects of collegiality, an exploration of the range of behaviors colleagues experience in their interactions with

each other will contribute to greater understanding of collegiality, its effects on productivity, and how to encourage it.

## Conceptual Framework

The previous section includes a discussion of the intent of this study, which is to focus on faculty members' perceptions of collegiality and its effects. This section offers a conceptual framework showing the current state of knowledge and perceptions about collegiality.

Collegiality in higher education literature is described in theoretical articles regularly; however, empirical studies are much more scarce. This section organizes the literature around the elements that constitute collegiality, with an emphasis first on empirical studies, and then on selected theoretical writings. I will discuss articles and studies used to identify individual behaviors and attributes that were helpful in creating the framework that guided this study.

# Empirical Studies

The purpose of this section is to review empirical studies involving collegiality. These studies strengthen the notion that faculty members value collegiality, and that collegial behavior by others affects them in a number of ways, including their desires to remain at an institution, their feelings of belonging, their perceptions of departmental culture, and their perceptions of productivity. Each of these studies suggests behaviors and characteristics that are included in the conceptual framework for this study.

Collegiality as engaging, generative

Collegial faculty members, defined as *engaged colleagues*, contribute strongly to faculty members' desire to stay at an institution regardless of whether they actually

remain. Ambrose et al (2005) conducted a study involving telephone interviews of 123 former and current tenured and tenure-track faculty members at a small research university. The sets of former and current faculty members were matched across colleges, departments, rank and status, appointment dates, and where possible, gender and ethnicity. The purpose of the study was to examine faculty satisfaction and determining factors in faculty decisions to remain or stay at an institution. The interviews were semi-structured, and researchers encouraged stories from each faculty member's perspective.

The main findings from the study of faculty satisfaction indicated that there were multiple factors involved in faculty members' decisions to remain or leave the institution. While some factors were beyond institutional control, some factors could be influenced within the institution. Collegiality was identified as such a factor. Collegiality was the most cited reason for satisfaction for both faculty members who stayed at an institution and those who left. Specifically, those faculty members who remained at the institution cited collegiality as a significant reason for staying, and those who left cited uncollegiality as a significant reason for leaving.

Researchers found that while both former and current faculty members spoke positively about their colleagues, there were a number of complaints regarding collegiality, both from faculty who decided to stay, and from those who decided to leave. The complaints were in three categories: colleagues lacking time and interest, intradepartmental tensions, and incivility (Ambrose et al., 2005). While the researchers report many expressions of dissatisfaction, they also acknowledged statements of satisfaction.

The researchers found that examples of collegial behaviors, or the actions of those identified as engaged colleagues, emerging from faculty statements included:

- Showing support and interest in others' work.
- Offering mentoring in the intellectual, professional, and political aspects of faculty life.
- Engaging in social interactions as well as professional relationships.
- Receiving open communication regarding progress toward tenure from both department heads and peers.

These collegial behaviors were in contrast to less desired and admired behaviors including:

- Showing a lack of interest in others' work.
- Being suspicious of and resenting others' work or accomplishments.
- Criticizing or devaluing others' area of study.
- Undermining others' work (i.e., backstabbing).

The results of this study suggest that faculty members consider collegial behaviors those actions that strengthen and lift others through engagement, which the authors summarize by describing ideal faculty members as engaging colleagues.

While these statements describing collegial and un-collegial behaviors contribute to the framework for the current study, it is important to note that the focus of the research was on reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and therefore was not focused specifically on exploring collegial behavior and attributes, nor did it explore the effects of collegiality on individual or group productivity or differences in the disciplines. For the purposes of this dissertation, I focused on exploring perceptions of collegial

behavior, and how faculty members perceive the effects of that behavior on individual and group work. Satisfaction, as suggested by this literature, may be considered among those effects.

Collegial communications and belonging

A 2008 dissertation study examined how faculty members' perceptions of departmental support are affected by interpersonal communications (Anderson, 2008). This quantitative study surveyed 262 faculty members from 62 departments at the University of Arizona. The study indicated that faculty interactions affected individuals' sense of competence and belongingness, the perceived importance of gender in professional interactions, identification with their department, and perceived departmental support. This study suggested a typology for describing interpersonal communications, including these three dimensions:

- Positive relational messages, conveying that the sender values another professionally and personally, and respects and likes them.
- Negative competence messages, conveying that the sender sees him or herself as superior relative to another in ability or status.
- Negative warmth messages, conveying dislike, dissimilarity, and a negative sense of competition with another (Anderson, 2008, p. 18).

While Anderson's study suggests that interpersonal communication affects faculty members' feeling of belonging, as a quantitative study, it is not able to refine the typology (p. 140) or explain how individuals perceive different communications in context of their work and department.

For the purposes of the current study, Anderson's (2008) study provides specific speech behaviors that may be included in an initial framework of collegial behaviors. This study will explore collegial behaviors including speech behaviors, and explore the perceived effects of those behaviors on productivity.

Collegial behaviors improve department culture

A project conducted at Iowa State University conducted focus groups and interviews with faculty members across six STEM departments (Bird et al., 2010). This study explored departmental structures, practices, and culture to understand and then make recommendations for improvement. The research included focus groups, interviews, and analysis of existing documents. From these activities, the researchers identified themes that may contribute to a positive climate and enhance faculty recruitment, retention, and promotion. The researchers reported only themes that emerged from discussions in all six departments, and identified seven findings that were salient to all six. Collegiality was identified as one of these themes. Collegiality refers to many behaviors, including collaborating, welcoming differing opinions, socializing, supporting career achievements, mentoring, and serving in formal and informal ways. Additionally, researchers observed that collegiality among faculty influenced department dynamics. For example, faculty members who perceived themselves as vulnerable (lecturers, adjuncts, assistant professors) expressed more concern about disagreeing openly with senior faculty members, thus needing more encouragement to disagree.

The researchers in this project were looking for factors that influenced workplace climate, recruitment, retention, and promotion. Collegiality was identified as a factor

across several STEM departments. Their report highlights a number of collegial behaviors, and associates collegiality with individual and group productivity.

Collegiality and productivity

A study conducted at the University of Minnesota Medical School—Twin Cities examined faculty vitality (Bland, Seaquist, Pacala, Center, & Finstad, 2002). Their study included a survey administered to the 615 full-time faculty members at the university, with a 76% response rate. The survey was designed to identify both strong and weak vitality areas at the individual and institutional levels.

While vitality is not synonymous with collegiality, some of the observed behaviors contributing to vitality may be described as collegial. This survey-based study identified nine areas that predicted faculty productivity with 75% accuracy, as measured by publications. In addition to features such as being internally driven to conduct research and being an administrator (often selected because of high research productivity), having a network of colleagues to discuss research with and having a formal mentor were predictors of productivity. Being willing to discuss research with and mentor others may be thought of as features of individuals' expressions of collegiality.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the research on faculty vitality suggests two specific behaviors—building research networks and having mentor relationships—that might be included in a conceptual framework of collegial behavior. Additionally, these two collegial behaviors demonstrably predicted productivity (Bland et al., 2002).

While empirical work in the area of collegiality is limited, this discussion of previous studies contributed to conceptual foundations for exploring faculty perceptions of collegiality and its outcomes. To summarize, these studies demonstrate that when

asked about satisfaction, support, and culture, faculty members across several studies have included the notion of collegiality as an important factor. In context of these specific studies, I have identified some behaviors associated with collegiality. Additionally, there is some indication that faculty productivity may be affected by collegial behaviors.

In this dissertation study, my aim was to explore collegial behavior and its effects. If the previously discussed studies identify some collegial behaviors, what additional responses might be gained when faculty members are asked to define collegiality through the lens of their own experience, with their personal stories? What are the effects of collegial behavior, particularly on work? Rather than beginning with a known effect, such as satisfaction or productivity, what do we learn when we begin with collegial behavior, and ask what the effects are?

I was also interested in exploring how these answers may differ in different disciplines. While the studies discussed previously included a range of departments and cultures, the results did not discuss disciplinary differences. My experience and observations led me to consider the possibility that, while some behaviors may be perceived and understood as collegial generally, faculty members in different disciplinary cultures may identify and value those behaviors differently.

#### Theoretical discussions

Much of what has been written about collegiality is based on individual experience and observation, rather than empirical research. This literature argues or advocates for acknowledging the importance of collegiality to success in higher education institutions, and suggests the inclusion of many behaviors and attributes in a conceptual framework to guide the current study.

Bennett (1998) argues that *insistent individualism* prevalent in universities should be replaced by *collegial professionalism*. He argues that collegiality is a key to achieving the mission of higher education. He compares individualism, including private interests, isolated behavior, and lack of community with collegial professionalism, where relationships create intellectual communities, strengthening institutions. This piece suggests several behaviors and characteristics associated with un-collegiality. These were included in a conceptual framework for this study.

A piece by Bloom (2005), although satirical in tone, offers material for a conceptual framework for considering behaviors associated with collegiality. After an introduction defining collegiality as *productive relationships with colleagues*, as compared to congeniality, or friendliness, Bloom offers a board-game analogy exploring the costs and benefits of collegial behavior. Isolated effort is not punished per se; however, collegial behavior is rewarded throughout. For example, the currency suggested for the game is time, measured in hours. Attending meetings provides hours, although the meetings may cost a turn. Behaviors that are collaborative (i.e. conducting joint research), cooperative (i.e. advising a colleague's student while the colleague is on sabbatical), and community oriented (i.e. listening to others' research) are rewarded.

Connell & Savage (2001) discuss the concept of collegiality from a legal and practical perspective. Through a review and analysis of a series of court cases and policy papers, they conclude that collegiality is a reasonable consideration in tenure and promotion decisions, and they engage in discussion about the kinds of behavior that may be included in a definition of collegiality and those that should not be. Behaviors they describe as collegial include collaborative and constructive cooperation, working for the

interest of the group, and working with a recognition that no faculty member works in isolation. They warn that collegiality does not imply that all need to agree with each other, but rather that individual faculty members should demonstrate respect for differing opinions of others. These behaviors add to a conceptual framework for the current study.

One may argue that collegial behavior and relationships enhance, rather than suppress, discussions where faculty members hold different views. For example, Fischer (2009) argues that compassion, appreciation, inclusiveness, and support foster a culture where a lively exchange of ideas can take place. In contrast, bullying, ridiculing, threatening, and isolating behaviors lead to a culture where few feel free to raise concerns or ideas. Faculty members in these settings have little recourse other than to isolate themselves either physically or emotionally.

Others argue similarly, that a scholarly ideal is reached through the appreciation of difference, listening, trust, and imagination (Hutcheon, 2006). The dangers of self-promotion, competitiveness, bullying, and dismissiveness are not only demonstrated in the loss of opportunity for the free exchange of ideas; they are also passed on to students and future faculty members.

Three dimensions of collegiality—conflict management, social behavior, and organizational citizenship—have been suggested as a beginning theoretical framework for empirical studies to understand collegiality (Hatfield, 2006). Each of these three dimensions accommodates both positive and negative behaviors, as follows. The conflict management dimension includes positive behaviors of cooperating, compromising, accommodating; and negative behaviors of competing, and avoiding; the social behavior dimension includes positive behaviors of talking, listening, and being congenial; and

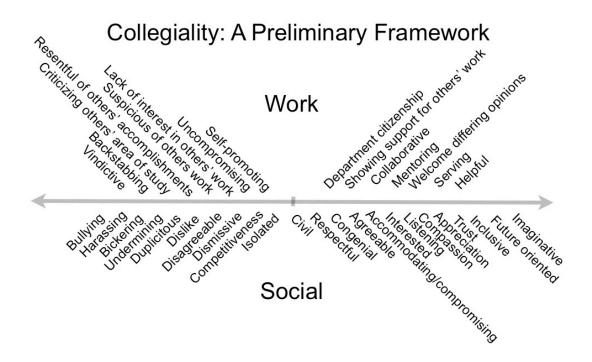
negative behaviors of bickering and harassing; and the organizational citizenship dimension includes pulling one's share of administrative load, taking and filling assignments, and participating in governance. The author suggests that empirical studies based on this framework may reveal other dimensions and be able to demonstrate the validity of these constructs. Hatfield's (2006) framework was useful to me as I developed a preliminary framework for this study (see Figure 1). For simplicity, I created a framework that considered work-related behaviors and social behaviors. Conflict management behaviors, which occur in both work and social relationships, were divided between those two dimensions.

# A Framework for Collegiality

Figure 1 represents a conceptual framework for collegiality. I have developed this framework by identifying individual behaviors and attributes associated with collegiality in the preceding literature. I have represented these behaviors and attributes on a continuum of negative to positive behaviors and attributes in two areas: work and social. For example, *Collaborative* is an attribute I associate with work, represented on the upper side of the framework. *Compassion* I categorized as a social attribute, and is on the lower side of the framework. Both the empirical and theoretical literatures have suggested that collegiality may be considered in at least these two areas (work and social). Although organizational citizenship has been offered as a third area (Hatfield, 2006), the factors associated with this area (e.g., participating in department governance, advising, etc.) may be summarized by those activities which are expected with a full-time faculty appointment. I have therefore included *department citizenship* in the area of work. The order (negative moving to the left, positive moving to the right) on the continuum is not

suggested by the literature; rather, I have suggested an order based on my own observations of the relative positive or negative value of these behaviors and characteristics. This order, and the contents of the framework create a hypothetical model. This dissertation study was designed to test and refine the framework by helping to identify the most impactful behaviors and attributes, as perceived by individual faculty members.

Figure 1. Preliminary framework of collegial behaviors and attributes



# Exploring Perceptions of Collegial Behavior

This dissertation study explored how individual faculty members perceive and understand collegial and un-collegial behaviors, and how they perceive the effects of those behaviors on individual and departmental productivity. While my aim was to

interview faculty members from diverse backgrounds to gain a broad understanding, I considered it particularly important to consider academic departments as the principle organizational unit for exploring how faculty members perceive and understand the effects of collegiality.

Department as the Organization for Analysis

There are a number of reasons for considering academic departments as appropriate for this study: first, departments serve as institutional homes for the disciplines; second, faculty members tend to associate themselves with their discipline and their department; third, department members are likely to be able to respond to questions about departmental colleagues; and fourth, performance norms are discipline specific. Perhaps most importantly, previous studies have not examined the possibility that some behaviors and attributes associated with collegiality may differ from one disciplinary culture to another.

A number of scholars have pointed out that academic disciplines have distinctly different cultures. The disciplines provide the organizational base for higher education institutions (B. R. Clark, 1983). Biglan (1973) and Kolb (1981) have each proposed typologies describing the disciplinary areas. Becher (1994) describes them in the categories of natural sciences, humanities and social sciences, science-based professions, and social professions, reflecting Biglan's typology. For the purposes of this dissertation, I refer to the categories proposed by Biglan (1973) as shown in Table 1, including Hard/Pure, Hard/Applied, Soft/Pure, and Soft/Applied.

While there may be continued discussion of where specific disciplines might fit in these descriptions, these groupings help us see the epistemological differences in the

disciplines as well as the social differences. For example, natural science (Hard/Pure) research is expensive and subject to shifting to maintain social relevance; science-based professions (Hard/Applied) are focused on pragmatic problem solving, but aiming for higher status drift toward more theoretically-driven research; humanities and social science research (Soft/Pure) tends toward individual work, with weak connections to outside constituencies; and social professions (Soft/Applied) research responds to external pressures because of a high value on social relevance (Becher, 1994). The department as disciplinary home thus serves to provide clear boundaries around a group of individuals with shared understandings and culture.

While institutions have their own cultures, and institutional types may share some cultural similarities, the discipline and department is the central identity source for faculty members (A. E. Austin, 1990). Disciplinary values are taught and/or modeled throughout the academic career, and performance expectations and norms are shared and perpetuated through interaction with colleagues in the department and in external disciplinary organizations.

#### Literature Review Summary

The key findings from this literature review include identifying attributes and behaviors that are associated with collegiality; understanding that collegiality affects institutional culture, faculty satisfaction, and intent to stay at an institution; and indicating that collegiality may affect individual and group productivity. These findings come from empirical studies and theoretical writings. The conceptual framework emerging from the literature highlights components of collegial behavior.

The research questions, exploring how faculty members perceive collegial behavior in their peers, and how they perceive the effects of that behavior on individual and departmental work were explored directly with faculty members. This literature review acknowledges the established understanding of different disciplinary cultures, and this study accounts for these differences by exploring the research questions in a variety of departments representing different disciplinary cultures.

Results from this study may provide helpful information to faculty members, department chairs, and other higher education leaders seeking to develop and encourage collegial behavior, and will be useful to researchers and scholars who study academic work.

#### CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used to explore faculty members' perceptions of collegial behavior in my study.

Design Overview

This study is a qualitative, exploratory study intended to help explain and describe the key components of collegial behavior as perceived by faculty and its effects on individual and collective work.

Research Questions

In this study, I addressed the following questions: (a) *How do faculty members* perceive collegial behavior in their peers? and (b) *What are the effects of collegiality on individual and departmental work?* 

### Procedures

Interview

This qualitative study included interviews of faculty members from many departments representing different disciplinary cultures. Prior to conducting the research, I conducted a pilot study to test and refine the interview protocol. The pilot study included interviews of several faculty members who were not included in the actual study.

Sample

The sample for this study was purposive rather than random, typical for qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1984). My intent was to gather data from individuals representing many departments and disciplines. This sampling approach

facilitated data collection from individuals likely to provide useful information relevant to the emerging framework (Creswell, 2007).

The sample for this study assumes that, as a qualitative study, the goal is to explore and explain the behaviors, attributes and understanding of individuals in context of the organization. Academic disciplines have similar cultures across institutions.

Therefore, this study was conducted in a single university with faculty members from many departments representing different disciplinary cultures (A. Austin, 1994; A. E. Austin, 1990, 1996; Becher, 1994; Biglan, 1973; B. R. Clark, 1983; Kolb, 1981).

The purpose of selecting participants across different disciplinary cultures was to provide some opportunity to note whether respondents' perceptions varied depending on their disciplines. Some participants worked extensively in more than one discipline, and their experiences were valuable as they compared their disciplinary experience. Faculty members were selected from departments representing a variety of disciplines, including from departments representing the different disciplinary cultures identified by Biglan (1973), as illustrated in Table 1. Table 1 includes representative departments in each Table 1. Biglan's Typology of Disciplinary Cultures and Example Fields of Study

	Hard	Soft
Pure	Chemistry, Botany,	English, Political Science,
	Physics, Zoology	Sociology,
		Communications
Applied	Engineering, Computer	Education, Economics,
	Science	Accounting, Finance

of the four disciplinary categories, although to protect participant information, these are examples and do not necessarily specify actual departments included in this dissertation study.

The site for this study was a single large public RU/VH institution (very high research activity) with a large undergraduate and graduate population. The choice of specific institution was determined by my ability to obtain access and logistical ease.

The recruitment period for this study lasted eight months, beginning in May 2013. Potential participants were identified through faculty information pages found on each academic department's website. Email invitations were sent to 227 faculty members who appeared from website information to meet the study criteria, with subsequent follow-up invitations.

Twenty-three faculty members were interviewed for approximately one hour, with an agreement to participate in a second interview to clarify initial responses. Participants were selected from faculty members who had served between 5-8 years, to collect data from pre- and post- tenure experiences. Participants were selected to approximate the gender distribution of the entire university faculty, and to ensure some diversity in the sample with regard to race and ethnicity and in representation across the disciplines, including each of the four disciplinary categories described by Biglan. The analysis provided opportunities to understand more clearly how faculty members perceive and experience collegial behavior, how they perceive its effects on their own work and that of others, and to identify and explore emerging themes relevant to faculty members' perceptions of collegial behavior. Additionally, the analysis was intended to provide preliminary understanding of any differences among disciplinary cultures.

#### Instrument

Interview questions were developed to explore the definition of collegiality. Rather than ask participants for their definition directly, I asked them to define collegiality by requesting that they describe collegial and un-collegial people and their behaviors. This approach yielded rich descriptions of behaviors—both collegial and uncollegial—leading to clearer understanding of what faculty members mean when they talk about collegiality. Interview questions (included as Appendix C) focused on participants' observations, experiences, and relationships as members of university academic departments. The interview format was semi structured and open ended, which allowed participants to speak freely about themselves, their colleagues, relationships, and experiences in the department (Kvale, 1996). Questions were worded to avoid implying that a specific kind of response was appropriate or expected. Follow-up questions focused on eliciting details about their experiences and observations.

After each participant had the opportunity to share in an open-ended way, cards listing positive and negative behaviors and attributes from the conceptual framework were presented. Participants were then asked to select cards representing behaviors and attributes they most value and then discuss how those specific behaviors affect them and their work. They were also offered blank cards to write behaviors that were not included in the card set but which they considered impactful. Then I asked additional questions probing for experiences and observations. This additional technique was very helpful to gather more focused information regarding the conceptual framework and to elicit specific examples and stories. While I am most interested in collegial behaviors, I asked

questions about un-collegial behavior to provide opportunity to compare and gain greater understanding of both collegial and un-collegial behavior and its perceived effect.

As described earlier, the interview protocol was based on the two primary research questions: (a) *How do faculty members perceive collegial behavior in their peers?* and (b) *What are the effects of collegiality on individual and departmental work?* Table A1 (see Appendix A) illustrates the relationship of interview questions to research questions.

The primary function of the interview was to gain a greater understanding of how collegiality and un-collegiality is perceived by faculty members and the effects of each on individuals and departments. This understanding may be gained through principles of qualitative research, and particularly *naturalistic inquiry*, (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Interacting with participants through interviews, building on tacit knowledge gained through experience, and selecting interview participants using purposive sampling allowed me to develop understandings as the interviews progressed.

Interviews were recorded on a digital recorder, transcribed, and then deleted.

Immediately following each interview session, I recorded notes from the session. When participants chose to write additional attributes and behaviors on cards, these cards were re-written to match the formatting of the set and added to the selections for successive interviews. The data was then analyzed and themes identified and encoded based on emerging themes.

Analysis

Qualitative research acknowledges multiple and context-specific realities, and part of my role is to effectively represent these realities through data collection and

careful analysis (Patton, 2002). Because this is an exploratory study, the coding scheme emerged from the data as I looked for patterns in interview transcripts and field notes. Some factors that I considered in the analysis included whether information was volunteered or probed for, the order of emerging themes, and shared vocabulary among participants.

Table 2. Initial Coding Scheme

Research Question Topic	Major Themes	
Collegial behaviors/attributes	Caring about others	
	Expanding	
	Unifying	
	Future oriented	
	Collaborative	
Effects of collegiality	Increase energy	
	Increase productivity	
	Personal/group resiliency	
	Unity/community	
	Vision	
	Positive culture	
Un-collegial	Self centeredness	
behaviors/attributes	Hierarchical	
	Negative	
	Discriminatory	
Effects of un-collegiality	Lack of vision	
	Missed opportunities	
	Talent quarantine	
	Inefficiency	
	Isolation	
	Fearful	

I analyzed the interviews by reviewing each transcript multiple times, making notes about possible themes having to do with collegial and un-collegial behavior, and

the effects of each on both individual and departmental work. From this review, I created an initial coding scheme, shown as Table 2.

Table 3. Revised Coding Scheme

Research Question Topic	Major Themes	Sub-themes
Collegial	Caring about others	Mentoring
behaviors/attributes		Showing personal interest
		Showing compassion
		Showing appreciation
		Being trustworthy
	Expanding	
	Collaborative	
	Unifying others	Including others
		Load sharing
	Future-oriented	Vision
		Investing
Effects of collegiality	Productivity	Individual
		Departmental
	Unity and community	
	Positive culture	
	Other effects	
Un-collegial	Self-centeredness	Selfishness
behaviors/attributes		Lack of awareness of
		others
		Superiority
		Inflexible
	Negative toward others	
	Hierarchical	
	Discriminatory	
Effects of un-collegiality	Inefficiency	
	Isolation	
	Missed opportunities	
	Talent quarantine	

Table 3 shows a revised coding scheme with sub-themes used in the analysis.

This scheme included both concepts that appeared consistently in interviews and those that seemed to be important considerations. I then coded sections of each interview based on the initial coding scheme. With the data in coded chunks, I reviewed each code, making notes of similar language and ideas that would become sub-themes.

I also was able to rank and, in some cases, de-emphasize some of the codes in my initial scheme that did not appear with sufficient frequency or strength to merit significant discussion.

After these coding sessions, I returned to the research questions, writing notes about how the data contained in the text addressed each question. I developed the organization for the analysis and discussion presented in chapters four and five from these notes.

Ethical concerns and limitations of interviews

The site selection for this study was somewhat based on personal access and travel convenience. My previous academic experience had provided me with some familiarity with the institution, although I had no prior experience beyond one specific department. By selecting departments I had no prior experience with, I minimized opportunities for personal bias in my interviews or analysis. I recognize that my own outlook influences my results. I have spent my academic career as an assistant professor, associate professor with tenure, a visiting associate professor at two institutions, and as a department head. These experiences in many ways led me to this research. I have a personal affinity for organizational perspectives favoring an emphasis on those activities that are likely to not only produce success, but also individual and group flourishing. This

personal perspective certainly colored my approach, and I worked hard to mitigate my own biases toward collegiality by ensuring that questions would be balanced and would give interview participants ample opportunity to identify negative effects of collegial behavior and positive effects of un-collegial behavior. Further, a systematic analysis of the interview data allowed me to discover themes and concepts that had not been part of my conceptual framework or preconceptions about the research questions, yet became important to the analysis and discussion.

This dissertation study results in a discussion of collegiality and its effects on departments and individuals, grounded in data collected in the field. The results therefore are not generalizable to all higher education institutions. The themes generated by this study are an early step in understanding how individual faculty members perceive collegiality, and how they understand its effects on individual and departmental work. Future research is needed to test and refine the findings, and to apply them in different organizational contexts.

Confidentiality of the participants was a primary concern in this study. The nature of the interviews required the participants to discuss specific individuals, including close departmental colleagues. Each participant received a written agreement (see Appendix D) explaining the procedures, including steps to protect confidentiality and anonymity. Transcripts for each interview were accessible only to the interview participant for verification purposes. Once verified, to protect individuals in the analysis, pseudonyms were created. Transcripts and coded text include the pseudonyms, while references to actual institutions, departments (other than classification information), and individuals were removed.

## Summary

American higher education institutions are under tremendous pressure to change. These pressures come from within and without the academy, but the pressure is for institutions to become better—better at educating, better at researching, and better at serving the many communities they belong to—and to do it for less money. The number one resource available to higher education institutions is human. Administrators, faculty members, and associated staff working with students and stakeholders within and without the institution create value through individual and collective work.

If collegial behavior has a positive influence on the work of a department and university, then one step toward improving the effectiveness of work in higher education is to increase our understanding of how a notion identified as a positive factor in the lives of faculty members—collegial behavior—can be understood and applied. This dissertation study takes an established concept, one that is well used in the academy, and examines both how faculty members understand it, with attention to disciplinary differences, and what faculty members perceive as the effects of collegial behavior. This understanding may be used as a foundation for further study and practice, with implications for faculty members, department chairs, and other higher education leaders.

#### CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

#### Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore faculty members' perceptions of key elements of collegiality and the impact of collegiality on faculty members and their departments in various disciplines. How do faculty members perceive collegiality? More specifically, what do collegial faculty members do and what are they like, as understood by peers in a department? How do faculty perceive the effects of collegiality on the work of individuals and departments? How do these faculty perceptions vary across disciplinary cultures?

Strong patterns emerged from the interview data, both regarding how faculty members perceive collegiality, and in how they perceive its effects. I will discuss variations and unique observations in detail; however, the majority of this chapter is focused on shared themes, using the participants' own words to illustrate my observations.

This chapter includes a description of the participants, their perceptions of collegiality and its effects, and their perceptions of un-collegiality and its effects.

Additionally, it includes descriptions of disciplinary differences.

## Overview of Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 23 full-time tenured and tenure-track faculty members at a single research institution. Participants in this study represent nine different colleges and 19 departments. Each of the four disciplinary cultures described in chapter three was represented. Participants included 14 males and 9 females, each having served the institution between five and eight years. Participants' ethnicities included Hispanic, Asian, and White (U.S. Department of Education. Institute of Education

Sciences, 1997). Of the 23 interview participants, 6 were international. This provided a valuable opportunity to observe any differences in perception across nationalities. While the limitations of this study prevent drawing generalized conclusions, the responses of these four women and two men were remarkably consistent with their American peers.

Protecting the identity of participants is important because questions asked in the interviews were intended to elicit both positive and negative descriptions of the attributes and behaviors of participants' peers. Many of the participants expressed some initial reluctance to provide specific examples, but ultimately most shared rich descriptions of their perceptions and experiences.

Table 4 illustrates the range of participants' backgrounds and academic fields and is organized according to disciplinary culture. For simplicity, Table 4 is organized according to each of the four disciplinary culture categories. Participants are identified by pseudonym, ethnic background (including nationality), and gender. Because of the desire to protect confidentiality, I have not included specific departmental affiliations.

To explore the main research questions, I followed the interview protocol included in Appendix C. First, I asked participants to describe collegial behavior and attributes, often prompting them by suggesting that they might consider an example of someone who is particularly collegial. Then I asked them to describe the effects that those behaviors had on individual and departmental productivity. This sequence was repeated, asking for negative examples of collegiality, or un-collegiality. After exploring with each participant their perceptions, I shared two collections of cards, listing positive and negative behaviors and attributes. Each participant selected several cards they felt were most important in their experience and shared examples and details. Finally, I asked

each participant to share their observations of the level of collegiality in their department, and whether there had been any changes in that level in their experience.

Table 4. Participant Information and Disciplines

Hard/Pure	Soft/Pure
Bernard: White European Male	Nathan: White American Male
	Terry: Asian American Male
	Steve: White American Male
	Trent: White American Male
	Nick: White American Male
	Evelyn: White American Female
	Pete: White American Male
	Tara: Asian Female
Hard/Applied	Soft/Applied
Sarah: White European Female	Talia: Hispanic American Female
Jared: White American Male	Laura: White American Female
Charles: White American Male	Josh: White American Male
Lily: White American Female	Olivia: White American Female
	Sam: Asian Male
	Shaun: Hispanic American Male
	Dawn: White European Female
	Danna: Asian Indian Female
	Jack: White American Male
	Daniel: White American Male

The following sections include descriptions of collegial behaviors and attributes first, followed by descriptions of un-collegial behaviors and attributes, along with observed disciplinary differences.

## Perceptions of Collegiality

Aside from the introduction provided in the invitation email (see Appendix D), participants were provided with no background information on my definition of collegiality. Several participants responded to the first interview question, "How do you describe people who are collegial?" with questions of their own, seeking to know what I meant by collegiality. My response to that question was to explain that the purpose of the dissertation is to gain a greater understanding of how faculty members perceived collegiality, and that however they described it would be helpful. Faculty members' initial descriptions of collegiality varied, but patterns emerged. Interview participants regularly described collegial peers as caring about others, expanding their careers and perspectives, willing and helpful collaborators, unifying influences, and focused on the future. I will discuss each of these themes in the following sections.

# Caring About Others

Each interview participant described collegial peers as caring about others, and most participants described multiple ways that caring about others can be demonstrated. Caring about others should not be confused with simple kindness or affability; caring behaviors included strong challenges and clear critiques, but participants appreciated those behaviors as part of collegiality. Collegial peers were described as caring for others in formal and informal ways, and in ways directly related to work and ways related to life outside of work. Paradoxically, many of the participants at some point in the interview indicated a lack of need of caring, yet also reflected that colleagues who cared about them had positively influenced both their perceptions of the quality of their faculty life, and their own and their department's productivity. While there were many descriptions of

behaviors that demonstrate caring about others, some were shared with significant frequency. Mentoring, showing personal interest, showing compassion, showing appreciation, and being trustworthy were ways that faculty participants described how colleagues care for others. I will explain each of these and share examples in the following sections.

## Mentoring

A common description of caring about others emerged as participants described mentors both formal and informal. Helpful mentoring activities included providing orientation in a new position, helping to navigate professorial life, providing clear and helpful feedback on work, and enhancing research efforts. Faculty members in all disciplines described mentoring as an important aspect of collegiality. Mentoring was important to men and women and to those on both sides of tenure review.

Interview participants explained that mentoring by experienced colleagues contributed to their transition to new positions. Describing the value of mentoring, Pete said, "Because every setting is different, when you step into it you don't really have a sense of the social norms or the expectations and so on, having someone who can help guide you through [your first years] who makes an investment and takes the time... it's huge." Daniel, approaching his tenure review, offered, "I'm always interested in senior faculty who are willing to take me under their wing." "I've had a wonderful mentor, and she took me under her wing from the very beginning," Teresa said. "She just really made sure that I understood everything."

Experienced colleagues participate in mentoring by offering helpful review and criticism of scholarly work. Tara described a mentor this way: "I give her my papers, and

she really puts a lot of comments on it and I feel so grateful because it's really helpful." "Somebody who's willing to be a research mentor...they'd be interested in reading first drafts," was another characterization.

Mentors were described as valuable at every career stage, although particularly noted as essential to early-career success. Mentors, particularly voluntary mentors, were described as helpful both in career guidance and in institutional socialization. Terry, who recently submitted his final tenure-review documents, put it this way: "[Having a mentor] is really key especially for junior faculty members. You don't often know all the ins and outs of a particular institution or even the field at large. Having somebody there who takes an active mentoring role—just someone who takes you aside and says, 'How are you doing?' or if you raise an issue they say, 'Maybe I can help you with that,' or 'I'd be happy to read your work,' or 'I think this journal would be really great for that,' I think those little things really add up."

Josh, who had recently received tenure, described the value of mentors by offering, "Many mentors are needed—not just one mentor...they review your work prior to funding...so you can get funded." He continued by describing how mentors improved his teaching and included him on projects that "build my capacity and my work."

Terry, who at the time of his interview was in the tenure-review year in a Soft/Pure discipline, shared one of the most poignant mentoring stories illustrating the value of caring mentors who aren't just kind, but push others to succeed:

I was at a very low point...I didn't have a book contract yet, the clock was running out, and I was feeling that this was it...that I wasn't going to make tenure. I was ready to throw in the towel. Then I had a faculty member, just sort of on her

own initiative, sort of say, 'How are things going?' I told her some of my doubts and that I was ready to sort of give up. She met with me over the course of a couple of weeks where we just sort of talked out my doubts, she pushed me to send some stuff out, the book proposal to some other presses and lo and behold I got a contract by the end of the semester. That was a key example of someone who goes out of their way to take a mentoring role. I didn't ask for this and it basically was a lifesaver at least in terms of potential tenure.

## Showing personal interest

Participants regularly described collegiality as an attribute of those who cared about them personally. Collegial faculty members demonstrated personal interest in a variety of ways, including spending personal time, offering and giving assistance, or acknowledging important events or interests of others.

Many participants described experiences with colleagues who spent personal time with them. Personal time included meals, social activities, and informal conversations. "I think there must be some correlation with job satisfaction," Jared shared. "I think people who have lunch occasionally, who get a drink occasionally, those are the people who, I don't have any statistics, but I think you generally like being at work because you have friends at work."

Nick described the importance of showing interest by listening: "Their behaviors are a willingness to listen. I think that's the biggest thing." Terry described colleagues who had taken a personal interest in him this way: "Someone showing interest in my work even if that person doesn't work in my area can be really encouraging so I know I

have people who I can talk to about my work. These conversations can happen in the hallways, my office, or in meetings."

Personal interest as a factor in collegiality goes beyond the relationship between two faculty members to include the larger group in a department. As Shaun noted, "We know one another's work history, we know each other's capacity, each other's strengths…certainly those close relationships exist."

About one-third of the participants described personal interest as taking an interest in another's life outside of work. Collegiality in this sense was described as an interest in others' family life, hobbies, and cultural events. Shaun's experience characterizes that of others as he described his response to his colleagues' expressions of personal interest. "My wife and I were expecting a child and they're like, this is a great moment...is there anything I can do? Just let me know," he said. "People here really genuinely care about one another and they want to be helpful and they want to serve others. For me personally I think that's so important."

## Showing compassion

Participants described how peers demonstrated the collegial behavior of caring about others by showing compassion. Participants described compassion as a willingness to understand unique aspects of others' lives and situations. "Collegiality...revolves around the idea of compassion," said Charles, notably from an applied science field. He explained that collegiality included acknowledging and honoring "the idea that each person comes to work every day with a different set of trials and tribulations, a different set of pressures, [and a] different set of responsibilities."

Others offered specific examples of how colleagues demonstrated compassion. For example, Daniel talked about compassion as being considerate of both lifestyles and methodologies. "I'm looking for people who are compassionate, who are willing to consider other lifestyles and other people and their needs…who see the importance of having a wide variety of research opinions within a department," he said.

Compassion is a way that individuals can help one another through challenges inherent in a large institutional environment, making the experience less institutional and more personal. Shaun summarized the value of compassion. "[The academy] isn't necessarily a healthy environment, so to see people that are compassionate conveys some of the goodness of people within an organization that a lot of times can be the opposite of compassionate."

## Showing appreciation

Collegial peers demonstrate caring for others by showing appreciation. Nearly half of the interview participants talked about the importance of showing appreciation for others and their work as a component of collegiality. Showing appreciation for others' work, their lives, their accomplishments, and their unique skills was an important demonstration of caring for others in both public and private ways.

For some participants, appreciation was a fundamental part of the definition of collegiality. "I think collegiality is an appreciation for the performance that each person tries to put in every day," said Charles. For others, appreciation was part of a pattern of behaviors demonstrated by a collegial peer. Shaun described it this way: "Part of that respect and trust is recognizing and appreciating each of the individual attributes and strengths that each person brought to the table."

It is interesting to note that a few who shared perspectives on the value of showing appreciation expressed it as a virtue, but clarified the idea to include the possibility of the costs of insincere appreciation. Lack of sincerity in showing appreciation can be perceived as manipulative rather than collegial. For example, Evelyn said, "To show appreciation to faculty...we have been asked to contribute the first page of a journal article or the cover...to tout our work. I'm not sure that I would consider that they appreciate us as much as it's sort of a PR strategy." This sentiment indicates that authentic appreciation is critical for it to be perceived as a demonstration of collegiality.

## Being trustworthy

Trust was an interesting concept emerging from the data. Because the term itself was often used to describe collegiality, I mention it here; however, trust was used primarily to describe the effects of un-collegial behavior, as participants explained how others lost their trust through un-collegiality. Participants clearly valued trust, although it seemed from interviews that trust is assumed to be a basic requirement of collegiality until something happened to undermine it.

This is not to understate the positive value of trust. Describing a very highly productive unit, Shaun described collegiality in a research unit as having "a high level of trust and respect among each of the primary players." Lily underscored the importance of trust by describing the baseline requirements for potential collaborative partners in her work: "If I'm not sure of the [trustworthiness of partners], I'm not working with them…I have to trust people."

Expanding Others' Opportunities and Perspectives

As I analyzed the interview data, one strong theme that emerged was one that I will call *expanding others' opportunities and perspectives*, or more simply, *expanding behaviors*. While the term *expanding* was not shared by interview participants, nearly all of them shared examples of colleagues who had done things to expand their perspective on opportunities for funding, publication, networking, or other professional opportunities when asked to describe collegial behaviors and attributes. Jared described the value of expanding behaviors by explaining, "The rising tide raises all boats...if there's some way to help your colleagues, that somehow improves your rankings, the students you can recruit...the better you look and your colleagues look, the better the department and the college looks." I will briefly describe examples of these expanding behaviors to illustrate various contexts.

Expanding behaviors enhance collaborative opportunities. "You're talking with people for a half an hour and then through the conversation you realize that you have common interests...most of the collaborations happen very organically like this," Jared explained. "You didn't even necessarily know that lunch was going to effectively be your most important business meeting of the week."

Expanding behaviors transcend formal relationships, opening new possibilities.

Danna described professors in her graduate program as going out of their way to be helpful: "[Faculty members] helped [graduate students] out without reservations even when they weren't being formally advised by that professor...and faculty interacting with each other irrespective of whether [they were] coauthoring with someone."

Another expression of expanding behavior is helping to build professional and resource networks. Danna said that collegial people "support my work by helping me connect with people...pointing me in the right direction or helping me find a forum." Shaun described similar behavior in a mentor who created opportunities for many scholars: "[He'd say,] 'I'd like to provide and make an opportunity for your faculty...I'd like to provide an opportunity for...students." Laura described expanding behavior this way: "They include you in activities such as research and teaching...grants, [and] support in conversations." Most participants shared stories of having been helped by colleagues who introduced them to new networks, publications, conferences, and grant opportunities.

Expanding behaviors opened up possibilities for scholarly collaborations, professional development, and relationships. While many of the expanding behaviors were described with stories of conversations and introductions, Olivia offered an explanation for why faculty members might engage in expanding behaviors: "[They are] able to see the potential within another person that that person may not even see in themselves. So they push for the future."

#### *Collaborative*

Regardless of discipline or time in position, nearly all interview participants described collegiality as a willingness to collaborate. While collaboration may be considered as simply working together, examples of collaboration help illuminate various ways that this term is perceived. Participants described the importance of collaboration as an important way to capitalize on diverse skills, to overcome institutional challenges, to share limited resources, and to develop mutual accountability for successful work.

Collaboration was described by many as a way to maximize effectiveness by working with others who have complementary skills or expertise. The following statements were typical of this idea: Sam said, "If they have need for professional support and thinking about certain kind of data and they don't have expertise in a certain kind of area, we can collaborate." Josh shared, "There is this guy I work with who has very complementary skills to mine...that's very valuable and we work on a lot of things together. In my area, collaboration is a key. You don't get funding without collaboration." Daniel described a valuable collaborator as one "who is complementary in their expertise, yet at the same time very open to adjusting some of their research for a larger group goal."

The collaborative aspect of collegiality was also described as a willingness and ability to help bring people together to work. As Steve described, "[It's] people kind of taking an interest in your work and looking for opportunities to work together." This ability is especially valuable during times of conflict. Nick explained, "There is a real willingness, you know after we are done arguing, to let it go. There aren't very many people who hold grudges, or who can't turn around and work together effectively...and ask each other about your work and to listen."

Working together to share resources was another demonstration of collaboration. Interview participants primarily described this type of collaboration in relation to scholarly work. As Nick explained, "I value those who read my work and have me read theirs...they're actually interested in doing it with you rather than either dominating the agenda or doing it all themselves." Collaboration is also valued in teaching. As Dawn expressed, "Setting up teaching...takes a lot of time. So having [colleagues] share their

syllabi with me and best practices...it's just felt like I've had a team behind me that I can draw on as much or as little as I want to, but they are behind me and they're going to support me." Shaun shared an observation of collaboration in service, saying, "We certainly have faculty members who work in a collegial manner as far as developing courses and course topics, course objectives, course readings, course assignments..."

Jared offered that collegial peers "fundamentally...want to interact with other people." These interactions were described as mutually beneficial relationships that increased individual motivation to accomplish work through shared accountability. Collaborative opportunities appear both by design and by serendipity. Sarah described a collaborative relationship that began when a visiting colleague "looked at a poster on my wall and said, 'I don't know what that is but that's what I want.' We ended up having weekly meetings and mentoring a student together, and we published a couple of papers and got funding...to work together." Other collaborative relationships happen because someone makes a more formal invitation. Tara shared an experience when "faculty from [another department] approached me and talked about a project to see if I was interested." *Unifying Others* 

Unifying behaviors bring faculty members together. Interview participants described examples of social gatherings, spontaneous service, willingness to hear others' opinions, and a willingness to share the burdens and benefits of department work. This willingness took many forms, but can be organized generally in the two areas I will describe as *including others* and *load sharing*.

## *Including others*

Including others refers to a willingness to involve others in the work and success of the department. Terry described his department as particularly collegial. "Everyone has a stake in the well-being of the department," he said. Inclusivity was described in social and scholarly relationships, and it was described as a willingness both to include other individuals, and to adopt others' ideas.

"I might be more knowledgeable about certain issues...and other folks might be interested in a variety of other issues and so we work together and help each other," Sam said. Laura's first response to the question of collegiality was, "Inclusion. They include you in activities such as research and teaching and they may even include you on grants."

Shaun described collegiality as an ability to "get everybody on the same track moving in the same direction," by including faculty members and students in successful projects. He gave an example of a colleague who demonstrated this ability, summarizing, "It was an inclusive, collaborative partnership. It doesn't mean that they always agreed with one another, but they did know how to give way to whose expertise should be brought to bear."

## Load sharing

Load sharing captures the idea that, although there are many tasks and responsibilities required to fulfill the work of an academic department, collegial department members are willing to do their part, and in some circumstances, even take on some extra responsibilities for the good of the department and others. As Steve put it, "I think of collegiality as being sort of a professional altruism, where we are all very busy people and it's very easy to get locked into focusing your energy, attention, and time on

what your needs are...it is expressed by faculty members and colleagues who are devoted to seeing those around them thrive."

"I think of somebody who is highly collegial...proactively volunteering to help other people," Olivia shared. This helping behavior does come at a cost; however, as Talia described, "I had a wonderful mentor...and as a result I have been a mentor to four different people—kind of a 'pay it forward' thing."

Many interview participants acknowledged this cost, but the pattern that emerged was that load sharing allowed faculty members to feel unified, receive benefit from the expertise of others, and share their own expertise with others. Jared may have put it best, saying, "There's a sense of spreading the work and spreading the wealth."

## Future-oriented

Faculty members described colleagues who were future oriented as having a vision for what individuals and departments could become and accomplish, and who were willing to make investments toward achieving that future. Future-oriented faculty members were described as those who had vision for the successful future of their department and for their colleagues, and as those who demonstrated an investment in that future.

### Vision for the future

As participants described collegiality, many shared examples of individuals who demonstrated vision for the future of their departments and individual department members, and who made specific investments to strengthen and build toward that future.

Vision is demonstrated by seeing the potential in an individual, department, or even a discipline. Olivia described future-oriented colleagues as imaginative. "I think a

person who is more imaginative is more able to see the potential within another person that that person may not even see in themselves." Evelyn described colleagues in a future-oriented department as "talk[ing] frequently about the future of the department—in terms of accolades, in terms of prestige, in terms of research direction, how we're going to present ourselves online." Individuals show they are future oriented when they are "thinking about...how the department's goals can be met along with their own personal goals," explained Trent.

Future oriented individuals and departments may have reach outside of the institution, to the discipline as a whole. Shaun said of his department, "We want to take [doctoral students], build a good culture, and have them take that out to where they're going to go work."

## Investing in the future

Participants also described future-oriented individuals as willing to invest in the future. These investments come from senior faculty members mentoring and accepting additional service or teaching assignments and from department leaders organizing to allow faculty members additional research time. Investing in the future also includes involving students in meaningful research and teaching opportunities.

Talia described how senior faculty members had influenced her experience, and suggested that she wanted to follow suit, saying, "I have since been a mentor to four different people—kind of a 'pay it forward' thing." Investing in the future of faculty members was cited as an example of collegiality. "Two of my junior colleagues are going to be teaching something like one semester in the next two years," explained Steve, "because they have applied for all these fellowships—both internal and external—and

everybody is supportive of that. The feeling is that everyone else will pick up the slack to allow them to have that opportunity."

Faculty members shared a sense that a future orientation helped prepare individuals and departments by enabling good decision-making efforts. Jared expressed the value he had observed in future-oriented colleagues: "Fundamentally, if you believe that through the actions that you do today, that the university, the department could be better in the future...you tend to make good decisions for the department in terms of hiring and student recruiting."

## Card Selection of Collegial Behaviors

As I described in chapter three, each interview included providing participants collections of cards identifying various behaviors. When presented with the collection of cards listing collegial behaviors, faculty members selected those they felt represented the behaviors that were the most impactful in their personal experience. The results of these responses are reflected throughout the analysis and discussion; however, I will share here the most often selected behaviors. The cards *welcoming differing opinions* and *department citizenship* were selected by five participants, followed by *showing support for others' work, respectful, trusting, and collaborative,* with four selections each. Interestingly, each behavior listed on a card was selected by at least one faculty member. In each interview, the discussions following the card selection were very helpful in further exploring faculty perceptions of collegiality and its effects on work.

As I analyzed these results to refine the conceptual framework, I coded responses without regard to which interview question elicited the response. Then I examined responses to the cards to determine whether some themes should be considered more

strongly in the analysis. For example, *trusting* and *collaborative* were not only often selected from cards, they were also strong themes throughout interviews. These themes are prominent in the analysis and the refined framework. Alternatively, *department citizenship* was selected regularly from among the cards, but the descriptions of department citizenship varied widely, so the concept was not precisely descriptive enough to be useful as its own theme.

Disciplinary Differences in Perceiving Collegiality

As faculty members across disciplinary cultures described collegiality, they did it with remarkable similarity. For example, the themes *caring about others* and *collaborative* were distributed quite evenly across disciplines. However, faculty members in the Hard/Applied and Soft/Applied disciplines described *expanding* behaviors and attributes twice as often as those in the Hard/Pure and Soft/Pure disciplines. While the sample in this study is small, it may be that the behaviors associated with expanding others perspectives and opportunities are valued and expressed more often in disciplines where collaborative scholarly efforts are the norm, compared to the individual scholarly efforts found in Hard/Pure and Soft/Pure disciplines.

Other differences were in the specific examples shared. For example, faculty members in the Hard/Pure and Hard/Applied disciplines shared examples of equipment and technology sharing and of collaborations that were principally strategic; faculty members in Soft/Pure, and Soft/Applied disciplines shared more examples of casual conversations and personal relationships.

Summary of Perceptions of Collegiality

Interview participants perceived and described collegial behavior and attributes in many ways, but the strongest themes to emerge from interviews suggest that collegial faculty members care about others, help expand others' careers and perspectives, are willing and helpful collaborators, serve as unifying influences, and are focused on the future.

## Effects of Collegiality

After asking faculty members for their definitions and examples of collegiality, I asked them what they observed to be the impact of collegiality on their work and on the work of the department generally. All but one participant responded that collegiality increased both their personal productivity and department productivity. The one exception was Talia, who stated a paradoxical belief she held with others, saying, "I rarely see any negatives that happen as a result of [someone] not being a good colleague for me personally." While Talia held to this perspective throughout the interview, her experiences were consistent with others in demonstrating that in one or more of the areas of faculty responsibility, collegiality is understood to affect the work. As faculty members discussed their experiences, a picture of the significant impact that collegiality has on faculty work emerged. I will share that picture in this section.

The strongest themes from interviews about the effects of collegiality included an increase in productivity for individuals and departments, a feeling of a unified community, and a sense of being involved in building a positive culture. Less strong, but still consistent themes included increased resiliency, energy, and vision. In this section, I will share details and examples of each of these themes.

## **Productivity**

Faculty members offered many examples of how collegiality influences productivity. They included examples of increased or enhanced productivity in service, teaching, and research. I will discuss these examples by the type of effect that collegiality has on individuals, such as motivating and helping; and on departments, such as making work efficient and utilizing diverse faculty talents.

## *Individual productivity*

Faculty members described experiences when peers motivated them as being occasions when collegiality was expressed. For example, Daniel shared how his department chair helped to motivate him through her own collegial behavior: "I'm willing to bend over backwards to do anything she wants me to do...because she is paying attention to what's going on in my life. I'm not just on an island doing my own thing, but we're working toward similar goals." Terry described the motivating effects of collegiality by saying, "Having other faculty members in the department show support for your work, know what you do, what you're working on, a willingness to read your stuff, I think that really makes you feel like you are part of some kind of collective enterprise."

Others talked about how collegiality in collaborative efforts increased motivation to complete work well. Jared expressed a kind of positive peer pressure from collegial relationships: "You—in a sense—pressure each other and it's less likely that things fall through the cracks." He described how he had completed more work than he might otherwise have: "If I weren't collaborating with them, I would have picked one [project] to sacrifice...but I felt an obligation because those three had already done their part."

Shaun described a similar experience where he filled an assignment for a collegial peer, saying, "I just didn't want to drop the ball, or to be...the one who doesn't pull their weight." Sarah shared a story of a collegial relationship that had strengthened her productivity by helping her set and meet goals and deadlines. She said, "It was set up so we wouldn't string each other along or waste each other's time...it was very businesslike, but also friendly at the same time."

Faculty members also shared experiences when colleagues offered help that made them more productive. The help came in many forms, including expertise, equipment, advice, feedback, and funding. The following interview excerpts provide examples.

"A colleague of mine was walking down the hall," said Pete, "walked in here...and told me about a project. It resonated with something that I was working on...and my colleague came back and said, 'You know what? We're going to write a grant, do some publications,' and it formed a new line of research for me."

Terry described how colleagues had helped him become productive quickly in a new position: "They give you sort of a heads up about what to expect in terms of how long it takes to have an article work through the review process...steer you to different kinds of journals...there's a direct connection with how productive you can be and whether you can get started running rather than the startup costs of getting used to a new institution or...the scholarly community."

Faculty members shared experiences of colleagues shortening their learning time, both in the institution and in academic publishing. Danna said, "[Collegial peers] support my work by helping me connect with people whom I can work with...pointing me to

resources... [it] is a big support to me." Tara shared the benefits of generous feedback prior to submission: "I like [colleagues] to show support by giving me good critiques."

Another way of increasing learning is to share teaching resources. Daniel explained that to him, collegiality means "to share lecture notes…having a colleague or two work with you is very important, and more importantly, you can avoid making the same mistakes. You can learn from what they've learned." Nathan expressed that sharing examples of assignments is a way that collegiality impacts and enhances teaching.

Faculty members explained that receiving helpful feedback from others enhanced productivity in every area of their work. Trent described colleagues helping others by reviewing papers. "I've seen papers get accepted that maybe would not have otherwise," he said. Jack gave an example of a collegial co-author: "Ordinarily, when you co-author, the most you get are editorial comments and not very substantial. Jeff adds value. The books are stronger, and there have been an article or two as well that are actually better work products as a result of collaboration." Daniel described how colleagues helped him through the grant-writing process. "I know my area of research, but they know how grants work," he said.

# Departmental productivity

While many examples of the effects of individual productivity were shared, and it may be assumed that productive individuals make up productive units, there were some additional insights shared when participants talked specifically of the effects of collegiality on departmental productivity. The themes that emerged most strongly were that collegiality benefits departmental productivity by increasing department *efficiency* and encouraging *synergy* among department members.

"I think collegiality is the thing that can differentiate a department from being functioning and from being great," Dawn explained. Lily said that she observed that "[collegial peers] help the department accomplish the goals of the department." Charles described a synergistic effect when he said, "The whole is greater than the sum of its parts...the well-oiled machine mentality helps you function and you've got my back, I've got yours, we all get stuff done, we go home at the end of the day and say 'wow, we really accomplished something." Sarah described this efficiency and synergy when she described her department. "If you have an interesting project people are willing to come and help," she said.

Faculty members described the increased efficiency in a department when collegiality is present. Jared shared this example: "When someone goes to you and says, 'I have a question,' and it's going to take you 10 minutes...but might cost me hours. It increases the overall productivity of the group, it just costs one person 10 minutes but it frees up another person for two hours then you've just increased your overall efficiency." Daniel described the change he'd seen in his own department when he said, "It's critical that you act as a team...and not just take the [grant] money and divide it up. We are getting there, we're starting to think along those lines, and it's a big opportunity for us to grow the department. It also helps us to attract larger funding."

# Building Unity and Community

When asked about the effects of collegiality on department work, faculty members responded with examples of how collegiality helped create *unity* and a sense of *community* in departments. They also explained that collegial behaviors helped create a feeling that department members were working for a common cause. "I'm happy to say

I'm in a department where people are colleagues first and [scholars] second," said Steve. Collegiality in the department "makes us feel like a team," described Daniel. "We have different opinions, we have different approaches to scholarship, which in other departments has led to fractious relationships. There are no factions. People respect each other." Terry also said that collegiality can "make you feel more a part of the department."

Many faculty members talked about how collegiality helped build unity within a department. Olivia described her observations this way: "We are going to get farther by opening our arms than by sharpening our elbows." Dawn said of her experience in her department community, "I had people around me who made it very clear to me that they would do whatever...in terms of being supportive." "If you start to grow collegiality," she explained further, "it can build a positive spiral that can be a little bit contagious...you can nudge [others] to get involved again to make a positive contribution."

Faculty members do expend energy when they are involved in department work and activities, and several interview participants noted this. However, while they described the effort involved, they also perceived that the effort helped them feel more integrated with the department. Sarah described an experience she had with a very complex research project: "[It was] spontaneous, a lot of people have jumped on because it's fun and there are a lot of little interesting problems to solve...we do it all together." Tara also talked about how collegiality helped her feel part of her department: "The first year I wanted to leave...this doesn't feel like home...but after some collaborations I have a lot of faculty friends and that is a personal aspect about staying here."

## Strengthening a Positive Culture

Faculty members explained that collegiality helps cultivate a positive culture in a department. "I think it makes a more pleasant work environment," Nathan said, "It helps to create a more positive atmosphere, more positive attitude...and gives you a sense of belonging." Those faculty members who talked about culture shared how the positive culture contributed to departmental success. Olivia shared, "If there are more people who are energizing and interactive and collaborative, that encourages a culture of, 'Hey, I had this great idea, did you think of this?'" Steve explained that in his department, he had observed "people kind of taking an interest in your work and looking for opportunities to work together."

Several faculty members talked about the importance of a positive culture as an effect of collegiality by describing how their respective departments engaged in specific efforts to identify candidates who could contribute to a department culture. For example, Trent talked of how faculty searches in his department were designed to perpetuate a positive culture. He said, "We look for people who we can help flourish. We think that makes us a better department and makes all of us better...there's a culture of helping people do better work."

Department members who exhibit a variety of collegial behaviors create a positive culture in a department. Interview participants who talked of their experiences in highly collegial departments noted that when the culture is collegial, the behaviors associated with collegiality happen naturally. A positive culture, said Jared, "[is] organic. The giving of friendly advice, you didn't schedule a meeting so they can give you formal advice, it's just part of the conversation." A collegial culture influences more than just

those who work directly with each other. Danna shared how collegiality in her department affects her outlook. "[Collegiality] makes the environment of the department very friendly, so that has a positive effect on mental well being. I feel happy if I see a very cordial person around even if I'm not working per se with that person."

The effects of collegiality on culture include a reduction of silos, Lily explained. "You don't have a moat and fortress around this thing. You may have little towns, but people don't say 'Go away,' they say 'Come on in.' It's friendly, not hostile, not defensive."

A positive culture helps faculty members conserve energy for productive work. Dawn said, "I've had people around me who were incredibly supportive.... they've been good about saving my time physically, but also emotional and psychological time in terms of knowing that I don't have to worry and spend a lot of time questioning, strategerizing [sic], just to place myself politically in the department."

Students benefit when collegiality contributes to a positive culture. Daniel shared, "If this is a more collegial environment, it affects the students, and they get more out of it." Jack explained that in his department, "the doctoral students kind of tie us together." As the students are socialized in a culture of collegiality, "[doctoral students] have the same good feelings, they socialize, they are supportive of one another."

Other Effects of Collegiality

While the most common descriptions of the effects of collegiality by faculty members included increased productivity, unity, and a positive culture, other effects were described as well. These less-frequently described effects included *increased energy*, *contagion* of collegiality, and personal and group *resiliency*.

A few faculty participants described how collegiality influenced their productive energy. "The benefits of collegiality are that you get more ideas, you're more productive, you're more effective," explained Josh. Jared said, "You're destined to have your total number of publications and total number of students go up it has to go that way, it can't work any other way." Others described how collegiality helped generate energy among colleagues. Sarah described her experience in a collegial project, saying, "The whole thing is generative...and it attracts the ideas and people, and then grows outward." Shaun spoke of a colleague who generated energy as he built a research center. "He just did an outstanding job working across disciplines...the number of doctoral students that have come on, graduated, gone on to research one institutions, that have garnered a number of publications, have achieved tenure, published and presented at national and international conferences, I look at that [as a] model."

Faculty members also described how collegiality increased their own ability and the ability of their department to be resilient. In many situations, Faculty members spoke of many examples when collegiality helped generate a positive response to individual or institutional stress. For example, Pete explained that collegiality was demonstrated when a conflict arose. "[We're] remarkably able to weather major debates. This department's pretty remarkable for that. I think it's just a long-standing historical aspect of the department." He continued to describe a challenging hiring process where some faculty members felt overrun by the process. Despite the challenges, the department remained unified. "You wonder if there's some animosity, and then you'll see people walk off and go get a coffee together," he concluded.

Pete described collegiality as a contributing factor in overcoming debates in his department. "We've had some pretty major debates...over areas of emphasis in the department," he said. "It's been fascinating to be in these meetings and watch people get into these debates...then walk off and go get a coffee together. This department's pretty remarkable for that." Similarly, Nick shared, "There aren't many people who hold grudges...it shows the ability of the department to value the long-term."

Shaun shared that collegiality didn't prevent disagreements, but did help mediate them. He said, "They were able to disagree in and do it in a respectful manner, and were able to put some of their own stuff aside and say let's go." Tara described how collegial peers adjust their thinking and even projects to accommodate others, saying, "I have experience working with people who are flexible, willing to adjust, and who all are willing to adjust their original ideas and even changing the project as we go."

It is important to note that no faculty member claimed that collegiality prevented challenges, but rather helped departments overcome the challenges. As Laura shared, "I think collegial people keep the morale high...I suppose if it got too 'Pollyanna' it might not work, but they keep it high...and it sort of dampens the gossip."

Several faculty members shared feelings of how collegiality could be contagious in a department, with many suggesting that there may be a critical mass required to make a positive difference. For example, Danna explained, "Let's say we are a group of ten faculty members and three of them are very collegial...it enhances the welfare of the department." Lily talked about the importance of having a group of collegial peers to influence a department. She described having enough collegial peers as creating a tipping point, saying, "If you have a faculty group that the majority is [collegial], that's

the tone." Olivia said, "I think we can cope with up to 30% of people who are low on a collegiality scale. But higher than that, I think would be very detrimental for the success of this unit."

Disciplinary Differences in Perceptions of Effects of Collegiality

As faculty members described the effects of collegiality, there were some differences among the disciplinary cultures. For example, while faculty members in all disciplinary cultures described how collegiality increased unity and community, faculty members in Hard/Pure and Soft/Applied disciplines described it more often than those in Hard/Applied and Soft/Pure disciplines. One surprising response was from Daniel, from a Hard/Pure discipline, who described the perceived need in his department for more of a sense of unity and community to respond to increasing funding pressures that seemed to be moving the research agendas in the department toward more collaborative and applied research than had been typical. It is unsurprising that faculty members in the Soft/Applied disciplines talked about unity and community, since many of these disciplines include collaborative work in various community settings. Unsurprisingly, Soft/Applied faculty members described collegiality as helping to develop a positive culture nearly twice as often as any other disciplinary culture.

Summary of Effects of Collegiality

The research question addressed in this section was, "How do faculty members perceive the effects of collegiality on their work, and on the work of their department?" The responses were strong, and clear themes emerged from interviews. Faculty members perceived that personal productivity is enhanced, departmental productivity is strengthened, and personal and group energy increased as a result of others' collegiality.

Additionally, they stated that collegiality can help a department be resilient during stressful or challenging times, that collegiality may be contagious, and that with enough collegial members of a department, the whole department may be strengthened.

## Perceptions of Un-collegiality

While faculty members understood and described collegiality in a number of ways, they also perceived and vividly described un-collegiality in many ways. As explained in earlier chapters, I will consistently refer to positive behaviors and attributes as collegiality, and negative behaviors and attributes as un-collegiality. This approach simplifies the writing, and also reflects the responses of those who participated in interviews.

Un-collegiality was described as generally either unhelpful or harmful. While most of the faculty participants described their own department as collegial, all had observed either current or past examples of un-collegiality. Participants acknowledged that there were some forms of un-collegiality that would be devastating, although most had experienced little of the most challenging behaviors and attributes, such as backstabbing, bullying, and harassing; rather, they described their experiences with uncollegiality primarily as an unwillingness to engage, help, or participate. As Talia stated, "What I keep coming back to is all the stuff that they don't do."

I will include in this section major themes interview participants identified as they described un-collegiality. The strongest themes that emerged from the respondents concerning the characteristics of un-collegiality were being self-centered, negative, and hierarchical. I will also describe how interview participants used *discriminatory* as a way to describe un-collegial peers. Although only a few participants described experiences

with discrimination, the effects described are so detrimental to faculty work that it is important to acknowledge.

# Self-centeredness

Most participants described un-collegial behavior as fundamentally self-centered, and they shared many examples. Nick shared the most colorful description of self-centered behavior, saying, "There's a sense that if they don't actually piss on that tree it doesn't count as being marked." Self-centered colleagues were also described as uncompromising, particularly in matters of department decisions and governance. "I've been in meetings where people dig in and don't back down," Pete said. Shaun explained, "Each of us are so steeped in our own particular area, no one wants to give up anything." Faculty members described four sub-themes associated with self-centeredness: Selfishness, self-promotion, lack of awareness of others, and acting with a sense of superiority.

### Selfishness

Selfishness was described as an interest in taking care of one's own desires without regard for others or concern for the department. "[Un-collegiality] is sort of a selfishness," Steve explained. While participants who cited selfishness as a feature of uncollegiality acknowledged a need for faculty members to take care of their own work and interests, they also suggested that un-collegiality included many selfish behaviors. Sam said, "Sometimes you don't have enough time for social gatherings...it seems to be that we are quite busy." This lack of time for others extends into an unwillingness to help. Olivia said, "You might ask [people] to do things and they don't—even if they are within the realm of normal things that people do."

Selfishness describes faculty members who, whether in academic or administrative roles perceive that their own desires and needs come before the needs of others. Talia spoke of colleagues in a divided department. "If the only thing you're aware of is your own thing you're not going to be able to exist in a larger setting," she said. Dawn described a similar observation of those who are "not thinking about the larger collective, or the individuals who serve on behalf of the department." "There are certain duties that must be done," said Jared, "and ultimately we all have to take turns volunteering for these things."

Josh described selfishness in a lab setting as "someone who won't share their equipment, or be on the grant. For example, if I have a study on the whole knee where I'm studying walking, running, and walking up stairs, and I know that someone has an instrumented stair stepper. I call them...and if they say 'No,' I either have to buy my own, or miss out on that part of the study."

Charles explained that selfishness could be demonstrated under the guise of protecting time for personal work. "People who come in with their own best interest...have excuses as to why they cannot meet, why they cannot interact, and why they cannot perform their [responsibilities]." "I think there's a real lack of empathy among scholars," said Evelyn, "in terms of 'my workload's bigger than your workload.""

Self-promoting

Self-promotion was related to selfishness, but included an element of comparison.

Self-promotion meant that an individual was trying to achieve their agenda at the expense of others' interests.

"Self-promoting becomes a problem...if the only thing you're aware of is your own thing, you're not going to be able to exist in a larger setting," Talia said, describing how self-promotion assumes that one individual's needs are more important than another's. "Self-promotion is at the core," said Nick, suggesting that the biggest barrier to effective working relationships is "someone who is just most interested in showing him or herself."

Self-promotion takes advantage of others "at the cost of no win to anybody else," explained Dawn as she shared an example of colleagues who had gone around the normal processes to get raises, ultimately costing the department the opportunity to hire new faculty members at competitive salaries.

When self-promotion is followed to its natural end, it is expressed as faculty members see only themselves as an authority. For example, "self-promotion produces proudly independent individuals who can only base success upon their own accomplishments because that's the only metric they're provided with...you see this in the growing amount of...self citation," explained Charles.

# *Lack of awareness of others*

Participants described self-centered colleagues as having a lack of awareness of others. "It doesn't mean they are not working hard," Olivia said. "They are not aware of what other people in the organization are doing. I see this as a big weakness." Charles suggested that some faculty members become so focused on their own agendas that they are not able to acknowledge others or their work. "[They] silo themselves," he explained, "for the sake of getting done what they want to get done, [and] forsake team play, forsake their relationships...and have excuses as to why they cannot perform."

Terry described self-centered colleagues as, "people who don't really know your name...they always seem to be doing their own work in their own world." "I've seen cases where...it's hard to find them in their office, they work from home a lot," said Jared. Shaun said, "Nobody inquires about what you're doing...nobody really talks about one another's work...nobody invites you to come in and speak on your work."

This lack of awareness is not always demonstrated by lack of acknowledgement. Sometimes, lack of awareness is demonstrated by insisting on talking over others, not allowing for full conversation. Sarah described one such colleague. "He will dominate the conversation like he has all the time in the world." Nick explained that talking over others doesn't just happen in meetings, it also can happen electronically. "An example...is people who aren't listening to other people or talking over them, the other [example] is email...just another way of shouting."

Seeing/presenting oneself as superior

Participants described self-centered colleagues as feeling that their own scholarly perspectives were superior, manifesting itself in a variety of ways. "He thinks that the way I do [my work] is simplistic and brings the whole field down," said Olivia. Nathan shared, "You must see things my way, that's the only valid way." Steve said, "It's not uncommon to have someone judge [someone else's] work who's...clearly on the other side of the department dismissively...devaluing the whole [scholarly] exercise that they're engaged in." These colleagues, explained Daniel, are "dismissive of different approaches than [their own]."

### Negative Toward Others

While all un-collegial behaviors may be characterized as negative, for the purposes of the current analysis, I will refer to negative behaviors as those that demonstrate antagonism of one faculty member against another. For example, I have just discussed self-centeredness as primarily focused on self with little concern for others. Negative behaviors as shared by faculty participants are focused toward others. These behaviors include bickering, yelling, rudeness, undermining, backstabbing, bullying, and being duplicitous.

Most interview participants talked about the importance of group members having differing opinions. However, while some shared experiences of differing opinions strengthening relationships and scholarly dialogue, others shared experiences of having dialogue stifled by negative communications. Sam shared, "It is a surprise that people are really passionate about these things to the extent that they are not using the most appropriate words…it's very important to discuss professional issues, but you don't want to personalize them, or the debate." "Bickering," explained Charles, "is the most consuming for me as a senior faculty to mentor junior faculty who are worried about why people are attacking them or why people are interested in their work for the wrong reasons."

Another expression of negativity is in the affective part of communication. For example, Evelyn shared her experiences in faculty meetings this way: "Some of the longtime faculty are really fed up with everything, they just seem like they're very cranky all the time and that really is coming to faculty meetings." Lily shared how negative communications happens when "[department members] are very forceful in their

communication style...they can sometimes back people into corners." "We've had department meetings," said Nathan, "where we've witnessed colleagues yell at each other, not value another person's perspective, demonstrate controlling behavior...it feels like an inability to care about someone else...it's like fourth grade playground behavior. It's stunning to me that educated people are behaving in that sort of way."

Negative communication can happen in person, but also through email. Nick said, "[Un-collegial people] tend to be loud, self-centered, and shout. These are people who have extraordinarily bad personas on email. We've had a colleague who...would broadcast individual emails to the whole department and 'reply all' in moments that I thought it was inappropriate...simple, simple rudeness."

Many faculty members described having observed or experienced faculty members speaking negatively about others' work and undermining that work in various ways. For example, Steve described colleagues who denigrated the research of candidates for faculty positions. He said that this dismissiveness is "devaluing the whole [academic] exercise that [candidates are] engaged in—they use language that suggests that [the candidates'] arguments aren't up to snuff...so you're basically doing that to a whole style of [research] even though people who do it may be in the room with you."

Pete suggested that undermining included some kinds of competitiveness: "People are competing internally and measuring themselves against each other in kind of a negative, destructive way." Another negative response to competitiveness is talking badly about others' scholarly approaches. As Trent described, "It's hard to do groundbreaking work [in our field], so there can be a real resistance...and [faculty members can] be dismissive of different approaches." Others shared similar perspectives. Danna said,

"Just because you work in another area doesn't mean you should dismiss or be suspicious about the validity of that kind of work."

Backstabbing is a significant form of undermining, which may be demonstrated as a personal attack, or an attack on another's work. Daniel shared his experience with backstabbing, saying, "I earned a major teaching award...and other professors who'd been there for several decades had never won a teaching award, and I caught flak for that, in backbiting, stabbing, talking behind [my] back..." Evelyn described a colleague who participated in backstabbing, saying, "He's sly and he makes shady deals and has been called out by senior faculty..."

Another negative behavior shared was bullying. Talia shared an experience during a faculty search: "Every one of [the junior faculty members] were bullied. Everyone of them had a senior person come to them and twist their arm...I ended up in a situation where I tried to get out of my office and this person literally wouldn't let me out."

Shirking responsibilities and being generally disengaged were also perceived as negative behaviors. Describing a colleague who had been unsuccessful in his bid for an endowed chair, Dawn said, "Since then he's boycotted every department meeting, refused to talk to the person that we hired as the endowed chair, and has basically been sulking and avoiding any responsibility." Faculty members who shirked responsibility required others to do more of the department work.

Interview participants also described un-collegial behaviors associated with duplicitousness. "When people...treat you nicely but talk behind your back...if they act in a duplicitous way that really is poisonous," said Terry.

Claiming Privilege Because of Hierarchical Status

Having shared participants' examples of negative behaviors, I will now share perspectives on a particular kind of negative behavior that I have described as claiming privilege because of hierarchical status. Hierarchical behaviors are those in which one individual or group tries to establish power or privilege based on perceived or actual position. Hierarchical behaviors were described in two different contexts: Senior faculty members against junior faculty members, and faculty members who behaved hierarchically because of perceived prestige in research approaches and methodology.

Senior faculty members demonstrate hierarchical behaviors when they try to assert their will because of their seniority. Daniel shared this example: "I've found that one faculty member speaks over me and cuts me off constantly...the higher up they are the easier it is for them to talk over people." Talia shared, "When you're a junior faculty it's a tricky time to figure out how to not make [a senior faculty member] upset." Even when senior faculty members are not actively hierarchical, they can be perceived as behaving hierarchically. Terry observed a lack of investment by senior faculty: "More senior members of the department...don't really know your name...you feel like you're just sort of a disposable member of the department.

Faculty members also described hierarchical behaviors of department leaders.

These leaders act unilaterally or in ways that are neither transparent nor inclusive. Dawn said of her department chair, "We feel that he's going to make whatever decision he's going to make anyway...it seems we have no impact on decision making."

Scholarly differences were also described as opportunities for hierarchical behavior. For example, Laura described her experience in her department, in a

Hard/Applied discipline: "We have people that do bench research, and some people do clinical research...when [bench researchers] write in the [promotion] review they say things like, 'well, you know, I don't know what this [clinical] research is about." Talia shared a similar perspective as a Soft/Applied scholar in a department that also has faculty members in a Soft/Pure discipline, saying, "In [my school] there are both the academic side and the [practical] side of things, and there's often a very real divide there."

### Discriminatory

The interview participants did not share many examples of discriminatory behavior. However, because discrimination is especially troublesome, I will share a few examples that illustrate how discrimination was described as un-collegial.

Lily said as she described her perception of her ability to progress in her career, "If you look at [Hard/Applied] schools, you look at salary levels of women..." Dawn shared a similar experience in her Soft/Applied department. She discovered that substantial raises had been sought after and given outside of the normal merit increase process, and information about the raises were subsequently covered up: "These are white men giving raises to white men. There have been other professors who've come up for promotion, and got like \$3000 raises, which is the standard contribution from central administration. No money from the dean, no money from the chair, no advocacy on their behalf by the chair to get raises." Dawn shared another example of the same chair, who had responded to a request for a recommendation for an on-campus leadership program by saying, "You are not the kind of person they're looking for...I don't want to lower the standard." She explained that the chair had made a similar statement in a hiring situation,

expressing that he "didn't want to lower the standard to let women or minorities into academia."

Charles shared a discriminatory experience where there was a "sexual harassment accusation of one tenured faculty over a junior untenured faculty...the junior faculty left the university without tenure because they felt that their tenure case was so biased...they would never get it under the circumstances."

When presented with cards, participants acknowledged that discrimination would be particularly damaging, but most of faculty members expressed that they had not experienced or observed examples of discrimination. However, because the negative consequences of discrimination are strong, the discussion of un-collegial behavior would be incomplete without addressing it.

Card Selection of Un-collegial Behaviors

When presented with cards listing un-collegial behaviors and attributes, many participants noted that they had not been subjected to some of the most negative behaviors, and expressed gratitude for that fact. As they considered those they had experienced, these four were selected most often: *Resentful of others' accomplishments* was selected by seven participants, *undermining* by six, and five participants selected the cards *self-promoting* and *dismissive*. As with the cards listing collegial behaviors and attributes, the stories and examples emerging from this exercise were valuable in understanding and refining the behaviors and attributes and their effects that were the most important to faculty members.

Four different participants at some point during the activity of selecting cards and discussing un-collegiality as represented by those cards suggested that we were spending

too much time on negative behaviors. This is interesting for at least two reasons. First, the interview protocol is exactly even in terms of positive v. negative questions. Second, I observed that when faculty members spoke of un-collegiality, the discussion itself seemed to affect them negatively. This observation is unsurprising in some ways, because it should be expected that when a participant is describing negative experiences with colleagues, they would be uncomfortable. However, interview participants' feelings that the interview questions were negatively weighted seemed to go beyond a discomfort of talking about colleagues; rather, the discomfort seemed to be focused on recalling their own feelings related to the negative behaviors, and that recollection for some made the interview seem weighted toward un-collegiality.

Disciplinary Differences in Un-collegiality

As faculty members described un-collegiality, there were some differences among the disciplinary cultures. For example, faculty members in Hard/Applied and Soft/Applied disciplines described un-collegiality as *self-centered* much more than those in Hard/Pure and Soft/Pure disciplines. This may be because the nature of work in the more collaborative disciplines (Hard/Applied and Soft/Applied) provides more opportunities to see the costs of self-centered behaviors than researchers who conduct independent research or oversee their own labs. Faculty members in Soft/Applied disciplines were more likely than those in any other group to describe un-collegiality in a way that matched the *negative* theme. This may be related to the observations made by many participants from the Soft/Applied disciplines of the value of positive spontaneous interactions leading to productive opportunities, and the missed opportunities when not having positive spontaneous interactions.

#### Summary

Faculty perceptions of un-collegiality were strongest in the behaviors that were self-centered, negative, and hierarchical. During interviews, some participants perceived the interviews as being weighted heavily toward un-collegiality, although the questions were balanced evenly. As interview participants shared examples, they shared the effects of un-collegial behaviors on their lives, work, and the work of their departments.

## Effects of Un-collegiality

The final research question explored faculty members' perceptions of the effects of un-collegial behaviors and attributes. In this section, I will share how interview participants described the effects of un-collegiality on their own work and on the work of the department.

These themes emerged from the interviews as strong effects of un-collegiality: *Inefficiency, isolation, missed opportunities*, and *talent quarantine*. I will further define each of these themes and share examples from participants.

# Inefficiency

One of the most frequent responses to the question, "What are the effects of uncollegial behavior on your work and the work of the department?" was that uncollegial behavior introduced inefficiencies, it was energy draining, and in many cases, exhausting. Inefficiencies were described in many ways, but faculty members regularly described spending unnecessary time and effort trying to overcome the challenges posed by uncollegiality.

Nick's initial response to the question of how un-collegiality affected him and his department captures the idea that un-collegiality causes unnecessary time and energy. He

said, "I don't know if it affects the department at all, or me, except it makes me annoyed, or want to check out. So I'm not as fully there as I think I should be. In terms of the work of the department, it prolongs it, it makes it unnecessarily time consuming and energy consuming. That's probably the single thing to focus on—it's more time and energy spent on things that could be dispensed with more quickly."

Jared, describing his perspective from a Hard/Applied discipline said, "If you have ten people, and of those ten people, three are sort of un-collegial, then you're running at something close to 70% of what you could be running at. There's no way to run 100%. You can hire new people...so you can increase your percentage, but you can never shake the inefficiency."

Charles described inefficiency as a result of un-collegiality similarly, saying, "All of the sudden you've got this fancy luxury car running on three cylinders...it moves forward, but it moves forward with lurches and inefficiencies...it's far less pleasant to work under those conditions, even as a person who is a third-party distance from the problem."

"You're just kind of always running in place," explained Shaun. "You're moving...but things just aren't getting done, aren't getting accomplished."

Several participants described how, when working with un-collegial peers, they spent time and energy considering how to counteract un-collegial behaviors, thus reducing the time and energy available for productive efforts. Pete explained, "Am I thinking about research...am I thinking about a way for me to get ideas to students, or am I thinking about what he or she meant by that, or...I'm going to be at this meeting and am

I going to have to deal with so-and-so. If I'm sitting around worried about that, then it's less time doing the intellectual work that I'm supposed to be doing."

Lily described how efforts required to set up collaborative relationships were less efficient because of lack of trust. She said, "When we wrote the grant, I [had] to say to the individual, 'if we are funded, are you saying that I'll be funded on this grant?' To be honest, I've just decided no...so I have my own team, I get all my own money."

Sarah began a collaborative relationship with a colleague because of related areas of research in a Hard/Applied discipline. She described how she contributed to the research relationship, including providing a research assistant, and found that her partner didn't follow through with the project, nor communicate effectively. Three years later, she decided to discontinue the project. She said of the results, "It just became a time sink, and I don't talk to [my former research partner] about it any more."

Describing the time wasted in faculty meetings with un-collegial peers, Sarah said, "One person will talk the hind legs off a donkey...he's very senior so nobody will interrupt him." Evelyn shared a similar observation in her department meetings, "It's affecting the dynamics in the meeting where it's difficult to get to productive conversations [and] it's really difficult to make decisions...it ends up being this spiral down the drain sort of thing."

When faculty meetings are inefficient because of un-collegiality, "it can become a real problem," said Daniel. "The whole faculty meeting can go south. The majority of people are quiet, but they are waiting for people to say something so they can jump onto it. There are big debates." Daniel suggested that debates are a valuable part of academic

work, but that they should result in decisions that are supported by all. He concluded that when they don't, "It's really a lot of lost energy and time."

Inefficiency is one area of the impact of un-collegiality described by participants. Faculty members described inefficient meetings and department efforts, as well as personal efforts and energy expended on activities to overcome or avoid un-collegial peers, at the cost of remaining focused on their primary faculty responsibilities.

\*\*Isolation\*\*

Faculty members described a number of ways isolation is an impact of and response to un-collegial peers. Charles shared a good description of isolation, saying, "[Isolation] is personal avoidance in a social situation. You avoid the individual because you're irritated with them and they're not fulfilling what you think their job responsibilities should be with you, they're not fulfilling what you think their social responsibilities are with you, and therefore somehow the workplace environment is somehow compromised for you, and the easiest way I think most people deal with that is just avoidance."

Charles also shared a specific example that he observed regularly in his

Hard/Applied discipline, from his perspective as a department head. He explained that a

competitive environment often develops, where faculty members become fearful that

others will take their original ideas. He said, "Oftentimes, they don't want to divulge their

work to others...I've had faculty who don't want to write a grant because they have a

great idea, but if they write it down someone's going to take it."

Danna described isolation as being divided because of research differences. She shared an experience of faculty members being suspicious of others because of research

differences, with this effect: "If I'm teaching, and I show my disregard for certain fields of study, my students can be influenced by that, and then they become dismissive of certain...methods of study." Tara's department experienced a change in focus, which divided the faculty. She said, "When I came, [the department] was one entity, but now it's divided. Because of...ideology, we're fully divided, and a lot of people don't really talk to each other." She continued to explain that some faculty members refused to attend department meetings because of the division.

Shaun was being reviewed for tenure and promotion. His department developed a new policy, and gave him the option of being reviewed under the policy he had been hired under, or the new policy. When he opted for the policy he had been hired under, he felt isolated because of pressure from senior faculty members. "Those things...minimized what I thought and how I thought they perceived me...it kind of creates this 'me against them,' this mistrust...I didn't feel like I had anyone to go to communicate on a range of different things."

Shaun also shared his perspective on isolation generally in his department, saying, "Nobody really talks about one another's work, nobody invites you to come in and speak on your work." Others who had experienced personal isolation shared similar stories. Evelyn said, "I have felt very isolated in this department." She shared a personal experience where a change in doctoral committee assignments resulted in a colleague who "will literally not acknowledge my presence...it's severely affecting my morale." Terry shared a similar perspective, saying "You feel like you have to do everything on your own, you're not sure which journals to send your stuff [to]...you can't get any

feedback from your colleagues...you can totally feel like you are slipping through the cracks...it magnifies all the doubts you may have."

This sense of isolation can cause faculty members to feel like they have to protect themselves. Nathan expressed a loss of community within his department, saying, "At some point you have to protect yourself, because no one else is going to do it...there's no sense of appreciation, no sense of compensation. I'm not talking about monetary [compensation], but even some adjustments that would lead to a feeling of, 'okay, I can continue to do this." There are other reasons to be protective, as Pete explained: "If I walk from here to the coffee room and I'm afraid that I have to get my defenses up and have a riposte to something that someone says, maybe I keep my door closed, maybe I huddle in here."

Un-collegial interactions in department meetings can lead to division and isolation among faculty. Several participants described department decisions on curriculum, hiring, student admissions, and strategic directions as having an isolating effect. Some described large coalitions overpowering smaller groups of faculty, while others described individual faculty members holding up the decision-making process. Shaun said, "Large groups can make decisions over the small group...or one person may not abide by a group decision." Laura described her observations, saying, "[Un-collegial individuals] dominate, and the other individuals just retreat and go do their job...they don't become team players, and they don't want to talk about improving the department." Similarly, Steve observed, "If you keep tipping the balance in favor of one group, you're essentially ostracizing the other group." Describing her observations of departmental division, Dawn said, "You end up with factions that feel dissatisfied that they never get heard and

never get considered...and then they stop participating. Or even worse, they might form their own factions and try to actively subvert or undermine where the department as a whole is trying to go."

Olivia spoke of the productivity costs of isolation, saying, "I feel like if the proportion of the people within an organizational unit who are insular versus collaborative or collegial is high, I think that organizational unit is in the end going to be less successful...individual people may be highly successful, but if they're not working together towards common goals, and...there's an external threat or external challenge, it would be very poorly equipped to meet it as an organizational unit."

Isolation as a result of un-collegial behavior happens to both individuals and groups within departments. As individuals feel dismissed or attacked, they respond by isolating or dividing. This effect is not easily overcome. Participants described their observations that people who experience being dismissed or attacked can withdraw. Jared explained the consequences of un-collegiality and the resulting isolation in his department: "They work from home a lot, and after so many years they decide this job isn't for them and they go get another job or something."

# Missed Opportunities

As interview participants considered the impacts of un-collegiality on their work and on the work of the department, many expressed that individual faculty members remained productive in their environment. I anticipated this response, as the study was conducted at a research institution. However, many participants suggested that there is a real cost in productivity, but that cost is difficult to identify, because it is measured by missed opportunities.

Some missed opportunities, as described by participants, were simply the result of colleagues not being available for chance meetings and discussions because of uncollegial behavior. Jared said, "There's never a moment to go get a cup of coffee or go get lunch, have a conversation that could lead to future collaborations...people who are isolated tend not to benefit from those interactions. Also, that deprives other people of those same interactions." Similarly, Shaun described what happens when faculty are not engaged with each other informally, saying, "I think there's just an opportunity to utilize the capital we already have in our respective organization, and we just don't—it just doesn't seem to be fully utilized." "You may have a great idea and not have anyone to share that idea with," said Olivia. "So, instead of turning into something that gets written on the whiteboard, it just goes away."

Other opportunities are missed because faculty members choose to avoid working with un-collegial peers. Tara shared this perspective from her observations of her department: "We lose communication, lose participation in faculty meetings and in decision-making, so some of the cost of that is we don't get the value of everybody's talents and gifts." While some collaboration among department members is necessary for department work, individual researchers can often choose whom they will collaborate with, and avoid those they consider un-collegial. Charles said that faculty members "avoid [un-collegial peers] because they're not fulfilling what you think their social responsibilities are with you, and therefore somehow the workplace environment is somehow compromised for you and the easiest way I think most people deal with that is just avoidance." Talia shared this experience of having been asked to serve on a search committee with someone who had bullied her: "[The chair] asked me to be on [the

committee], and I said I will not be on it if so-and-so's on it...I took myself out of the situation."

Finally, missed opportunities occur when individuals are un-collegial and withhold opportunities from others. I previously shared an example of Olivia's department chair who withheld his recommendation for a leadership training program, explaining to her that "she wasn't what [those selecting participants] were looking for," despite the fact that Olivia had already been offered a position in the program. Those with leadership positions are not the only individuals capable of withholding opportunities. Faculty members can refuse to share equipment with others, an experience described by both Bernard and Josh. An example described in a previous section is also appropriately repeated here. Missed opportunities include opportunities that represent a loss of knowledge that could have been gained by collegial interactions. As Josh said, of colleagues who could share equipment but don't, "I either have to buy my own, or miss out on that part of the study. I'm still going to get it done, but of course, the value of the study could go down."

### Talent Quarantine

Faculty members explained that they and others avoided un-collegial peers.

Additionally, un-collegial peers often avoided working with others. When this happens, the talents and skills of the un-collegial faculty member become quarantined, thus described *talent quarantine*. Un-collegial faculty members can be functional and productive, but their skills and perspectives are not available to benefit other department members.

Jared explained that un-collegial faculty members "become a placeholder in your department, especially with the tenure system...that makes the department less than it could be and that's essentially for the duration of their time in the department...it locks down a skill set. You're unlikely to hire another person with that skill set because you already have someone, and so you're sort of doomed to have one skill set that lives in your department being a skill set that's difficult to incorporate into a collaborative project."

Another version of talent quarantine is the inability to retain talented faculty members as a result of un-collegiality. Charles described his department as having several un-collegial senior members, and explained that the loss was not only an inability to take advantage of those senior faculty members' skills, but also in being unable to retain talented junior faculty. Trent shared an experience of a faculty member who experienced un-collegial treatment and left the institution, taking with her a very specialized, hard-to-replace skill set out of the department. He said, "They've never been able to fill that spot and cover that area."

This talent loss can extend to future faculty members when students see an entire field as un-collegial because of the faculty members. "We end up losing good people," said Trent, "who would otherwise go into the profession. We see them going to professions that are friendlier."

Disciplinary Differences in the Effects of Un-collegiality

As faculty members described the effects of un-collegiality, there were few differences among the disciplinary cultures. However, faculty members in the Hard/Applied and Soft/Applied disciplines described the effects of un-collegiality as

inefficiency and isolation more often than those in Hard/Pure and Soft/Pure disciplines, perhaps because collaborative research is more commonly practiced in these disciplines. Additionally, faculty members in the Hard/Applied disciplines often shared examples of inefficiency using machine analogies. For example, Charles, whose department is in a Hard/Applied discipline, described a collegial department as a "well-oiled machine," where individual faculty members appreciated the value of their own and others' unique strengths and areas. Faculty members in the Soft/Applied disciplines described inefficiency by describing the value of spontaneous collaborative relationships and informal conversations. These faculty members often told stories of hallway meetings, chance encounters, and other social interactions as opportunities for creative and collaborative partnerships to emerge.

# Summary

Faculty members shared many examples of the effects of un-collegiality on their work and on the work of their departments. Individuals and departments become more inefficient, individuals and groups become isolated, many productive opportunities are missed, and when a faculty member is un-collegial, their skills and talents may be quarantined and unavailable to benefit or receive benefits from others.

# Summary of Results

My primary research questions were: (a) *How do faculty members perceive* collegial behavior in their peers, and (b) What are the effects of collegiality on individual and departmental work? To address these questions, I explored four main questions through interviews: (a) How do faculty members perceive collegial behavior in their peers? (b) What are the effects of collegiality on individual and departmental work? (c)

How do faculty members perceive un-collegial behavior in their peers? and (d) What are the effects of un-collegiality on individual and departmental work? As faculty members described their perceptions and experiences, strong themes and sub-themes emerged.

The themes, drawn from interviews of a diverse collection of faculty members from many departments, demonstrate a pattern of shared experience and understanding among faculty members. Not only do they, as Bloom (2005) might suggest, know collegiality when they see it, they can also describe it, and they did so in remarkably similar ways. Collegial faculty members care about others, help expand others' opportunities and perspectives, seek for and accept collaborative opportunities, are a unifying influence, and are future oriented. Alternatively, un-collegial faculty members are self-centered, negative, focused on hierarchical relationships, and in some cases are discriminatory. Table 5 summarizes these themes and sub-themes.

In addition to describing collegiality and un-collegiality, interview participants also described benefits of collegiality and costs of un-collegiality. Benefits were not typically described as simply being about morale and positive culture; rather, they were described by most as increasing both individual and departmental productivity. Costs of un-collegiality were also shared, with a clear pattern of lost efficiency, missed opportunities, and isolation.

This chapter included the findings of my primary research questions based on the responses of 23 faculty participants. I began with an overview of the participants. Then I reported results of each question in four sections. I concluded the chapter with a summary of results. Next, I will discuss the study, findings, and implications in the final chapter.

Table 5. Faculty Perceptions of Collegiality and its Effects on Individual and Departmental Work

Descriptions of collegiality and un-collegiality	
Collegiality: Collegial faculty members	Un-Collegiality: Un-collegial faculty members
<ul> <li>1. Care about others</li> <li>Mentoring</li> <li>Personal interest</li> <li>Compassion</li> <li>Appreciation</li> <li>Trust</li> <li>Friendly</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>1. Are self-centered</li> <li>Selfishness</li> <li>Lack of awareness of others</li> <li>Superiority</li> <li>Unflexible</li> </ul>
2. Expand my and others' perspectives and opportunities	2. Demonstrate negative behaviors
3. Are collaborative	3. Use hierarchical relationships to claim power
<ul> <li>4. Are unifying</li> <li>• Inclusion</li> <li>• Load sharing</li> <li>5. Are future-oriented</li> </ul>	4. Are discriminatory
<ul><li> Vision</li><li> Investing</li></ul>	
Effects of collegiality and un-collegiality on individual and departmental work	
Collegiality: Collegial faculty members	Un-Collegiality: Un-collegial faculty members
Increase or enhance productivity for individuals and departments	1. Decrease efficiency
2. Cultivate unity and a sense of community	2. Isolate themselves and others
3. Create and build a positive culture	3. Cause missed opportunities
	4. Create a talent quarantine

#### CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

In this final chapter, I present an overview of this dissertation study and a summary of key findings. Next, I review the study design with its usefulness and limitations. Then I present a discussion of the results, including potential implications for policy and practice, and suggestions for future research.

### Overview of the Study

Study Rationale

Faculty members represent the key resource for higher education institutions, and carry the primary responsibility for teaching, research, and service. They provide the public and private good offered by higher education. They train students to become skilled workers and educated citizens, they advance knowledge, and they enrich culture (Zusman, 2005). As with key resources in any effort, exploring the questions related to how to maximize the value and productivity of these resources can be considered a worthwhile endeavor. While pressures from within and without the academy grow, the faculty continues to evolve. Diversity among faculty members in demographics, disciplinary orientation, and life circumstances contributes to growing pressures and challenges as increasingly heterogeneous faculty members work together (Gappa et al., 2007).

Regardless of discipline, faculty members reside in departments, and in one or more of the responsibilities of teaching, scholarship, and service, they must work together. The quality of these working relationships, in both faculty satisfaction and productivity, was a major focus of this study.

While there are many factors that may affect faculty members' satisfaction and productivity, the purpose of the current study was to explore one factor—collegiality—

that may influence how faculty members evaluate each other in tenure and promotion decisions, how they work together on committees and in research, and with whom they seek to work. Additionally, this study was intended to explore how faculty members perceived collegiality as members of departments, and how their own and their departmental productivity was impacted by collegiality.

Literature addressing collegiality primarily describes the culture and climate resulting from collegiality. However, the existing literature discussing collegiality as it relates to the behaviors and attributes of individual faculty members is limited. Because of the demonstrated importance faculty members place on working in collegial environments with collegial individuals, more knowledge is useful concerning how individual faculty members perceive collegial behavior and attributes in their peers and how collegiality affects both individual and departmental work. Understanding practices that encourage collegial behavior in individuals and in faculty groups will benefit individual faculty members and university leaders. Finally, because working relationships and expectations of productivity differ across disciplines, explorations of collegiality require attention to disciplinary contexts.

Departments are institutional homes for disciplines, and faculty members associate themselves with their disciplines and departments. Disciplines and departments are the central identity source for faculty members (A. E. Austin, 1990). As faculty members work in departments, they share responsibilities for service, teaching, and research. These shared responsibilities include many interactions that define departmental culture. For example, natural science research is expensive and funding is often related to perceptions of social relevance and usefulness; science-based professions are focused on

pragmatic problem solving, but tend to move toward more theoretically-driven research when researchers aim for higher perceived status; humanities and social science research tends toward individual work, and often has weak connections to outside constituencies; and social professions research tends to respond to external pressures because of a high value on social relevance (Becher, 1994). The department as disciplinary home thus serves to provide clear boundaries around and guidelines to a group of individuals with shared understandings and culture.

The rationale for this study is that, while faculty members represent the key valueproducing resource in universities, and while how they relate to each other may influence their work as teachers and researchers, little research has been done to understand how individual faculty members' collegial and un-collegial behaviors impact the work of individuals and departments.

## Research Questions

My purpose in conducting this study was to explore how faculty members understood collegiality and its impact on their work and the work of the department. The study began with these research questions: (a) How do faculty members perceive collegial behavior in their peers? and (b) What are the effects of collegiality on individual and departmental work? Additionally, I explored disciplinary differences in perceptions of collegiality.

#### Methods

This was a qualitative study based on 23 faculty members who had served in various departments between 5-8 years at a single research university (RU/VH). The participants were identified through a search of each academic department's faculty

pages. The recruitment period lasted eight months, beginning in May 2013. During this time, an email with the IRB-approved invitation (see Appendix D) was sent to 227 faculty members who appeared to fit the study criteria, with subsequent follow-up invitations. Those who agreed to participate were interviewed in person for 45-70 minutes. Participants also filled out a basic demographic questionnaire. During the recorded interviews, I asked participants to respond to questions based on their experiences in their current and former appointments. Twenty-seven participants were interviewed; however, four of the participants did not meet the study criteria; therefore, the analysis includes the responses from 23 participants.

I describe the methods in detail in chapter three. My research questions were developed to explore faculty members' definitions of collegial and un-collegial behavior, and how they perceived the effects of those behaviors on their work and the work of their departments. Rather than asking participants for definitions directly, I asked them to describe people who were collegial, and those who were un-collegial. This approach yielded rich descriptions and observations based on participants' experiences.

# Summary of Key Findings

I presented the findings of this study in great detail in chapter four. My results were shared in four sections. Section one focused on faculty perceptions of collegiality. Section two focused on faculty perceptions of the effects of collegiality on their work and on the work of their departments. Section three focused on faculty members' perceptions of un-collegiality. Section four focused on faculty members' perceptions of the effects of un-collegiality on their work and on the work of their department. Please see Table 5, located at the end of chapter four, for a visual summary of the main themes and sub-

themes for each of the sections. Below, I briefly summarize the central findings of this study, beginning with faculty perceptions of collegiality.

Faculty participants described collegiality in many ways, but the majority shared the following perceptions. Collegial peers *care about others*. This was the strongest theme, and one that was apparent across all the sub-themes in the data. Caring for others was not simply being nice; rather, it reflected behaviors that were truly helpful, including behaviors that involved correcting others in various ways. Sub-themes of caring for others included helping expand others' opportunities and vision, being collaborative, engaging in behavior that helped unify others, and taking a future-oriented approach. Each participant talked about one or more of these sub-themes. Participants described behaviors that were anticipated through the preliminary framework represented in Figure 1 (see Chapter Three), but added some that were not anticipated, most notably the theme of *expanding others' opportunities and vision*. Most participants shared stories of being helped by colleagues who introduced them to new networks, publications, conferences, and grant opportunities, illustrating the concept of expanding.

The effects of collegiality described by participants included increased productivity for individuals and departments, increased sense of unity and community, and positive department culture. Importantly, all participants described increased productivity as an effect of collegiality. They talked about this increase in productivity for themselves and their departments in various ways, including increased opportunities for research funding, additional publications through collaboration, increased motivation, and less energy wasted on protecting themselves intellectually and psychologically. Participants also described effects of collegiality in terms of efficient department

governance, more successful student recruitment, and greater participation in learning activities by faculty and students.

Un-collegial peers are *self centered*, the strongest theme throughout the interviews, and this theme was apparent across all sub-themes. Un-collegial faculty members demonstrate a variety of negative behaviors, which I define as behaviors that one individual inflicts upon others (i.e. undermining, backstabbing, bullying, duplicitousness), hierarchical behaviors, which are defined as behaviors that oppress others based on seniority, and discriminatory behaviors. While many un-collegial behaviors are actively harmful to others, it became clear as participants described uncollegiality that passive behaviors such as *lack of awareness of others* and *selfishness* were also perceived as harmful.

Un-collegiality has multiple effects on both un-collegial individuals and their departmental peers. These effects include personal and departmental inefficiency, isolation, missed opportunities, and a loss of talents and skills, which I have labeled *talent quarantine*. Talent quarantine was an unanticipated effect, but was described as particularly important, especially in the Hard/Pure and Hard/Applied disciplines. Uncollegial faculty members may have unique skills, expertise, or equipment that are essentially unavailable to others in the department, including other faculty members and students. Talent quarantine can happen when the un-collegial faculty member refuses to interact with or help others; however, it can also happen when faculty members and students choose to avoid un-collegial faculty members unless they are compelled to interact with them.

Before presenting a discussion of these results, I will discuss the usefulness and limitations of the conceptual framework and design of this study. The findings were dependent on the framework and design, and the limitations impact the interpretation of the results. First, I will discuss the usefulness and limitations of the conceptual framework, followed by a discussion of the study design.

Usefulness and Limitations of Framework and Study Design

The literature directly addressing faculty collegiality includes many theoretical pieces but few empirical studies. Most studies that include collegiality include it as a descriptor of climate and culture of a department, college, or institution, rather than as a set of individual behaviors and attributes. Other studies focused on exploring a variety of factors influencing faculty vitality or productivity and found that behaviors that could be seen as collegiality were factors in those effects (Bland et al., 2002). To my knowledge, there is not an existing framework for exploring collegiality. Therefore, I found it necessary to develop a conceptual framework.

The literature was useful in developing the conceptual framework. While much of the literature is theoretical, authors described many behaviors and attributes associated with collegiality. The limited empirical research touching collegiality was also useful, as the research offered strength to the argument that collegiality may be associated with not only department culture (Bird et al., 2010), but also with productivity (Bland et al., 2002). Through the literature, I was able to develop a preliminary framework (see Figure 1, chapter three) to highlight many behaviors and attributes that faculty members may associate with collegiality, and to suggest the extent to which those behaviors could be considered positive or negative in relation to others. This framework informed the

interview protocol and subsequent interview discussions. The limitation of the framework was that, since it relied so heavily on theoretical pieces, the behaviors and attributes contained in the framework had little empirical basis for considering how faculty members across a campus perceived collegiality in their peers, nor how collegiality impacts work and productivity.

Figure 2. Refined framework of collegial behaviors and attributes

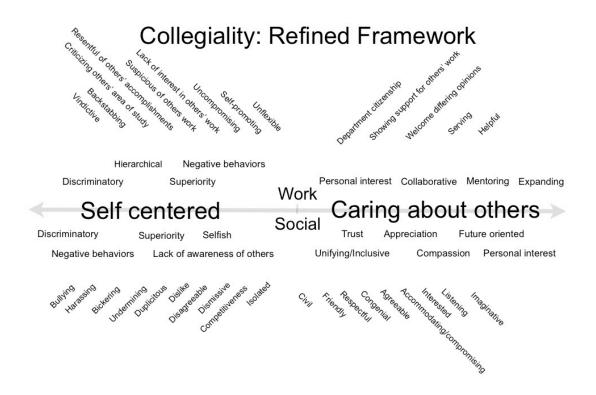


Figure 2 is a refined framework based on the results of this study. The work and social dimensions remain from the preliminary framework, and the themes and subthemes from the research are shown horizontally, with the main themes of *caring for others* and being *self centered* shown to encompass the others. The horizontal relationship of the themes roughly represents the most collegial on the right and the most un-collegial on the left, although those relationships and categories were not tested or

explored in this study. I have included the remaining behaviors from the preliminary framework as secondary themes on diagonals. These behaviors are consistent with the results of this study, and remain consistent with the framework suggested by the literature. In the following sections, I will discuss the results of this study, which are reflected in this refined framework.

#### Discussion of Results

This study included open-ended interview questions, allowing participants to offer their own perspectives and definitions unencumbered by questions specifically about behaviors and attributes identified in the preliminary framework. Additionally, the conceptual framework developed through the literature review offered a springboard for discussing collegiality with faculty members by suggesting concepts for interview probes, and providing the list of behaviors I included on cards offered to participants, which they used to explore the behaviors they found most influential. Participants discussed what collegiality means to them and what its effects are on individual and departmental work. The focus of chapter four was to analyze the interview data relative to the research questions. The focus of this section is to make sense of those results, observe possible connections between the primary research questions, and to present foundational arguments for policy, practice, and future research. I will discuss each of the primary research questions by addressing what was expected in the research and what was surprising based on the literature and my hypothesizing. For each question, I will then summarize significant findings. Finally, I will discuss implications for practice, policy, and further research.

# Collegiality

I began this dissertation by citing Bloom (2005), who suggested, "Collegiality...is like pornography—I know it when I see it." While I understood and agree with Bloom's assertion, I also argue that defining collegiality more specifically could reduce the ambiguity of the notion, and thus serve to clarify how the term is used and understood. My intent was to explore more deeply how faculty members perceive collegiality and its effects. Collegiality is an expectation of employment, and although not often specifically identified in hiring, promotion, and tenure decisions, it is a consideration in each. Finding ways to describe the most important aspects of collegiality and ways to define its impact on faculty work is a worthwhile effort towards improving collegiality, and thus contributes to higher education.

The preliminary framework (see Figure 1, chapter three) details what was anticipated. Limited empirical research and abundant theoretical literature suggested many positive and negative behaviors associated with collegiality. Behaviors identified in the literature included those directly connected with working interactions (i.e. collaborating, mentoring) and social (i.e. showing compassion, trusting) interactions. Research on climate and culture suggested that collegiality contributes to environments that allow faculty members to flourish and feel a sense of belonging (Gappa et al., 2007; van Emmerik & Sanders, 2004). Other literature suggested that faculty members value and expect collegiality from peers (Bird et al., 2010), and that collegiality enhances scholarly discourse (Hutcheon, 2006).

While much of the literature suggested that collegiality could be considered as a threshold of civility, or as an absence of negative behaviors (Cipriano & Buller, 2012),

there were pieces in the literature that suggested collegiality should be considered as more positive, affirming, and generative (B. Clark, 2001; Hutcheon, 2006; Seigel, 2005; Seigel & Miner-Rubino, 2008).

I was surprised through the interviews that when I asked specifically about faculty members' perceptions of collegiality, each participant responded with a description of collegiality as more than a baseline or minimum threshold of civil behaviors. Of the themes that emerged from the data, each participant spoke of caring about others and expanding others' opportunities and vision as aspects of collegiality: 18 of 23 described collegial behavior as enhancing unity; 17 described collegial peers as having a future orientation; and 15 described collegiality specifically as a willingness to collaborate in scholarly ways. It should be noted that I coded collaboration as an activity specifically connected to research. If the coding structure were altered to define collaboration as working together on department matters rather than scholarly collaboration only, all 23 participants could be considered to have included willingness to collaborate as an important aspect of collegiality. Those faculty members in disciplines where research is typically an individual pursuit (i.e. Soft/Pure) were far less likely to talk about collaboration as an aspect of collegiality, although they talked about the importance of working together in department matters.

"I think of collegiality as being a sort of a professional altruism...colleagues who are devoted to seeing [others] thrive." This statement from Steve was shared in chapter four, and captures the strongest theme of how faculty members perceive collegiality.

While there are individual and disciplinary differences, the theme of *caring for others* was expressed by every faculty member interviewed. While this study is qualitative in

nature, and conducted at one institution, it is remarkable that across many disciplines, departments, and colleges, each participant described collegiality in this way. Each participant described in multiple ways how peers showed professional and personal caring. This caring expressed itself in positive ways, although this shouldn't be confused with empty affirmation or encouragement. Many participants described mentors who challenged them, colleagues who pushed them to succeed, and peers who added value to research by providing clear evaluative feedback. Tara's comment reflects those shared by several participants, "I like...someone who can really give me true comments and really point out what I need to be. I appreciate honest critiques."

The sub-themes of *expanding* others' opportunities and vision, *unifying* groups by including others and sharing the work, *investing* in others' success, being helpful in *collaborative* work, and taking actions that are *future oriented* can each be described as ways of caring about others, or as expressions of that care.

Collegial faculty members act as generous and honest mentors, interested in others' successes professionally and personally. They show compassion, understanding that every person has their own set of challenges. They are appreciative, recognizing others' strengths and contributions to the department and to the field. They trust that others hold in mind the best interests of their colleagues as well as of the department. They are helpful and friendly, and are aware of and take opportunities to expand others' careers as well as their own. They are valuable collaborators, seeing and creating opportunities to increase the worth and impact of teaching, service, and research projects through partnerships and group work. They see value in including others in decisions, and in sharing the load that is inherent in academic work. They envision and work toward

a successful future in a variety of ways, including investing in students, in colleagues, and in the department.

This picture of collegiality is at once a summary of my findings and a portrait of an ideal. What would a department be like if the preceding paragraph could describe each faculty member in a department? While the nature of this dissertation study is insufficient to answer this question, interview participants readily expressed their perceptions of the positive effects that collegial behaviors had on their work and on the work of the department. The next few paragraphs discuss those effects.

## Effects of Collegiality

The effects of collegiality have not been addressed extensively in the literature. Some effects are implied to be the results of collegiality, such as faculty satisfaction and intent to remain at an institution (Ambrose et al., 2005; COACHE, 2007), institutional growth (B. Clark, 2001), and psychological well-being (Repetti, 1987). However, I could find no literature directly exploring the effects of collegial behavior on faculty work individually or collectively in a department.

I could find no literature linking collegiality with effects other than desirable culture and climate. However, I anticipated that faculty members would respond that collegiality affects not only the climate and culture, but also their productivity. As Dawn noted, when collegiality is demonstrated, "it can differentiate a department from being functioning and being great." Physical and intellectual resources are strengthened through positive emotional experiences (Fredrickson, 2001). Most of the responses to the effects of collegiality were consistent with this concept. Nearly all faculty members reported that collegiality contributed to an increased sense of community and a positive

culture, and about two-thirds of the participants suggested that both personal and departmental energy were increased because of collegiality.

I had anticipated that most responses in defining collegiality would focus on a minimum threshold of collegiality after which behavior could not be considered collegial, or perhaps as an absence of un-collegial behaviors (Cipriano & Buller, 2012). While some participants did describe a minimum, nearly all described collegiality as more of an ideal set of behaviors that were affirmative (Seigel, 2005; Seigel & Miner-Rubino, 2008) and generative (Bloom, 2005; O'Meara & Terosky, 2010).

I was interested in the effects of collegiality on productivity, and was surprised that all but one of the faculty participants volunteered that collegiality had a positive effect on individual and departmental productivity. What this means is that when I asked what the effects of collegiality on individual and departmental work were, participants shared stories of publications coming faster and more often, service work done efficiently and effectively, and teaching enhanced through sharing.

Several of the participants came to epiphanies as they would share their stories. For example, Danna asked me how I was going to identify productivity, suggesting that she didn't think collegiality and productivity could be connected. Then as she told her own stories about how experienced researchers mentored junior faculty toward greater success, she realized that productivity was impacted deeply by collegial behavior. Similarly, Josh responded to the question about the effects of collegiality by saying, "Thankfully, no effect." However, as he described several colleagues who had expanded his career, he said in summary, "Without good mentoring you won't succeed professionally."

Collegiality, as described by each faculty member interviewed, enhances productivity. The literature connects collegiality with culture and climate, and could be understood to infer that work results can be strengthened through collegial behavior. The responses of these participants suggest that collegiality is indeed an important contributor to productivity in scholarship, teaching, and service. Scholarly productivity, as described by faculty members, is strengthened as peers mentor them, helping them identify opportunities and guiding them through challenges, and as other faculty members give helpful feedback and reviews of their work and contribute to that work through collaboration. Teaching productivity is enhanced as colleagues share best practices and course outlines, and service is strengthened as faculty members look for and take opportunities to share the administrative load, promote colleagues for opportunities, and work to find and realize a shared vision for the department.

There may be a number of reasons that collegiality enhances productivity. For example, social support at work has been shown to strengthen productivity in hospital settings (Kyoung-Ok, Wilson, & Myung Sun, 2004). For individuals, positive emotional experiences build physical, intellectual, social, and psychological resources (Fredrickson, 2001), and the quality of work relationships are related to mental and physical well-being, in addition to job satisfaction (Yang, Che, & Spector, 2008).

### *Un-Collegiality*

Un-collegiality in previous literature was usually described as the absence of civility, or as actively harming others. As represented in Figure 1, un-collegial behavior includes both negative work behaviors and negative social behaviors. While most study participants were reasonably happy with the levels of collegiality they were currently

experiencing, as the interviews progressed, their examples of un-collegial behavior and its effects on them and the department were sometimes disheartening to them. One of my observations was that simply discussing un-collegiality caused faculty members to have negative feelings. For this reason, I shifted my interview strategies to both begin and end interviews with stories of collegiality.

Having earned tenure as a faculty member, and having served as a department head, I anticipated hearing stories of un-collegial behavior, particularly regarding tenure and promotion situations. I also anticipated stories of un-collegial behaviors during faculty meetings and other service activities. Because of the literature, I expected to hear many stories of undermining and backbiting activities (Ambrose et al., 2005). The idea that un-collegiality is prevalent was unsurprising, as I expected that some participants would be motivated to agree to an interview by having had recent experiences with uncollegial behavior.

However, the results did bring surprises. Some of the participants seemed, by their own definitions, to be somewhat un-collegial. Finding faculty members willing to reflect on their own shortcomings was surprising. Jack, a senior faculty member in a Hard/Applied discipline, described how being critical of others' areas of study was uncollegial, then proceeded to describe how he himself looked down on several others in the department for their methodological differences, concluding, "I've probably been a little critical of [others]."

I was similarly unprepared for the immediate emotional effect that discussing collegiality would have on faculty members, although in retrospect I should not have been. As participants described collegiality, they were open in their body language,

generous in their descriptions, and about two-thirds of the participants chose to begin the interview with office doors open. However, when asked about un-collegiality, not only were doors closed, but participants became physically closed, folding their arms, crossing their legs, shifting more often. Although the interview questions were exactly equal in terms of collegiality and un-collegiality, three participants wondered aloud why the interview was so focused on un-collegiality, and asked whether we could explore collegiality further.

The two strongest themes emerging from the interviews regarding un-collegiality were negative and self-centered behaviors. Negative behaviors were coded as those behaviors actively harming others, such as backbiting, bullying, and harassing. Self-centered behaviors were often described explicitly, for example, "takes no interest [in others]," "self promoting," "takes advantage of colleagues," and "[doesn't value] different approaches," but they were also described through stories of faculty members who responded to perceived injustices by withholding support for others or by actively seeking benefits at the expense of other department members. Such was the case in Dawn's department, as mentioned in chapter four, where a faculty member negotiated a significant raise outside the established merit pay process, reducing the entire department's capacity to extend raises due to a fixed budget for increases. It should be noted that negotiating for pay increases was not ever listed as an un-collegial behavior; rather, those who shared these examples identified as un-collegial the act of pursuing pay increases at the (presumably known) expense of other department members.

## Effects of Un-Collegiality

Faculty members described the effects of un-collegiality as a decrease in efficiency, a sense of isolation (in how they perceived themselves or how they perceived others), missed opportunities, and an inability to leverage others' talents and skills, which I have called *talent quarantine*. These effects were the main themes emerging from interviews, and were described by nearly all participants, with the exception of talent quarantine. Although this theme was identified by only about half of the participants—mostly those in the Hard/Applied and Soft/Applied disciplines—the effect on faculty work was described as so strong that I have included it as a main theme. It is important for faculty members and campus leaders interested in how to improve productivity to understand and reduce the effects of un-collegial behavior.

From the literature, I anticipated that faculty members experiencing un-collegial behavior would have less of a desire to remain at an institution (Ambrose et al., 2005), that they would feel less of a sense of belonging (Anderson, 2008), and that they would be less willing to participate in the work of the department (Fischer, 2009). My own experience led me to anticipate that productivity would be impacted by un-collegiality, and also—paradoxically—that faculty members would not readily acknowledge this because of a strong orientation toward productivity as a measure of success. Said another way, I expected that because the promotion and tenure process is heavily weighted toward research productivity, research participants would see themselves and others who achieved promotion and tenure as successful, and therefore unaffected by others.

Faculty members are expected to be productive, and many interview participants noted that in their responses; however, I found it surprising that 19 of the 23 participants

suggested that un-collegial behavior negatively influenced personal and department efficiency, and each shared this idea in multiple ways, including reporting the cost of time spent overcoming un-collegial behavior in department work, redundant or inefficient scholarly efforts, and political maneuvering in all areas of faculty work.

Talia was the first interview, and was the most insistent that her work and the work of the department were not impacted by collegiality, although she described in detail how collegiality impacted the culture. As she shared a story about a faculty search in which she had refused to participate because of previous un-collegial behavior by a member of the search committee, I asked whether she thought the outcome of the hire was impacted by her lack of participation. She nodded affirmatively, and then realized that she had given a strong example of how faculty work and the future of the department had been influenced by un-collegiality. While Talia's interview provides a clear example, many participants held similar views. In other words, faculty members may generally perceive that because they are finding success in promotion and tenure, that collegiality has little effect; however, when examined more carefully through their experiences, most discovered that relationships with colleagues influence the work of individuals and departments.

These effects reach deeply into the basic expectations of faculty work. There is a decrease in efficiency and energy at a personal level as well as at a group level, an isolating effect that prevents faculty members from seeing and taking advantage of growth and productive opportunities, and when faculty members are isolated, their talents and skills become unavailable to enhance the academic work of their peers and the

department. Faculty members exposed to un-collegial behavior become physically or emotionally isolated (Fischer), and the perpetrators isolate themselves as peers avoid them except when necessary.

Faculty participants were asked to describe both collegiality and un-collegiality. As I coded the responses, there were many more responses describing collegiality than un-collegiality. However, as I described earlier, three faculty members commented during the interview that they felt I had focused heavily on the negative at the expense of positive examples. Therefore, I decided after the first several interviews to end with their observations of the most impactful collegial behaviors, because I observed that when participants described un-collegial behaviors, there was a noticeable dampening of their mood, which recovered as they spoke of collegial behaviors. While this phenomenon is consistent with other literature that suggests our emotions are affected by how we speak and interact with others (Cappella, 1995), it may be useful in future studies to examine the effects of talking about collegiality and un-collegiality.

#### Additional Observations

I only conducted one interview with a faculty member in a Hard/Pure discipline. His stories indicated that, at least in his department, the ability to do pure research was diminishing because funding organizations were increasingly rewarding applied research. This had pushed him to engage in more collaborative research work and to acknowledge a deeper need for relationships with department peers as well as members of his own lab. If this shift toward collaboration is common in the Hard/Pure disciplines, more research could be done to learn how to help faculty members navigate the shift in scholarly effort toward a more collaborative approach.

## Summary of Discussion

In this section, I have discussed both those results that were anticipated and those that were surprising in collegiality, un-collegiality, and the effects of each. Importantly, I have discussed key implications emerging from my study of collegiality and uncollegiality. Prior to summarizing this discussion, I will discuss some observations that are not easily situated within my individual research questions in an effort to synthesize the ideas around collegiality.

There is a connection between collegiality and productivity, and un-collegiality and a loss of productivity. Collegiality connects faculty members to each other with a social bond based upon mutual caring. Caring for others is expressed in social and work behaviors, and creates both enhanced feelings of belonging and satisfaction, and opportunities for increased productivity. Caring for others certainly includes, but is not limited to, behaviors typically associated with affirming others. Rather, it is doing what is best for others to help them succeed, including criticizing them or challenging them when motivated by genuine interest and care. Un-collegiality, in contrast, is characterized by self-centeredness, and has a tendency to encourage isolation as faculty members try to avoid negative interactions or build their own support structures. Un-collegiality creates inefficiencies as faculty members spend time and energy trying to protect themselves from negative interactions and overcoming selfish behaviors of others. Perhaps most importantly, un-collegiality causes missed opportunities as faculty members isolate themselves from others and from opportunities that interactions provide.

Scholars have described a minimum threshold or baseline collegiality, referring to the absence of harm, tolerance, and civility as compared to affirmative collegiality, which has a productive, generative effect (Bloom, 2005; Cipriano & Buller, 2012; O'Meara & Terosky, 2010; Seigel, 2005; Seigel & Miner-Rubino, 2008). The results of this study strengthen the argument that affirmative collegiality has a positive impact on many aspects of faculty work and life, including productivity. Additionally these results suggest that baseline collegiality has a neutral effect on faculty work and life, while uncollegiality has a negative impact.

Collegial behaviors and attributes are passed on as cultural artifacts to students and future faculty members, as are un-collegial behaviors and attributes. That is, interaction behaviors among faculty and students provide cues as to what kind of behavior is acceptable and expected in a particular culture. The behaviors are evidences, or artifacts, of the culture, and are perpetuated. Each faculty member interviewed was readily able to recognize and define collegiality and un-collegiality, and the themes across the disciplines were remarkably consistent.

As I interviewed faculty members, a few described changes in department collegiality over time. They described how new faculty members changed the culture by introducing new perspectives and practices, and in some cases, how it took a number of new faculty members to influence a culture. Some discussed how department heads impacted collegiality for better or worse, indicating that department heads have a crucial role in establishing and cultivating collegial behaviors and cultures. Finally, they explained that cultural change is not easy to implement in established departmental cultures, despite concerted efforts by individuals. In the following sections, I will discuss some possible considerations for policy and practice related to improving collegiality and diminishing un-collegiality.

## Implications for Policy and Practice

The results of this study, although explorative in nature, suggest that leaders in higher education may be wise to invest in collegiality as a distinct and desirable set of behaviors and attributes in individuals, and as a cultural dimension of academic units and institutions. In this section, I will discuss possible implications for policy at institutional, college, and department levels, and then suggest possible practices that could be considered to encourage collegial behaviors. While it is possible to create policy and practice to discourage, or even punish, un-collegial behavior, for the purposes of this dissertation, I will focus primarily on encouraging the most desirable behaviors.

Before discussing policy and practice, I acknowledge concerns and challenges associated with considering collegiality as part of both policy and practice. As I discussed in chapter two, some faculty members who have failed to achieve tenure or had other negative reviews because of a lack of collegiality have turned to the courts, claiming a violation of rights and discrimination (Connell & Savage, 2001). The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has published a statement discouraging departments and institutions from using collegiality as a fourth dimension of evaluation (AAUP, 2006). The AAUP statement suggests that doing so may encourage homogeneity and discourage academic freedom. This statement concludes by encouraging institutions to develop clear definitions of teaching, scholarship, and service that mention the strengths associated with collegiality. While the lawsuits reviewed by Connell and Savage were decided in favor of the institutions, thus suggesting that collegiality may be a determining factor in faculty review, I recognize the importance of the concerns raised by the AAUP. Departments and institutions can and should, as the AAUP statement

suggests, define collegial behaviors that have salutary effects on teaching, scholarship, and service. Therefore, as I discuss potential policies and practices associated with encouraging collegiality, I offer the framework suggested by this study as an aid to help faculty and administrators define behaviors associated with collegiality.

Policy

Institutions have an interest in generating knowledge, educating students, and serving society at large. If, as I argued initially, institutions are a reflection of individual members, policies that encourage and support the highest levels of performance from individuals could have significant institutional impact. Higher education institutions always have policies that encourage excellence in research, teaching, and service, but they could also include policies that require or encourage collegiality, and some that help prevent or discourage un-collegiality.

At the institutional level, policies could be implemented that encourage colleges and departments to include collegial behavior as part of their hiring, promotion, and tenure evaluation. It is important to acknowledge concerns about including collegiality as a component of evaluation, including concerns that individuals could be unfairly judged. Therefore, institutional policies should encourage colleges and departments to define guidelines that address collegiality in contexts that allow for specific behaviors to be identified and encouraged.

University awards could be established that recognize excellence in teaching, scholarship, and service that have been enhanced or facilitated by collegial practices. Also, existing university awards could include as part of their criteria evidence of or descriptions of how collegiality has contributed to excellence.

At the college level, in addition to awards and faculty review processes, collegiality could be considered as a component of merit pay decisions. Academic deans can encourage collegiality by integrating policies and practices to send clear messages that collegial behavior is expected, encouraged, and rewarded. Because collegiality can positively influence departmental productivity, collegiality could be made part of department evaluation processes. While the results of this study suggest that collegiality has its own rewards and un-collegiality its own costs, policies may help establish and strengthen a desired culture of collegiality.

At the department level, department bylaws and review guidelines may include expectations of collegiality, with clear examples of what constitutes baseline expectations, and what constitutes excellence, as well as examples of undesirable and unacceptable behaviors. These behaviors may be connected with the three primary responsibilities of faculty work, teaching, research, and service. Departments may establish collegiality as a requirement for promotion, tenure, and post-tenure reviews, as well as for merit pay evaluation. Criteria for evaluation could include behaviors that constitute a minimum threshold of collegiality as well as behaviors that constitute high levels of collegiality. I again recognize the danger of ambiguous requirements in faculty review processes. However, this and future studies of collegiality can provide evidence of the value of collegiality and the costs of un-collegiality, and can establish the relative value of different behaviors to departments.

Departments can make their evaluation and reward structures clearly understood (Massy et al., 1994), and more transparent by having open dialogue and shared decision making regarding curriculum, teaching assignments, leaves and sabbaticals, and other

elements of faculty work. These efforts help establish or reaffirm that department governance is a collegial endeavor, in this case referring to collegiality as an organizational structure, with governance shared by a collection of diverse, equal members.

#### Practice

The results of this study suggest some preliminary practices that could be implemented in departments to increase collegial behavior among faculty members. Two of the faculty participants in this study were currently serving as department heads. Their interest throughout their interviews was in how collegiality could be spread, or established in their respective departments. Two other faculty members, both from the same department, spoke of their department head as particularly adept at cultivating cultures of collegial behavior. Most participants shared stories or comments regarding how department leadership contributed to collegiality or un-collegiality at the department level.

# Departmental practices

My experience in this study suggests that faculty members can define the collegial and un-collegial behaviors that effect their work individually, and the work of the department. Departments can engage in discussions to identify and come to consensus on these behaviors. Once identified, departments can determine how those behaviors are identified and evaluated as part of performance reviews, or can encourage collegial behaviors through other activities among current and potential faculty members.

Collegiality creates an opportunity for the whole to be greater than the sum of the parts. I shared in chapter four Jared's observation that when faculty members are

collegial, their expertise can be shared with others. He explained that helping another might cost the helper ten minutes, but save another two hours. This and other examples demonstrate that collegiality is not only beneficial for individuals, but for departments.

Department leaders wishing to cultivate collegiality can engage in efforts to encourage collegial behaviors. Cultures can be influenced by institutional stories, and departments can publicly share stories of the effort to improve collegiality (Clark, 2001). Collegiality is expected and valued by faculty members, and indeed is valuable. Covert efforts to improve collegiality may have some usefulness, but making a stated department project of establishing or improving collegiality may yield positive results, with every department member invited to participate. Cultural practices are established through stories (Hatch & Schultz, 1997; Martin, Feldman, Hatch, & Sitkin, 1983), and shared stories of faculty members demonstrating various ways of caring for each other may become curated evidence of a growing culture of collegiality.

Departments can develop and implement ways to demonstrate the value of each department member as a way to increase collegiality. About one-third of the faculty participants when describing collegiality talked of being recognized for the value they brought to the department. Evelyn and Pete, who serve in the same department, both described a department practice of displaying current faculty work prominently as visitors entered their department office area. Pete described the practice as evidence of appreciation, while Evelyn described the same practice as more of a public relations effort. While the scope of this research is not able to offer explanation for these different perspectives, it is important for campus members and leaders to understand that efforts to increase collegiality are likely to be interpreted in individual ways.

Encouraging professional and social interaction (Taylor et al., 2006) is another way that departments can cultivate collegiality among faculty members. Most of the interview participants in this study described collegial and un-collegial behaviors in ways related to both work and social interactions, and most also talked about the importance of social events as part of building collegiality among faculty members. While the importance of working with friends is uncertain, as about half of the participants shared examples of collegial behavior from peers they didn't consider friends, all talked about the importance of pleasant professional interactions.

Hiring practices could include efforts to identify candidates who are likely to be collegial. That said, one of the implications of this study is that collegiality is not synonymous with sameness, nor of "liking another." Rather, specific types of behaviors that can be observed and evaluated define collegiality. Efforts to create diversity in departments could be undermined by unclear expectations and definitions of collegiality. However, clear definitions of expected collegial behavior could be valuable in evaluating potential candidates. With a clear understanding of what constitutes collegial and uncollegial behavior in a department, interviews and other hiring activities could be designed to include opportunities for candidates to demonstrate those behaviors; at a very simple level, indications of whether a candidate demonstrates care for others or selfcenteredness could provide helpful insight to a hiring committee, and search committee chairs could ask specific questions of references to gain some understanding of a candidate's previous collegial behaviors. Hiring committees are typically making longterm decisions, and while a successful hire strengthens the department, hiring someone who is un-collegial may be a liability for decades. Those who train or orient hiring

committees could lead discussions about the risks of hiring individuals who demonstrate or are known to demonstrate un-collegial behaviors, and the value of hiring those who demonstrate defined collegial behaviors.

Collegiality could be monitored periodically to maintain positive psychological wellbeing among department members (Repetti, 1987). This could be accomplished through regularly scheduled interviews with department heads, or through periodic surveys. This would help enable departments to respond proactively to changes through time, particularly when departments may be vulnerable because of external pressures and changes, or to internal changes, such as when department leadership changes or new faculty are hired.

These suggestions are consistent with others, including those recommended by Gappa et al (2007), that faculty members be included in governance, that they are offered opportunities to participate in roles appropriate to their experience and appointment, that institutions find ways to involve faculty members in the institutional community, that gathering spaces be provided for informal interactions, and that formal academic sharing opportunities be widely available.

# *Individual practice*

The simplicity of the model resulting from this research suggests several approaches for individual practice. Faculty members have significant autonomy in how they approach their work. If improving collegiality were an individual goal, then a personal inventory of how an individual both cares for others and also demonstrates such care would be an appropriate beginning. Faculty members could then make efforts, either systematically or spontaneously, to increase their collegial behaviors.

My own observations and experiences lead me to believe that individual efforts would prove fruitful in promoting collegiality in a department. For example, a faculty member could choose to focus on the work-related collegial behaviors of showing personal interest in others' work in a variety of ways such as acknowledging a recent publication, attending a lecture or research presentation, or noting a possible collaborative partnership and facilitating an introduction. Individual faculty members could also practice collegiality in social behaviors by noting important events or relationships in others' lives and acknowledging them. Importantly, there is evidence that emotions are contagious, and individuals may productively engage in collegial behaviors specifically as a way to influence departmental collegiality (Barsade, 2002; Borgatti & Foster, 2003; Sy, Cote, & Saavedra, 2005).

#### Further Research

Since there are few empirical studies of collegial behavior, and the effects of collegiality on productivity is largely unexplored, there are many potential research directions. This study is an exploratory study, and as such does not offer information that can be generalized to all faculty members. However, the results of this study help refine what is known about collegiality and offers a framework for further study. In this section, I will offer possible opportunities for further research, along with practical rationale for pursuing this research. Researchers may wish to examine collegiality in these ways: (a) research designed to test and further develop the framework of collegiality presented in this study; (b) research designed to test the relationships between collegial behaviors and faculty productivity; (c) research designed to identify collegiality in individuals; and (d) research designed to understand how faculty members and campus leaders may affect

collegiality. Many of these studies could be done with larger sample sizes, increasing opportunities for generalization.

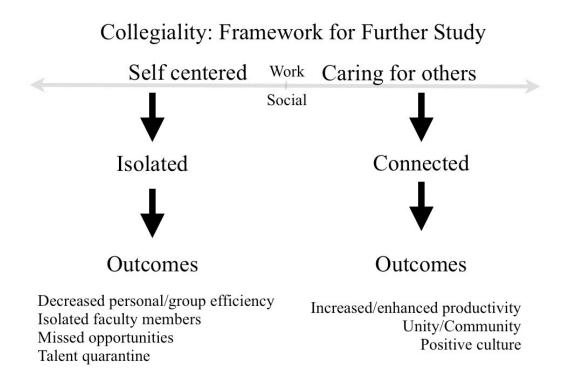
This dissertation study explored in part the definitions of collegiality. In order to understand how participants defined collegiality, I asked them about their experiences with people rather than about their definition of the concept itself. This approach allowed their definitions to emerge from their experiences, and provided rich data. I then offered participants cards containing behaviors and asked them to identify those behaviors that had been most influential in their faculty experience. This approach provided additional insight as participants selected and then explained their selections. This approach to interviews facilitated the exploration of working definitions of collegiality, based on faculty members' experiences, and generated connections from behaviors to productivity.

The results of this study suggest a framework for considering collegiality. This framework could be tested and developed in at least the following ways: (a) researchers could examine whether the main themes of *self-centeredness* and *caring for others* are consistent with a larger sample size, and (b) whether the sub-themes are consistent and generalizable. Additionally, the results of this study suggest possible additions to collegiality assessments like the Collegiality Assessment Matrix developed by Cipriano & Buller (2012) to include behaviors that are not only representative of baseline collegiality (i.e. civility, respectfulness) but other collegial behaviors that may be associated with strengthening individual and departmental productivity, such as expanding behaviors (i.e. introducing others to new opportunities and resources), unifying behaviors (i.e. including others in conversations, willingness to hear others' opinions), or showing appreciation. Such additions would facilitate not only a recognition

of baseline collegiality, but also of affirmative collegiality (Seigel, 2005; Seigel & Miner-Rubino, 2008).

The framework could be used to test the relationships between collegial behaviors and faculty productivity. While the findings of this study suggest that faculty members see a relationship between collegiality and productivity, additional studies with larger sample sizes and clear definitions of productivity would be useful in establishing the value of collegial behaviors.

Figure 3. Framework for further study



Using the preliminary framework introduced in chapter three, then refined in chapter four, I offer a Figure 3 as a framework for future research of collegiality in relation to individual and departmental outcomes. Collegial and un-collegial behaviors and attributes appear to contribute to faculty members feeling either more connected or

more isolated, which can lead to a range of outcomes. Both work-related behaviors and social behaviors were included in this study and deserve further research.

Research that would result in an ability to identify levels of collegiality in individuals would be particularly helpful to hiring committees. This research could be conducted to develop and test assessment tools that could reliably identify individuals who demonstrate collegial behaviors and attributes.

Finally, the results of this study suggest that campus leaders may wish to find ways to increase collegiality in departments. Further research could be conducted to understand more about how department or college leaders can impact collegiality through various activities. For example, Laura and Charles participated in interviews, and both were serving as department heads at the time of the interview. Both were strongly of the opinion that collegiality had an impact on departmental productivity. Laura had taken an active role in trying to increase collegiality through department retreats and social activities, while Charles felt that his best strategy was to manage around some difficult faculty members until their retirement and build a collegial faculty through hiring. Research that could test strategies for successfully influencing collegiality from a leader's perspective would be valuable.

# Concluding Remarks

Increasing the effectiveness of higher education in the areas of teaching, scholarship, and service is an aim of many stakeholders. While there are many ways to study and address this aim, the purpose of this dissertation study was to explore collegiality, an area that may have significant impact on individual and departmental productivity. The main objective was to explore how faculty members understood

behaviors and attributes that may be described as collegial or un-collegial, and to explore how faculty members perceived the effects of those behaviors on individual and departmental productivity.

The results of this study suggest that faculty members recognize what constitutes collegial and un-collegial behavior, and that they recognize that these behaviors have an impact on individual and departmental work. The results helps strengthen the argument that collegiality matters, not only by making the workplace more pleasant, but also by making it more productive. Collegiality may be an important strategic intervention that contributes to the effectiveness of individuals, departments, colleges, and institutions.

An important finding was that faculty members from many disciplines understood both collegial and un-collegial behaviors similarly, and that each participant was able to share stories of how those behaviors impacted individual and departmental work. A number of practices and policies could be implemented as a result of this study; however, much remains to be examined to generate deep understanding of the value of collegiality and the costs of un-collegiality. Similarly, additional empirical studies are needed to develop practices and policies that will lead to collegial, productive individuals, departments, and institutions.

**APPENDICES** 

# APPENDIX A

Table A1. Interview Protocol Table

Research Questions	Interview Questions		
How do faculty members perceive	How would you describe people who are		
collegial behavior in their peers?	collegial?		
	<ul> <li>What are the most important aspects of</li> </ul>		
	collegial behavior?		
	<ul> <li>What makes you say that these are the</li> </ul>		
	most important aspects?		
	<ul> <li>Will you tell about someone who</li> </ul>		
	exemplifies collegial behavior?		
	<ul> <li>What does this person do that is especially</li> </ul>		
	collegial?		
	How would you describe people who are un-		
	collegial?		
	<ul> <li>What are the most significant un-collegial</li> </ul>		
	behaviors or attributes?		
	<ul> <li>What makes you say that these are the</li> </ul>		
	most significant?		
	<ul> <li>Will you tell about someone who is</li> </ul>		
	especially un-collegial?		
	<ul> <li>What does this person do that is especially</li> </ul>		
	un-collegial?		

# Table A1 (cont'd)

Table AT (cont d)				
What are the effects of collegiality	•	How does collegiality affect your work?		
on individual and departmental	•	• How does collegiality affect the work in this		
work?		department (and other departments you are		
		working in)?		
		You shared examples of colleague(s) who are		
		highly collegial.		
		<ul> <li>How does their collegiality affect your</li> </ul>		
		work?		
		<ul> <li>How does an interaction with them affect</li> </ul>		
		you?		
		<ul> <li>How do their behaviors and actions affect</li> </ul>		
		others in your department (or group)?		
	•	You shared examples of colleague(s) who are		
		un-collegial.		
		o How do they affect your work?		
		o How does an interaction with them affect		
		you?		
		<ul> <li>How do their behaviors and actions affect</li> </ul>		
		others in your department (or group)?		
	•	Here is a collection of cards listing various		
		faculty behaviors.		
		o Please select three cards that you think		
		express behaviors that have the most		
		positive impact on your work and the work		
		of your colleagues.		
		For each card, explain how that behavior		
		has such positive impact.		

# Table A1 (cont'd)

- Second, please select three cards that you
  think express behaviors that have the most
  negative impact on your work and the work
  of your colleagues. For each card, explain
  why and how that behavior has such
  negative impact.
- If there are behaviors not listed, will you please write them on these blank cards?
- Please describe the extent to which you think your department is collegial.
  - What does collegiality mean in your department?
  - How has your department changed in terms of collegiality (either more negative or more positive) over the last five years?
  - o Why did that change occur?

How did that change affect your work and life within the department?

#### APPENDIX B

#### **Interview Protocol**

# **Collegiality Interview Protocol**

#### Introduction

To facilitate our note taking, we would like to record our conversation today. Please sign the consent form. For your information, only researchers involved in this project will have access the recording. The recording will be eventually destroyed after it is transcribed. Essentially, this document states that: (1) all information will be held confidential, (2) your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time if you feel uncomfortable, and (3) we do not intend to inflict any harm. Thank you for your agreeing to participate.

We have planned this interview to last no longer than one hour. During this time, we have several questions that we would like to cover. If time begins to run short, it may be necessary to interrupt you in order to push ahead and complete this line of questioning.

The research project concerns how faculty members perceive and understand collegial behavior. This study does not concern your level of collegiality. Rather, we are trying to learn about how faculty attributes and behaviors express collegiality, and how such behaviors impact other faculty members and departments.

### A. Interviewee Background

How long have you been
in your present position?
at this institution?
Disciplinary characteristics and department work:
What is your field of study?
Do you work extensively in an interdisciplinary unit, or have a joint appointment?

#### B. Interview Questions

- 1. There are many ways to think of collegiality—we're exploring collegiality as a way of describing individuals. How would you describe people who are collegial? (additional prompts for most important aspects, specific individuals, descriptions of typical interactions, and specific attributes and behaviors)
- 2. How does collegiality affect your work? You shared examples of colleague(s) who are especially collegial. How does their collegiality affect your work? How do they affect the work of others in your department (or group)?
- 3. On the other side, how would you describe people who are un-collegial? (Additional prompts for most important aspects, specific individuals, descriptions of typical interactions, and specific attributes and behaviors)
- 4. You shared an example of someone who is un-collegial—how does this person affect your work? The work of others in the department (or group)?
- 5. Here is a collection of cards listing various faculty behaviors. Please select three cards that you think express behaviors that have the most positive impact on your work and the work of your colleagues. For each card, explain how that behavior has such positive impact. If there are behaviors not listed, will you please write them on these blank cards?
- 6. Second, please select three cards that you think express behaviors that have the most negative impact on your work and the work of your colleagues. For each card, explain why and how that behavior has such negative impact. If there are behaviors not listed, will you please write them on these blank cards?
- 7. Please describe the extent to which you think your department is collegial. What does collegiality mean in your department? How has your department changed in terms of collegiality (either more negative or more positive) over the last five years? Why did that change occur? How did that change affect your work and life within the department? If negative, what could have been done differently?

#### APPENDIX C

# Dissertation Study Email Invitation

#### **Email Header:**

Participate in a Qualitative Study

### **Body of the Email:**

#### CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS

The collegial effect: An exploratory study of how faculty members perceive collegiality and its effects on individuals and departments. (Ph.D. Dissertation)

## **Purpose of the Study:**

The purpose of the proposed study is to explore and explain what collegial behavior means to faculty members in various disciplines, and how they perceive it to affect faculty work individually and in departments.

#### **Selection Criteria:**

Participants who are interested in the study must:

- 1. Be a tenured or tenure-track faculty member.
- 2. Have served between 5-8 years at the institution.

# To Participate in the Study:

Please contact Ray Robinson, visiting scholar from Michigan State University to arrange a formal, in-person interview at <a href="mailto:robin625@msu.edu">robin625@msu.edu</a>.

Should you have any questions relative to your participation in the study, you may contact Dr. Ann E. Austin Professor in Educational Administration, 419A Erickson Hall,

Michigan State University, by phone: (517) 355-6757, or email address: aaustin@msu.edu.

Additionally, if you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 202 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Sincerely,

Ray Robinson, Doctoral Candidate Higher, Adult, & Lifelong Education

#### APPENDIX D

Research Participant Information and Informed Consent Form

Study Title: The collegial effect: An exploratory study of how faculty members

perceive collegiality and its effects on individuals and departments.

Principal

Investigator: Dr. Ann E. Austin, Professor in Educational Administration

Michigan State University

419A Erickson Hall East Lansing, MI 48823 \*517-355-6757\*

aaustin@msu.edu

Additional

Researcher: Raymond Robinson, Doctoral Candidate

Michigan State University

630 Pheasant Circle Bountiful, UT 84010 \*801-361-4277\*

robin625@msu.edu

## **PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:**

• The visiting scholar/researcher from Michigan State University, Raymond Robinson, is conducting a qualitative research study about perceptions of collegiality and its effects on individual and department work. The results of the study will be presented in the researcher's doctoral dissertation, at scholarly conferences, and in publications.

#### **PROCEDURES:**

- You will be asked to answer semi-structured, open-ended questions regarding your perceptions and experiences with collegiality and its effects on your work and the work of your department.
- The interview will be audio recorded.
- You will have access to the final report upon request.

#### **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION:**

- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. No compensation of any kind is offered.
- You may withdraw your participation at any time without prejudice. Your information will be discarded at the time of withdrawal.
- You have the option to not answer any question you feel is not applicable or inappropriate.

## CONTACT INFORMATION FOR QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS:

- Should you have any questions about anything relative to your participation in this project, you may contact Dr. Ann E. Austin, Professor in Educational Administration, 419A Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, by phone: (517) 355-6757, or email address: <a href="mailto:austin@msu.edu">austin@msu.edu</a>.
- If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 207 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824

#### **INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT:**

You are indicating your voluntary agreement to participa beginning this interview and signing this consent form.	te in this study by
Signature and Please Print Name	Date

REFERENCES

#### REFERENCES

- AAUP. (2006). On collegiality as a criterion for faculty evaluation AAUP policy documents and reports (10th ed.).
- Altbach, P. G. (2005). Harsh realities: The professoriate faces a new century. In P. G. Altbach, R. O. Berdahl, & P. J. Gumport (Eds.), *American higher education in the twenty-first century: Social, political, and economic challenges* (2nd ed.). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ambrose, S., Huston, T., & Norman, M. (2005). A qualitative method for assessing faculty satisfaction. *Research in Higher Education*, 46(7), 803-830.
- Anderson, J. L. (2008). The influence of collegial communication on faculty perceptions of departmental climate. (PhD Dissertation), The University of Arizona, Tucson. (UMI 3303752)
- Argyris, C., & Schon, D. A. (1977). What is an organization that it can learn? In C. Argyris & D. A. Schon (Eds.), *Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective* (pp. 8-29). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Astin, A. W., & Astin, H. S. (2000). Leadership reconsidered: Engaging higher education in social change: W. K. Kellogg Foundation.
- Austin, A. (1994). Understanding and assessing faculty cultures and climates. *New Directions for Institutional Research*(84), 47-63.
- Austin, A. E. (1990). Faculty cultures, faculty values. *New Directions for Institutional Research* (68), 61-74.
- Austin, A. E. (1996). Institutional and departmental cultures: The relationship between teaching and research. *New Directions for Institutional Research*(90).
- Barsade, S. G. (2002). The ripple effect: Emotional contagion and its influence on group behavior. *Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol* 47(4), 644-675.
- Becher, T. (1994). The significance of disciplinary differences. *Studies in Higher Education (Dorchester-on-Thames)*, 19(2), 151.
- Bennett, J. B. (1998). *Collegial professionalism: The academy, individualism, and the common good.* Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.
- Biglan, A. (1973). Relationships between subject matter characteristics and the structure and output of university departments. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *57*(3), 204-213.

- Bird, S. R., Rhoton, L., Fehr, C., & Larson, L. (2010). ISU ADVANCE collaborative transformation project: Rounds 1 and 2 Focal department synthesis report *Iowa State University ADVANCE Program*: Iowa State University.
- Bland, C. J., Seaquist, E., Pacala, J. T., Center, B., & Finstad, D. (2002). One school's strategy to assess and improve the vitality of its faculty. *Academic Medicine*, 77(5), 368-376.
- Bloom, L. (2005). Collegiality, the game. *Symploke*, 13(1/2), 207-218.
- Borgatti, S. P., & Foster, P. C. (2003). The network paradigm in organizational research: A review and typology. *Journal of Management*, 29(6), 991-1013.
- Cappella, J. N. (1995). Inoculating against emotional contagion. *Contemporary Psychology*, 40(7), 2.
- Chalofsky, N. (2003). An emerging construct for meaningful work. *Human Resource Development International*, 6(1), 69-83.
- Cipriano, R. E., & Buller, J. L. (2012). Rating faculty collegiality. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 44(2), 45-48.
- Clark, B. (2001). The entrepreneurial university: New foundations for collegiality, autonomy, and achievement. *Higher Education Management*, 13(2), 9-24.
- Clark, B. R. (1983). *The higher education system: Academic organization in cross-national perspective*. Berkely, CA: University of California Press.
- COACHE. (2007). COACHE Highlights Report *Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education [COACHE]*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Collegiality. (1999) (10th ed.). Merriam-Webster, Incorporated.
- Connell, M. A., & Savage, F. G. (2001). Does collegiality count? *Academe*, 87(6), 4.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Fischer, M. (2009). Defending collegiality. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 41(3), 20-25.
- Fredrickson, B. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American Psychologist*, *56*(3), 218-226.
- Gappa, J. M., Austin, A. E., & Trice, A. G. (2007). *Rethinking faculty work*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (1997). Relations between organizational culture, identity and image. *European Journal of Marketing*, 31(5/6), 356-365.
- Hatfield, R. D. (2006). Collegiality in higher education: Toward an understanding of the factors involved in collegiality. *Journal of Organizational Culture*, *Communications, and Conflict, 10*(1), 11-19.
- Hutcheon, L. (2006). Saving collegiality. Profession, 2006(1), 60-64.
- Katula, R. A., & Doody, A. (1990). The collegiality model: An alternative for evaluating faculty productivity. *Association for Communication Administration Bulletin*(74), 74-82.
- Kolb, D. A. (1981). Learning styles and disciplinary differences. In A. W. Chickering (Ed.), *The Modern American College: Responding to the New Realities of Diverse Students and a Changing Society* (pp. 232-255). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Kyoung-Ok, P., Wilson, M. G., & Myung Sun, L. (2004). Effects of social support at work on depression and organizational productivity. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 28(5), 444-455.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Martin, J., Feldman, M. S., Hatch, M. J., & Sitkin, S. B. (1983). The uniqueness paradox in organizational stories. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28(3), 438-453.
- Massy, W. F., Wilger, A. K., & Colbeck, C. (1994). Overcoming "hollowed" collegiality. *Change*, 26(4), 10-20.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publicaions.
- O'Meara, K. A., & Terosky, A. L. P. (2010). Engendering faculty professional growth. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning, 42*(6), 44-51.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Repetti, R. L. (1987). Individual and common components of the social environment at work and psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *52*(4), 710-720.
- Riccardi, R. L. (2012). Researching collegiality: Can we all get along? *Academic Leader: The Newsletter for Academic Deans and Department Chairs*, 28(8), 1-6.

- Seigel, M. L. (2005). On collegiality. Legal Education Digest, 14(2), 406-441.
- Seigel, M. L., & Miner-Rubino, K. (2008). Collegiality III: An analysis of data pertaining to collegiality among law professors *University of Florida Legal Studies Research Paper* (pp. 2): University of Florida Levin College of Law.
- Sy, T., Cote, S., & Saavedra, R. (2005). The contagious leader: Impact of the leader's mood on the mood of group members, group affective tone, and group processes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(2), 295-305.
- Tapper, T., & Palfreyman, D. (2002). Understanding collegiality: The changing Oxbridge model. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 8(1), 47-63.
- Taylor, S. B., Kim, S., Dessart, J., Adams, T. D., & Green, J. W. (2006). Collegiality: Statements from chairs. *Profession*, 2006(1), 95-99.
- U.S. Department of Education. Institute of Education Sciences, N. C. E. S. (1997). Definitions for new race and ethnicity categories. Retrieved February 3, 2015, from <a href="http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/reic/definitions.asp">http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/reic/definitions.asp</a>
- van Emmerik, H., & Sanders, K. (2004). Social embeddedness and job performance of tenured and non-tenured professionals. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 14(1), 40-54.
- Waters, M. (1989). Collegiality, bureaucratization, and professionalization: A Weberian analysis. *The American Journal of Sociology*, *94*(5), 945-972.
- Yang, L.-Q., Che, H., & Spector, P. E. (2008). Job stress and well-being: An examination from the view of person-environment fit. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 81(3), 567-587.
- Zusman, A. (2005). Challenges facing higher education in the twenty-first century. In P. G. Altbach, R. O. Berdahl, & P. J. Gumport (Eds.), *American higher education in the twenty-first century: Social, political, and economic challenges* (pp. 115-160). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.