ENROLLMENT LOGICS AND DISCOURSE:

TOWARD PROFESSIONALIZING

HIGHER EDUCATION ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT

A Dissertation

by

MONIQUE LAVETTE SNOWDEN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2010

Major Subject: Communication

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ABSTRACT

Enrollment Logics and Discourse:

Toward Professionalizing Higher Education Enrollment Management. (August 2010)

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Enrollment management is an organizational phenomenon that emerged in the mid-1970s and has since developed into a pervasive structure and practice at colleges and universities. The purpose of this study is to identify and trace the development of the underlying organizing principles (enrollment logics) that institutionalize enrollment management practices and professionalize the chief enrollment manager position. This study focuses on how discourses among members of a prominent professional association establish, diffuse, and sustain knowledge that promotes certain expertise, assumptions, beliefs, and shared understandings of enrollment management.

This is qualitative study that uses first-person accounts of 18 chief enrollment managers, authoethnographic reflections, and historical texts to reveal the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements (symbols, relations, routines, and artifacts) that signify enrollment management as an institutionalized and professionalized phenomenon. Crystallization is used as the analytical approach for discourse analysis. Institutional Theory and Structuration Theory form the theoretical and analytical frameworks for this study.

Study results suggest that enrollment management is an institutionalized organizational field and an emerging profession.

DEDICATION

This work (and all that emerges from it) is dedicated to the man who literally, not just figuratively, placed and carried me on his shoulders so that I could see above and beyond the crowd. I did not rest on his shoulders merely for my own benefit. My place was one of comfort, but also one of duty. At a very young age, I welcomed and treasured the feeling of responsibility and accountability to the one who trusted my eyes and my voice, above and beyond all others, to steer us both safely through the crowd.

My father, Ronald Edward (John) Snowden, was most proud of three things: having raised a kind and thoughtful daughter; having found and loved a compassionate and determined wife; and serving, protecting, and sustaining his family. To say that he left me too soon fails to acknowledge his constant presence in my life today. Memories of his untamed spirit, altruistic kindness, and infectious humor remind me daily that we must live, give, and laugh through all of our adversities. During our frequent talks, my father interlaced fact, fiction, fantasy, and mystery into a work of optimism that left me amazed and inspired. Through the artistry of storytelling, he taught me that when we are confronted by ill place, space, time, and circumstance, we must make the good and valiant effort to remain true and faithful to those we love and our purpose-driven life.

As a proud Marine, and Vietnam War survivor—in mind, body, and spirit—my father came to embody the Corps' motto S*emper Fidelis*—Always Faithful. His unwavering belief in me was grounded in an abiding faith. He knew that if he equipped me well, I would take risks and remain humbly confident in my ability to do more and be better. All who knew him know this: I am my father's daughter true and through!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Scott– In moments of naiveté, we are occasionally led to the best of people. Your support over many years, across state lines, and between a few institutions is immeasurable. The knowledge and experience you have shared with me has been transformative. You inspire me to conduct research that is meaningful and significant.

To Barbara – Being "in abstentia" most often requires an actionable presence on one's behalf. Thank you for graciously stepping in to co-chair my committee and standing up for me when most needed. Your experienced guidance toward assuring a solid methodology for this research project was invaluable.

To Yvonna – Thank you for the 'straight talk' that motivated me to push through and beyond numerous barriers and distractions to finish my program. You once told me that I was, "too long at the fair." Indeed the stay was long; however, the time was well spent, and in great company. Now the music and merry-go-round have stopped!?!

To Charley –You inspire me to become a conservator of words, toward achieving better clarity in thought, discussion, and writing. I will hold onto your advice, "write like you talk." Thank you for challenging me to make my research more accessible.

To Linda Putnam –Your encouraging words—written on a post-it note and placed on the final exam from my first Organizational Communication Research seminar—opened up a world of possibilities to me. Your skillful excavation of discourse challenges me to seek of the *différance* in my research. Thanks for reminding me—on more than one occasion—that both my academic and professional endeavors necessitated me working on my writing and ultimately obtaining my doctorate degree.

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To Anna DiStefano – Thank you for keeping "dissertation" on the discussion list at *every* one-on-one meeting between us. I am better for having been able to work beside you—as colleague and friend— during your last year as Fielding's first Provost.

To Pete, Mary, Connie, Alicia, Cynthia, and Lupita – Thank you for your love and support in my academic, professional, and personal life at Texas A&M—between cities, and across states. Connie, thanks for always covering the rear and flanks!

To Becky Petitt – There are many that view social justice as a concept to be merely analyzed and discussed; others embody it, viewing the world as it can and should be. You have a beautiful spirit that encourages and challenges those around you to move beyond rhetoric toward enacting the *sine qua non* of being a just society. Lylas!

To my life-line, my mother, Paulette (Washington) Snowden – I am inspired by the courage and the compassion you have and continue to demonstrate in your life. Who I have become is because of what you gave, what you taught, and what you modeled.

To my life-love, my partner, Cherise Hammie – On a long journey home—to comfort, rest, and security—the last few miles can be filled with anxiety. Hours have gone by and you barely recall most of the road conditions encountered. In support of my academic and professional endeavors, you have unselfishly endured discomfort, unrest, and insecurity. The journey has been long. The last few miles have been most anxious. The road conditions encountered, however, are all but forgotten. Can you see it? Home!

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT:

AN INSTITUTIONAL PHENOMENON

It is becoming increasingly common for American colleges and universities to have an enrollment management division that is led by a chief enrollment manager—vice president or associate/vice provost of enrollment management (Black, 2004b; Henderson, 2005; Maguire, Butler, & Associates, 2008). Simply stated, "enrollment management deals with how students choose a college, how they make the transition to higher education, what leads them to stay or drop out, and what influences how well they do while enrolled" (Hossler, 1984, p. 2). Hence, chief enrollment managers are situated at entrance and exit points of colleges and universities—and numerous junctures and borders between and across institutions—where they influence, define, and execute enrollment agendas that may significantly alter how the institution of higher education is perceived, experienced, and assessed.

American higher education enrollment agendas are shaped by a number of contemporary factors including, but not limited to: diminishing state and local financial support for public colleges and universities; deficient endowments at private institutions with near 100% tuition dependency; shifts in the demographic composition of college-going students; the proliferation of online degree programs offered by for-profit colleges and universities; an upsurge of strategic foci on developing, promoting, and managing

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This dissertation follows the style and format of *Communication Theory*.

institutional brands and images; controversial applications of corporate planning and management strategies to academic enterprises; and pervasive re-examinations of institutional visions, missions, and values toward gaining prominent and distinctive positions in exceedingly competitive higher education markets.

The tension between the institutional values and market realities in American higher education is ever present. It is argued that "to discharge their value delegations, universities must have enough financial strength to balance mission with market" (Massy, 2004, p. 25). To this end, colleges and universities are advancing their educational offerings in order to increase enrollment revenue, subsidize mission-centric academic offerings, and extend institutional reach into corporate and global marketplaces (Bok, 2003; Weisbrod, Ballou, & Asch, 2008). Consequently, postsecondary education is neither confined within institutional walls nor constrained by national borders. To the contrary, efforts to expand institutional capacity, meet student demand, and maximize net tuition revenue have effectively blurred traditional boundaries between the academy and higher education market. Furthermore, the commercialization of academic enterprises such as university-spinoffs (Shane, 2004), and the commoditization of academic credentials (Collins, 1979; Zemsky, Wegner, & Massy, 2005), reminds us that:

> Higher education started in the Agora, the market place, at the bottom of the hill and ascended to the Acropolis on top of the hill….Mostly it has lived in tension, at one and the same time at the bottom of the hill, at the top of the hill, and on many paths in between. (Kerr, 1988, p. 1)

All roads up and down the hill are part and parcel of a complex infrastructure that analogous to modern Athens rests upon the triumphs and ruins of fragmented

institutional missions and the unintended consequences of individual and collective action in the marketplace. In their explication of *Remaking of the American University*, Zemsky et al. (2005) stress the historical and inherent tension between institutional missions and the market. The authors suggest that espoused institutional missions and underlying institutional values are increasingly becoming functions of market competition. I am hopeful, however, that responding to the market does not necessarily result in higher education "subordinating mission to market" (p. 58). Alternatively, and as suggested by Zemsky and colleagues, perhaps being mission-centered is indeed a function of an institution's capacity to be market-smart.

The watchword "No margin, no mission"[1] renders a distinguishable divide between the academy and market as both a mythical and idealistic notion. The *myth* is partly dispelled by the endemic cross-subsidization of academic offerings and the reality that "no current student pays the full costs of his or her education" (Winston, 1993, p. 231). The *ideal* becomes less plausible when mission-driven initiatives and associated decisions are perceived as barriers to maximizing a college or university's net tuition revenue. Between myth and ideal, institutional dependency on tuition revenue suggests that mission attainment is inextricably tied to market-driven student enrollment (Bontrager, 2008).

Inasmuch as achieving institutional goals depends on the organization of enrollment-related functions, enrollment management becomes more significant, and

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[1] Quirk (2005) notes that DePaul University uses the margin gained from profitable professional programs to underwrite its mission to enroll and educate low-income and first-generation college students that are residents in and around Chicago, IL. He notes that, "'No margin, no mission' is a watchword at DePaul."

perhaps even prominent, at colleges and universities. Enrollment management often begins by first articulating institutional purpose and enrollment priorities toward the goal of achieving mission clarity and coherence (Hossler & Kalsbeek, 2008). Conversely, Kalsbeek and Hossler (2009) argue that "enrollment management must begin by assessing the dynamics that create the competitive market context which in real and measurable ways prescribes and circumscribes the range of strategic futures an institution in all likelihood has to choose among" (p. 4). Whereas the former approach is mission-centered, the latter is market-centered. Each approach however reflects the assumptions, perspectives, referent structures, and organizing principles that constitute different organizational instantiations of enrollment management. To this end, Hossler and Kalsbeek (2008) emphasize that enrollment management "structure should follow strategy and so should reflect the particular, idiosyncratic institutional culture, climate, and character" (p. 7).

The appropriation of "organizational clusters called enrollment management," may differ from campus to campus (Hossler & Kalsbeek, 2008, p. 8). However, prescriptive enrollment management leadership, ubiquitous enrollment strategies, and the broad diffusion and adoption of best practices and tactics evidence the emergence (and likely persistence) of isomorphic appropriations of enrollment management. Or more simply stated, from this scholar-practitioner's view, the presence and enactment of enrollment management at different colleges and universities appears to be very similar in structure and function. Thus, I conceive enrollment management as an institutionalized field of higher education that is increasingly becoming an

institutionalized component of American colleges and universities. In this regard, enrollment management has its own distinctive history, including key individuals that influence/d its development, penetration, and entrenchment in higher education; professions that it embodies; and enrollment management professionals who have a vested interest in its diffusion, adoption, and longevity as a bastion of American higher education.

Hence, this work departs from placing primacy on local and contingent organizational phenomena and ostensibly isolated individual actions. Alternatively, I look outside the organizational location of enrollment management and situate it as an institutional phenomenon comprised of "social structures that involve more strongly held rules supported by stronger relations and more entrenched resources" (Scott, 2008a, p. 77). Giddens (1984) stresses that "institutions by definition are the more enduring features of social life…giving 'solidity' across time and space" (p. 24). Thus, institutions are embedded into and manifested in rules, norms, and meanings that endure over time and across space. Moreover, institutions rely upon, both for their construction and persistence, the purposeful actions of interest-based agents (DiMaggio, 1988; 1991).

Employing an institutional approach to study organizational phenomena necessitates broadening one's lens to take into consideration the durable structures, practices, and resources (material and human) that are diffused through a field of organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Thus, analyzing organizations from an institutional lens serves the dual purpose of: 1) revealing the significance of organizations and the influence of collective actors (e.g., professions and associations)

vis-à-vis larger networks and 2) functioning as a unit of analysis to bridge organizational and societal impacts of particular phenomena (DiMaggio, 1986).

In the introductory sections that follow, I set the overall context for this work by first explicating the construct institutional logics, then introducing my conception of enrollment logics, and finally emphasizing the significance of intraprofessional discourse in respect to the diffusion of enrollment logics that structurate enrollment management. In the second section, I present the grand purpose and research questions that guide this work. In the next section, I establish the research setting and context for this study. In the fourth section, I explicate the significance and purpose of this study in terms of its contribution to the communication discipline, in general, and specifically to organizational communication research. I also acknowledge my aspiration for this work to broaden the perspectives of higher education administration scholar-practitioners; I hope that my professional colleagues might see the depths and reach of enrollment management and perhaps understand why I view enrollment management as an institutional phenomenon. Last, I conclude this chapter by summarizing the organization of the remaining chapters of this work.

Enrollment Logics and Intraprofessional Discourse

In December 2006, DePaul University's enrollment management and marketing division began distributing an electronic newsletter titled *Enrollment Matters.*[2] The newsletter is "intended to provide the university community with pertinent information

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[2] Electronic newsletter in PDF format. Retrieved from http://www.depaul.edu/emm/about/division.asp

about activities and initiatives that improve and enhance DePaul's competitive market position and prominence." In February 2009, Old Dominion University's enrollment management division followed suit by launching an online newsletter[3]—also titled *Enrollment Matters*—"to heighten the university community's awareness of activities on campus that influence enrollment, as well as trends in enrollment." In March 2010, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* posted a job advertisement to its website soliciting candidates for the chief enrollment manager position at Purdue University at Calmuet (PU-C). The advertisement emphasizes that PU-C's enrollment management division is comprised of individuals who "bring vision, energy, focus, and exceptional execution to all *enrollment matters* [emphasis added]." All three of these examples suggest that enrollment matters are garnering attention on American college and university campuses.

In praxis, college and university enrollment matters are the policies, processes, and practices that both produce institutional enrollment and shape postsecondary education access, equity, and accountability (Hossler, 2009, p. 3).[4] Enrollment matters therefore signify and represent a complex interplay of organizing structures, actions, and meaning that form the organizational field of higher education enrollment management. An organizational field is comprised of "sets of organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute an area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers,

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[3] Online newsletter in HTML format. Retrieved from http://www.odu.edu/ao/em/newsletter/vol1

[4] Hossler argues that the "enrollment industry" is comprised of a broad array of issues, which he classifies under four broad categories: 1) enrollment management consulting services and related vendors, 2) the student loan industry and related services, 3) rankings and college guidance publications, and 4) postsecondary educational institutions and non-profit professional associations.

regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products"
(DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, pp. 148-149). Organizational fields are critical units for
bridging organizational and societal research and analysis (DiMaggio, 1986, p.337).

Scott (1995) posits that organizational fields are socially constructed
organizational communities with fluid, overlapping, and evolving memberships shaped
by *institutional logics*. Institutional logics are collections of symbolic structures and
material practices, which together comprise the organizing principles that actors employ
to gain controlling power and influence within an organizational field (Friedland &
Alford, 1991; Scott, 2001). Further, institutional logics "constitute an institution's order"
and thus are "symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defined and
technically and materially constrained" (Friedland & Alford, pp. 248-249). Drazin,
Glynn, and Kazajian (2004) typify logics as:

> a kind of underlying cognitive 'glue' that lends meaning, rationality and purpose
> to organizational structures...there is an iterative and reciprocal process between
> logic and organizational structuration: each one shapes, contains, and births the
> other…. mechanisms that shape logic (and structure) arise from collective
> understandings, ideologies, and systems of rules that categorize and constitute
> institutions. (p. 165)

For clarity in discussion and analysis, it is salient to distinguish institutional
perspectives of the constructs *logics* and *rationalities*. Logics are antecedents to
rationalities. Whereas logics structurate actions, rationalities are invoked to explain and
justify why particular actions have been or should be taken. Simply stated, rationalities
ground the actions which in turn render logics visible and heard. Scott (1995) posits that
logics are deeply-rooted regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive structures
mediated by rationalities which yield instrumental, appropriate, and orthodox actions

respectively. Friedland (2002) notes:

> Institutions have logics that both must be made material in order to signify and must signify in order to materialize….institutional logics constitute the cosmology within which means are meaningful, where means-ends couplets are thought appropriate and become the naturalized, unthought conditions of social action, performing the substances at stake within them. (p. 383)

Institutionalized fields have multiple and competing theoretical, formal, and practical rationalities that are ironic inasmuch as they simultaneously align and conflict with institutional values (Townley, 2002). Organizational fields are therefore constitutive of value-laden and pluralistic rationalities. Further, Townley suggests that different dimensions of rationality inform understandings of institutionalized professional identity and management practices. For example, she notes that "business planning and performance measures have gained the status of rationalized, institutionalized myths and have been viewed as being a route to better management and enhanced accountability" (p. 163). Studying the (de)stabilization of extant institutional practices and the emergence and diffusion of alternative practices is an exercise of identifying and explicating the organizing principles and means-end actions—logics and rationalities respectively—that constitute the institutionalized organizational field of enrollment management.

In this work, the organizing principles that ground and shape enrollment management are conceptualized as *enrollment logics*. Discovering enrollment logics necessitates unearthing and unpacking generally accepted enrollment management structures that govern the selection of enrollment technologies; define what kinds of actors are authorized to make certain enrollment claims; shape and constrain the action

possibilities of enrollment workers; and stipulate criteria for effective and efficient

enrollment organizing (derived from Friedland & Alford, 1991; Lounsbury, 2002).

Further, conceptualizing enrollment management as an organizational field recognizes

the institutionalized presence and professionalized identity of higher education

enrollment management organization and chief enrollment managers respectively.

The organizational field is embodied by professions, professionals, and

professional communities that establish, enact, and reify common enrollment logics

emerging from enrollment management discourses. Enrollment management discourses

are transported in and by institution elements, but are also represented in

intraprofessional discourse between and among organizational field members who

advance certain types of expertise and knowledge as essential to the organizing activities

of enrollment management. Hall (2001) emphasizes that on one side, discourse "'rules

in' certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to

talk, write or conduct oneself"; on the other side, discourse "'rules out', limits and

restricts other ways of talking or conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or

constructing knowledge about it" (2001, p. 72). In praxis, intraprofessional discourse

represents the institution talking to and about its "selves."

Thus, enrollment management discourses promote and circumscribe how chief

enrollment managers make sense and give voice to enrollment logics; prescribes

meaning to organizational enrollment experiences; and produces, maintains, and reifies

institutionalized enrollment management practices and identities. Further, isomorphic

adoptions of enrollment management organization and the construction of the chief

enrollment manager are influenced and shaped respectively by enrollment logics that

evidence, as suggested by Zemsky and colleagues (2005), the "remaking" of American

higher education.

Logics, Knowledge, and Diffusion: A Line of Inquiry

In the course of determining a line of inquiry for this study, I came to rest on

the notion that enrollment management is "on the brink of a profession" (Henderson,

2001). In light of the vast sociological, technological, and ecological advances in

contemporary society, it is not uncommon to encounter even well-established

professions that are "on the brink" or "at the brink" of a fundamental or profound

change. To speak of the brink is to bring attention to the periphery, boundary, or

threshold of a phenomenon. Further, being "on" the brink of a breakthrough or

turnaround—for the better—is markedly different than being "at" the brink of a

breakdown. In both cases, and beyond the preposition, there is the perception that

something is about to change from one state to another—either for better or worse. In

this particular case, Henderson suggests that enrollment management is on the brink

of a breakthrough, moving from a "point of adolescence" toward a profession.

This study aims to bring attention to the discursive space between the brink

and the emergence of a profession. The grand purpose of this work is: *To discover*

how enrollment logics form enrollment management and intraprofessional

discourses that push at the institutionalization of higher education enrollment

management and toward professionalizing organizational field members, in general,

and specifically the chief enrollment manager.

The following research questions serve as lenses for engaging a research

project to elucidate the institutional and professional domains of enrollment

management:

1. *What are historical and contemporary enrollment logics?* Identifying persistent and shifting enrollment logics, since the inception of enrollment management, in general, and specifically over the past two decades is of particular interest and relevance in addressing the guiding research question. Moreover, tracing the formation, development, and dissolution of enrollment logics over time is essential to subsequent inquiries concerning diffusion.

2. *What expertise and knowledge constitute enrollment logics?* Lounsbury (2002) notes that "extant literature on the professions indicates that the growth of expert knowledge will facilitate professionalization (p. 258). In this work, it has been previously suggested that enrollment logics advance certain types of knowledge and expertise as essential to the organizing activities and patterns of enrollment management. According to Scott (2008a), professions "collectively develop various principles and standards espousing normative conclusions that bear on their area of expertise" (p. 225). Knowledge, expertise, and enrollment logics are constitutive of discursive practices. In other words, discursive practices are shaped by the knowledge, expertise, and organizing norms, rules and resources, and derived interpretations that guide individual and collective action. Fairclough (1993) typifies discursive practices as a domain of expertise and reflexivity (pp. 140-141), where reflexivity is the use of knowledge for organizing and transforming phenomena.

3. *How are enrollment logics diffused*? This study begins with a conception of the construct enrollment logics, and then aims to explicate those logics. In the context of an organizational communication study, employing an institutional lens to identify how enrollment logics are communicated across time and space, by agents in an organizational field, is a salient move. Diffusion involves a special type of communication "by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system" (Rogers, 1995, p. 5). Scott (2008a) points out that "most studies of diffusion embrace a demand-side perspective, focusing on the characteristics of the adopting organization. However, a supply-side approach, focusing on the nature of the dissemination agents, appears as useful, if not more useful, in examining instances of contemporary institutional diffusion" (p. 146). To this end, employing an agent-based view (DiMaggio, 1988) of institution diffusion is quite salient to this study.

In the Field with a Professional Association

Hossler (2009) emphasizes that institutional practices and non-profit professional associations in the "enrollment industry" are nuanced and complex (p. 3). As a site where intraprofessional discourse persists, professional associations reinforce extant logics and legitimate shifting logics "by hosting a process of discourse through which change is debated and endorsed: first by negotiating and managing a debate within the profession, and, second, by reframing professional identities as they are presented to others outside the profession" (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002, p. 59). Professional associations offer sites and occasions at which member and field professionals "collectively represent themselves to themselves" (Greenwood et al., p. 61). In this study, I focus on one of the oldest and largest American higher education associations: American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO). To date, AACRAO is a nonprofit, voluntary, professional association that boasts a membership of more than 10,000 higher education professionals representing approximately 2,500 institutions in more than 30 countries.[5] The association's mission is

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[5] AACRAO offers six types of memberships: 1) *Institutional membership* is open to postsecondary degree-granting institutions accredited by an agency recognized by the Council for Higher Education Accreditation; 2) *Voting membership* is open to persons employed by member institutions. However, the membership must be authorized by the primary contact person designated by the member institution at the time of membership initiation or renewal. Based upon institutional enrollment size, member institutions are allotted between two to seven voting memberships. Enrollment size is also used to determine membership dues. Additional voting members, over the established allotment, may be added by the primary contact for an additional membership fee per person added; 3) *Affiliate membership* (non-voting) is open to postsecondary degree-granting institutions ineligible for institutional membership; 4) *individual membership* is open to high school registrars or counselors; retired AACRAO members; graduate students at an AACRAO member institution; and staff at international secondary or postsecondary institutions; 5) *Corporate membership* (non-voting) is open to individuals or organizations, whether for profit or non-profit, that provide products and services that assist or benefit the needs or purposes of AACRAO members; and 6) *Organizational partnership membership* (non-voting) is open to public sector and private non-profit associations whose interests are closely aligned to AACRAO, including state higher education

"to serve and advance higher education by providing leadership in academic and enrollment services."[6]

A cursory history of AACRAO reveals that on at least one occasion the association expanded its name to broaden its professional base and appeal. Since its inception in 1910, AACRAO has maintained very strong roots with college and university registrars. In fact, the association was conceived and known as the American Association of Collegiate Registrars (AACR) for almost four decades. In 1949, however, twelve years after the founding of the National Association for College Admission Counseling (NACAC), the members of AACR decided to change the association name to include *Admissions Officers*. Thus, AACR was reconstituted as AACR*AO*. In preparation of celebrating 100 years of service in higher education, the AACRAO Centennial Committee recounts the association's beginnings:

> In 1910, only ten colleges in the country had a student enrollment of more than 5,000 students; two-year colleges were still in their infancy, and statewide systems were not even in existence. There were no accredited institutions and standards and practices for higher education institutions varied greatly. College admissions requirements ranged from one to four years of secondary school, and student records were not always consulted in a candidate's recommendation for a degree. In addition, institutions often referred to themselves as colleges even though many lacked the necessary facilities for college work.
>
> It was in this setting, 100 years ago, that Alfred H. Parrott, registrar, and W. A. Yoder, financial secretary, of North Dakota Agricultural College sent a letter to registrars and accountants at institutions across the country to propose a meeting to discuss the functions of their occupations. On August 15, 1910, twenty-four professionals (fifteen college registrars and nine college accountants) gathered in Detroit, MI to talk about how they performed their duties. Out of that meeting, two national associations emerged: the American Association of Collegiate

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coordinating boards and associations, accrediting bodies and international ministries of education

[6] I am a voting member and leader of AACRAO. This work is one way in which I am enacting my commitment to the mission of *my* professional association.

Registrars (AACR) and the National Association of College and University Business Officers (NACUBO).

Decades after that first meeting, the association began hosting special conferences (e.g., AACRAO Technology Conference and AACRAO Transfer Conference) with the focused goal of bringing together members to share ideas and information about and solutions for the broad range of functions supported by college and university registrar, admissions, and enrollment management professionals, and the more general goal of discussing and debating current issues pertaining to higher education access, affordability, and accountability. To this end, regarded as one of the leading organizational authorities in the enrollment management field, the association began hosting the AACRAO Annual Strategic Enrollment Management (SEM) Conference in November 1991.

In this study, I view the AACRAO SEM Conferences as discursive sites at which chief enrollment managers form and reify regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive enrollment management viewpoints, identities, relations, and systems of knowledge and practice. Two of the three data sources used for the study are derivatives of the AACRAO SEM Conferences (a more detailed explication of all study data is provided in Chapter III). First, program sessions descriptions from conferences held in 2003 through 2009 were used to trace persistent and shifting enrollment logics. Second, the 18 chief enrollment managers (past and current) who participated in this study are frequent presenters and active participants at the AACRAO SEM Conferences. Last, most of the study participants were interviewed while attending the 2009 AACRAO SEM Annual Conference held Dallas, Texas.

Professional associations and conferences enable professionals to discursively legitimate and regulate knowledge claims and information diffused inside and outside of their profession. Johnson (1995) points out that the "hinged door allows a selection of what gets in and what gets out so as to locally increase order, or information" (p. 259). Conceptually, a professional conference is a structured discursive event that takes on the form and function of a hinged door which both facilitates and constrains the interaction, transportation, and integration of different frames of references, norms and values, and discourses among and between professions and professionals.

Professions, however, are more than "promulgators and protectors of institutional norms and values" (Kraatz & Moore, 2002, p. 121). Professions are a communication phenomenon (Lammers & Garcia, 2009). Scott (2008b) asserts that "professions function as institutional agents—as definers, interpreters, and appliers of institutional elements. Professionals are not the only, but are—I believe—the most influential, contemporary crafters of institutions" (p. 219). The collective beliefs and values of professionals emerge within an organizational field in the form of stucturated and persistent interactions between institutionalized communities, such as professional associations. Associations develop and objectify their social exchanges. Associations therefore constitute professionalized realities, which may be aligned with, but perhaps separate and distinct from the institutionalized reality of the organizational field at-large and local and contingent organizational reality and experiences of field members.

Professional associations function as interest groups that struggle for collective mobility (Macdonald, 1995). Associations seek to professionalize field occupations by

promoting normative practices and generally accepted field activities. Reciprocally

shared understandings of appropriate practice permit the ordered exchange of ideas and

information through professional discourse (Greenwood et al., p. 59). Over time, shared

understandings and collective beliefs are reinforced by isomorphic mechanisms—

coercive, normative, and mimetic—that both disseminate and reproduce standard

prescriptions of social reality, thereby imposing conformity within a profession

(DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Conforming and appropriate professional behavior aims to reduce ambiguity and

uncertainty for professions and embody fitting professional practice. Coercive,

normative, and mimetic discursive settings place limits on professional practices that

constitute professional work. Coercive settings promote diligence and principles of

reasonableness that "stem from influence or problems of legitimacy" (DiMaggio &

Powell, 1991, p. 12). Coercive change results from formal and informal pressures

imposed through cultural expectations that are most often perceived as persuasion or

collusion. Normative settings promote professionalization by means of monitoring,

sanctioning, and typifying action as more or less appropriate in the profession.

Normative change follows dominant methods and heeds to extant power structures

shaped by the socialization processes of individuals who enter and remain in the

profession. Mimetic settings invoke "follow the leader" acts of imitation which are

rooted in uncertainty and ambiguity. Whereas normative change may be perceived as

acceptable practice, mimetic change is typically framed as good or "best practice."

Associations, like AACRAO, are regulatory mechanisms that both legitimate

change and reinforce extant prescriptions for appropriate conduct (Greenwood et al.,

2002). These prescriptions are typically reflected in an association's code of conduct,

ethical principles, or principles of professional practice. Off the heels of the student loan

lender scandal,[7] the AACRAO Board of Directors and membership reaffirmed their

commitment to the "advancement of postsecondary education and the standards and

conduct of those professionals who are involved at all levels" by revisiting and revising

its *Statement of Professional Practices and Ethical Standards*.[8] The association notes

five profession/al actions (emphasis added) which "members shall" perform:

1. Believe in and be loyal to the philosophy and goals of the *profession* and the institutions we serve.

2. Initiate policies that support the goals of our *profession*.

3. Assert ourselves when policies or practices are proposed that seem to be contrary to the philosophy and goals of our *professions* and our institutions.

4. Participate in and contribute to *professional* activities and their development to ensure effective and efficient management of resources, data, and personnel.

5. Practice honesty and integrity in our *professions* and in our lives.

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[7] In 2007, Andrew Cuomo, then New York Attorney General, conducted an investigation of the financial aid practices of colleges and universities that were receiving "kickbacks" from lenders granted "preferred lender" status, even though student borrowers were not receiving any associated benefits. The investigation resulted in the termination/resignation of financial aid administrators at various institutions. An entire industry lost the confidence of constituents who expected ethical custodianship of federal financial aid programs. High education pundits looked for associations like the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators (NASFAA) to take a strong stand that association members should hold themselves to high ethical standards and embrace the professional practices identified by the association's *Statement of Ethical Principles and Code of Conduct for Institutional Financial Aid Professionals*. Retrieved from http://www.nasfaa.org/subhomes/MediaCenter /NASFAACodeofConduct.pdf on April 25, 2010.

[8] The Statement of Professional Practices and Ethical Standards in its entirety, which includes 13 actions. Retrieved from http://www.aacrao.org/about/ethics.cfm on April 25, 2010.

Institutions and Organizational Communication Research

Cheney and Ashcraft (2007) note that communication scholars, in general, and organizational communication scholars, in particular, have contributed to the transparency and investigation of "professional sphere" of activity, the interpretive histories of *particular* [emphasis added] professions, and the expression of professional norms and conduct (p. 147). The authors point out, however, that "*professional* [emphasis in original] has been a taken-for-granted term—widely invoked and readily recognized but rarely interrogated or deeply understood" (p. 146). Lammers and Garcia (2009) emphasize that "despite the renewed attention to *profession* [emphasis in original], the concept has not been explicated in organizational communication terms, nor has it been the explicit focus of organizational communication research" (p. 358).

To date, no research exists that explores enrollment management as an institutional phenomenon and the professionalization of the organizational field and chief enrollment manager as a communication phenomenon. Black (2003) points out that "the majority of research in the field has focused on students (e.g., student choice, student recruitment, student retention, learning outcomes). Moreover, "research on the operational side of enrollment management has been limited to organizational structure, staffing, budgets, and strategies" (pp. 173-174). The general purpose of this study is to make a meaningful contribution to the body of literature and research that explores the intersection and interplay of intraprofessional discourse, the study of *emerging* professions, and the significance of communication

in creating, sustaining, and altering institutions. The context in which this all occurs is enrollment management.

Further, it is my intent to situate this work among organizational communication and management scholarship that connects the study of discourse, professions, and institutions (e.g., Cheney & Ashcraft, 2007; Lammers & Barbour, 2006; Lammers & Garcia, 2009; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). Toward achieving the purpose and elucidating the significance of this work, I interweave higher education history with enrollment management and intraprofessional discourses; layer institutional and organization theory; and construct an organizational communication standpoint that rises from integrated discourses that signify, legitimate, and regulate higher education enrollment management as an institutionalized organizational field and emerging profession.

Beyond scholarship and toward promoting *my profession*, I also aspire for this work to advance the knowledge of higher education administration scholars and practitioners—particularly those responsible for establishing, leading, and evaluating higher education enrollment management organization and its effects on college and university access, equity, affordability, and assessment. To this end, I unearth enrollment logics, unpack organizational tactics, explicate knowledge and belief systems, sift through ideas, engage issues, and follow leads toward explicating the institutionalization and professionalization of higher education enrollment management and the chief enrollment manager respectively.

The chief enrollment managers in this study construct and delimit structures by

which enrollments are derived, classified, grouped, divided, compared, contrasted, and

related to form enrollment management discourses. According to Putnam and Fairhurst

(2001):

> Discourse is a way of knowing or perspective for understanding organizational
> life. It is a lens or point of entry for seeing, learning, and understanding ongoing
> events. As a lens it provides a unique way to focus on the subtle aspects of
> organizing and to determine what is figure and ground in the framing of
> organizational events. (p. 79)

As a ground and linking pin (Stohl, 1995), on one hand, enrollment

management discourses signify a professional meeting of the minds that exposes

presuppostional, or taken-for-granted, frameworks which ground disparate

knowledge and discourses (Taylor, Gurd, & Bardini, 1997). As figure and hinge pin

(Putnam & Stohl, 1996), on the other hand, enrollment management discourses

facilitate individual and collective "spanning" across and between fluid and

permeable professional boundaries (Ancona & Caldwell, 1988; Putnam & Stohl) that

may have been traditionally perceived as domains with limited and rigid access.

This work grounds, links, figures and hinges a standpoint that "emerges in

communication (and nowhere else)….in two distinct ways: as described, and thus an

object about which people talk and have attitudes, and as realized, in its continued

enactment in the interaction patterns of its members' exchanges. It is both locution

(representation) and illocution (action, with practical consequences)" (Taylor & Van

Every, 2000, p. 4). Thus, enrollment management discourses are conceived as

descriptive and actionable. Enrollment management discourses prescribe meanings

to discursive activities that in turn influence (inter)actions which generate particular

experiences and practices (Fairclough, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; van Dijk, 1997).

Rather than simply revealing the presence of an institutional phenomenon, constituted through, and surfacing in enrollment management and intraprofessional discourses, I aim to provoke and impel the organizational field and profession by engaging discourses. I therefore take some uncommon (in respect to extant enrollment management research) theoretical, analytical, and methodological turns. I embark down new pathways toward the plausible end of broadening the range of possibilities that might lend to situating enrollment management in unexplored research contexts—such as institutional theory and organizational communication.

My first turn steers away from enrollment management research that is grounded by organizational perspectives that place primacy on micro-processes, but is devoid of sufficient attention to collective agency that occurs beyond organizational boundaries—as is the case with professions and professional associations. Further, although (open) systems theory, resource dependency theory, and revenue (maximization) theory provide theoretical bases for enrollment management practices (Hossler & Hoezee, 2001), extant enrollment management research and scholarship is characteristically tautological in terms of theorization. Or more directly stated, arguably, much of the seminal enrollment management literature is edited, published, or promoted by AACRAO and a few field elites (e.g., Black, Bontrager, Henderson, Hossler, Kalsbeek, Whiteside) and thus is susceptible to inherent and pervasive self-referencing. Consequently, I assert that there is

hegemonic tenor that although useful for studying persistent enrollment logics, binds

the extant literature and research from and within the organizational field to limited

theoretical perspectives.

Conversely, this study broadens the theoretical foundation of enrollment

management research—which influences both enrollment management scholarship

and practice—to include institutional theory and structuration theory. Furthermore,

and of particular salience to *my discipline*, this work also responds to a call for

developing an institutional theory of organizational communication that links the

study of institutions and organizations mediated by the institutionalized behavior and

the traditions of professions and associations (see Lammers & Barbour, 2006).

The second turn leads to an analytical framework—R. W. Scott's *Institutional*

*Pillars and Carriers—*that accounts for regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive

elements, conditions, processes, and carriers that create institutions and promote

institutionalization. Scott (2008a) advances *structuration* (Giddens; 1979; 1984) as a

mechanism for reconciling the institutional constraints and changes associated with

individual agency and thus presents a comprehensive framework that joins theoretical

arguments concerning agency and institutions. The framework supports and advances "a

more proactive role of individual and organizational actors, and a more interactive and

reciprocal view of institutional processes" (Scott, p. 78). Of particular significance, the

framework facilitates the examination of enrollment management at the *micro-level*

(focusing on psychological and social psychological bases), the *meso-level* (involving

relational and network issues), and the *macro-level* (involving political, economic,

institutional, and societal dynamics).

The third turn guides this work toward a methodological approach that embraces the complexity and incompleteness of unraveling accepted truths and constructing personal truths and situated knowledges: *The Palimpsest*. In 1999, while developing a concept paper for my first submission to the Organizational Communication Division of the National Communication Association (NCA), I came across and was intrigued by the palimpsest. In the second semester of my doctoral program—and with only one organizational communication seminar behind me—I decided to write a paper that would enable me to both explore my new found passion for organizational communication and tap into my professional experiences writing, revising, overwriting, and executing software programs (which I reconceptualized as organizational texts) as a programmer/analyst for a university student information system.

In the course of my search, I came across an article: "The Question of Technology, or How Organizations Inscribe the World." Joerges and Czamiawska (1998) emphasize that technical norms are "the ways in which the patterns of organizing are inscribed in technology and the ways in which organizations inscribe the technical worlds they produce" (p. 364). As an alternative to *technology as text*, the authors propose a metaphor that connotes the multi-layered "silent inscriptions of institutional order" that are abstracted from and guided by social and technical norms: *technology as palimpsest*. Inspired by Joerges and Czamiawska, I conjoined my scholar interests with my professional experiences to produce the first paper I submitted for NCA presentation.

The admittedly undeveloped paper, "Organizational Communication as Palimpsest: "What Lies Beneath the Inscription of Organizational Reality?" was accepted. Although my interest in technology has waned, I still find the notion that technical inscriptions are more susceptible to being overlooked and marginalized than other organizational texts quite interesting. The palimpsest, however, was and still remains most intriguing to me.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines the process of layering that produces a palimpsest as *palimpsestic.* A palimpsestic qualitative approach in general, and specifically palimpsestic discourse analyses, "allow for many more layers and interpretations, for a deeper engraving as much as impenetrability of original text and meaning" (Joerges & Czamiawska, 1998, p. 382). In this work, discourse is conceived as *palimpsestuous* (Dillon, 2007, p. 3). Dillon coins the term palimpsestuous, which connotes "a simultaneous relation of intimacy and separation" (p. 3). Palimpsestuous describes "the type of relationality reified in the palimpsest….the structure that one is presented with as the result of [an involved and entangled, interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting] process, and the subsequent reappearance of the underlying script" (Dillon, p. 4).

My struggle to explicate, use, and re-present the palimpsest—during what was an emergent research process—led me to *crystallization*. Introduced by Laurel Richardson (1994; 2000) and advanced by Laura Ellingson (2009), "crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. Ingeniously, we know there is always more to know" (Richardson, 2000, p. 934). Crystallization is a qualitative approach that serves as

a "way to of achieving depth, through compilation of not only many details but also different forms of representing, organizing, and analyzing those details" (Ellingson, p. 10).

The methodological significance of this work is two-fold: 1) promoting the development and use of crystallization in qualitative research and 2) making use of the palimpsest (in theory, methods, analysis, and re-presentation) more accessible. To this end, I first introduce the qualitative approach palimpsestuous crystallization as an expansion of Ellingson's (2009) integrated crystallization typology (woven and patched). [9] Next, I offer this work as response to her call for a "conscious use of crystallization" (p. 107) in a research project. And last, but most importantly, I carry out the former and latter in the context of bringing together intraprofessional and enrollment management discourses that crystallize an institutional and professional construction and interpretation of enrollment management and chief enrollment managers respectively.

That first NCA paper enabled me to better understand the representational power of metaphors. And this work has furthered my understanding of the reflective utility and action possibilities of employing metaphors in theory, methods, and analysis. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action" (p. 3). Through the use of metaphors we enact abductive reasoning (Bateson, 1979), which typically comes before induction and deduction, to

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[9] As conceptualized by Ellingson (2009), "in *woven crystallization*, we deliberately weave different genres into a single text in which the contrasting genres mix, frequently moving readers back and forth between several genres in small excerpts and pieces as a larger picture constructed, much like the small pieces of a quilt or scraps in a collage together form a coherent work" [original emphasis] (p. 104). Conversely, *patched crystallization* "produce[s] crystallized multigenre text that include a succession of juxtaposed genres…rather than mixing or weaving small pieces of contrasting genres all together" (p. 111).

make sense of one thing symbolically through something else—analogy.[10] In this regard, we develop symbolic bridges that enable us to connect logical gaps. Through metaphor and analogy we are therefore able to formulate rational models of explicit concepts. The conceptual trilogy of metaphor, analogy, and model help us circumvent the inherent barriers that language processing and linguistics place on creating explicit representations (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995).

Putnam, Phillips, and Chapman (1996) emphasize that "the criteria for choosing a particular metaphor are the researcher's goals, the ontological basis of both communication and organization, the phenomenon that is most central to the organizing process" (p. 394). This study integrates the communication metaphors linkage, performance, and discourse in respect to *organization* and *communication perspective* (see Putnam, Phillips, & Chapman, 1996; Putnam & Jablin, 2001, p. xxvii).

First, from a *linkage* lens, organization is viewed as networks of multiple and overlapping relationships of enrollment management professionals and associations. Organizational communication is enrollment management professional connections and interdependence. Second, from a *performance* lens, organization is viewed as coordinated actions of enrollment management professionals who enact enrollment rules, structures, and environment through social interaction. Organizational communication is social interaction between and amongst enrollment management

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[10] Abductive reasoning typically begins with an incomplete set of observations and proceeds to the likeliest possible explanations for a phenomenon. Inductive reasoning moves from specific to general; thus, it begins with observations that are specific and limited in scope and then proceeds to a generalized conclusion which is typically supported by accumulated evidence. In contrast, deductive reasoning moves from the general rule to specifics; it typically starts with the assertion of a general rule and then proceeds to a necessarily logical and specific conclusion.

professionals, dynamic processes of their interlocking behaviors, reflexivity, collaboration, and meaning-making. Last, from a *discourse* lens, organization is viewed as texts, or ritualized patterns of interaction that transcend immediate conversations. Organizational communication is intraprofessional and enrollment management discourses that function as both process and structure/context, thereby intertwining action and meaning.

Conclusion and Organization

This work promotes enrollment management as an institutionalized organizational field that is transported in regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements. These institutionalized elements are mediated by the rules and resources, norms, and interpretive schemes that prescribe power, sanctions, and meanings that are constitutive of enrollment logics. Enrollment logics are subsequently enacted by chief enrollment managers to form intraprofessional and enrollment management discourses that institutionalize the organizational field of enrollment management and professionalize the role of the chief enrollment manager in higher education.

It is plausible that enrollment management might be viewed as a matter of grand organizational design, accomplished by integrating historically incongruent organizational functions. In this study, however, I examine enrollment logics— organizing principles—that constitute enrollment management as an institutional, not merely organizational, phenomenon. To this end, I explore how chief enrollment managers construct and enact a common set of assumptions, beliefs, and shared

understandings of enrollment management as structure, practice, and profession; recognize the significance of a professional association in diffusing enrollment logics that shape and sustain the organizational field; and reveal how the interplay of discourse and profession constitute and promote the other.

This work is organized into five chapters. Chapter II provides a literature base to develop an institutional understanding of enrollment management. Generally, a literature review summarizes and evaluates the existing knowledge on a particular phenomenon; seeking to discover a gap in the literature that warrants original research. For this research project, however, a preliminary survey of the literature revealed that there is no existing research or literature that casts enrollment management as an institutional phenomenon. Therefore an unorthodox and conceivably novel approach to reviewing extant enrollment management literature seemed warranted.

The literature review starts with an explication of three cornerstone concepts that typify extant enrollment management literature, and is followed by an introduction of three broader alternatives for classifying enrollment management literature. Next, making use of the alternative concepts, I review and classify 38 doctoral dissertations focused on enrollment management. I draw out enrollment management organizing contexts that each study establishes and then synthesize those contexts into what I perceive as emerging enrollment logics. I then establish the theoretical framework used to guide this study and offer an explication of the analytical framework that is utilized in Chapter IV.[11] I conclude the chapter with

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[11] I opted to include the analytical framework with the literature review after two drafts of this work. In the first draft, I situated the framework in the Chapter III (methods). As originally written, the framework

some brief closing comments.

Chapter III introduces the methodological approach used in this study. I open the chapter by distinguishing two qualitative constructs: triangulation and crystallization. Subsequently, I offer my motivation for using and thus promoting the development of (palimpsestuous) crystallization in qualitative research. Next, I inform the reader of my position in the organizational field of enrollment management and discuss the significance of *reciprocity-in-play* between professional association members. I then describe the sources used to elicit data—including autoethnographic accounts—needed to execute the research agenda set forth and address the research questions posed. Before concluding the methods chapter, I familiarize the reader with the use of discourse, discourse analysis, the palimpsest, and palimpsestuous crystallization in this work.

Chapter IV provides a summary of the results of this study—i.e., data attainment, analysis, presentation, and interpretation. The chapter is organized around the three tactically ordered research questions that guide this study. The chapter begins by taking the reader to Boston College where enrollment management was conceived and then transports the reader onward to and through the evolution of the construct from the mid-1970s up until more contemporary conceptualizations. Next, the first research question is addressed. Thereafter, a re-presentation of chief enrollment managers' search for the profession and an examination of their desire to be granted standing access to key

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seemed ill-placed. I then moved the framework to Chapter IV (results), where it seemed to fit better but protracted the presentation of the study data and results. After finally settling on placing the framework at the end of the literature review—immediately following explication of the theoretical framework for this study—I was concerned about the distance between the introduction of the framework and use of it. Therefore, I decided to re-present the contextualized framework (in table form) in Chapter IV, before mapping institutional elements.

decision-making settings—spaces and seats where they expect to have a strategic role in positively influencing an institution's enrollment health and effectively maintaining control over their own organizational and professional lives. Subsequently, the second research question is addressed followed by an explication of the palimpsest in respect to presenting enrollment management discourses juxtaposed with descriptive text and autoethnographnic accounts. I end the results chapter by addressing the third, and last, research question followed by brief concluding thoughts.

Chapter V concludes this work by addressing the grand purpose of this research project. I first identify some limitations of the study. Next, I draw some conclusions about the location and professionalization of the chief enrollment manager vis-à-vis the dislocation and deprofessionalization of the college/university registrar. I then present methodological, analytical, and theoretical contributions of this study along with recommendations for future research. I end this research project with some final words of study participants crystallized with an autoethnographic standpoint of enrollment management as an institution and profession.

CHAPTER II

ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT LITERATURE:

FRAMEWORKS AND LOGICS

John (Jack) Maguire, then dean of admissions at Boston College,[1] introduced enrollment management in his reflective article, "To the organized, go the students." Maguire (1976) wrote, "Simply stated, Enrollment Management is a process that brings together the often disparate functions having to do with recruiting, funding, tracking, retaining, and replacing students as they move toward, within and away from the university" (p. 16). Conceived by Maguire as a "grand design," enrollment management and an associated body of literature developed rapidly in the 1980s (e.g., Campbell, 1980; Claffey & Hossler, 1986; Devine, 1987; Dolence, 1989; Glover, 1986; Hossler, 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1987; Hossler & Kemerer, 1988; Kemerer, Baldridge, & Green, 1982; Merante, 1987; Muston, 1985). However, despite increased foci on enrollment management scholarship and practice, the emergence of the contemporary chief enrollment manager lagged behind as "admissions organizations [namely professional associations, such as AACRAO] were slow to embrace enrollment management as a concept" (see Henderson, 2001, p. 24).

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[1] It appears that although Maguire's title changed during his tenure at Boston College, he was recruited for the position of dean of admissions. In an interview for *College and University Journal*, an AACRAO publication, Maguire recalls, "I ended up, against my will and better judgment, as dean of admissions at the age of 31….Around 1982, after eleven years as dean of admissions and dean of enrollment management at BC, I went to Father Monan and told him that I was going to leave to start my own company" (p. 33). In the *Bridge Magazine*, a Boston College publication, Maguire's bio reads, "John Maguire, '61, Ph.D. '66, has been Dean of Admissions, Records and Freshman Financial Aid for the past 12 months" (Maguire, 1976, p. 16).

At the onset, an enrollment manager was either a faculty person *appointed* as dean of admissions or a non-academician *hired* as a director of admissions (Henderson, 2001). As enrollment management evolved, first as a structural concept, and then as a comprehensive administrative process, there was a clarion call for a "new level of professionalism" in enrollment management leadership (Hossler, 1986b). According to Hossler, the ideal enrollment manager was substantially more research-oriented than the traditional admissions or student affairs professional that had a penchant for marketing and recruitment, but in general was less familiar with research techniques and methodologies. The emergence of the contemporary chief enrollment manager—an individual possessing an amalgamation of knowledge and skills in higher education administration, public relations, recruitment marketing, enrollment technologies, data trend analysis, and enrollment predictive and econometric modeling[2]—signified a shift away from the admissions gatekeeper to the enrollment strategist (Black, 2004a; Coomes, 2000; Dolence, 1993; Henderson, 1998; Henderson, 2001; Jantzen, 1991; Scannell, 2004; Stewart, 2004).

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[2] This study does not focus on the financial elements (finance, budgeting, accounting, or economics) of enrollment management; however, references to net tuition revenue warrant a cursory explication of econometrics and revenue management. Tuition and fees are one of the primary sources of revenue for a college or university. Calculating net tuition revenue is institutional specific and thus cannot be deduced to a simple formula. In addition to environmental factors, like inflation, institutional factors come into play (e.g., appropriation revenue, financial aid discounting, and program development expenses). Arguably, the generative mechanism behind enrollment management is rooted in economic theory, specifically revenue management and econometric modeling. According to Cross (1997), "revenue management is the application of disciplined tactics that predict consumer behavior at the micromarket level and optimize product availability and price to maximize growth" (p. 131). Econometric modeling is a method used by higher education institutional planners to discover the relationships between tuition pricing, tuition discounting, enrollments, and net tuition revenue. Spanos (1986) notes that the "use of observed data is what distinguishes econometrics from other forms of studying economic theory phenomena" (p. 3).

The enrollment strategist—ergo contemporary chief enrollment manager—

skillfully leverages relationships and experiences to guide his or her institution toward

achieving established enrollment goals. Hossler and Hoezee (2001) propose that the

successful chief enrollment manager must also "draw on a wide range of theories,

concepts, and practices" (p. 58). On one hand, the authors suggest that good theory can

lead to sound enrollment management practices that induce organizational effectiveness;

on the other hand, empirically derived concepts provide chief enrollment managers with

the "hooks upon which they can hang their experiences" (p. 71). Hence, Hossler and

Hoezee identify three cornerstone concepts they view as critical to the success and

viability of chief enrollment managers and the organizational field respectively: 1)

enrollment management as *courtship*, 2) students as institutional *image* and 3) the

academic enterprise.

First, enrollment management as courtship is a metaphor advanced by Hossler

and colleagues (see Abrahamson & Hossler, 1990; Hossler, 2000; Hossler, Schmit &

Vesper, 1998) to elucidate enrollment management models that stress personalization

and timeliness as the essential elements for the recruitment of new students and the

retention of enrolled students. In short, enrollment managers seek out students who meet

their desired institutional student profiles. However, prior to enrolling and while enrolled

at a particular institution, "courted" students look for an institution to be good fit vis-à-

vis their individual interests and needs. On one side, enrollment management involves

capturing the attention of ideal prospective students, and then enticing those prospects to

complete the institution's admissions process. On the other side, once applicants (ideal

or otherwise) are enrolled, institutional effort must be directed toward maintaining

strong relationships between the institution and its students (and alumni).

Second, students as institutional image connotes that the size and composition of

the student body an institution attracts, admits, enrolls, retains, and graduates influences

how that particular college or university is classified and ranked among other

institutions. Classification systems, such as the Carnegie Classification,[3] are used to

derive, represent, control, and delineate institutional descriptors that reflect the

composition and behaviors of students, administrators, faculty, and alumni (Hossler,

2000; Hunter, 1995; Marchung, 1998; Monks & Ehrenberg, 1999). Further,

classification systems and associated descriptors are building blocks for ranking

structures that can be used to assess the value and performance of one institution vis-à-

vis another institution (Grewal, Dearden, & Lilien, 2008).

In 1983, *U.S. News & World Report* (*U.S. News*) published its first, and well-

received, "America's Best Colleges" issue—which reported data gathered from a survey

of college and university presidents. In 1987, *U.S. News USN&WR* adopted a

multidimensional methodology that involved eliciting peer institution assessments to

augment self-reported institutional data. Over the past two decades, and particularly of

late, special issues on college and university rankings in popular publications (e.g.,

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[3] In 1970, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education developed a classification of colleges and universities to support its program of research and policy analysis….For over three decades, the Carnegie Classification has been the leading framework for describing institutional diversity in U.S. higher education. It has been widely used in the study of higher education, both as a way to represent and control for institutional differences, and also in the design of research studies to ensure adequate representation of sampled institutions, students, or faculty. Retrieved from http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/ on April 25, 2010.

Atlantic Monthly, *Time Magazine*, and *Wall Street Journal*) and college guides (e.g.,

Barron's, *Princeton Review*, *Peterson's*, and *Fiske*) have become essential components

in the student college-choice process (Hossler, 2004). Furthermore, Hossler admonishes

that college rankings have become a national obsession (see Volkwein & Gruing 2005

for a comprehensive history and critique of college and university rankings).

Last, and importantly, enrollment management is enacted in a college or

university setting—i.e., academic enterprise—that is inherently decentralized and

autonomous. The academic enterprise is comprised of executive/senior administrators,

provosts, deans, department heads, faculty, staff, and students—all who at any given

time may have divergent sets of criteria for evaluating what is the ideal enrollment mix

for the college or university. Further, because the "goals and priorities of colleges and

universities are simultaneously multiple, complex, contradictory, and illusive" (Hossler

& Hoezee, 2001, p. 71), it is often difficult to assess the significance of chief enrollment

managers' contributions in terms of meeting institutional enrollment goals and

objectives.

Enrollment Logics in Enrollment Management Doctoral Research

As a contributing enrollment management practitioner, I make a concerted effort

to stay abreast of developments in the field; hence, I read a significant amount

enrollment management literature—most of which can be classified as applied research.

Generally, I find most articles in the quarterly journal—*College and University*—

published by my association an interesting read. On rare occasions, however, I come

across a thought piece that steps outside of the field and truly engages *this* reader, by

casting enrollment management in a theoretical light that aims to challenge the profession(al) and push the field to new levels (e.g., Kalsbeek, 2007; Jungian theory and enrollment management mental models). An occasional thought piece notwithstanding, I argue that the organizational field is conceptually rich, but theoretically deprived of bona fide enrollment management theory.

While I agree that the concepts courtship, image, and academic enterprise identified by Hossler and Hoezee (2001) typify enrollment management research and literature, I find the three concepts too narrow for classifying extant literature that underscores the institutionalization of enrollment management. Given my foci on the historical and contemporary construction and diffusion of enrollment logics—and treatment of enrollment management as an organizational field—an alternative (and novel) organization of the literature is germane to this study.

Thus, I concluded that this study might be strengthened by reviewing literature that incorporates a sufficient discussion about how enrollment management is conceptualized, not simply defined or applied. Furthermore, I sought to connect the discursive construction of enrollment management in the formal literature to my analysis of the construct in Chapter IV. I also wanted to reveal how enrollment management literature functions as a carrier of enrollment logics and thus contributes to the discourse that institutionalizes and professionalizes the field. With these two goals in mind, I decided to examine dissertations with clear foci on enrollment management.

To this end, I searched the ProQuest database for full text dissertations that included "enrollment management" in the title. My search yielded 38 dissertations

written between July 1991 and March 2010.[4] While I acknowledge that some, if not

most, of the dissertation authors may be experienced enrollment management

practitioners, I presume their scholarship in the field to be in the early stages of

development. Thus, I refer to the authors as *novice scholars*. As a point of clarification,

this framing is intended to be pragmatic, not evaluative. I surmise that like me, these

novice scholars sought to legitimate themselves to their respective dissertation advisors

and committees and situate their research as relevant, if not significant, works in the

field. Thus, it is conceivable that the dissertations reviewed signify the acceptance and

use of persistent enrollment management terms and frames that reveal prevailing (and

perhaps shifting) enrollment logics.

  The novice scholars studied enrollment management from numerous

organizing perspectives and applications at diverse American colleges and

universities, and most recently Canadian institutions. Their dissertations offer a

range of perspectives used to locate enrollment management in particular organizing

contexts. The studies vary on a number of fronts, including: geographical location of

research sites; explorations at public, private, four-year, and two-year colleges and

universities; theoretical and conceptual frameworks; research methodologies; and

rationales for the research project.

  The strategic nature of enrollment management and associated planning is

examined (Adisu, 2006; Becvar, 2000; Brown, 2002; Guidry, 2000; Lane, 2002;

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[4] There were a total of 59 dissertations with "enrollment management" in the title, of which 21 did not have full text available. Noteworthy, the first AACRAO Strategic Enrollment Conference was held in 1991.

Marquis, 1991; Popovich, 2006; Weatherall, 2006). Simon's theory of bounded

rationality (J. B. Barnes, 2007; Riley, 2007) and resource dependency theory (Robinson,

2006) are employed as theoretical and conceptual frameworks to explicate enrollment

management decision-making and resource allocation respectively. Some research

focuses on the perceptions of enrollment management practitioners (Robinson, 2006;

Smith, 1997), registrars (Simpson, 1997), faculty (Murphy, 1999), and administrators

(Dempsey, 2009; Fuller, 1998; Kruse, 1996; Simpson, 1997: Williams, 2001). Other

studies place primacy on developing an assessment framework (Black, 2003) and

evaluating enrollment management planning, strategies, goals, objectives, and

performance (Adisu, 2006; Clark, 2000; Guidry; 2000; Kraft, 2007; Miller, 1992;

Simmons, 2007; Vander Schee, 1998).

The relationship between enrollment management and organizational culture

(Hogan, 2004; Lane, 2002) diversity (Johansen, 2003; Marquis, 1991) and leadership

decision-making (Sims, 2007) are explored. Graduate student enrollment (Adisu, 2006;

Browning, 2000; Stack, 2009) and the diffusion of enrollment management at

institutions with distinct populations have been foci of studies (Adisu, 2006; Bidinger,

1995; Guidry, 2000; Riley; 2007; Weatherall, 2006). Some studies bring attention to the

growth and significance of community college enrollment (B. R. Barnes, 1993; Harris,

2010; Lane, 2002, LoBasso, 2005; Murphy, 1999; Simpson, 1997; Thielemann, 2004;

Simmons, 2007), while others examine enrollment management vis-à-vis declining

populations (Parnell, 2004). And finally, enrollment management surfaces in religious

organization contexts at Christian colleges and universities (Vander Schee, 1998),

Assemblies of God colleges (Cogan, 1992), and a Church of Christ university (White, 1995).

Informed by extant enrollment management literature *and* the enrollment management dissertations, I derived conceptual groupings, to facilitate a cohesive explication of the works of the 38 novice scholars in respect to my research agenda. The purpose, significance, and findings of each study produced framings, rationales, and outcomes of enrollment management as concept, structure, and practice. I was most interested, however, in discovering conceptual uses of enrollment management in selected dissertations. The novice scholars' conceptualizations offer insight into the underlying organizing context that grounds and frames each study.

The next three sections are an entanglement of the novice scholars' research with my conceptual understanding and practical experience of enrollment management. I situate the 38 dissertations (hereto referenced as *doctoral research*) within these conceptual categories: 1) enrollment management as *organizational structure*, 2) enrollment management as *organizational development* and 3) enrollment management as *organizational orientation*. Each section begins with a brief explication of the conceptual framework that will be used to cast a "representation" of the doctoral research into one chosen framework.

Given the breadth and depth of the doctoral research, I acknowledge that the studies could be classified, and thus represented, using multiple frameworks. In terms of representation, however, I have made pragmatic and politicized choices. Constructing a representation of a phenomenon most often involves "deleting the work" and displacing

contingencies (Star, 1995). Moreover, representation, by design, privileges the ideal and abstract over the contingent and specific. Star points out that attributes of a good representation include generality, reliability, portability, and integration. Perceived as a political process, representing engages the invariable tension between including the significant and excluding the decidedly insignificant. In the next three sections, I have included what I deem as significant enrollment management frameworks represented by and reflected in the doctoral research. The last section of this chapter crystallizes an explication of enrollment logics that emerges from the doctoral research.

Enrollment Management as Organizational Structure:

Kemerer, Baldridge, & Green

Kemerer, Baldridge, & Green (1982) introduce a framework that advances enrollment management as a structural concept and procedure. The framework, which is pronounced as "the quintessential enrollment management structural forms" (Henderson, 2001, p. 3), offers four structural possibilities for enrollment management organization: 1) an enrollment management *committee*, 2) an enrollment management *coordinator*, 3) an enrollment management *matrix*, and 4) an enrollment management *division*. As originally conceived, the structural framework advances particular conceptual approaches to and procedural actions of enrollment management.

An *enrollment management committee* (Cambell, 1980) is typically an advisory group composed of senior administrators and faculty who focus primarily on operational enrollment issues. An *enrollment management coordinator* (Fram, 1975), most often, has no line authority outside of his or her functional area of responsibility; therefore, he

or she relies heavily on their organizational relationships and powers of persuasion to positively affect enrollment. An *enrollment management matrix (*Kreutner & Godfrey, 1981) is a blended construction of the committee and coordinator models. The matrix structure is typically led by a senior administrator with the power and influence to affect policy and procedural changes across functional areas. An *enrollment management division* (Caren & Kemerer, 1979) is led by a senior administrator who possesses the explicit authority to coordinate and control institutional functions and activities affecting enrollment outcomes. The enrollment management division often includes, but is not limited to, departmental units that manage recruitment and marketing, admissions, financial aid, academic advising, career advising, institutional research, new student orientation, retention programs, and student services (Hossler, 1984).

Bidinger (1995) administered a survey that references and describes the four structures of Kemerer et al. framework. Respondents were asked to identify which, if any, of the enrollment management models did their "own college structure" most resemble and note the effectiveness of the "enrollment structure." Respondents were also permitted to identify whether their institution had created its own enrollment management model. The findings suggest that even in the absence of an enrollment management structure, at their respective institutions, survey respondents are aware that an enrollment management structure is necessary to advance their enrollment agendas.

Perceptions of the most desirable enrollment management structure may differ at individual- and institutional-levels. Fuller (1998) examines the perceptions of executive and senior academic and administrative leadership in respect to "organizational

structures used for implementing the enrollment management model" (p. 195). Fuller notes that the coordinator model was perceived as the most preferred enrollment management structure; the committee model, however, was identified as the being the most widely adopted structure. Conversely, Cogan (1992) uses the Kemerer et al. framework to explicate the adoption of enrollment management models at Assemblies of God Colleges, where the coordinator model was the most pervasive structure. Becvar (2000) posits that the matrix and coordinator models are the most effective enrollment management structures for private, Baccalaureate II (primarily undergraduate colleges with a major emphasis on baccalaureate degree programs) colleges in South Dakota.

Robinson (2006) concludes that massive structural changes and "radical reorganization" that are likely to occur when establishing an enrollment management division is not necessarily the best response to addressing an enrollment crisis. The study showed insignificant differences in both enrollment management practitioners' satisfaction and institutional goal attainment at institutions with and without clearly defined enrollment management structures. Robinson therefore asserts, "We cannot say today though that an enrollment management structure is a better mechanism than another to address threats to institutional stability" (p. 79).

Williams (2001) notes a correlation between enrollment management structure implemented and the size of Georgia-located technical colleges. The enrollment management division structure was most desired at colleges with an enrollment of less than 1001 and colleges with 2001 to 3000 enrollments. Conversely, the enrollment management committee structure was most desired at colleges with 1001 to 2000

enrollments and over 3000 enrollments. Perceptions of the most appropriate enrollment

management structure differed depending on an individual's institutional role.

Admissions directors preferred the enrollment management coordinator structure;

presidents and vice president of student affairs/services preferred the enrollment

management division; and vice presidents of instruction preferred the enrollment

management committee.

LoBasso (2005) surveys 15 Florida community colleges and found that

enrollment management reports to various administrative units: Enrollment Services

(30.4%), Student Services, (21.7%), Enrollment Management (13.0%), and sundry units

(each at 4.3%)—Enrollment and Student Services; Enrollment Development and Student

Success; Student Development and Enrollment Services; Enrollment Services and

Testing; Enrollment and Student Success; Post Secondary Transitions; Admissions,

Records, and College Transitions; and Student Success Services. Based upon study

findings, most enrollment management organizations were located in divisions of

Student Affairs and led by a Dean of Students.

Thielemann (2004) examines the effectiveness of enrollment management at

Texas public community colleges and universities. Enrollment management best

practices, specifically retention and recruitment practices are identified by institutional

type (e.g., public or private). Thielmann compares her Texas institutional study data with

data from a national survey conducted by Noel Levitz, a prominent enrollment

management consulting firm in the field.[5] Thielemann's findings align with national

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[5] Noel-Levitz has partial roots as an admissions and consulting firm in 1974 under the name "Williams

data; that is, 80% of the Texas institutions surveyed have an individual with "direct responsibility for enrollment management" (p. 124). The title "vice president" is the most widely used title, in Texas and nationally. However, "director" is most frequently used in Texas community colleges, which differs from the "dean" title that is most consistent in the national data.

In sum, the surveyed doctoral research that promotes enrollment management as organizational structure spans between 1995 and 2006. The research suggests there is a general awareness that different enrollment management structures can be appropriated. The presence and governance of enrollment management structure, and thus organization appears normative in that institutional appropriations fit the Kemerer et al. framework. Perceptions of an ideal enrollment management structure, however, differ according to institutional type and the institutional roles of those individuals who participated in the various studies. In general, institutional appropriations of enrollment management structure are not clearly defined, plainly understood, or broadly accepted. The doctoral research findings are inconsequential in respect to showing that the adoption and appropriation of an enrollment management structure alone either advances institutional enrollment agendas or makes a significant difference in achieving institutional enrollment goals.

Crockett." In 1984, Dr. Lee Noel and Dr. Randi Levitz established the original Noel-Levitz Centers for Institutional Effectiveness. Previously, Drs. Noel and Levitz served as recruitment and retention authorities with ACT's National Center for the Advancement of Educational Practices. In 1992, Williams Crockett and the Noel-Levitz Centers joined to form today's Noel-Levitz. The company's vision is: To lead the charge for total enrollment effectiveness in higher education—for two-year and four-year colleges and universities, public and private, as well as graduate and professional schools. Retrieved from https://www.noellevitz.com on April 30, 2010.

Enrollment Management as Organizational Development:

Dolence

Dolence (1993) advances enrollment management as an evolving organizational phenomenon that moves along a continuum ranging from ostensible enrollment management to institutionally entrenched enrollment management, with most institutions falling between structural and tactical organization development—levels 2 and 4 respectively. *Level 1*, nominal enrollment management, is the lowest level of development. At this level, enrollment management is most often perceived as a panacea for enrollment problems. Moreover, the adoption of enrollment management is isomorphic in the sense that the "concept" is perceived as normative. *Level 2*, structural enrollment management, places primacy on organizational structure, efficiencies, and effectiveness. Organizational actions are directed toward integrating and improving functions from a structural perspective. *Level 3*, tactical enrollment management, is the point where enrollment strategies begin to surface; the organization sees itself as a component of a larger system, and therefore collaboration and environmental scanning are promoted; and enrollment management evolves from a structural concept to a comprehensive process. *Level 4*, strategic enrollment management, is the highest level of development. At this level, enrollment management is situated within the academic context and thus is entrenched in institutional and strategic planning of the academic enterprise.

Organizing the novice scholars' doctoral research chronologically shows that over time the foci of enrollment management research has moved up, shifted down, and

on occasions remained at the same levels of enrollment management (organizational) development. It appears that the movement depends on institutional characteristics, organizing conditions, and environmental factors. The studies that follow look at enrollment plans, objectives, and strategies. The reader should take note that the first two studies (Marquis, 1991; Miller; 1992) pre-date the Dolence (1993) framework.

Marquis (1991) compares the "enrollment strategies" of predominately African-American vis-à-vis white colleges throughout the U.S. The foci of the study, however, are recruitment tools, not the broader aim of strategies to advance enrollment. Thus, I argue that the survey administered is ill-titled, "Enrollment Strategies as Strategic Tools." Marquis discovered that the only significant difference in recruitment tools usage was Media Advertising, which he noted was used more heavily by the African American colleges in comparison to White colleges.

Miller (1992) concludes that a sample of 43 four-year state universities located in California, New York, Michigan, and Missouri have established enrollment management objectives, but have not yet developed enrollment management plans toward meeting those objectives. Moreover, the types of enrollment data deemed necessary to advance enrollment management objectives was noted as deficient at the majority of the surveyed universities. One of objectives of this study was to ascertain whether the vice presidents of academic affairs and vice presidents of student affairs agree on the "practices of enrollment management as related to their institutions' objectives, campus involvement and activities" (p. 133). Miller concludes that indeed there is consistency in perceptions between academic and student affairs vice presidents presiding on the same campus.

B. R. Barnes (1993) finds that 22 of 24 components were deemed essential for strategic enrollment plans at institutions within the Alabama community college system. Neither involvement of the board/advisory committee nor committee coordination with institutional marketing was noted as vital to constructing strategic enrollment plans. The study suggests that, based on headcount, there is no significant correlation between the implementation of an enrollment management plan and institutional size.

Smith (1997) makes a significant contribution to enrollment management literature and research by examining and classifying the the perceptions of 261 enrollment managers in respect to the relationship between enrollment management performance and enrollment management effectiveness. The study suggests that enrollment management is more developed at private universities (two-year and four-year); a characteristic which is primarily attributed to the inception of enrollment management at a private university. However, although surveyed public universities are found to have less developed models of enrollment management, Smith concludes that those public institutions reached their performance goals at higher rates than private institutions.

Vander Schee (1998) finds that the members of the Coalition for Christian Colleges and Universities employ enrollment management strategies, but do not necessary have an "enrollment management structure." Further, the strategies are employed by units that would typically comprise an enrollment management organization, such as admissions and recruitment. Vander Schee suggests that implementing enrollment management units in an ordered progression may have utility

in "developing" as opposed to "establishing" an enrollment management structure, such as a division.

Guidry (2000) studies enrollment management at colleges of osteopathic medicine. The study has the broad goal of contributing to research focused on enrollment strategies. To this end, the researcher concludes that enrollment management strategies at the particular colleges of interest were not significantly influenced by institutional type (private or public), location, or size of the entering class. Utilizing focus groups to augment an administered survey, Guidry engages study participants in a discussion about perceptions associated with the effectiveness of various enrollment strategies.

Brown (2002) looks at the existence of "formal written" enrollment management plans at Research universities. The study suggests that there is an approximate split between the number of universities with and those without enrollment management plans. Respondents without plans indicated that they intended on developing an enrollment management plan within a subsequent five year timeframe. Brown concludes that once an enrollment management plan is in place, the plan should be a one of a kind roadmap to institutional success and viability.

Lane (2002) explores the relationship between organizational culture and strategic enrollment management planning processes, placing particular focus on "best practices" and the perceptions enrollment workers vis-à-vis the functional units to which they belonged. Lane discovered that across functional lines there was a "culture of achievement." However, the collective perceptions of functional units differed from the

perceived emphasis of enrollment management on four fronts: procedural/rules-centric (fiscal/administrative), collaborative (institutional advancement), empowering (student development), and structural/role-oriented (others).

Black (2003) uses a university as a process and product "beta site" to develop and validate an evaluation instrument for assessing enrollment management operations. Quite distinct from the other doctoral research projects, the object of study for this research is an innovative enrollment management framework and its constituent components. In this regard, Black makes a significant contribution to the body of literature and research. Survey response, evaluator feedback, and statistical representation of the evaluator rating were used to evaluate the validity and utility of the assessment framework.

Parnell (2004) researches enrollment policies and practices of five two-year and six four-year colleges in North Dakota. The study revealed that, in general, despite the institutions under study having an enrollment manager to manage enrollments, the institutions did not have enrollment management plans. Parnell points out, "one might ask what those institutions with an enrollment manager, but without an enrollment plan, were doing" (p. 248). Further, despite the different institutional approaches to enrollment management, it is noted that, in general, enrollment management is similarly approached within North Dakota and is on par with national enrollment management practices.

Adisu (2006) examines whether academic administrators (deans, department heads, and program directors) and marketing professionals at two graduate schools understood enrollment management, conceptually, as encompassing "marketing as well

as strategic planning and retention strategies" (p. 84). The researcher notes that study participants have limited understanding of the "broader concept of strategic planning and its implementation, often confusing it with evaluation efforts" (p. 85). Adisu concludes that an institutional understanding of enrollment management can result in a positive impact on enrollment.

Weatherall (2006) concludes that intercollegiate athletics at three small liberal arts universities are essential components of their enrollment strategy. The study indicates that athletics play a significant role in increasing admissions applications, promoting greater selectivity, improving retention, and engaging alumni. Weatherall emphasizes that the presidents at each of the universities studied were key decision makers in respect to placing more attention on their athletic standing—which is perceived as essential to attracting academically qualified high school students who might otherwise overlook their institutions due to moderate rankings in publications like *U.S. News & World Report*.

Sims (2007) examines the impact that a state mandate to expand summer enrollment poses on enrollment management planning and the roles that divisional leaders on three campuses in the University of California system—UC Los Angeles, UC Santa Barbara, and UC Berkeley—play in the enrollment expansion. Launching strong marketing campaigns, hiring new positions, expanding existing role responsibilities, and modifying curriculum content and offerings were some of the action responses to the legislative mandate. Sims concludes that summer enrollment planning efforts should not be isolated; rather, those efforts should be incorporated into institutional and academic

planning.

Simmons (2007) argues that a written enrollment management plan provides clarity and ensures that California community college administrators have a vested interest in adhering to the goals, objectives, and mission of the institution. Moreover, it is suggested that one of the main purposes of an enrollment management plan is to communicate the enrollment expectations of an institution. Simmons concludes that some components of enrollment planning, such as retention, are so politicized that associated constituent parts may be excluded from an enrollment management plan.

Riley (2007) examines contemporary decision making in the context of higher education, in general, and specifically pertaining to enrollment management. Enrollment management "engages the questions fundamental to bringing together effective communications channels…linked to effective decision making" (p. 107). Riley concludes that there is an enrollment planning hierarchy by which data, information, and communication flows, thereby reducing ambiguity and uncertainty pertaining to institutional enrollment. Further, the development and advancement of information systems to better support information processing is viewed as essential to effective enrollment planning.

de Leur (2007) argues that an evaluation of differences in the effectiveness of enrollment management models should take into consideration institutional missions. The study reveals incongruence in the perceived existence and strength of a connection between enrollment management and academic programs; thus, the notion that enrollment management operates in the academic context is challenged. In addition,

strategic planning vis-à-vis tactical implementations were perceived as being markedly different, in both concept and process.

In sum, the surveyed doctoral research that promotes enrollment management as organizational development spans between 1995 and 2007. The novice scholars found that advancing enrollment management, and thus organizational development, progression may be more successful if enrollment management is thoughtfully "developed" rather than simply "established." Further, the research suggests that the presence of a chief enrollment manager does not necessarily result in the construction of an enrollment management plan. In general, there were no correlations found that suggest that the absence of an enrollment management plan is associated with a particular institutional type or enrollment size.

Enrollment planning is noted as being a political process that is perhaps made more difficult because of the differing perceptions and emphases on enrollment management within the college and university environments. Studies conclude that without sufficient mechanisms to assess enrollment management development and effectiveness, moving from tactical actions toward strategic performance may be more difficult for some institutions. Better information systems, greater institutional understanding of enrollment planning, and institution specific enrollment management plans are viewed as essential elements to advancing enrollment management development from nominal to strategic levels. One study suggests, however, that more developed models of enrollment management do not necessarily result higher rates of enrollment goal attainment.

Enrollment Management as Individual Orientation:

Kalsbeek

Kalsbeek offers his thoughts about "framing and reframing" enrollment

management work:

> I think at the core of what I talk about and teach about are "mental models" and the process of "framing" policy or strategic issues. It's all about trying to identify, clarify, and bring to the surface the dominant mental models underlying the work that we do, to recognize how deeply ingrained assumptions and concepts determine what we perceive as problems, what we consider to be relevant information, and what we envision as opportunities and possibilities. I believe that framing and reframing the mental models that define our work is at the crux of institutional leadership, of strategic change, and certainly of enrollment management. (Sauter, 2005, p. 22)

Hogan (2004), one of the novice scholars noted earlier in this chapter, situates

enrollment management as a context to explore individual perceptions about structural

enrollment management changes that induce organizational culture shifts. Surprisingly,

the dissertation does not contain any references to enrollment management literature.

Hogan does however make cursory mention of structural, human resource, political, and

symbolic frames (Bolman & Deal 1991). The frames connect the study, albeit loosely,

with Black's (2004d, 2004e) explication of enrollment management using Bolman and

Deal's four organizational frameworks.

Taking a different conceptual turn, a turn that is contextually and theoretically

grounded by the work in the field, Kalsbeek (2007) explicates four orientations to

enrollment management that form a heuristic model for typifying enrollment logics that

underscore the appropriation of enrollment management: *academic*, *administrative*,

market-centered and *student-focused*. Orientation "has to do with how we perceive

things, and particularly what we understand of their purpose….[orientation] establishes

patterns, assigns places and worth, and, consequently, involves setting up an entire

framework for our action vis-à-vis the rest of the world" (Ollman, 1971, p. 85). Thus,

Kalsbeek's orientations embody how enrollment management is perceived, understood,

and appropriated.

Bontrager (2008) promotes bringing together different orientations of enrollment

management and directly addressing the "necessary juxtaposition of concept and

process, as well as institutional and student interests" (p. 17). He argues that

administrative, academic, and market-centered orientations each imply the

implementation of activities that although not student-centered should ultimately attend

to student needs. However, Bontrager emphasizes that misappropriations of the typified

enrollment management orientations can result in attention being steered away from

students and toward the interests of institutions and governing bodies.

The four orientations are not mutually exclusive. Bontrager's suggestion

notwithstanding, I classify the doctoral research by a single orientation to enrollment

management. Thus, literature classified under one orientation, if treated wholly, might

reflect one or all of the orientations. For the purpose of this study, however, the

pragmatic classification of selected doctoral research under one orientation sufficiently

demonstrates how a particular finding or standpoint reflects an orientation to enrollment

management.

Academic orientation to enrollment management:

focuses on broad purposes, emphasizing the general human benefits of the
enhancement of learning and advancement of knowledge….is marked by a

preference for structural decentralization, creativity, flexibility, and nonhierarchical lines of authority….parallels conceptual humanist mode of inquiry, with its focus on abstract learning and inquiry that enhances goals that serve broad humanitarian purposes…emphasizes student learning outcomes, assessing the educational needs of communities, professions, and society, and focuses on how academic programs can be enhanced to promote broad human welfare. (Kalsbeek, 2007, p. 7)

Only two doctoral research projects directly address enrollment management in the academic context (Dolence, 1993), and therefore clearly approach the enrollment management study from an academic orientation. First, in a case study of essential enrollment management factors at a Christian college, White (1995) emphasizes the importance of having a strong academic environment. Academic programs are emphasized as being "the strongest they can be" (p. 147) in recruitment marketing materials. The study examines how the quality of academic programs, caliber of faculty, and overall faculty-student ratio are used and evaluated in terms of advancing enrollment management practices.

Second, Kraft (2007) identifies conditions which might encourage the members of a university faculty to participate in campus-wide enrollment management efforts at a highly selective, public, mid-sized teaching university with an enrollment of approximately 13,000 undergraduates. The study showed that faculty was more likely to participate in enrollment management activities when they viewed their involvement as a contribution to promoting the reputation and achieving the goals of their respective, college, department, and/or program. Kraft concludes that faculty felt most rewarded by the "positive energy they received from students, an opportunity to get to know

professional colleagues with similar philosophies, and the ability to explore their

professional curiosity as educators" (p. 111).

Administrative orientation to enrollment management:

focus[es] on integrating university processes and organizing enrollment
management units for achieving more efficient, seamless services….focuses on
work and work roles, creating order and stability, and improving the efficient
management of impersonal processes and functions….parallels analytic science
mode of inquiry, with its emphasis on quantification, reliability, precision,
accuracy, clarity, and consistency, the research agenda of the administrative
orientation also values certainty, the ability to control variables, and explanations
drawn from fragmenting complex problems into discrete parts. (Kalsbeerk, 2007,
p. 7)

Consistent with other doctoral research reviewed. B. R. Barnes (1993) makes a

cursory reference to the "academic context." Conversely, she poignantly expresses an

administrative orientation in her position that enrollment management is a concept that

aims to "maximize control over enrollment" (p. 147) as opposed to a program intended

to "optimize the recruitment and retention of students" (p. 152). Similarly, Kruse (1996)

finds the "importance and value of enrollment management as a viable concept and tool

in the managerial operation" (p. 95) at a two-year public community colleges. Thus, he

focuses on identifying enrollment management practices that contribute to institutional

readiness, in terms of achieving enrollment outcomes.

Rooted in an analytic science perspective of enrollment management, Popovich

(2006) develops a non-linear mathematical model to determine the optimal amount of

financial aid that should be awarded to individual admitted students in order to secure a

freshman class with the desired student profile—a cohort with demonstrable high

academic qualifications. Optimization cluster analysis is suggested as an analytical

method to identify the factors that enable institutions to meet their enrollment objectives.

Market-centered orientation to enrollment management:

> [is] driven by the need to envision new possibilities and products rather than to solve specific problems, and they seek complexity and flexibility over simplicity and certainty…. parallels the conceptual theorist mode of inquiry… with its focus on complex theoretical models and holistic paradigms that are representations of reality rather than reality per se….attempts to understand broad dynamics and abstract trends rather than isolate things into specific, discrete parts in order to understand them. (Kalsbeerk, 2007, p. 7)

Registrars and marketing is an odd pair. In her study of the perceptions of

community college registrars, however, Simpson (1997) concludes that registrars with

earned graduate-level degrees classified marketing and recruitment as essential

components of enrollment management. Years of experience were a differentiating

factor in respect to the perceived importance of marketing and recruitment; novice

registrars (1 -5 years) considered these enrollment management activities more

important than more veteran registrars (6- 10 years).

Adisu (2006) places primacy on the perception of enrollment management by

"marketing administrators." Study participants were informed that, "Enrollment

Management is a process which influences the size and characteristics of study body

through marketing, recruitment and admissions, services provided to students (i.e.,

advising and financial aid), and overall strategic planning" (p. 109). Participants were

asked how enrollment management related to their graduate education marketing efforts.

Adisu concludes that enrollment upsurges for two graduate programs can be attributed to

market research and "adequate" marketing budget allocations.

In another graduate enrollment management study, Stack (2009) points out that although there is a large body of undergraduate student college-choice literature, there is comparatively modest research on post-undergraduate students and their decision process to attend graduate or professional school. Toward attaining an empirical understanding of why enrolled students in one MBA program made their program selection, a 62 item factor analysis was juxtaposed with a "marketing P framework" comprised of 6Ps: *people*, *personal* (academic perception, performance, prompting), *place*, *promotion* (direct interaction), *price*, and *product* (program quality, program duration, program attributes). The study showed that the product subgroup "program quality" had the strongest influence on the enrollment decision of respondents.

J. B. Barnes (2007) employs a broader theoretical lens than extant doctoral research. He attends to the social context "privatization of public higher education," and studies the economic influences and market forces that shaped enrollment management decisions at the University of Michigan, University of Virginia, and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The study suggests that a shift of foci on public good to private interests is partly attributed to institutional responses to market forces and the strong desire to advance institutional prestige and remain elite universities. J. B. Barnes concludes that enrollment management styles and strategies are largely influenced by diminishing state appropriations, waning public trust, and a market-induced institutional consciousness regarding resource dependency.

Interestingly, Clark (2000) shows how a market orientation influences enrollment management research design. The data point of interest for his study is undergraduate

graduation rates. In an ironic move, Clark, administers a survey to a population drawn from a random sample of "universities and colleges listed in the 1999 *U.S. News & World Report* of reported rankings of U.S. colleges and universities" (p. 107). Clark concludes that graduation rate alone is not a reliable criterion for assessing the frequency of use and effectiveness of enrollment management practices.

> *Student-focused orientation* to enrollment management:
>
> focuses first and foremost on responding to the needs of the individual student at the institution and on improving the one-on-one, interpersonal climate of the organization…. parallels the particular humanist mode of inquiry, with its focus on abstract learning and inquiry that enhances goals that serve broad humanitarian purposes …. driven to understand the individual student and his or her experiences; it bases decisions upon such understandings….individual case study and detailed assessments and anecdotes of particular students or student groups are the most meaningful and influential sources of information. (Kalsbeerk, 2007, p. 7)

Browning (2000) draws on student development theory and stresses that individual "integration, involvement, and relationships" (p. 71) are essential components in advancing retention initiatives. Johansen (2003) juxtaposes the academic achievement of younger/traditional and adult/nontraditional undergraduate students and then offers enrollment management strategies for promoting both groups student success. The study is an examination of enrolled students' distinguishing characteristics and assessment of how those characteristics impact the manner by which the students persist through their academic programs.

Harris (2010) fuses together student development and leadership theory with enrollment management practice. He posits that community college enrollment management professionals are responsible for more than supporting the enrollment and

retention of students; they are also responsible for "caring about [students] as individuals" (p. 90). From a student development lens, enrollment management is viewed as a holistic approach to planning for and addressing the learning and developmental needs of students.

Dempsey (2009) surveys retention practices as perceived by community college enrollment management administrators. Although academic accommodations for students with disabilities were identified as the single most important retention practices, the most noteworthy finding was the "significant difference in the perception of the importance of certain retention practices and campus setting—rural, suburban, urban" (p. 123). Hence, in addition to the individual student success factors noted by Browning (2000), extant research suggests that institutional location and physical surroundings—including local services and social activities—matter when evaluating and managing student retention.

Stepping back slightly from students and campus administrators, Murphy (1999) examines faculty perceptions of enrollment management at a community college. The findings suggest that faculty members' interest in enrollment matters is internally focused on retaining current students as opposed to recruiting prospective students. In general, faculty view themselves as being involved in enrollment planning. Murphy argues, however, that faculty should become more involved in enrollment management processes, rather than merely engaging in recruitment activities.

In sum, the surveyed doctoral research that promotes enrollment management as individual orientation spans between 1993 and 2010. The research shows that enrollment

management is viewed from more than a mere institutional enrollment perspective. Each of the novice scholars approaches enrollment management from an orientation that underscores particular enrollment logics grounded by and operating through a lens that places foci on different enrollment subjects and objects. From a market-centered orientation, marketers, targeted prospective students, academic programs, and marketing budgets are elements that are influenced by enrollment management appropriation. From an administrative orientation, enrollments are viewed as objects to be managed, reported and analyzed, as opposed to subjects to be developed and cared for in college and university environments. Conversely, from student-focused orientation, students are not merely enrollment objects; rather, they are individuals that engage in relationships and experience learning in an educational environment. From an academic orientation the relationship between enrollment management and learning experiences is brought into view through academic programs that are supported and promoted by faculty, and rely upon effective planning, execution, and assessment. Altogether, the doctoral research illustrates the broad range of perspectives that influence and shape enrollment management as a comprehensive organizational construct that spans across college and university environments.

Emerging Enrollment Logics

The renowned architect, Louis Sullivan, is credited with having coined the phrase, "Form ever follows function." Brown (2002) concludes that enrollment management structure precedes a formal written enrollment management plan. Thus, conceivably, an enrollment management plan ever follows the enrollment function. The

enrollment function is an abstraction that absent of the meaning of enrollment management has no intrinsic structure. On one hand, enrollment function enables meaning-making about enrollment structure. On the other hand, however, enrollment structure expresses the intent and meaning of enrollment function. Thus, enrollment function and enrollment management plans are intricately intertwined and inseparable.

Toward "losing structure," what really matters is grounding enrollment management in an appropriate organizing context (Henderson, 2005). Henderson argues that constructing an ideal enrollment management structure and determining where functions should "hang" in the organizational chart has garnered much attention. However, a predisposition to focus on enrollment management structures, as opposed to organizing, promotes structural determinism. Furthermore, bounded conceptualizations of organizing lend to deficient attention being directed toward individual actions, interactions, and sense-making (Weick, 1979).

Within each of the institutions studied were the enactment of organizing principles—enrollment logics—that structurate the actions observed and shape the discourse that is entrenched into enrollment management structures and practices. The doctoral research reviewed suggests that there is substantive focus on the development and diffusion of enrollment management. At an organizational-level, enrollment management diffusion occurs through plans, strategies, objectives, and tactics. At the organizational field-level, however, diffusion occurs through inter-organizational discourse carried in the discursive practices that occur between field organizations and their respective organizational actors. Emerging from the discursive practices that

embody enrollment management are enrollment logics that indicate there is a shift

occurring from structure to development, concept to practice, tactical to strategic, and

enrollment worker to enrollment management professional.

Constructing a Theoretical Framework

Hossler and Hoezee (2001) argue that continuous, long-term success in the

enrollment management field rest upon three theories: 1) systems theory, 2) resource

dependency theory, and 3) revenue theory and revenue maximization (p. 38). In this

study, I depart from extant theorization and employ institutional theory and structuration

theory to reveal how enrollment management is a formalized and enduring institutional

phenomenon that is manifested in discourse and carried by institutional elements at the

macro-level; a professional association (AACRAO) at a meso-level; and chief

enrollment managers at the micro-level. It is salient to note that fusing these two theories

is not a distinct position; to the contrary, the move is a necessary and an essential step

toward explicating enrollment management as an institutionalized organizational field

enacted by professionalized chief enrollment managers. Kraatz and Zajac (1996) note:

> Organizational fields become "structurated" (i.e., well-defined and mature), they
> exert powerful influences on the behavior of the organizations within
> them….The collective rationality of organizations, along with their collective
> striving for legitimacy and social fitness, leads them to adopt uniform,
> institutionalized structures and practices that conform to the mandate of the
> institutional environment. (p. 814)

On one side, an institutional perspective seeks out stability, persistence, inertia

and conformity; on the other, however, a structuration standpoint reveals how adaptation

and variation—enacted by individuals and mediated through structural modalities—can

(de)institutionalize an organizational field and profession. To this end, this study sheds light on the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive actions of field members who promote the institutionalization of enrollment management and professionalization of the chief enrollment manager. As an organizational communication research effort, with a special focus on higher education administration, this work reveals discourses that institutionalize higher education enrollment management. As suggested by the title of this study, logics and discourse are grand constructs. Conversely, organizational communication, professional work, and knowledge are ground constructs that situate this study within a conceptual and theoretical framework to elucidate "institutionalizing" and "professionalizing" in higher education organizational fields, in general, and enrollment management specifically.

Enrollment Management: An Institutional Phenomenon

An institutional framing of enrollment management discourses links organizational communication and institutional theory. Toward demystifying and analyzing the enrollment context— in terms of the research agenda set forth in this study—the lens used to represent intraprofessional discourse and discover, recover, and analyze enrollment management discourses is R. W. Scott's *Institution Pillars and Carriers.* Scott (2008a) constructs a framework that is a useful analytical tool for locating, capturing, and representing enrollment management as an institutionalized organizational field, professionalized phenomenon, and discursive practice.

In this work, I relate and map discourse to institution carrier dimensions and associated institutional elements that are deemed most aligned with my research agenda.

A more detailed explication of how I use the analytical framework is best achieved by contextualizing the institutional dimension-element relationships vis-à-vis study data. An immediate exposition, however, of the "orthogonal distinctions" (Scott, 2008a) between the three institution pillars sets the context for more substantive discussion (in Chapter IV) about the institution carriers of enrollment management.

The framework is comprised of institution carriers that cut across three pillars. According to Scott, "carriers are never neutral modes of transmission…effect the nature of the message and the ways it is received…describe the content of the message—what is being transported….[and] emphasize the feature of the medium" (p. 80). Institution carriers are structures that signify and convey institutional life and thus induce, constrain, reinforce, and transmit institutionalized phenomena (Table 1). Further, institution carriers accentuate the medium of the message and carrier elements.

Table 1 Institution Pillars and Carriers

| | **Pillar** | | |
Carriers	*Regulative*	*Normative*	*Cultural-Cognitive*
Symbolic Systems	Rules, Laws	Values Expectations	Categories Typifications Schema
Relational Systems	Governance Systems Power Systems	Regimes Authority systems	Structural isomorphism Identities
Routines	Protocols, Standard operating procedures	Jobs, Roles Obedience to duty	Scripts
Artifacts	Objects complying with mandated specifications	Objects meeting conventions, standards	Objects possessing symbolic value

(Scott, 2008a)

According to Scott (2008a), "institutions are comprised of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (p. 48). Three institutional pillars structurate and support institutions (Scott, 1995, 2001, 2008a). The *regulative pillar*, stresses rule-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities—both formal and informal—that induce "instrumental" behavior. The *normative pillar* introduces prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimensions into social life which promote "appropriate" behavior. The *cultural-cognitive pillar* emphasizes the centrality of symbolic systems and the use of common schemas, frames, and other shared symbolic representations that guide "orthodox" behavior.

Institution carriers are the fundamental mechanisms by and through which cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative ideas and artifacts are transported. Institutional indicators, however, signify the presence of an institutionalized phenomenon. According to Scott (2008a), cultural-cognitive elements that indicate the presence of an institution are: *common beliefs*, *shared logics of action*, and *isomorphism*. Normative elements that indicate the presence of an institution are: *certification* and *accreditation* (Scott). Regulative elements that indicate the presence of an institutional phenomenon are: *rules*, *laws*, and *sanctions* (Scott) Institutional indicators are carried in structures that constitute *symbolic systems*, *relational systems*, *routines*, and *artifacts* (Scott).

Scott (2008a) notes "rather than pursuing the development of a more integrated conception, I believe more progress will be made at this juncture by distinguishing

among the several component elements and identifying their different underlying assumptions, mechanisms, and indicators" (p. 51). He points out that, based upon one's worldview of the objects and subjects being studied, researchers will be inherently drawn to particular institutional pillars and dimensions. For example, "institutionalists—like…organizational scholars DiMaggio, Powell, and Scott—stress the centrality of cultural cognitive elements of institutions: the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made" (p. 57).

The conceptual framework constructed and strong promotion of institutional logics in this study connote that I am drawn to the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars. The juxtaposition, however, of the conceptual constructs and the inclusion of structuration—namely systems of domination—in the theoretical framework of this study, both elucidates and complicates my standpoint. As a fledging scholar, with a developing perspective on institutional phenomena, it would be premature and constraining to take residence within a particular institutional element, or pillar.

Moreover, explicating the emergence, construction, and diffusion of an institutionalized organizational field and profession necessitates employing a broad analytical lens. Collectively, the pillars and dimensions have pragmatic utility inasmuch as they provide a comprehensive framing and mechanism for situating the research findings of an organizational communication study in a larger body of research that is informed by institutional theory and explicates the organization-institution relationship. The pillars and dimensions act as a system and thus reinforce each other; it is therefore difficult to choose one pillar or dimension that is of greater significance over another.

Revealing linkages between institutions and organizational fields can be achieved by exploring professional associations and their connections to field level bodies, such as association members. To this end, Schneiberg and Clemens (2006) advocate mapping associations between actors and usage of institutional structures in a discursive field. Further, it is suggested that linking institutional mechanisms and processes to lower levels of analysis necessitates research designs that take into account that individual actors and collectives are an embodiment and aggregation of a cultural construction.

Conceptualized as an institutional phenomenon, enrollment management is constitutive of institutional practices that are "deeply embedded in time and space" (Giddens, 1984, p. 13). Further, institutions depend on actors and (inter)action for their existence (Scott, 2008a). Institutional pillars and structure dimensions are well-aligned mechanisms for explicating enrollment management as an institutionalized phenomenon. Systems of structuration (signification, legitimation and domination) and elements of institutions (cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative)—through structural modalities and institution carriers respectively—produce and reproduce structures that shape, constrain, promote, and facilitate meaning, sanction, and power (Table 2).

Table 2 Institution Pillars and Structure/Interaction Dimensions

Institution Pillar		Structure Dimension	Modality	Interaction Dimension
Cultural-Cognitive	⇐	Signification	Interpretive Schemes	Meaning
Normative	⇐	Legitimation	Norms	Sanction
Regulative	⇐	Domination	Rules and Resource	Power
	CARRIERS			

(Giddens, 1984; Scott 2008a)

Whereas Scott's (1995) institutional perspective focuses on cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative mechanisms, Giddens' structuration theory (1984) attends to systems of signification, legitmation, and domination, Structuration involves three interconnected dimensions of structures, each with a corresponding modality and dimension of interaction. Giddens emphasizes that structures are not concrete objects constrained by materiality. To the contrary, structures are socially constructed abstractions that are neither situated in time nor space. Thus, structures have a virtual existence that is inseparable from action.

Structure dimensions (signification, legitmation, and domination) constitute and are constituted by interaction dimensions (meaning, sanction, and power) respectively. Further, the enactment of structure dimensions is not mutually exclusive. Giddens (1984) explicates three modalities that link structure and action, while concurrently mediating the structuration process. The modalities (interpretive schemes, norms, and resources) "determine how the institutional properties of social systems mediate human action and how human action constitutes social structure" (Orlikowski & Robey, 1991).

First, *interpretive schemes* enable and constrain *meanings* structured by social rules which inform, facilitate, and impede the communication process (structures of signification). Scott and Backman (1990) argue that "professions rule by controlling belief systems. Their primary weapons are ideas. They exercise control by defining reality—by devising ontological frameworks, proposing distinctions, creating typifications, and fabricating principles or guidelines for action" (p. 290). Thus, idealizations of professional work both legitimate and politicize what is perceived as

sanctioned and more or less appropriate. Actors reflexively, continuously, and routinely monitor the reasonableness and appropriateness of their actions vis-à-vis the actions of others. Moreover, behavior monitoring is the mechanism by which individuals exercise "fate control" over those dependent upon them for the best outcome (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959).

Second, *norms* articulate and reinforce *sanctions* structured by prescriptive order which circumscribes legitimate actions and behavior (structures of legitimation). Professional obligations, or responsibilities, stipulate and reinforce norms and sanctions that are structured by role-based and individual authorization, access, and responsibility to perform work actions 'inside' and 'outside' of an institutional frame. Homans (1950) defines a norm as "an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances" (p. 123).

Last, *resources* mediate *power* structured by the transformative capacity to mobilize social and material means (structures of domination). Giddens (1984) argues that "rules cannot be conceptualized apart from resources, which refer to the modes whereby transformative relations are actually incorporated into the production and reproduction of social practices" (p. 18). Action is constitutive of power that is exercised through the transformative capacity of rational/heuristic and practical/interpretive rules of action. Social structure is embedded in rules that mediate the manipulation and mobilization of allocative (objects, goods, or material phenomena) and authoritative (people) resources. Transformative capacity is the power to allocate material objects and

exercise authority over human subjects. Further, allocative and authoritative capacity is mediated by and mobilized within interaction.

Conclusion

This brief section concludes *one* review of salient literature and explication of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for this study. Chapter IV continues the exploration and analysis of enrollment management as it has evolved in the field and thus reflected in the literature. A major challenge in this work has been the ordering of text as to inform, without overwhelming or overburdening the reader. It has been my goal thus far to ensure that readers—in particular those readers who have either limited or no prior knowledge of enrollment management and its complexities—are well-situated for all that lies ahead in the methodology, results, and conclusion chapters of this work.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY:

PALIMPSESTUOUS CRYSTALLIZATION IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Generally, qualitative researchers "want to inspire confidence in readers (and ourselves) that we have achieved a right interpretation" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 240). This is a qualitative study that seeks out discourse and first-person accounts of enrollment management by employing an interpretive paradigm. The interpretive paradigm used in this study is constructivist. A constructivist approach assumes that realities are multiple, intersubjective, and holistic; knowledge from social realities emerge from the interdependence of knower and respondent; and research is value-laden (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Qualitative researchers employ *triangulation* to elicit varied perspectives that might strengthen the position of trustworthiness and authenticity of their research projects. Triangulation involves using a combination of different forms of evidence and perspectives—multiple data sources, multiple methods, multiple theories, and multiple researchers—to clarify meaning. Conversely, in this study, I employ *crystallization* (Ellingson, 2009; Richardson, 1994, 2000). I am drawn to crystallization because it promotes qualitative research that uses and presents layered accounts, entangled genres and frameworks, and creative representations. Ellingson (2009) contrasts crystallization with triangulation:

> Whereas triangulation seeks a more definitive truth, crystallization problematizes the multiple truths it presents. Unlike triangulation, crystallization is informed by postmodernism, meaning that it presupposes that no truth exists "out there" to

discover or get close to, but only multiple and partial truths that researchers (and others) construct (p. 22).

Noting that she "developed Richardson's original concept into a nuanced framework for qualitative research projects," Ellingson (2009) offers this definition:

> Crystallization combines multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or set of texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them. (p.4)

Positionality and Reciprocity-in-Play

In addition to re-presenting others in this work, I crystallize authoethnographic accounts that interrupt the discourse and entangle my lived experiences as an enrollment management subject (e.g., student, alumni, director of admissions, chief enrollment manager) and object (i.e., enrollment statistic). I am confronted, provoked, and inspired by a phenomenological question that simultaneously seeks out and locates me at times and in spaces/contexts that constitute and are constituted by knowledge and experiences that my selves and others' selves intersubjectively shared and co-constructed:

> How is (has) my professional engagement in and experiences with enrollment management vis-à-vis my lived experiences as a first-generation, female, African American, moderate need, and freshman/transfer/graduate college student affecting (affected) the co-constructions and understandings of my selves, others' selves, and phenomena being studied?

As an engaged member-leader of AACRAO and chief enrollment manager at a private, not-for-profit, graduate university (and a former assistant dean of enrollment management and a former director of admissions), I am immersed in enrollment management culture. During the course of this study, I interviewed individuals who are

colleagues in the enrollment management organizational field. The capacity to reciprocally trust and openly communicate was essential to the negotiation processes that operated during the interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Moreover, my position within the professional community and as a researcher of enrollment management phenomena created space for a social exchange that was reciprocal in nature.

Reciprocity, or the mutual interaction of giving and taking, is the foundation of social exchange (Blau, 1964; Burt & Knez, 1996; Homans, 1961; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Reciprocity-in-play is the process of benefactors and beneficiaries taking turns in assisting each other, reciprocally, but at times preferentially aiding those who have helped them in the past (West, Griffin, & Gardner, 2007). Furthermore, reciprocity requires a context of connection where mutual empathy is a growth-fostering activity by which "both parties recognize vulnerability as part of the human condition, approach the interaction expecting to grow from it, and feel a responsibility to contribute to the growth of the other" (Fletcher, 1999, p. 31).

In the study interviews, balanced reciprocity was achieved under the operative rule "to each according to need, from each according to capacity" (Emerson, 1976, p. 354). In other words, both interviewer and respondents came to the study interviews with a desire to meet certain needs—non-compensatory benefits—within an established capacity. In terms of "fair reciprocity," however, neither interviewer nor respondent were required to do the *same thing* for one another or at the *same time* (Goodin, 2002). That is, mutual, or professional reciprocity that emerged from the interviews will most likely be discharged in different ways and at different times.

"Participating" Chief Enrollment Managers

I recruited study participants through direct contact—email, phone, and face-to-face. I gained access to study participants and the primary research site by way of my professional position in the organizational field—as a member-leader of AACRAO and associate provost for enrollment management—direct interaction with individuals in the field, and by referrals from and with the assistance of colleagues who expanded and deepened my access to enrollment management subjects and objects. I sent a recruitment email, which included an attached information sheet identical to the informed consent form—with the exception of the signature section—to prospective study participants. I provided the option for a follow-up discussion, by phone or through email, to those individuals who responded favorably to my email invitation. During the follow-up discussions, I answered questions about the study and ensured that qualifying criteria were met, background information was collected, and interviews were scheduled.

Of the 21 chief enrollment managers I recruited for this study, 18 responded favorably to the participation call. I used a selection criteria that included individuals who are sitting or previous higher education chief enrollment managers and also current "participating members" in AACRAO. Individuals met the criterion participating member if he or she attended at least five national AACRAO hosted conferences in the past five years, with a particular focus on attending *and* presenting at the AACRAO Strategic Enrollment Management (SEM) conference.[1] I also included individuals who

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[1] AACRAO hosts at least three national conferences each year. Thus, an individual meets the criterion of "participating member," for this study, if they have attended approximately one-third of AACRAO national conferences held in the most recent five years.

met the criterion "former" chief enrollment manager, so that I might attain perspectives of field members who played prominent roles in developing and diffusing enrollment management. Former chief enrollment managers who participated in the study have shifted to other areas in the field (e.g., enrollment management consultancy, faculty for enrollment management degree programs, and association executive leadership.

I made concerted efforts to achieve a balance of male/female, minority/majority, and geographically dispersed chief enrollment managers for this study (Table 3). Seeking out research participants with an amplified presence—visibility and voice—in respect to the construction and diffusion of enrollment management history, inherently led to the exclusion of those with less visibility and muted voices in the field. For example, the racial composition of the study participant sample did not include American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian, Black/African American, or Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander study participants.[2] Noteworthy, one of the three individuals recruited, who did not answer the participation call, is African American.

Although age was not a participant selection criterion, the aim of this study to identify shifting enrollment logics over time, presumably resulted in an organic balancing of participant age ranges. Noteworthy, some of the participants entered the enrollment management field in their mid- to late-20s, but all participants have been engaged in the organizational field for at least a decade.

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[2] Categories developed in 1997 by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) that are used to describe groups to which individuals belong, identify with, or belong in the eyes of the community. The categories do not denote scientific definitions of anthropological origins. The designations are used to categorize U.S. citizens, resident aliens, and other eligible non-citizens. See Race/Ethnicity (New Definition) at http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/glossary/?charindex=R ().

Table 3 "Participating" AACRAO Chief Enrollment Managers—Gender, Years in the Profession, Geographical Location of Most Recent Chief Enrollment Manager Position, and Institution Type

	Private 4-year	Public 2-year	Public 4-year	Grand Total
FEMALE		**2**	**4**	**6**
10-14 years			**1**	**1**
West			1	1
15-20 years		**1**	**1**	**2**
Way North			1	1
West		1		1
20+ years		**1**	**2**	**3**
East			1	1
South			1	1
Southeast		1		1
MALE	**3**	**2**	**7**	**12**
10-14 years		**1**	**2**	**3**
Great Plains			1	1
Southeast			1	1
Southwest		1		1
20+ years	**3**	**1**	**5**	**9**
Midwest	1		1	2
North			1	1
Northeast	1		1	2
Northwest		1	1	2
Southwest	1			1
Way North			1	1
GRAND TOTAL[3]	**3**	**4**	**11**	**18**

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[3] The racial/ethnicity composition—as defined by the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System coding schema—of the study participants included two Hispanic/Latinos (1 female and 1 male). All other participants were White. See Race/Ethnicity (New Definition) at http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/glossary/?charindex=R ().

Geographical dispersion, gender, race, and age composition notwithstanding, each study participant possesses frames of reference shaped by his or her personal and organizational cultures and experiences. Thus, the diversity represented by study participants provided an opportunity to identify convergent and persistent enrollment logics which signify the institutionalization of the organizational field and professionalization of enrollment management. Conceivably, heterogeneity is constricted by the limits that have been placed on this study by excluding organizational field members who are not participating chief enrollment managers in AACRAO. The reader is encouraged to keep in mind, however, that this work is an exemplar of how institutional theory plays out in the context of an organizational field; thus, I assert that blended heterogeneous-homogenous form can indeed yield isomorphic function.

Data Collection and Autoethnographic Reflections

I used the following data collection methods for this study: semi-structured in-depth interviews, archival retrieval, and autoethnographic recall/accounts. Enrollment management narratives (hereto referred to as *interview narratives*), obtained from semi-structured interviews of participating chief enrollment managers, are the primary data source for this study. I crystallized the interview narratives with three other data sources: 1) seven years of conference workshop/session descriptions from strategic enrollment management (SEM) conferences hosted by AACRAO, 2) seven years of *Enrollment Management Review* newsletters (28 quarterly issues between Fall 2003 and Summer 2009) and 3) authoethnographic reflections. I used QSR International NVivo 8© software to store and organize narrative, conference, and newsletter data.

Enrollment Management Narratives

According to Peräkylä (2005), "past events or faraway experiences can be studied by interviewing people who took part in them" (p. 869). Thus, interviews are a way to overcome spatial and temporal distances. In the course of this study, I interviewed 18 chief enrollment managers who experienced enrollment management 'there and then' and are currently experiencing it 'here and now.' The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to foster conversations that might yield narratives about situated understandings of the construction of enrollment management as an organizational field, profession, and discursive practice.

Locating chief enrollment managers at a AACRAO SEM Conference, outside of their respective and organizational contexts of college and universities campuses, elicits accounts about conversational performances—in the form of conference and meeting presentations—that they have participated in, facilitated, observed, and enacted. Thus, the interviews were meant to border conversational discourse and narrative talk between two professional association members who regard themselves as colleagues in the organizational field. Prior to entering the field, I presumed that the historical accounts, contemporary thoughts, and organizational/personal stories shared would be neither neutral nor disconnected from the context of the field.

The interviewing techniques I used for this study were informed by the developmental research sequence for ethnographic and cultural behavioral studies (Spradley, 1979). The semi-structured interviews were formal, prearranged, and in-depth. The interview protocol was executed in an approximate 90 minute interview.

Before the interviews were conducted, I provided participants with an informed consent form for review and signature. The informed consent form noted that the interviews would be: digitally recorded and transcribed for analysis, held confidential, and that transcripts (and field notes) would be coded with a general identifier to mask participants' identity and place of employment. Further, because the interview protocol called for the participants to identify other individuals in the enrollment management field, nonparticipating named individuals' confidentiality were respected as well. Thus, the same method of assigning a participant general identifier in the transcripts was used to mask the identity of individuals referenced during the interviews. Once I was confident that the transcribed texts were accurate and complete, and as an additional measure toward ensuring participant confidentiality, I securely stored all digitally recorded files of the interviews. Interview recordings will be destroyed no later than one year after the research project is completed.

Arguably, the interview protocol may appear misaligned with eliciting narrative accounts—ergo storytelling. According to Lindlof (1995), however, narrative interviewing elicits storytelling that "usually depends on a long-term, trusting relationship between researcher and social actor" (p. 173). Fontana and Frey (2000) note that "interviews are seen as negotiated accomplishments of both interviewers and respondents that are shaped by the context and situations in which they take place" (p. 663). Hence, I assert that the relationship between a skillful interviewer and willing respondent, both perceiving each other as long-term colleagues in a cultural community of relevance to the interview topic, can indeed yield organizational and personal

narratives from a characteristic respondent interview protocol.

AACRAO SEM Conferences

     At the time to this study, there have been 19 AACRAO SEM Conferences (Table 4). Conference brochures, workshops, sessions, keynote speakers and presenters for the last seven years are accessible to the public on the AACRAO website.[4]

Table 4 AACRAO Strategic Enrollment Management Conferences

YEAR	VENUE	YEAR	VENUE
1991	Atlanta, GA	2001	Toronto, Canada
1992	Long Beach, CA	2002	San Diego, CA
1993	St. Louis, MO	2003	Boston, MA
1994	Cincinnati, OH	2004	Orlando, FL
1995	Charlotte, NC	2005	Chicago, IL
1996	Aspen, CO	2006	Phoenix, AZ
1997	Orlando, FL	2007	New Orleans, LA
1998	Aspen, CO	2008	Anaheim, CA
1999	Lake Buena Vista, FL	2009	Dallas, TX
2000	Scottsdale, AR		

     Of particular relevance for this study, were data from AACRAO SEM Conferences held between 2003 and 2009. These data are available in a searchable database that contains relevant data: session presenter, session short description, and session long description. Less accessible data for the first twelve years of the conferences were obtained from the AACRAO National Office archives, three chief enrollment managers who have attended all 19 conferences, and the two individuals who have served as conference directors. I used conference data to discover and analyze

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[4] The website the American Association of Collegiate Registrars (AACRAO) is: http://www.aacrao.org.

persistent and shifting enrollment logics.

Enrollment Management in Review

In search of persistent and shifting enrollment logics, it is salient to juxtapose the

present against the past and distinguish historical enrollment logics from perceivably

contemporary enrollment logics. For this study, I chose the Enrollment Management

Review (*EMR*) as representative discourse in the field. *EMR* is supported by the College

Board ™ and offered as a "free electronic newsletter for enrollment professionals."

According to the host website:[5]

> The *Enrollment Management Review* is a quarterly newsletter edited by Don
> Hossler of the Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research and
> Planning and published by the College Board's division of Enrollment Services.
> Distributed since 1984, its purpose is to provide: 1) Useful bibliographic
> reference for busy administrators by presenting pithy discussions of professional
> literature and research from an array of sources and 2) Expert commentary,
> focusing on enrollment management issues and concerns.

I treated the *EMR* newsletters as normative institutional artifacts of the

organizational field. Twenty-six issues of the quarterly newsletter published from Fall

2003 through Summer 2009 were downloaded from the College Board ™ website and

stored in their original posted electronic format. I view the *EMR* newsletter as a viable

data source for this study because of its longevity, accessibility, and regard among chief

enrollment managers as a comprehensive resource constructed for us, by one of us.

Hossler, a professor of education at Indiana University and former chief enrollment

manager of the Indiana University System, is considered a leading authority in the

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[5] The website for the Enrollment Management review is: http://professionals.collegeboard.com/higher-
ed/recruitment/enrollment. A colleague informed me in November 2009 that the *EMR* would no longer be
supported by The College Board.

enrollment management field and notably one of the few chief enrollment managers who successfully bridged the proverbial administrative and academic divide.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is "the study of words and signifiers, including the form or structure of these words, the use of language in context, and the meaning or interpretation of discursive practices" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p. 79). I use discourse analysis to unpack, analyze, and interpret intraprofessional discourses—spoken and written—and enrollment logics embodied in chief enrollment managers' discursive practices. According to Calás and Smirich (1991), discursive practices reflect how we "constitute our 'selves' and define our subjectivity" (p. 236). Schneiberg and Clemens (2006) emphasize that institutional actors generate discursive output which reveals how they perceive problems and go about connecting (or not) concepts, objects, classification schemes and practices.

The foci of discourse analyses are the bodies of texts that constitute the discourse (Fairclough, 1992). Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy (2004) posit that "discourse analysis provides a coherent framework for the investigation of institutionalization" (p. 635). To this end, the authors construct a model to highlight the relationship between the production and consumptions of texts, discourse, institutions, and action. Phillips and colleagues argue that:

> Institutions are constituted through discourse and that it is not action per se that provides the basis for institutionalization but, rather, the texts that describe and communicate those actions….Institutions, therefore, can be understood as the products of the discursive activity that influences actions. (p. 635)

Discourse analysis forces the recognition of the arbitrary nature of what is considered true. Assessing a truth condition is a fortiori engaging in first-order logic, where the alethic modalities of truth—necessity, possibility, and contingency—are essential to understanding discourse, discursive relations, and discursive practices. As noted by Foucault (1972):

> Discourse is the path from one contradiction to another: if it gives rise to those that can be seen, it is because it obeys that which it hides. To analyze discourse is to hide and reveal contradictions. (p. 151)

Putnam and Fairhurst (2001) point out that "what is present in the text conceals what is absent or implied in the discourse. According to Heidegger (1997), texts are predisposed and connected to particular worldviews. Interpretive approaches to communication treat text as ambiguous and unstable, where "faithful to its own revealed meaning…the object of explanation becomes meaningful only in discourse that is always changing" (Lindlof, 1995, p. 24).

McPhee (2004) argues that some definitions of text "eliminate certain facets, distinctions and implications of the common-sense meaning while emphasizing others...leading ourselves and others to ignore important differences and inconsistencies….stretching ordinary connotations beyond their actual range of validity" (p. 356). Viewed through a postmodern lens, texts operate as metaphors for organizing collections of discursive practices that shape ambiguous, fragmented, and unstable organizational and institutional (and personal) life. Further, "texts are temporal, self-reflexive, and grounded in both local experiences and historical meaning" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p. 115).

This study crystallizes discourses to form intertextual and layered traces of decipherable pasts—a palimpsest. OED defines a palimpsest as "a writing material on which the original text has been effaced or partially erased and then overwritten by another." More than a mere surface upon which original inscriptions have been scratched out and overwritten, a palimpsest is a discursive object that gets at the crux of intextuality—how a text can inhibit another, but does not "offer itself at first sight" (Dillon, 2007. p. 2). The palimpsest provides a robust textual metaphor to explore the complexity of institutionalized texts and challenge the notion of enrollment management structures as fixed and stable phenomena. As a construct for reading and layering historical and forensic realities, a palimpsest "presents a fundamental contradiction: how to make visible what is invisible and must remain invisible for the structural integrity of the phenomenon" (Star, 1995, p. 94).

A palimpsest neither implies simplicity nor structure. The organic diversity, complexity, and disorder of layered texts complicate and obscure phenomena (Latour, 1986; Star, 1995). Halikowska-Smith (2003) notes that history is used by both victor and vanquished, as they select which texts are preserved and which are erased (p. 926). Thus, a palimpsest enables the subjective inscription of contemporary texts onto historical scripts, supplanting one text for another according to situated needs. The layering of different genres of discourse—such as interview narrative, autoethnographic accounts, presentation descriptions, and newsletter content—produces "messy texts" that both reveal the truth and contradiction of institutional, organizational, and personal life , thus "expand[ing] the range of understanding, voice and the storied variations in human

experience" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 184).

Conclusion

The analytical method used in this study, palimpsestuous crystallization, which is a postmodern play of intertextuality. Intertextuality focuses on "interfaces between discourse, text, and institutional contexts" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p. 80). Interview data are figure, the contemporary context and historical perspective, and secondary data sources—AACRAO SEM Conference session and *EMR* newsletter data—operate as historical ground, the discourse emerging through and at times concealing the context. In constructing the palimpsest, the conference session data and *EMR* newsletter data are situated beneath and between intraprofessional discourses elicited from the interviews.

Discourse analysis is used to interpret texts, simultaneously unearthing, unpacking and reading through layered historical, contemporary, and autoethnographic accounts. Discourse analysis is an entry point for taking notice of, interpreting, and understanding enrollment management as an institutional phenomenon. According to Putnam and Fairhurst (2001) "educators responsible for making decisions about student enrollments" (p. 93) are members of a speech community that differentiate between the language of lay persons and pragmatics of what is said by education professionals. The chief enrollment managers in this study represent a speech community that derive meaning of enrollment management by connecting to a grand narrative and engaging in interplay of history, context, and meaning. Moreover, in general, the study participants are very astute to being "on the brink" of a profession.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS:

INSTITUTIONALIZING ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT

A construct is "a symbolic creation that enacts the worldview(s) of a language community…constructs are the products of rhetorical processes through which groups of social actors…attribute meanings to action" (Conrad & Haynes, p. 47). In the first section of this chapter, I locate the origin of enrollment management as a *named* construct and explicate a "grand narrative" (Deetz, 2001) that rises from an organizational story about the conception of enrollment management. As an accepted truth, the widespread historical account[1] grounds enrollment management in a recognizable historical context and thus legitimates it as having a bona fide inception, credible history, and necessary rationale for its origin and persistence. Interrogating the ontological foundation of enrollment management provokes and encourages rereading and rewriting the history of a still developing construct.

Next, I crystallize widely accepted definitions of enrollment management, thereby tracing the foundational and shifting logics that constitute the construct as a concept, process, practice, and perhaps profession. Moreover, I recognize the authors of highly cited definitions as essential actors in institutionalizing and professionalizing higher education enrollment management. Authorship of multiple definitions is salient to this study. The definitions spans approximately three decades, from 1976 through 2004.

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[1] Henderson (2001), notwithstanding, I could not find any enrollment management literature or research where the author even suggests that enrollment management, by name or otherwise, originated some place other than Boston College.

By bringing palimpsestuous crystallization into play, I reveal how the original (Maguire, 1976) and subsequent definitions of enrollment management (Black, 2002, 2004c; Bontrager, 2004; Dennis, 1998; Dixon, 1995; Dolence, 1993; Hossler, 1984; Hossler, Bean, & Associates 1990; Kalsbeek & Hossler, 2009; Kemerer, Baldridge, & Green, 1982; Maguire in Helms, 2003) have been displaced, erased, rewritten, woven, and supplanted by and with other texts. The grand narrative that signifies the conception of enrollment management at Boston College is the grounding context upon which the original definition and subsequent definitions of enrollment management are inscribed and then interpreted as multilayered understandings of the "organizational" phenomenon. Thus, the grand narrative and derived meanings of enrollment management are intertwined in an organizing context that frames the phenomenon.

In the third section, I explore the discursive space between the brink and the emergence of the profession. I then take the reader to a material organizational space—at the table—where enrollment logics emerge from chief enrollment managers' conversational performances for executive and academic leadership. In the next section, I construct and interpret the palimpsest, a methodological and analytical construction that is simultaneously read and written as manifold interpretations of the multilayered "institutional" phenomenon enrollment management. To this end, "meanings are merged and entangled together, all present together at all times, and which can only be deciphered together, in their inextricable totality" (Genette, 1982, p. 226). Last, I summarize these results, which inform the conclusions in the next, and final, chapter of this work.

Enrollment Management Named: The Emergence of a Construct

The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it.
— Oscar Wilde

Historical accounts are inherently reductionist and involve the rewriting and reconstruction of "prearranged and closed domains of action and the control of the absent and contingent" (Kallinikos, 1995, p. 119). Recalling history involves the selective objectification and political inclusion of that which is deemed significant and excluding the decidedly insignificant. Although I acknowledge that any account of history is inherently incomplete and therefore not wholly accurate, nonetheless, I have constructed the following historical account of the origin of enrollment management as a compulsory imperfection:

> Higher education enrollment management can be traced to Boston College, circa 1974. At the time, the institution's debt to endowment ratio was 5:1; an approximate two percent drop in tuition income resulted in a near $1 million operating deficit; and tuition was at an all-time and objectionable high—as evidenced by a student strike against a sharp increase in tuition. The private Jesuit institution was under serious threat of being subsumed by the University of Massachusetts. Also, there were widespread speculations about the possibility of the college being acquired by Harvard University.

> These contingent circumstances resulted in John (Jack) Maguire—a young and popular assistant professor of physics—and Frank Campanella—a business savvy Harvard educated finance professor—being called upon by then University

President, Reverend J. Donald Monan, SJ, to turnaround a dire situation.

Maguire, appointed as dean of admissions, is credited with having coined the

term *Enrollment Management*, which he publicly characterized as a "grand

design" to "confront private higher education's uncertain future synergistically"

(Maguire, 1976, p. 20). Campanella, appointed to the newly created position of

executive vice president, noted in a private memo that enrollment management

would soon be the "name of the game" (Henderson, 2001).

Toward securing independent perpetuity, Campanella and Maguire constructed

an enrollment management organization and adopted a market orientation to gain

a better understanding of students' perceptions and Boston College's competitive

position. An integrated strategy for marketing, admissions, financial aid, and

program development led to institutional health and prosperity. According to the

National Association of College and University Business Officers (NACUBO),

to date, Boston College has an endowment approaching two billion dollars. Thus,

the institution is noted as one of the 50th wealthiest universities in the United

States. The rise of Boston College from the grips of bankruptcy to the pinnacle of

wealth, particularly among American Jesuit universities, is the proverbial rags to

riches story of enrollment management.

Foucault (1972) asserts that "history is that which transforms documents into

monuments" (p. 7). In other words, toward reconstituting the past, we seek out

decipherable traces of events that when located are deemed most relevant and made

significant. Becker (1932) notes that history is a memory of the past that is only what we

know it to be:

> The few events that we think we know for sure we can never be absolutely
> certain of, since we can never revive them, never observe or test them directly.
> The event itself once occurred, but as an actual event has disappeared; so that in
> dealing with it the only objective reality we can observe or test is some material
> trace which the event has left—usually a written document. (p. 221)

Stanley E. Henderson, Vice Chancellor for Enrollment Management and Student

Life at the University of Michigan-Dearborn, is considered a premier authority on

enrollment management history. An experienced chief enrollment manager and highly

regarded member-leader in AACRAO, Henderson received the 2007 AACRAO

Distinguished Service Award for his chapter in *The Strategic Enrollment Evolution*, "On

the Brink of a Profession: A History of Enrollment Management." The text is accepted

by field members as the definitive history of enrollment management. As referenced by

Henderson (2001), a memo written by Frank Campanella and located in the "papers of J.

Maguire" signifies history transformed into a discursive monument. Henderson writes:

> In 1974, Campanella told Maguire that he wanted to restructure the way in which
> BC handled enrollment planning and call it "enrollment management." In spite of
> Maguire's concern that the dean of the School of Management would object
> (Maguire, 1999), Campanella, on November 11, wrote a memo "to introduce the
> idea of 'enrollment management'" (Campanella, 1974). He envisioned
> enrollment management as directing admissions resources, minimizing student
> attrition, predicting market demands, and developing financial aid strategies. "I
> am convinced," he wrote, "that enrollment management will shortly be the 'name
> of the game.' I am equally convinced that it will require a coordinated and
> integrated effort of the highest order." (p. 6)

Destabilizing a grand narrative, as local and situated, is a plausible step toward

discovering the hidden foundations of enrollment management. In the last term of my

doctoral coursework, I enrolled in a course on postmodern methods. The course, which

focused on using Foucaultian methods, introduced me to the analytical method of seeking out contingencies rather than attempting to identify causes of phenomena. In other words, "when we describe an historical event as contingent, what we mean is that the emergence of that event was not necessary, but was one possible result of a whole series of complex relations between other events" (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 5). To this end, modal narratives (Clark, Booth, Rowlinson, Proctor, & Delahaye, 2007, p. 87) are historical accounts that introduce multiple possibilities, while also emphasizing that many possibilities are or were unlikely to occur. Upon accepting the emergence of enrollment management at Boston College as one of many possibilities of origination, and that it is unlikely that enrollment management would have been conceived as it was at any other institution—during that particular time—creates space for different lines of inquiry. For example, one might ask, how was the initial framing of enrollment management shaped by its purported origin at Boston College? Moreover, how has that initial framing affected the manner by which enrollment logics have developed and enrollment management appropriated?

Counterfactual and scenario recall "focus on 'what if?' questions, and both tend to ground (implicitly and explicitly) their accomplishments in judgments about whether events, structures or processes are contingent or deterministic" (Clark et al., 2007, p. 85). Counterfactual, or hindsight, recall involves explicating the influence that past actions and events have on the present and future. Henderson (2001) points out that in the 1970s, many institutions were engaged in enrollment planning efforts similar to those enacted at Boston College—the number and significance of those efforts however is unknown, or at

the least unexplored. A counterfactual inquiry might ask how the origination of

enrollment management at a public university, or non-Jesuit private university, may have

altered the perception of enrollment management as being the "grand design" suggested

by Maguire. For example, Dixon (1995), a former chief enrollment manager at an elite,

non-Jesuit private university, suggests what appears to be a more grandiose enrollment

management design than what was originally envisioned at Boston College:

> The offices or functions of a college or university that would make up an ideal
> enrollment management scheme include admissions (and if the outreach function
> is separate from the application-processing function, both offices), registrar's
> office, financial aid, bursar's (or student accounts) office, orientation, academic
> advising, campus activities, residence life, minority-specific advising offices for
> nontraditional students, women's support centers, student employment, career
> planning and placement, learning assistance, center, alumni affairs, public
> relations and publications, institutional research, faculty development and
> academic planning, and development. The list is long! (pp. 8-9)

Scenario, or foresight, play sensitizes researchers to possible or contingent

outcomes that Staley (2002) refers to as "a history of the future" (p. 76). Rather than

predicting the future, scenarios foreshadow probabilistic outcomes. Superfactural

premonition places limitation on agency and draws attention to some contextual aspect

that prevents a specified outcome. The reader is reminded that Frank Campanella

foretells, "I am convinced that enrollment management will shortly be the 'name of the

game.'" Jack Maguire recalls in an interview (Helms, 2003):

> Some of the earliest battles in the field actually had to do with the name of the
> field itself. I remember back when Frank Campanella and I went to the dean of
> the School of Management at BC and asked him, "How does the name
> 'enrollment management' sound to you?" And he said, "Wait a minute,
> 'management,' that's the name of my school! Don't start bandying about my
> name—why don't you call it enrollment planning?" But Frank Campanella said,
> "No we're going to call it enrollment management." The name enrollment
> management caught on, but frankly to me it's the worst title I can think of, except

for all the others. (p. 34)

Hossler (1984) calls the manageability of enrollment into question and offers an

alternative framing of enrollment management. He emphasizes that management or

control of enrollment factors is a difficult and perhaps impractical goal. Alternatively, he

opts for the pragmatic framing of "enrollment influencing":

> Although the term enrollment management has been used…. How does an
> administrator "manage" college choice or "control" the demand for higher
> education?....Actually, enrollment influencing is a more accurate
> term….Enrollment influencing can lead to greater institutional health and
> vitality. (p. 151)

Putnam and Fairhurst (2001) point out that "labeling or naming of objects,

people, and events exerts control over organizational processes" (p. 111). According to

Dixon (1995), the term enrollment management possesses "certain grandeur, even

hauteur" (p. 5). Maguire recalls that enrollment management was started "out of

exigency, out of necessity" (in Helms, 2003, p. 33). It is conceivable that the naming of

enrollment management was perhaps indicative of Campanella's position as executive

vice president and Father Monan's charge to bring about better institutional fiscal

management. Remember, at the time, Boston College had negative worth and a nearly

depleted endowment. Donovan, Dunigan, and FitzGerald (1990) recount the 1973

appointment of Campanella after "careful deliberation and an extensive search":

> Francis B. Campanella, an associate professor in the School of Management, was
> offered the position of executive vice president. His educational credentials and
> management background eminently fitted him for the post…. he earned an MBA
> at Babson Institute and a doctorate in business administration at Harvard in 1970.
> A nationally recognized management consultant, Campanella was charged by
> Father Monan to introduce up-to-date management practices in the University.
> (p. 414)

At a pragmatic level, Campanella's finance background enabled him see the relationships between market demands and academic planning—between net tuition revenue and what faculty were teaching respectively. A few questions, however, come to mind in respect to the naming of enrollment management. First, what is the likelihood that enrollment management would have been coined differently—excluding the term *management*— had Campanella not been a highly regarded member of the School of Management faculty since 1970? Second, by any other name, would Campanella have foretold that enrollment management would "shortly be the name of the game?"

On one side, Campanella's enrollment management conception was determinedly grounded in finance and management theory and methodology; on the other side, however, Henderson (2001) points out that "to understand the roots of enrollment management, it is important to emphasize that a significant part of Maguire's enrollment management concept was its relationship to marketing" (p. 8). Shortly after enrollment management emerged at Boston College, Kotler (1976) introduced his seminal work, *Applying Marketing Theory to College Admission*. Perceivably "gimmicky recruitment tactics" were replaced with more sophisticated strategies and the application of "the 'crass business term' *marketing* to the hallowed intangible of higher education" (Dixon, 1995, p. 6). How might enrollment management been conceptualized and operationalized had Campanella been a member of the marketing, rather than finance faculty? Moreover, although there are two prominent actors in the storied origin of enrollment management, is it conceivable that Campanella and Maguire understood and thus interpreted enrollment management quite differently?

A number of rhetorical questions have been posed to the reader in this section. Although unanswered, the questions lead to a position: It was not happenstance that Campanella and Maguire, two highly regarded members of the faculty, were chosen to lead Boston College toward institutional stability. In September of 1973, Father Monan established a University Academic Planning Council (UAPC) and appointed Campanella chair of the subcommittee on resources for financing academic plans:

> With a solid financial plan which promised positive results, the president was prepared to examine the academic programs already in place, the changes or substitutions that might be made, and the possibility of new programs that would enlarge the reputation of the University. At the end of his first year in office, Father Monan had the confidence of the faculty and had given sound leadership to the administration. With the cooperation of all segments of the campus community, slowly but surely he was moving Boston College into a new era. (Donavan et al., 1990, p. 420)

Some of the chief enrollment managers who participated in this study suggested that institutional characteristics (e.g., public or private) and recognizable faculty interest, beyond their academic disciplines, determine the nature of faculty engagement in enrollment management. Noteworthy, the adoption and recognition of enrollment management as a legitimate organizing philosophy and practice at Boston College relied heavily upon faculty confidence in, and cooperation with, university executive leadership to strengthen the academic enterprise. Assuming that university administration (i.e., vice presidents, directors, and campus operational governance structures), as opposed to academic administration (i.e., deans, department heads, and faculty governance structures) contributed largely to Boston College's dire straits, it is plausible that the university would look to a more informed and engaged academic body to help the institution recover and advance.

Although Boston College's recovery was deeply-rooted in finance, academic, and marketing changes, the transformation involved administrative *and* academic changes that were of unequal proportion and not necessarily operating simultaneously or coherently. Thus, observed through the lens of a particular logic or rationality, the origin of enrollment management is the history of an administrative or academic standpoint.

Enrollment Management Defined: Definers, Definitions, and Market Rationality

Definitions belong to the definers, not the defined.
— Toni Morrison

Scott (2008b) emphasizes that professions function as definers of institutionalized elements. In this section, it is not my goal to promote any definer as being more prominent than others. Nor is it my intent to secure a sovereign or integrated definition of enrollment management. Rather, I acknowledge that each definer and definition of enrollment management underscores particular enrollment logics, and thus is situated within contexts that connote the organizing principles of particular times, places, and circumstances. Taking notice of numerous and valid versions of enrollment management definitions, each socially sanctioned and normatively received at different times, counters the notion of an unified and absolute author(ity). The totality of the definitions reflects how field enrollment logics have shifted over time and locates institutional agents who are definers, interpreters, and appliers of the institutional elements of enrollment management.

Upon rejecting the capacity to recover or secure an ideal or objectified definition, discursive space is created for incongruent and contingent texts. Further, the notion of an

absolute author is diminished. Each author brings attention to that which is of particular relevance and importance to his or her notion of responsibility and authority—ergo position and power—in the sphere of the organizational field and the context of organizing. Moving back and forth and between definitions—and thus shifting between time, space, and contexts—the reader encounters the exteriority of texts that conceals and obscures deeper, less accessible, non-normative, and unsanctioned layers of meanings. The layering of meaning provokes and necessitates over-written and entrenched texts (Joerges & Czamiawska, 1998, p. 382). In the course of a reader's consumption of the definitions and subsequent meaning-making, there exists the constant tension of engaging in surface-level readings while simultaneously managing layers of meanings that may slip behind and between texts—bringing forward and leaving behind temporal, spatial, and contextual understandings of enrollment management.

Over the past three decades, various definitions of enrollment management have been constructed and advanced by institutional elites (e.g., Black, 2002, 2004c; Bontrager, 2004; Dennis, 1998; Dixon, 1995; Dolence, 1993; Hossler, 1984; Hossler, Bean, & Associates 1990; Kalsbeek & Hossler, 2009; Kemerer, Baldridge, & Green, 1982; Maguire, 1976, in Helms 2003). Entrenched in these definitions are implicit and explicit references to institutional structures, practices, and governance. Highly cited definitions, crafted at the time by emerging veterans of the field, proceed in chronological order—oldest to most recent.

Maguire (1976) conceives enrollment management as an integrative organizing

process. The process connects seemingly incongruent functions that collectively have a

significant impact on attaining, retaining, and advancing students. At the onset,

enrollment management is promoted as a way to join functional units and construct an

enrollment system that enables an institution to better manage the movement of students

in, within, and out of the university:

> Simply stated, Enrollment Management is a process that brings together the often disparate functions having to do with recruiting, funding, tracking, retaining, and replacing students as they move toward, within and away from the university. (p. 16)

> According to Kemerer, Baldridge, and Green (1982) enrollment management is

the antithesis to quick fixes; it is a holistic approach that involves the complex interplay

of numerous enrollment-related activities. The authors view enrollment management as

both a process and concept that involves tracking and retaining students. Further,

productively linked enrollment activities are induced and shaped by long-range

institutional planning that supports institutional mission attainment. Kemerer and

colleagues emphasize the need for a continuous flow of enrolling students, and thus

promote enrollment management as an effective method for engaging, admitting, and

matriculating prospective students. Moreover, an essential goal of enrollment

management is to aggressively counter the impact of student attrition and graduation,

thereby ensuring sustainable enrollment of an institution's necessary and balanced

number of suitable students:

> As a concept enrollment management implies an assertive approach to ensuring the steady supply of qualified students required to maintain institutional vitality. As a procedure enrollment management is a set of activities to help institutions to interact more successfully with their potential students. (p. 21)

Hossler (1984) frames enrollment management as an influential process that involves a broad range of functions, which include enrollment-related research and studies. On one hand he explicates what enrollment management is and should be, in terms of being a significant institution-wide phenomenon; on the other hand, and perhaps most significant, Hossler stresses what enrollment management "is not." Hossler stresses the need for enrollment management to be sufficiently informed by college choice, higher education finance, and student financial aid research. He therefore promotes a more theoretical understanding and empirical approach to the comprehensive and complex process of structuring the institutional enrollment profile:

> Enrollment management can be defined as process or an activity that influences the size, the shape, and the characteristics of a student body by directing institutional efforts in marketing, recruitment, and admissions, as well as pricing and financial aid. In addition the process exerts a significant influence on academic advising, the institutional research agenda, orientation, retention studies, and student services. It is not simply an administrative process. Enrollment management involves the whole campus. (pp. 5-6)

Hossler, Bean, and Associates (1990) advance enrollment management as a "systematic set of activities" which are strategic, influential, and outcome-based. The definers promote enrollment management as an organizational concept that can influence enrollments when the concept is supported by research to understand why students choose certain institutions, how students transition into and remain at those institutions, and what students are doing while they are at a particular institution. Hossler et al. stress that enrollment management is impelled by an institutional rationale that once in play yields systemic effects. Further, effective enrollment management emerges from strategic planning and necessitates student-centered research that seeks to

understand and assess supply-demand, choice, mobility, assurance, and achievement

factors that impact an institution's student enrollment:

> Enrollment management is an organizational concept and systematic set of
> activities designed to enable educational institutions to exert more influence over
> their student enrollments. Organized by strategic planning and supported by
> institutional research, enrollment management activities concern student college
> choice, transition to colleges, student attrition and retention, and student
> outcomes. (p. 5)

Dolence (1993) draws on his background in strategic planning and weds the

construct *strategic* to enrollment management—ergo strategic enrollment management

(SEM). He brings focus and previously unarticulated attention to how and where

enrollment management should be situated—within the academic context—and

introduces the concept of enrollment outcome "optimization." Dolence stresses the

inexorable relationship between enrollment management and an institution's academic

programs and planning. On one side, academic programs depend on student enrollments

(direct or indirect through subsidies from more financially viable programs) for their

existence; on the other side, students enroll at institutions largely because of the strength

of particular academic programs—which is most often assessed by the number of

enrollments vis-à-vis perceived quality of the program. Dolence's view of enrollment

management takes into consideration endogenous (e.g., institution finances, resources,

services, quality, and culture) and exogenous (e.g., labor markets, competing institutions,

educational consumer perception) forces that effect enrollments:

> SEM is a comprehensive process designed to help an institution achieve and
> maintain the optimum recruitment, retention, and graduation rates of students,
> where 'optimal' is defined within the academic context of the institution. As
> such, SEM is an institution-wide process that embraces virtually every aspect of
> an institution's function and culture. (p. 4)

Dixon (1995) recognizes the connection between students, learning, and faculty. She notes that that enrollment management aims to attract and retain students that fit an institutions' desired student profiles. Perhaps most importantly, Dixon places particular focus on the significance of understanding the needs of students and the expectations of faculty in advancing an institution's retention efforts. The notion of "fit" in respect to interests, needs, and expectations of students and faculty bring to the fore the relational aspects of enrollment management. Moreover, the connections drawn between students, faculty, and learning suggests that enrollment management in the academic context runs deeper than foci on academic programs:

> Enrollment management is finding, enrolling and retaining enough of the kinds of students an institution wants (p. 5)….it is important that students' interests, needs, and learning styles and the general expectation of the faculty be considered part of retention planning. (p. 9)

Dennis (1998) emphasizes that "enrollment management is not a bag of tricks or quick fixes" (p. 8). Taking a stratified perspective of enrollment and retention, she distinguishes enrollment management from retention management and points out that "however you define it, enrollment management is":

1. Knowing what makes a student enroll at a school
2. Understanding the relationship of the student who enrolls with the student who withdraws and the student that persists
3. Knowing how students pay for their education
4. Strategically preparing to meet the future enrollment and financial needs of a school
5. Linking enrollment management with retention management

Black (2002) situates enrollment management in an academic context and stresses the integration of functions, relationships, and goals. Further, he suggests that it

is important to look toward a strategic future and effectively manage the boundaries that

separate and differentiate enrollment services. Paradoxically, the conjoining of

enrollment and services—with a focus on services—is a strategic move as opposed to a

tactical or operational approach. Furthermore, enrollment management is viewed as an

integrated institutional approach that places primacy on relationships as opposed to an

integrated organizational approach that places primacy on functions. Thus, Black

emphasizes that enrollment services should be seamlessly experienced:

> Enrollment management is an integrated institutional approach to establishing
> and cultivating relationships with students from their first contact as a prospect
> through the completion of their educational goal. With the academic context,
> strategic enrollment management looks forward and is strategic nature. It also
> looks outward—blurring departmental and divisional boundaries to provide
> seamless services and educational opportunities to students. (p. 18)

In 2003, [2] Kalsbeek introduced and continues to reemphasize a market-centered

definition of enrollment management. His view of enrollment management suggests that

enrollment management is perhaps more rooted in marketing than previously articulated.

Aligned with Hossler's position on the need for empirical work, Kalsbeek stresses the

importance of enrollment management research. And in collaboration with Hossler,

Kalsbeek reaffirms his persistent market-centered position on enrollment management:

> Strategic Enrollment Management is the systematic evaluation of an institution's
> competitive market position, the development of a research-based definition of
> the desired or preferred strategic market position relative to key competitors, and
> then marshalling and managing institutional plans, priorities, processes, and
> resource to either strengthen or shift the market position in pursuit of the
> institution's optimal enrollment, academic, and financial profile. (Kalsbeek &
> Hossler, 2009, p. 10)

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[2] Closing keynote address at Strategic Enrollment Management (SEM) Conference hosted by American
Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO) in Boston, MA on 11/12/2003

In 2003, Jack Maguire sat for an interview that was published in AACRAO's

College and University Journal. Almost three decades after informing the Boston

College community of the relevance and significance of enacting an "enrollment

management system" to secure the institution's future, Maguire revives and emphasizes

his original focus on marketing and institutional research:

> What enrollment management really is—data-driven decision making and fact-based management, linking people and resources to get it done in the area of higher education marketing. It's not a euphemism for marketing, but some might think of it as that. We were coupling admissions, financial aid, retention, registrar, student flow, information systems and research, market research, and strategic pricing into a package that would allow interactive effects and generate an ideal outcome. (Helms, 2003, p. 33)

Bontrager (2004) points out that "enrollment management is characterized at

many institutions as resource management" (p. 11). Conversely, he views enrollment

management as "a complex set of concepts and processes that enables fulfillment of

institutional mission and students' educational goals" (p. 12). Bontrager asserts that, "if

enrollment management starts with mission, it ultimately succeeds or fails based on the

strength of its links to academics and student success" (p. 12). Black (2004c)

admonishes that enrollment management is neither a "silver bullet" nor "panacea."

Moreover, Black suggests that enrollment management is a "comprehensive process,"

that requires an institutional understanding of higher education enrollment:

> To veterans of the profession, it has become painfully obvious that enrollment management is a comprehensive process that consists of research, planning, strategies, evaluation, human resource management, technology optimization, integration of services and information, knowledge management and culture change—to name a few. (p. 17)

1984

*Hossle*r

emphasizes

Institutional research

and enrollment studies

1976, 1978, 1980

Huddleston

emphasizes

Marketing Research

1976

Maguire

emphasizes

Integrated enrollment functions

1982

Kemerer, Baldridge, & Green

emphasize

A holistic approach and interdependent activities

1990

Hossler, Bean, & Associates

emphasize

Systematic activities and enrollment influencing

1993

Dolence

emphasizes

Strategic enrollment planning

1998

Dennis

emphasizes

Retention manage-ment

2003

Kalsbeek

emphasizes

Market-centered enrollment approach

1995

Dixon

emphasizes

Insitutional enrollment connect-ions

2002

Black

emphasizes

An integrated institutional approach and enrollment services

2004

Black ; Bontrager

emphasize

A comprehen-sive process and sutdent success

Figure 1 Enrollment Management Emphasized: A Chronology

In this section, I have summarized various perspectives (definitions) of enrollment management (Figure 1). At one point, during the course of conducting my analysis, I placed all other data sources aside and focused solely on these enrollment management definitions. First, I decided to merge the text of the definitions identified. Next, I removed all citations (references to authors, year of publication, and page number of referenced text). Last, I controlled for the construct being studied by removing all references to "enrollment management" from the combined text, including the term "strategic enrollment management" (and its acronym SEM). Any references to the term "management," other than those conjoined with the term "enrollment," were retained. In addition, any references to the term "strategic," other than those conjoined with the construct "enrollment management" were retained.

Recalling that "what is present in the text conceals what is absent or implied in the discourse" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p. 13), I focused on the presence and persistence of terms by analyzing term frequency in the combined text.[3] Moreover, in the spirit of crystallization and embracing multigenre presentation, I sought out an artistic presentation of the text. To this end, I opted to a use a tag cloud to re-present the definition data. There are many websites that provide the ability to create a tag cloud by simply pasting the text you want "tagged" into a free-form text box. I selected the web tool available at http://tagcloud.oclc.org.[4]

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[3] I acknowledge that one definition might account for inflating the frequency of particular terms. My analytical approach was not intended to be positivistic in either form or function. Hence, this particular analysis should be viewed as preparatory work to facilitate the discovery and excavation of absent and implied discourse.

[4] I chose this particular web tool because it was free, web-based, and allowed me to copy the constructed

Tag clouds are visualizations of term frequencies. A tag cloud allows you to see common terms in a text by grouping like terms together and emphasizing frequent terms. The Tag Cloud tool generates the cloud by removing punctuation, calculating term frequencies, and selecting the font sizes to display. The terms are presented alphabetically in a paragraph-style display.

The tag cloud (Figure 2) enabled me to see the terms that are most prominent, in terms of frequency, in the merged text. Furthermore, juxtaposing the tag cloud against each definition facilitated the efficient identification of recurrent words in the merged text that are also present in a particular definition. Conversely, the juxtaposition also drew attention to terms that are absent in the tag cloud vis-à-vis a particular definition. The interplay of presence and absence allowed me to see what terms—and ultimately enrollment logics—emerged, disappeared, and in some cases reemerged over the years. As for implied or modified terms, the tag cloud grouping of similar terms provoked me to think about the implications underlying the tense and form of words (e.g.,enroll/s, enrollment/s, enrolling) and the conceptual link between words (e.g., students, student body, prospective students, people).

In sum, the generated tagcloud is a representation of various perspectives of enrollment management that span time, place, and circumstances. The representation is unified, but should not be considered as definitive. Like most constructs, enrollment management is still evolving; therefore, this analytical exercise is purposeful, yet incomplete inasmuch as the trace of definitions is partial and thus imperfect.

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tag cloud and paste it in this work (the ability to copy tag clouds constructed with many of the free web-based tag cloud tools is disallowed). The preferred tool also provided the useful function of "grouping similar terms and for ignoring common words." Although most tag cloud tools do eliminate common words (e.g., a, the, to, of, or, and), not all of the free web-based tools allow for the grouping of similar terms.

academic (4) activities (4) admissions aid college
comprehensive concept (3) context culture designed EDUCATIONAL (6)
enrollment (7) evaluation exerts financial (4)

functions general help influences (3) information institutional (15)
integrated interact knowing linking looks maintain makes
management (5) **marketing** (7) needs optimal
outcomes planning (4) position (3) pricing
process (8) recruiting (3) relationship
research resource retaining RETENTION (6) school services (3) set
strategic (5) students (20) systematic

Figure 2 Enrollment Management Defined: A Tag Cloud[5]

A surface reading of the combined definitions suggests that over the past three

decades *students*, *institutional*, *educational*, *marketing,* and *process* are persistent—or in

respect to marketing, prominently emerging—enrollment management elements.

Conversely, juxtaposed with historical accounts of enrollment management's origin, a

deeper and more critical reading reveals that while marketing appears to have abruptly

emerged in the most recent years, its presence and thus significance at the onset was

partially erased. Moreover, marketing has reemerged in a most powerful state, as a

rationale discourse that promotes and sustains the diffusion, adoption, and appropriation

of enrollment management.

In 1976, two private institutions and their respective chief enrollment

managers—separated by approximately 1500 miles—were defining and shaping the

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[5] I use different fonts and font sizes to distinguish the words. The numbers enclosed in parenthesis that trail a term denotes the frequency of the term, including similar terms. Terms without a trailing number are present twice in the text. Terms occurring in the text only once are not reflected in the tagcloud.

field. While enrollment management was emerging at Boston College, Tom Huddleston "was applying formal market research with considerable success" at Bradley University in Peoria, IL. Huddleston (1976, 1978, 1980) is lauded as a pioneer in utilizing market research to inform higher education admissions and recruitment practices, in general, and specifically conceptualizing marketing as the link between the structure and practice of enrollment management. Henderson (2001) points out, however, that "Huddleston has never used the term 'enrollment management' to describe his work" (p. 10). Thus, his market-centered approach and focus on retention of enrollments is entangled in the history of enrollment management, but deeply imbedded beneath many layers of subsequent enrollment management texts.

Looking back to and beneath layers of historical and contemporary conceptualizations of enrollment management, Father J. Donald Monan, Frank Campanella, and Jack Maguire conceived enrollment management as a process that relied heavily on changing the academic programs at Boston College, "and the possibility of new programs that would enlarge the reputation of the University" (Donavan et al., 1990, p. 420). The academic composition and financial outlook of the university shifted as "all segments of the campus community slowly but surely" responded to Monan "moving Boston College into a new era" (p. 420). The administrative charge from Monan to Campanella was to "introduce up-to-date management practices in the University" (p. 414). However, the ultimate goal of those practices was to elevate Boston College's market position.

In many ways, the "disparate functions" noted in Maguire's debut definition of

enrollment management effaced the historical market conceptualization and operationalization of enrollment management. In 1982, marketing begins to re-emerge in form, followed by function in 1984. Marketing materializes as institutional research that identifies and attracts a "steady supply of qualified students," and then as an institutional driver for the alignment of academic offerings with prospective students' interests. As enrollment management was defined and redefined over the years, enrollment matters associated with marketing and institutional positioning were given cursory attention, as direct (and named) foci were placed on matters of student recruitment, retention, persistence, and graduation.

Then in 2003, and later in 2009, a marketing discourse promoted and sustained by David Kalsbeek—Senior Vice President for Enrollment Management and Marketing at DePaul University—begins to emerge. The shift from functional discourse promotes enrollment management by means of *marketing rationality*, which up until 2003, was neither plainly nor boldly articulated in or from the field. In 2003, however, historically functional definitions of enrollment management are overwritten by a market-centric definition that develops into a market-centered orientation (Kalsbeek, 2007). Most recently, two leaders in the field (Kalsbeek & Hossler, 2009) collaborate to fully articulate and entrench a market-centered perspective of enrollment management and thus further reinforce marketing discourse in the enrollment management context.

The reader is first reminded that rationalities ground actions which subsequently render logics visible and heard; second, while enrollment logics structurate action, enrollment management rationalities are invoked to explain and justify why particular

enrollment-related actions have been or should be taken. Kalsbeek (2006a) notes that

"for the past fifteen years, the American Marketing Association [AMA] has sponsored

the Annual Symposium on Marketing in Higher Education; it is now a professional

conference that has content sessions virtually indistinguishable from AACRAO's SEM

conferences" (p. 7). Kalsbeek and Hossler (2009) offer a recent explication of

enrollment management that elucidates the market rationality supported by the AMA

and advanced by some enrollment management scholars and practitioners:

> [Enrollment Management] is all about defining, developing and leading an
> institution's understanding of its special and distinctive place and position in an
> increasingly competitive marketplace and helping an institution's leadership
> understand, appreciate and embrace the complex interactivity of market indicator
> that dictate enrollment success, all of its increasingly complex manifestations and
> metrics. (p. 10)

Chief enrollment managers hold certain enrollment logics as rational,

incontestable, and necessarily instrumental to ensure successful enrollment agendas.

According to Parsons (1956), an orientation to certain goal attainment in educational

organizations is influenced by the "trained capacity" of its participants (pp. 56-57);

hence, suggesting that chief enrollment managers presuppose extant and emerging

enrollment logics as pragmatic, and perhaps even obligatory, for ensuring successful

enrollment agendas and institutional health. The defense and debate of market rationality

and associated enrollment logics surfaces in public transcripts where chief enrollment

managers "think, meet, argue, make claims, define options, conduct studies, tell stories

and generate discursive output, including reports, interviews, minutes, and newspaper

commentary" (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006, p. 210).

For example, *Inside Higher Ed*, a popular Internet news source aimed at higher

education professionals, posted an article titled 'Penn State Wears Prada'. The author

critiques Penn State's advertising campaigns in popular media. The advertisements are

characterized as "lifestyle" promotions that attempt to tap into teens' desires to fit in,

which may supersede their academic sensibilities (Sallee & Tierney, 2007). Penn State's

leadership defends its use of market research upon which they based their decision to

cast and dress—as opposed to typical staging of students-in-action—a group of Penn

State students in the advertisements to "increase the visibility of an already visible

university." The article suggests that Penn State's advertising approach represents "ego-

based….audacious marketing strategies and tactics" that play into the "sense of

academic non-seriousness" and walk the line between "innovation and insolence." In an

unsolicited response to the online article, David Kalsbeek posted the following:

> I am disturbed by this article at many levels, but primarily by what it may
> lead readers to think about PSU and about marketing….Marketing strategy
> need not be so superficial, so disconnected from an institution's mission and
> academic purposes. There are many institutions, including my own, that have
> embraced the best of what marketing practices and perspectives offer, that
> have used the discipline of marketing research and strategy to forge academic
> and non-academic programs that respond better to the needs of students and
> communities, that elevate an institution's ability to embrace the two-fold
> challenge to be market-smart AND mission-centered. rather *[sic]* than having
> those two challenges be at cross purposes. (Kalsbeek, 2006b)

Kalsbeek's reaction is quite salient to this study. First, he does not reference

enrollment management, which lies beneath the surface text that advances marketing

rationality. Hence, enrollment management is absent in the text, but emerges as

marketing discourse. Second, Kalsbeek's post exemplifies how institutions are

carried in the minds of individuals and how profession(al)s act as promulgators and

protectors of institutional norms and values. Last, and noteworthy, Kalsbeek's rise to

becoming a chief enrollment manager was in many ways atypical. Although highly

regarded among chief enrollment managers as a "get it done" institutional elite, his

divergent ideas and beliefs position him as an immigrant in the field. Institutional

elites are bearers of institutionalized assumptions and understandings (Kraatz &

Moore, 2002).[6] However, elite immigrants to an organizational field may serve as

"institutional antiheroes" who promote alternative values and "changes that are

consistent with [his or her] own values, interests, and ideologies and counter to those

that have been historically prevalent in the institution or field" (p. 125). Here's what

two chief enrollment managers that I interviewed for this study shared about this

particular elite immigrant:

> **CEMgrX▢ 2009: [7]** There are people who speak about [enrollment
> management] well and get it done; and there are only a few of those.
> Kalsbeek is by far at the top of that list. If I were going to identify one person
> at the SEM heap, it would be Dave Kalsbeek—and you know this and you
> know why I would say that—someone who not just talks well about it, but is
> creative. He is the one, literally the one person I can go and listen to and hear
> stuff I have never even thought of before. You know, not like I am so damn
> smart. He's out there. He leads the way in thought and in actually getting it
> done. If you actually look at his results at DePaul: stunned. Talk about getting
> it done. And I'm not talking about increasing enrollment, although he did
> that. I'm not talking about driving revenue, although he did that. I'm talking
> about he looked at what needed to be done in the Chicago area—Chicago
> Land as they call it. You know this only too well. You know just get after it
> and do things that no one thought was possible. That defines what Dave
> Kalsbeek did at DePaul University—incredible, amazing, inspiring.

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[6] Enrollment management elites are located within and beyond universities and colleges; they also
include consultants, vendors, policy makers, and opinion leaders. As these elites migrate between and
within organizational fields, they disrupt power dynamics and introduce new, logics, rationalities,
knowledge, and expertise (Kraatz & Moore, 2002).

[7] Because this interview excerpt makes direct reference, albeit positive, to an individual in the field, I have
taken the additional step of protecting the identity of the chief enrollment managers who were very open to
sharing their thoughts about those making an impact in the field and toward advancing the profession.

CEMgrY **2009:** I think Dave is really pushing the whole enrollment management group or profession or whatever you wish to call it to a certain challenge point. And I think that's sort of been his role, of sort of the playdough of SEM. And I think he's doing a good job with that. I think we need to do a bit more of that….Kalsbeek is popular amongst those of us who have been in the field for awhile. He's sort of blown off by most of the sort of mid-level folks, because they're still looking for the how-to-do-it stuff.

Historical and Contemporary Enrollment Logics

This section responds to my first research question: *What are historical and contemporary enrollment logics?* Enrollment logics are organizing principles that shape the practices and interaction of actors in the institutionalized organizational field of enrollment management. This study credits the first public recognition of enrollment management and its associated organizing principles to Jack Maguire, former dean of admissions of Boston College. In 1976, Maguire proclaimed that "to the organized go the students." Coming off the heels of a student strike against a sharp tuition increase, and on the verge of financial exigency, university leadership devised a tactical response that spawned efforts to secure a stable and optimistic institutional future. Boston College's response to dire circumstances involved the integration of incongruent organizational functions, focused attention on achieving functional efficacy necessary to stabilize and grow university enrollment, enhanced promotion and support of the institutional vision and mission, and improved accountability to university constituents.

1976

Maguire
pioneers and
emphasizes
the need to
bring together
disparate
enrollment
functions

1982

*Kemerer,
Baldridge, &
Green*
emphasize a
holistic
approach to
interdependent
enrollment
activities

1990

Hossler, Bean, & Associates

emphasize student college
choice, transition to
colleges, student attrition
and retention, and student
outcomes as systematic sets
of activities that influence
enrollment

1976, 1978, 1980

Huddleston
pioneers and
emphasizes
marketing
research in
higher
education
admissions
and
recruitment

1984

Hossler
emphasizes
the need and
impact of an
institutional
research
agenda and
associated
enrollment
studies

1993

Dolence
pioneers and
emphasizes
strategic
enrollment
planning
focused on the
academic
enterprise and
aimed at
enrollment
optimization

1998

Dennis
emphasizes
retention and
distinguishes
retention
management
from
enrollment
management

2003

Kalsbeek
emphasizes
a market-
centered
approach
toward
attaining
and
sustaining a
strong
market
position

1995

Dixon
emphasizes
the linkage
between
students,
learning,
and faculty

2002

Black
emphasizes
"seamless"
enrollment
services

2004

Bontrager
emphasizes a
comprehensive
process that
links enrollment
management
activities to
academic and
student success

Figure 3 Evolution of Enrollment Logics

While various enrollment logics shaping enrollment management have persisted since the mid-1970s, others have shifted as the organizational field evolved from tactical toward *strategic* enrollment management in the 1980s, market-centered approaches at the turn of the century, and current enrollment logics revealed by the participants in this research project (Figure 3). Further, economic, demographic, and educational factors affecting the supply and demand of postsecondary education enrollments have altered historical enrollment logics and yielded contemporary enrollment logics.

The identification of historical and contemporary enrollment logics does not suggest that particular logics are exclusive or wedded to a particular period in time. Certain enrollment logics, however, have been and are more or less pervasive depending on time, space, and circumstance. I attribute shifts in enrollment logics to regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive factors that constitute and are constituted by postsecondary education enrollment conditions and patterns. For example, and to name a few, enrollment logics are constitutive of: 1) the legal contestation of collegiate admissions policies and practices, 2) changes in the demographics and expectations of individuals seeking postsecondary education, 3) advancements in and the pervasive use of technology to attract and retain students, 4) the application of for-profit business models and corporate planning strategies in higher education administration, 5) and an heightened awareness of and requirement for the assessment of postsecondary education learning outcomes and associated student success.

This study reveals four significant shifts in the underlying organizing

principles that have shaped enrollment management development and practices over

the past three decade. The shifts in enrollment logics garnered from this study are: 1)

from tactical responsiveness and accountability toward strategic planning and

assessment, 2) from integration and satisficing toward interdependency and

optimizing, 3) from function efficacy toward organization development and 4) from

student enrollment toward student development.

⇦ Tactical Responsiveness & Accountability ⇨ Strategic Planning & Assessment

       Two study participants were chief enrollment managers at institutions

affected by extraordinary circumstances that resulted in a state of emergency being

declared on their respective campuses. One campus was severely damaged when the

levies broke; the aftershock of Hurricane Katrina brought enrollment activity to a

halt. On another campus, lives were senselessly taken by a gunman who in the matter

of minutes ended many enrollment dreams. The chief enrollment managers recall

their experiences:

> **CEMgr14 2009:** When Katrina hit, the institution was brought from a
> fairly good place in higher education in the array of institutions down to its
> knees. And the question became in the first week, "would we survive, not
> how to recover, but would we survive." It was interesting the people that
> were called on to help turn that corner. It wasn't the faculty. It wasn't the
> academic leadership of the institution. It was a small group of administrators,
> including myself in enrollment management, which were given great
> flexibility. The president said, "I believe you all know what we have to do.
> We just have to do it."

CEMgr12 2009: At 3:00 I had one job, and at 3:15 I had a completely different job for the next six months. And you know, I think the lesson learned there is that you've always got to stay on your toes; because we had a very well-articulated plan all put together, and the minute that event happened on our campus, it all went out and we had to start over. We had a new set of priorities. We had a new set of focus. We had to re-vision. We had to redo. We had to just rethink ourselves as an institution and the way that we were presenting ourselves both to our current student body and their families and loved ones, but also to the local, regional, and the national population. We had a defining moment there where we had to really be prepared for something that was completely different from what we were doing 15 minutes before. And it happened in the blink of an eye. I think the lessons from that for me were you always have to keep yourself with a 10,000 foot view of things, because it's easy to get into the day-to-day minutia and details—and those sorts of things. And if you get trapped down at that level, making those transitions, or overcoming something that is unexpected is hard to do. So, I think part of the challenge for enrollment manager is that they have to continue thinking about strategic planning and vision and purpose.

In the shadow of 9/11, when the waters come rushing in and shots are ringing out, the signs of contemporary times necessitate that college and university campuses move beyond the logics of emergency response and recovery to strategic planning and risk assessment. The threat of natural disasters, man-induced tragedies, and severe enrollment declines are ever present possibilities for colleges and universities. When the improbable becomes a campus reality, organizing principles that stress preparedness are given primacy.

Since its inception, enrollment management involved institutional planning; that planning however was typically a tactical response to adverse enrollment conditions as opposed to *long-range* strategic planning. Historically, institutional leaders placed primacy on accountability measures that identified enrollment shortcomings, in terms of unrealized goals and failed objectives. Thus, enrollment planning was neither necessarily deliberate nor strategic. Further, rudimentary

enrollment metrics and modeling yielded facile assessment of enrollment outcomes. In general, field members lacked the capability to predict enrollment plunges and surges. As chief enrollment managers and thus enrollment management units began reporting through the academic arm of the university, research and assessment became essential in both form and function:

> **CEMgr18📖 2009**: This sense of data I think becomes ever more important as enrollment people start to coexist in the faculty world—or at least in the academic world—as opposed to under sort of admin and finance kind of VP. Now you're sitting under the provost or something. I think that there is a greater need to act like an academic as the enrollment officer. And any academic knows that you don't go do research without really thinking about your research questions and looking at your literature and so on and so on. And so I think this notion of evidence-based decision making is really here to stay.

In sum, contemporary enrollment logics have shifted from tactical responses to institutional phenomena toward predicting enrollment patterns and their associated enrollment effects. The pervasive assessment of enrollment outcomes vis-à-vis enrollment goals has been induced by regulatory and accrediting entities that govern and sanction colleges and universities as compliant and legitimate respectively. Coerceive and normative institutional mechanisms stimulate and support evidence-based decision making. The enrollment history of an institution offers a rich data source to ground predictive enrollment models. Moreover, these models may reveal trends and factors that affect enrollment. To this end, more than simply responding to enrollment conditions, contemporary chief enrollment managers aim to predict and identify key enrollment indicators while simultaneously focusing on strategic enrollment performance and risk assessment.

⇦ Integration & Satisficing ⇨ Interdependence & Optimizing

Mastenbroek (1993) asserts that "we are confronted by a paradox: in order to integrate better, we must first differentiate well" (p. 143). Since the storied origin of enrollment management at Boston College, much focus has been placed on the utility of integrating higher education enrollment-related functions. Contemporary enrollment management is described as *integrating* within the institution; *embedding* into institutional planning; *fusing* with the academic enterprise; *blurring* the boundaries between administrative and academic units; and *morphing* institutional roles and structures (see Black, 2004d, p. 38).

The original aim of enrollment management was to "reduce fragmentation by systematizing and integrating these fields [recruiting, funding, tracking, retaining, and replacing students] into one grand design" (Maguire, 1976, p. 16). Conceivably, grand designs are constructed with the intent of maximizing—or at the least optimizing—organizational outcomes. Organizational actors' capacity to make decisions toward achieving rational outcomes are "bounded" however by insufficient information, cognitive resource facility, limited alternatives, appropriation of values vis-à-vis outcomes (Simon, 1976), and individual motivation (Kaufmann, 1990). A chief enrollment manager who "chooses the best available alternative according to some criterion is said to optimize; one who chooses an alternative that meets or exceeds specified criteria, but that is not guaranteed to be either unique or in any sense the best, is said to satisfice" (Simon, 1987, p. 243).

In terms of enrollment management, the integrated arrangement of

organizational functions toward achieving sufficient enrollment outcomes signifies

historical enrollment logics that were primarily focused on organizing disparate

activities and developing an intentional approach for managing enrollments.

Conversely, more contemporary conceptualizations of enrollment management

underscore enrollment outcome optimization, in terms of institutional capacity and

net tuition revenue. On one side, the historical logics of managing enrollments are

aligned with enrollment satisficing; on the other side, contemporary enrollment

management is deeply rooted in purposeful optimization. A study participant recalls

the mid-1990s when Michael Dolence, a higher education strategic planning

administrator, became a prominent figure in the field:

> **CEMgr5 2009**: When Dolence brought the strategic planning component
> into enrollment management it became SEM [Strategic Enrollment
> Management]. SEM really differentiates it from enrollment management.
> SEM is what makes Enrollment Management capital E and capital M. And
> most of the flagships institutions and a lot of private institutions really deal in
> what I call lower case enrollment management. They're managing
> enrollment. They are not doing an administrative construct, which is what
> strategic enrollment management does. Managing enrollment is about
> bringing in the class.

Historically, enrollment management was perceived as an integrated

organizational design that could attract and retain sufficient numbers of students,

"during a period of possible national enrollment declines" (Maguire, 1976, p. 16).

Kalsbeek (1997) emphasizes, however, that "by its nature, enrollment management

relies on an interdependence of many departments, functions, and processes" (p.

157). Thus, more contemporary enrollment logics have shifted toward

conceptualizing enrollment management as an interdependent organizational design

aimed at achieving "optimum recruitment, retention, and graduation rates of students" (Dolence, 1993, p. 4).

Interdependence is measured by the benefits and costs of functional segregation. Higher segregation costs or benefits of one function (e.g., admissions) in relation to another function (e.g., financial aid) connote greater degrees of dependence of the former function on the latter function. In other words, the admission function may have a greater degree of dependence on financial aid than financial aid has on admissions. However, functional interdependence exists when both admissions and financial aid functions incur high costs when those functions are segregated as opposed to being functionally integrated.

⇦ Functional Efficacy ⇨ Organization Development

Enrollment management was conceived as a process focused on maintaining effective operations, adopting new enrollment techniques, understanding and controlling enrollment flow, and conducting long-term enrollment demand studies. In his prologue, Maguire (1976) outlines five goals of enrollment management, which he considered "overlapping and fluid" (p. 20). The goals promoted functional efficacy in the areas of admissions, marketing, institutional research, financial aid, and student retention. The rationale "of merging such disparate disciplines in the hybrid Enrollment Management" was based upon a "firm belief" that an institution's enrollment "future although precarious, is ultimately controllable" (p. 20). Moreover, it was emphasized that enrollment management would enable "integrated efforts to be greater than the sum of their parts" (p. 20).

The suppositional rationalities of functional integration logics are efficiency and effectiveness gains, which connote the simultaneous presence of functional efficacy logics. The rationalities of enrollment management at Boston College circa 1976 included: attracting outstanding students in sufficient numbers, improving the coordination of institutional research and information flow, developing the capability to anticipate immediate and long-term student interests and needs, developing methods to provide enhanced student services, implementing strategies to maintain a desirable socio-economic mix of students, and minimizing student attrition.

Maguire (1976) notes that "in a restricted sense some would consider Enrollment Management as a euphemism for marketing" (p. 17). The historical disaffirmation of enrollment management as a "marketing orientation" (p. 17) had a profound impact on how the field was perceived for almost two decades. During this developmental period, enrollment management was recognized as an integrative approach aimed toward achieving functional efficacy, rather than a holistic comprehensive approach to organizing interdependent matters of institutional enrollment. A study participant reflects on the functional beginnings of enrollment management and the shift in "conversation" and "talk" that conceivably embraces a more comprehensive and thus institutional discourse:

> **CEMgr11 2009:** The mechanics, I think was the original focus; at least it appears to me that the mechanics of enrolling the student and keeping the student enrolled—the needle tilted to that side as we started. I really think we used the mechanics of it to get the conversation started. And I don't want to think it was serendipitous, but it many ways thank goodness because it was a catalyst for us to talk about as an institution, comprehensively, what we need to do in higher education.

Historical functional efficacy logics were promoted before there was an astute awareness of the interdependency of enrollment functions. In contrast, contemporary enrollment logics are more characteristically focused on organization development (OD). Grounded in behavioral-science, OD is a deliberate organization-wide effort managed from the top to increase organization effectiveness and sustain organizational health through planned interventions in organizational processes (Beckhard, 1969, p. 3). OD promotes emergent and situational organizing, continuous improvement mechanisms and feedback loops, high collaboration and low competition between and among interdependent units, and shifts from authoritative knowledge in decision making toward local and contingent decision points. To this end, Beckhard points out that "an OD program involves a systematic diagnosis of the organization, the development of a strategic plan for improvement, and the mobilization of resources to carry out the effort" (p. 3).

⇦ Student Enrollment ⇨ Student Development

Maguire (1976) argues that enrollment management techniques can be aligned with "maintaining a humanistic vision of what fundamentally constitutes a good education" and traditions "that contribute to 'making a life not merely living'" (p. 18). Historical organizing principles of enrollment management, however, were heavily focused on admissions and the enactment of student enrollment as opposed to curricular and general aspects of student life. That is, historic enrollment logics were less attentive to currently enrolled students, the conditions they experience (before and after entering postsecondary educational settings), and the learning outcomes they attain (within and

after exiting postsecondary educational settings). In contrast, contemporary enrollment

logics place significant focus on student development—or more broadly human

development—and associated student experiences and student engagement that affect

institutional retention, attrition, graduation, and alumni involvement rates:

> **CEMgr9⌨ 2009:** One of the sorts of secrets about enrollment management in my humble opinion is: Growing enrollments, shoot that's easy. You know, I say that in the context for years, not so much today—this is changing some—but for years it was like, "Oh, you know enrollment management, we got to grow enrollment." That's the easy part. The hard part is how you address the broader scope of the student experience. That's what's much harder and what I believe is the core of enrollment management these days.

Individual engagement in higher education is a context for student development.

Student development as theory, research, and practice emerged from the scientific study

of human development (Evans, Forney, Guido, Renn, & Patton, 2009). Broadly defined,

student development is "the application of human development concepts in

postsecondary settings so that everyone involved can master increasingly complex

developmental tasks, achieve self-direction, and become independent" (Miller & Prince,

1976, p. 3). From an enrollment management lens, student development logics place foci

on "the ways that a student grows, progresses, or increases his or her developmental

capabilities as a result of enrollment in an institution of higher education" (Rodgers,

1990, p. 27). A study participant offers a local perspective:

> **CEMgr14⌨ 2009:** To me, my fun has been in over 40 years dealing with tens of thousands, maybe hundreds of thousands of kids who are going through that process. And there's probably not a one of them that remembers that I was involved. And not a one of them would say, "Hey, I'm glad he was around." But from my perspective, I saw them change. I would bring hundreds of them in as freshman and I could watch them change over the year. And I would go back to graduation four years later and they were different people.

Attending to student development has traditionally been the work of student affairs professionals. Nuss (2003) points out that despite the dramatic changes in higher education, the student affairs profession has maintained a "consistent and persistent emphasis on and commitment to the development of the whole person" (p. 69). While a chief enrollment manager may be affiliated with a student affairs division, mere position in an organizational structure does not legitimate him or her as a student affairs professional. Moreover, the professionalization of student affairs has a distinct history from the emergence and development of enrollment management as a profession.

The advent of student development enrollment logics links the two professions—student affairs and enrollment management—in theory and practice. In general, "student development theories focus on intellectual growth as well as affective and behavioral changes during the college years, they also encourage partnerships between student affairs professionals and faculty to enhance student learning and maximize positive student outcomes" (Evans et al., 2009, p. 7). Enrollment management professionals, many who may operate beyond the borders or at the periphery of the student affairs organization of a college or university, are becoming more engaged in the student development process. To this end, a study participant notes that enrollment management can facilitate meeting students' needs and fulfilling institutional mission:

> **CEMgr11 2009:** Enrollment management gave us the option to focus on the ultimate value and mission of higher education, which is the student objective being met—teaching, learning, and development as we find in the student development theory.

The shift in enrollment logics from attending to one-dimensional and generalized students to focusing on multifaceted and diverse persons has stimulated interest in

moving beyond academic cognitive indicators of student potential and success to also include non-cognitive indicators. In 2003, presentations focused on non-cognitive qualities and measures of prospective and current students emerged at the AACRAO Strategic Enrollment Management Conference. Non-cognitive variables (e.g., self-belief, social support, and cultural congruity in postsecondary education settings) are juxtaposed with traditional methods of predicting college success (e.g., standardized test scores, grade point averages, and high school class rank). Similar efforts are employed in seeking out new ways to reduce attrition—particularly among low-income students and students of color—by using non-cognitive data to identify at-risk students and customize intervention strategies.

On one hand, chief enrollment managers are using non-cognitive factors at an organizational level in their college or university's admissions processes and retention programs; on the other, however, the use of non-cognitive variables in admissions processes is being institutionalized in normative structures such as standardized admissions exams. For example, the Educational Testing Services (ETS®) administers and scores the Graduate Records Examination (GRE®) taken by individuals seeking admittance into U.S. graduate programs. In July 2009, ETS added an option for GRE test takers to elicit self-selected evaluator feedback on non-cognitive qualities using the ETS Personal Potential Index (ETS® PPI).[8] Evaluators rate test takers on six personal attribute

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[8] The ETS® Personal Potential Index (ETS® PPI) is a web-based evaluation system designed to provide a more complete picture of an applicant's potential for success in graduate or professional school beyond grades, test scores and recommendation letters. Multiple evaluators that the applicant has selected (up to five per evaluation report) rate applicants on six personal dimensions that have been identified as critical for success in graduate school. ETS creates an ETS PPI Evaluation Report that incorporates the evaluations and comments from all the evaluators, and sends the report to schools and programs the applicant designates. Source: www.**ets**.org/ppi/.

dimensions using a five point Likert scale: 1 - below average, 2 - average, 3 – above average, 4 – outstanding (Top 5%), and 5 - truly exceptional (Top 1%). There are 24 statements, four for each of these six personal attribute dimensions: *knowledge/creativity* (e.g., intensely curious about the field), *communication skills* (e.g., speaks in a clear, organized and logical manner), *teamwork* (e.g., supports the efforts of others), *resilience* (e.g., accepts feedback without getting defensive), *planning/organization* (e.g., sets realistic goals) and *ethics/integrity* (e.g., is worthy of trust from others).

The ETS PPI represents a significant shift in data being gathered to assess the development of individuals who advance through the enrollment pipeline from primary education to postsecondary graduate/professional education. To this end, it is suggested by a study participant that chief enrollment managers are broadening their reach to include pre-elementary education and post-undergraduate education. Some chief enrollment managers are exploring child, human, and student development factors that affect the quality of the entire enrollment pipeline.

> **CEMgr2 2009:** The complexity of the discussions has advanced. The tools have advanced. And when I say complexity, what I mean is where before you'd be talking about simply reaching into high school populations, you know the fact now that we are actually talking about child development issues—pre-kindergarten and how institutions can be involved in strengthening the pipeline, in aligning the curriculum—all the way from grade school through graduate school. That is a pretty drastic shift.

Summary

As noted by Dolence (1993), enrollment management typically evolves along a development continuum comprised of four levels. Dolence notes, however, that most institutions fall between structural and tactical enrollment management development. A recap of the levels, which were explicated in Chapter II, is useful for summarizing the evolution of enrollment logics. *Level 1*, nominal enrollment management, is perceived as a normative solution to addressing enrollment problems. *Level 2*, structural enrollment management, directs attention toward integrating and improving functions for greater effectiveness and efficiency. *Level 3*, tactical enrollment management, is where enrollment strategies begin to surface, collaboration and environmental scanning are promoted, and enrollment management evolves from a structural concept to a comprehensive process. *Level 4*, strategic enrollment management is entrenched in the institutional and strategic planning.

This study suggests that the evolution of enrollment logics can be viewed from a perspective aligned with Dolence's enrollment management development framework. Akin to enrollment management organization, contemporary enrollment logics may surface at institutions in similar or distinct ways. Moreover, these essential organizing principles of enrollment management are not an all or nothing occurrence. Conversely, historic or contemporary enrollment logics may emerge in part, and as a matter of degree, at various colleges and universities that evidence underdeveloped, moderately-developed, well-developed, or fully-developed enrollment management organization (Table 5).

Table 5 Enrollment Management and Logics Development

Enrollment Logics ↓	Enrollment Management Development				
	Level 1 Nominal	*Level 2* Structural	*Level 3* Tactical	*Level 4* Strategic (Planning)	*Level 5* Strategic Performance
Tactical Responsiveness & Accountability	👍	👍	👍	👉	👉
Student Enrollment	👍	👍	👍	👉	👉
Functional Efficacy	👎	👌	👍	👉	👉
Integration & Satisficing	👎	👌	👍	👉	👉
Interdependence & Optimizing	👎	👎	👌	👍	👍
Strategic Planning & Assessment	👎	👎	👌	👌	👍
Student Development	👎	👎	👎	👌	👍
Organization Development	👎	👎	👎	👌	👍
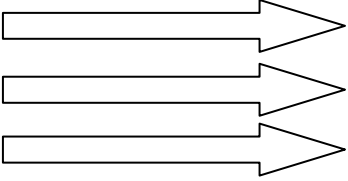
👎 = Underdeveloped   👌 = Moderately-developed   👍 = Well-developed; established

👉 = Fully-developed; surpassed

Particular enrollment logics might be noted as historical in terms of the overall development of enrollment management as a construct and practice. Those same enrollment logics, however, may be more recently adopted and appropriated at a particular college or university. Furthermore, enrollment management and thus associated enrollment logics are not bound to prescribed and orderly emergence, development, or appropriation. To the contrary, in light of more contemporary enrollment logics, it is not uncommon for a division model (Kemerer et al., 1982) to be the first appropriation of enrollment management on a campus—physical and virtual.

Dolence (1993) conceived the highest level of enrollment management as Level 4, Strategic. In Table 5, however, I frame Level 4 as "Strategic Planning" and introduce Level 5 "Strategic Performance." Utilizing evaluation instruments—such as the one developed by Black (2003)—to assess the effectiveness of enrollment management operations propels institutions toward Level 5 performance activities. At Level 4, I posit that strategic planning may be achieved; however, strategic performance activities (e.g., establishing and assessing key organizational performance indicators) may lag behind in development and appropriation. Furthermore, while well-developed interdependence and optimization may be achieved at Level 4, I argue that the presence of enrollment logics that connote well-developed student and organization development represents a higher level of strategic enrollment management development.

Table 6 Enrollment Structure, Authority, Expectations, and Outcomes

	Committee	**Coordinator**	**Matrix**	**Division**
Degree of Restructure	Low	Some	Moderate	High
Authority	Influence	Networks	Cooperation	Direct
Institutional Commitment	Low			High
Expertise of Enrollment Champion	Low			High
Expected Enrollment Results	Unmet Goals			Exceeded Goals

(Bontrager, 2004; Penn, 1999)

An organizational appropriation of enrollment management can be more fully understood by taking into account that enrollment logics and the level of enrollment management development are inextricably tied to structure, authority, expectations, and outcomes. The degree of organizational restructuring, nexus of authority (see Penn, 1999), institutional commitment, expertise of the enrollment champion, and expected enrollment results (see Bontrager, 2004) that are associated with an organizational appropriation of enrollment management connotes different levels of organization development (Table 6). Enrollment logics lend meaning, rationality, and purpose to enrollment management structures and thus enrollment management structuration that shapes, contains, and reinforces the organization development of colleges and universities.

Searching for the Profession

Institutional logics and the cultural beliefs of an organizational field are carried in the minds of individuals, not institutions (Scott, 1995). To this end, individual and collective actors—professions, associations, elites, marginal players and rank-and-file workers—function as institutional agents (Scott, 2008a). Scott (2008a) stresses that "institutions are not only constructed from the top down, but from the bottom up" (p. 103). At the top, institutional elites migrate from one institution to another, moving between organizations and perhaps even organizational fields, carrying and diffusing cultural understandings and assumptions of institutional phenomena (Kraatz & Moore, 2002). From the bottom, the rank-and-file "participate, wittingly or not, in the reproduction and reconstruction" (Scott, 2008a) of organizational fields. Thus, organizational fields are inhabited by sundry actors, many who although not foci in this study, are re-presented in the discourse.

Humphrey (2006) posits that to better understand the organizational field of enrollment management researchers should orient themselves to the field from the perspective of chief enrollment managers. To this end, a few chief enrollment managers sat with me in conversation, reflecting, invoking, giving, and sharing their thoughts about and experiences in the field. Reflective contextualization of our conversations, which are primary data for this study, provides ground and figure for framing and explicating the institutionalization and professionalization of enrollment management and the chief enrollment manager respectively.

Reflecting on their entry into and journey through higher education, some of

these leaders in the field reframed past events and career decisions in terms of their current understandings and enlightened standpoints—re-presenting their 'selves' and the situations they faced as necessarily instrumental to the construction of the enrollment management professionals presented to me. Invoking their memories of times, places, and people, they revealed linkages between organizational conditions and the situated actors that stimulated, and on occasion, necessitated their growth as enrollment management leaders, practitioners, consultants, and researchers. Giving voice to the absent and contingent, on one side, they advocated for underrepresented, underserved, and disenfranchised students who are frequently devoid of vital resources and requisite knowledge to navigate the milieu of higher education. On one side, they paid homage to organizational field mentors who promote/d them in their careers; on the other side, they spoke the names and titles of individuals at their institutions who support their day-to-day organizational lives and activities. Sharing the triumphs and tragedies of their college and university campuses, they acknowledged the impermanence of success and failure as they strive to simultaneously advance institutional and student success—two stances that at times appear to be diametrically opposed.

The varied professional routes chosen and taken, on what has been serendipitous journey for most, came at rest on a construct, structure, practice and undecided profession—enrollment management. From an institutional perspective, conceiving these prominent current and past chief enrollment managers as "interchangeable individuals" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 123) fails to acknowledge and appreciate their lived experiences and storied rising from diverse beginnings, their search and

struggle for their profession and a coveted seat at proverbial tables, and the unique pathways they created and discovered toward securing high-ranking positions at some of the best colleges and universities in North America.[9]

More than institutional migrants, these highly regarded professionals are sojourners who cross state and national borders, leading unabashed change, and influencing how college and university campuses are and will be seen, heard, felt, and experienced for decades to come. Talking with these chief enrollment managers—all who have migrated from at least one college or university to another during their careers—was reflective, but also prophetic. They each possessed an acute awareness of the beginnings of enrollment management and shared a well-articulated outlook for the future of the field and profession. Reflecting back on the evolution of the organizational field and looking forward to the development of the field and emergence of the profession, they (unwittingly) brought attention to regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive enrollment logics that structurate and institutionalize the field and impel the protracted 'on the brink' status of the profession.

Upon asking someone whether he or she perceives his or her field as a profession, perhaps the response will follow the lines of an all or nothing proposition. The question however is one that can easily invoke a double-bind position of certainty and uncertainty about the status of one's field: Is it a field, discipline, or perhaps profession? It is therefore plausible that the response would connote a matter of degree. The continuum might be marked on one end by the undetermined emergence of a field,

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[9] Study participants included two chief enrollment managers at Canadian universities.

and on the other end by regulative sanction, normative agreement, or cultural-cognitive recognition that the field has attained the bona fide status of profession.

In between field origin and professional designation, one may encounter a point along the continuum where the verging of a field is evaluated and determined by outsiders. Conversely, other points may reflect periods of negotiation where insiders seek to define a profession, by perhaps means of developing its own professional lexicon. The chief enrollment managers who participated in this study were familiar with the proclamation (Henderson, 2001) that enrollment management is on the brink of a profession. A few contemplated the current state of the profession:

> **CEMgr10 2009:** How do you define a profession that can't develop its own lexicon? [AACRAO Leadership] struggled with it. I mean we worked three years on a lexicon. It was tough. We did registrar, admission, financial aid, and enrollment management. It was all during that transformation time. We were trying to really move things very succinctly along, and change direction just a little bit away from the complete registrar role of what the organization was.

> **CEMgr2 2009**: I would say that the profession has been defined, and probably has come of age. The tipping point has probably been just in the last 4 to 6 years…. One of the faculty members here, who I've involved in a number of national discussions, has actually gone and presented with me. He is a history chair. He's the chair of our history department. And then also there's my psychology chair, who I've also involved heavily on campus—and then also in off-campus discussions about SEM. They say that we are "an art verging on a science." And I say, "Well does that make us a profession?" And they say, "Absolutely. Because anytime that you have clear skill sets that are employed by a leader or manager, that is a time when a profession is defined."

> **CEMgr9 2009**: Brink to me is sort of pre-profession. I think it's a profession; but it is in early stages still. Higher education years are like dog years. SEM has been around for like 30ish years; but, that ain't long in higher ed. It takes longer than that, especially for something new that falls outside the much longer history of higher education.

CEMgr16📖 **2009:** I have colleagues who say that we're making shit up; and that we're trying to pretend there's a profession and there isn't. We're creating a discipline that doesn't exist. He's a really good guy that's in this business with us. Of course, it's a profession. I don't know what it means to be a profession.

CEMgr1📖 **2009:** I think we were on the brink of a profession back then. I think we are a profession today. I can remember in the early years—2000, 2001, 2002—people would say, "Enrollment management is just a fad, it will go away." I think what we have shown in the last ten years is: It's not fad. It's not a wave. It is here to stay.

DiMaggio (1991) suggests that the continuous and repetitive nature of

organizational fields is understandable, not simply by reference to individual,

maximizing professionals, but rather by a view that locates the persistence of practices in

both taken-for-grantedness and reified structures that are to some extent self-sustaining.

Along the professionalizing continuum are points where the legitimacy of the field is

questioned by those inside and outside of the field. However, although enrollment

management may not be well understood, as practice or profession, the field and position

of chief enrollment manager have purportedly become recognizable, and conceivably

valued, by executive leaders on college and university campuses.

CEMgr6📖 **2009:** I think that our profession has become one that is widely accepted as a real position. And I would say, even ten years ago, maybe fifteen years ago—fifteen years ago for sure but I would say probably ten years ago—enrollment management was questionable. You know, "What's this enrollment management hoo-ha?" I would say most presidents, most provosts have heard about it. They might not understand it, but they've heard of it. And they know it's a real job. And a lot of them say they want one. And so you're seeing a lot [of] positions opening, especially in public universities where they haven't had that before. So, I think the point is that it's very young. You know when you look at how a discipline ages and how long something is around before it becomes really accepted—that's a pretty quick track.

In the same declarative statement, CEMgr6 moves from talking about the status

of a *profession*, onto a *position*, and then a *job*—finally coming to rest at the maturation

of a *discipline*. CEMgr6 speaks of profession and discipline as one and the same; others,

however, take a more distinct and opposing position that the field is neither profession

nor discipline.

> **CEMgr18📖 2009:** I don't think it is a profession. And I don't think it's a discipline either. I <u>can</u> tell you that we have come a long way.

> **CEMgr3📖 2009**: There is a relatively strict—from the field of sociology— definition of what makes a profession. And if you wanted to use that definition, we are not yet; enrollment management is not yet a profession.

> **CEMgr12📖 2009:** The reason I don't think it is a profession right now is that you don't see the enrollment management structure permeate higher education the way a deanship permeates the academic community, or the way the tenure process does—those bastions that define American higher education.

An assertion that the field is neither profession nor discipline, juxtaposed with a

declaration that "enrollment management is my discipline—it's my academic

discipline," reveals incongruent perceptions about the profession amongst these chief

enrollment managers. Identification with faculty, coupled with a self-proclaimed

academic mindset, gives way to conceptualizations of the profession as being

synonymous with an academic discipline that necessitates a significant body of

literature. Further, a distinction is made between the academic productivity of college

and university administrators vis-à-vis scholarly work of faculty.

> **CEMgr5📖 2009**: When I interviewed at [State University 5], the faculty senate executive board interviewed me and there was this great Spanish professor close to the end of her career. And she says to me, "Oh Mr. [CEMgr5]—emphasis on Mr.—you have not completed your terminal degree." I said, "No, I have not." She said, "Do you think that will cause difficulties in your relationships with the faculty." I said, "I think I have very great similarities to faculty, because I feel that enrollment management is my discipline—it's my academic discipline. I read in it. And I contribute to the literature of the discipline as faculty would contribute to the literature of their discipline. So I think I have some understanding of faculty. And I have an affinity, because I have that academic

mindset, because of how I look at my profession as being an academic discipline." And then I said, "I recognize that I don't produce nearly as much as what a faculty member in an academic discipline would. But, I think I would be comfortable in saying that my publications record is significantly greater than what most administrators would have." And she looked at me and she said, "Yes we've noticed."

A major function of professions is to keep expanding their knowledge (Greenwood et al., 2002), which is partly accomplished through intraprofessional communication. Scott (2008b) maintains that "knowledge claims advanced by professionals can be both somewhat arbitrary and sincerely advanced" (p. 221). Further, professional associations "adjudicate and push for negotiated agreements between competing claims" (Greenwood et al., p. 61). Hence, conflicting interests can overshadow intraprofessional goals and objectives.

According to Allport (1962), collective structure converges first on common means (logics) followed by common ends (rationalities). The pursuit of diverse ends is mediated by common means of collectively structured behavior (Weick, 1979). Moreover, shared goals or conviviality are secondary to collective behavior (Bannon, 1993). Thus, members of a professional collective, like a professional association, can "share space, time, and energy, but they need not share visions, aspirations, or intentions….sharing comes much later, if it ever comes at all" (Weick, p. 91). Hence, although these chief enrollment managers differ in their perspectives about the current or future status of the profession, they do converge on matters pertaining to what is necessary to maintain and advance the current state of field.

Seeking out the profession in an academic community promotes normative and legitimating institutional artifacts, like a body of enrollment management literature. It is

generally asserted by the chief enrollment managers that an extensive and diverse body

of literature is critical to the development of a legitimized profession. Greenwood and

colleagues note that an important role of professional associations "is the construction

and maintenance of intraprofessional agreement over boundaries, membership, and

behavior" (p. 62). The strength of the relationship between the literature and the

discipline is largely constituted by the connection contributing authors have (or not) to

field members who attend AACRAO SEM Conferences. Thus, legitimacy of authorship

of field literature by those who do not attend AACRAO SEM Conferences is challenged.

> **CEMgr5 2009**: We need to write more. I think the literature needs to be
> focused. What's being written is maybe a little out there and everything that's
> written contributes to the body of the literature…Every now and again—an
> enrollment management book will pop-up—and there is really no connection
> between the person that is writing that book and people that are in SEM here.
> And I think that is a lost for the literature, for the discipline.

> **CEMgr13 2009**: I think enrollment management is becoming a profession.
> One of the reasons for that is there is a growing body of literature about what the
> profession is and the direction that it is moving in.

> **CEMgr2 2009**: Until a significant body of literature exists, the profession
> won't be defined and it definitely won't be legitimized.

> **CEMgr9 2009**: To be a profession, I think you need fully developed
> literature, which I don't think we have. You also need fully developed research
> and that we definitely don't have. I think until we begin to address more of those
> areas, it's hard to look in the mirror and honestly say, "Yes we have arrived as a
> profession." I'd like to see more academic work in this area. You sort of usually
> kind of cobble it together.

Some chief enrollment managers are generally concerned about credibility

amongst field members. According to Scott (2008b) professionals assume varying roles

within their professional community: some focus on developing, assessing, and applying

new strategies and tactics; others transport ideas to other professional communities; and

then there are those that introduce and apply normative principles and practices to local

and situated phenomenon. Study participants consider AACRAO SEM Conference

presentations and AACRAO journal articles as essential artifacts in regards to diffusing

professional practice and mounting interest beyond the field about enrollment

management. Publishing in AACRAO journals (namely *College and University Journal

– C&U*), however, is not viewed as a sufficient scholarly contribution to advance the

profession. AACRAO SEM presenters are noted as contributing "dissemination agents"

(Scott, 2008a, p. 146) of persistent and emergent enrollment logics, first by means of

conference presentations, and then by way of follow-up articles published in C&U.

Moreover, it is argued that case-study conference presentations and papers that are

developed into AACRAO journal articles generally do not represent thought pieces

which stimulate creative thinking and induce innovative practices in the field. [10]

> **CEMgr10 2009**: We were constant presenters. We were like the disciples,
> you know. We were out there. And I think we did some reasonably decent work
> in terms of creating a body of literature. Getting people interested and actually
> beginning to do some research. Back in pre-1990, you had an awful lot of trouble
> finding literature.
>
> **CEMgr5 2009**: We wanted to create this really fertile ground, this
> environment that would engender conversation and development of the discipline
> of strategic enrollment management. I've always said that SEM gave me a lot
> more than anything else. And I've always viewed SEM and the conference as
> being the discipline. This conference has created in a sense an academic
> discipline, because the people who attended this have become the people who
> build on Don Hossler and John Bean, in writing the literature of strategic
> enrollment management. And this has been, in many respects, this has been the
> fertile ground—the thinking, the think tank of strategic enrollment management.
> And a lot of our writing has come out of this conference. That whole notion of
> the [AACRAO] SEM Conference as strategic enrollment management's think

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[10] Noteworthy, Henderson's seminal work emerged from a white paper he wrote for an AACRAO SEM
Conference.

tank is a really pretty positive potent kind of thing, I think. It gives the opportunity for us to extend the discipline, to grow the profession part of it.

CEMgr17📖 **2009**: I think the body of literature is really in its infancy. It's really observational almost, rather than some really in depth research. If we think we are a profession, I think we need to gain credibility amongst ourselves, by not just asserting things what we think might be true—and probably are true as we make connections between all these various sort of parts of the higher education sort of area.

CEMgr18📖 **2009**: The whole notion of how we do research is different in a professional field than it is in a traditional body of knowledge kind of liberal field. I think that you have to know that. There are different ways of producing research than just book chapters and journal articles. And you can take the traditional view of saying, "You know if you don't have those things you're not a discipline." But I don't know if I actually buy that. Because when I think about the literature and I think about how much people read the stuff that we write in the AACRAO journals; if I were to talk to people that go to AACRAO meetings and I say you know, "When you read the AACRAO journal do you ever come back to it?" Stan's article might be an example of an article that they've gone back to—because he is really changing the way people are thinking as opposed to just producing a professional practice. So to that extent I think the literature can be really valuable. But if it's just about I did this neat thing—and I did it once and here it is as case study—but it's not connected to anything else, those kind of journal articles have limited value. And I wonder whether the time that the person took converting their conference presentation into a journal article was even worthwhile.

CEMgr12📖 **2009:** If this to be a profession, then the profession should be grounded in research. There's also a lot of science, and a lot of data, and a lot of rationale behind things we do and why we do them. You need to be able to dig in and find trends to be able to address it—the same way you would another discipline.

According to Squires (2001), "it was partly the interest in interdisciplinarity which raised the anterior question of what a discipline is" (p. 484). Rather than pitting discipline against profession, some chief enrollment managers fuse (inter)disciplinary with profession. On one hand, the profession hinges upon chief enrollment managers' ability to draw on "administrative roles"—or more aptly professional roles—and

academic roles. On the other hand, the attainment of profession status necessitates a

meta-definition of the field and "an interdisciplinary approach."

> **CEMgr17⌷ 2009**: Are we really a profession or not? I talk to people as if we
> are. I talk about us being an interdisciplinary profession. Because if we are going
> to do what we are doing right, we're drawing on a whole host of up to now
> primarily administrative roles within higher education. I think if we're to become
> a true profession, we have start drawing on some of the more academic
> disciplinary roles as well.

> **CEMgr8⌷ 2009**: If we want to talk about enrollment management as a
> profession, then it better be defined at a very high level—as an interdisciplinary
> approach to an institution.

Conversely, enrollment management may be more characteristic of a

transdisciplinary approach to an institution, where the approach is broadly defined as

research and practice. Whereas an interdisciplinary approach creates its own theoretical,

conceptual and methodological identity, a transdisciplinary approach goes one step

further; it is based upon a common theoretical understanding, and must be accompanied

by a mutual interpenetration of disciplinary epistemologies (Van den Besselaar &

Heimeriks, 2001, p. 2). Horlick-Jones (2004) characterize transdisciplinary approaches

as 'border-work' that links scholarship and practice across disciplinary boundaries

thereby developing cross-disciplinary understandings that transcend the generalizing,

decontextualizing, and reductionist tendencies of discipline-based approaches.

Veteran chief enrollment managers bring attention to the entrée and rise of new

chief enrollment managers to the field. Newcomers to the position, who are not

necessarily field novices, are recognized for introducing new approaches to field *and*

association work, expanding the research interests and studies in the field, and advancing

strategies, tactics, and methods that reflect border-work and transdisciplinary approaches

to addressing problems that have traditionally been treated with disciplinary solutions.

Further, these nouveau chief enrollment managers are also breaking with sociological

perceptions of what constitutes a profession. Their discourse reveals fragmented

conceptualizations of discipline and profession which converge on a point of accordance

that enrollment management and chief enrollment managers are advancing.

> **CEMgr5📖 2009**: It's a changing of the guard. [New chief enrollment managers] are taking the organization and strategic enrollment management as a discipline not in a new way that breaks with the past, but they're taking the discipline to the next level. It's like there are new people coming into the discipline and their research interests and their thought processing will identify new directions that will take SEM, and AACRAO I think into, into new paths.

> **CEMgr10📖 2009**: SEM has given me a profession. It's taken this career path and made it something better, different, better—and utilized a lot of the skills sets that would have kept me in one place, or any of us in one place, had we not looked to go a different direction.

> **CEMgr6📖 2009**: I think we've become more respected in what we do within the organization. We're more valued, from not the fact we could bring in more students, but that we have a discipline. We have data. We have researched. We're bringing that science into it. Whereas before, I think that there were individuals that who did it well, I think as a profession we are getting better.

Penn (1999) posits that "enrollment management changes the way colleges and

universities approach the business of higher education" (p. 3). Maguire, Butler &

Associates (2008) pronounce enrollment management as "one of the most powerful and

influential management paradigms in higher education" (p. 4). Since the inaugural

AACRAO SEM Conference in 1999, the conferences have been conduits for promoting

the development, diffusion, and adaptation of persistent and emergent enrollment logics.

Some chief enrollment managers perceive the AACRAO SEM Conferences as

significant contributions to the profession and discipline. More than merely professional

gathering places, the AACRAO SEM Conferences have been sites where knowledge has

been shared, careers have flourished, and a profession has been and continues to be

cultivated and advanced.

Securing a Seat at the Table

The dialectical interplay of idealized and situated roles is mediated by modalities

of social structure and human action. Poole (1999) notes that organizational roles and

positions are ontologically rooted in organizational members' behavior; however, these

"evanescent structures" are continuously shifted and reconfigured. Barley and Kunda

(2001) argue that organizational theorists have a tendency to embrace functional

definitions which equate organizational roles with normative obligations that are more

aligned with a position title or job description than the exigencies of actual work

activities.

Institutions are manifested in professional work. Barley and Kunda (2001)

contend, however, that the dearth of data on what people *actually* do produces

anachronistic theories and thus misrepresentations of work and its structuring. Further, it

is argued that "work has slipped increasingly into the background as organizational

theory converged on the study of strategies, structures, and environments as its central

and defining interests" (p. 77). L. Suchman (1995) argues that organizational studies are

mistakenly premised on the notion that most workers possess a special authority and

ability to shape not only how they work, but how their work appears to others.

Conversely, Scott (2001) notes that professional occupations use cultural-cognitive,

normative, and regulative processes to "exercise control not only over the conditions of

work…but over the definition of the work itself":

> Professionals attempt to employ their power to shape the institutional frameworks supporting their activities in the broadest terms: they seek cultural-cognitive control (insisting they are uniquely qualified to determine what types of problems fall under their jurisdiction and how these problems are to be categorized and processed); they seek normative control, determining who has the right to exercise authority over what decisions and which actors in what situations; and they seek regulative control, determining what actions are to be prohibited and permitted, and what sanctions are to be used. (p. xii)

According to Smrekar and Mawhinney (1999), the organizational order of higher education is powerfully constructed through controls and rewards, but also through deep structural patterns of power-relations and norms. Although the struggle to attain profession status transcends college or university affiliation, there is a strong desire amongst chief enrollment managers to gain legitimacy and power by "securing a seat at the table." On one side, chief enrollment managers desire external status and influence at the institutional-level of higher education, at the organizational field-level of enrollment management—with professional associations, consultants, vendors, policy makers, and opinion leaders—and at the individual-level amongst members of AACRAO and field constituents. On the other side, chief enrollment managers' quest for a *reserved* seat at the table—among key institutional decision-makers—is a legitimizing organizational-level effort at their respective college or university to situate the chief enrollment manager as an institutionalized profession, in terms of relevance, distinctiveness, and outcomes.

Securing a seat at the table holds more than symbolic significance for chief enrollment managers. To them, their organizational lives and professional success depend on having a discursive role at executive levels where they seek to provoke,

influence, and support institutional decisions. Fottler, Erickson, and Rivers (2006) stress

that "professionals can overcome impediments and gain a seat at the table by learning

the language of business and the ways in which organizational leaders use data to drive

their decisions" (p. 64). Further, Fotter and colleagues argue that an alignment of

resources with organizational strategic planning is a "crucial determinant of competitive

advantage" (p. 65).

Chief enrollment managers' effective use and presentation of data, proficient

mobilization and utilization of resources, broad organizational perspectives, and skillful

ability to orient their message to the appropriate context (academic, administrative,

market-centered and student-focused) may earn them space and position at coveted

executive tables. However, business strategies, tactics, and language that are conceivably

valued by executive and senior administrators are not necessarily viewed in the same

light by non-administrative faculty. Thus, a chief enrollment manager offers advice

about engaging the "average" faculty member:

> **CEMgr3📖 2009**: You can rest very assured that the average faculty member
> will not take much time to understand your world. And so if you want to be
> successful with faculty, you got to be able to do what I call faculty speak. You
> need to know something about— it's an archaic term—but I would say faculty
> psychology—understanding the professoriate, understanding the socialization of
> faculty.

Akin to chief human resource officers' efforts to gain competitive advantages for

their organizations by devising strategies to "attract, select, deploy, and develop talent"

(Fotter et al., 2006, p. 64) in their workforce, chief enrollment mangers aim to attract,

select, develop, and graduate a capable student body. To this end, gaining a competitive

advantage for a college or university depends heavily on the institution's capacity to

deliver the promise and value of the institutional brand. Moreover, when chief

enrollment managers secure a seat at the right tables, enrollment management is situated

at the nexus of institutional policy, finance, and academics.

There is a perception that being the enrollment data custodian opens up access to

meetings at which key decision making occurs. An assertion that being invited to the

table is not about seeking power is countered by chief enrollment managers' articulated

desire to control others' abilities to obtain enrollment-related projections before the chief

enrollment manager themselves. Securing enrollment-related data before those who sit at

the table is indeed a power, or at least positioning, play employed by chief enrollment

managers wishing to gain a position at a particular table, as opposed to simply being

offered an occasional special invitation.

> **CEMgr3 2009**: I'm a big believer that the senior enrollment officer has to be
> at the table—the metaphorical table where the big decisions get made. Not so
> much out of power, but I want to be at the table where decisions are made that
> might affect my professional life. My belief, and I used to say quite strongly, "I
> want to make sure nobody, emphasize nobody, can project the enrollments or
> financial aid expenditures sooner than me"—when I was the enrollment officer.
> If I had that information sooner than anybody else, I'm going to get invited to
> those meetings.

Having a reserved seat, rather than merely being invited to the table, is linked to

the authority ascribed to position titles and an associated designation (or not) to a

cabinet-level position. It is suggested that moving the profession forward necessitates

transcending invited statuses and securing executive appointments, which purportedly

guarantee chief enrollment managers a reserved place at the table. At the table, academic

and professional legitimacy is augmented with an earned doctoral degree. This particular

terminal degree is perceived as essential for those who want to legitimate their position

amongst executive administration and particularly academic leadership. Hence, although

a cabinet membership may be achieved by way of title or position, membership alone

does not ensure credibility at the table.

> **CEMgr13📖 2009**: I think that initially you are really looking at the enrollment manager back then [during the first AACRAO SEM Conferences in the late 1990s]. The highest title that I use to see back then [was] dean of enrollment management. Those were the titles in 1998 that I was seeing of people that were attending the conferences. The people that really had the knowledge and that were pushing [AACRAO] forward and pushing [enrollment management] as a "field on the brink,"—when Stan wrote on the brink of profession in his white paper—those were the chief titles at that time and I remember they were moving a little bit further and the next title was associate vice president. But these were positions that weren't at the proverbial table of the decision makers—which was the president's cabinet. President's cabinet usually consists of the president and all the executive officers, which are vice president titles or above. So what I saw back then was a real push to get to that table. I think that part of the way the subject line changed and part of the arsenal to have the strategic vision is that you have to be at the table. You have to be at a cabinet-level position. I've seen some folks get there maintaining that associate vice president title, but being an invited guest to cabinet. So you're at the table; but you're still not a member of the table.

> **CEMgr1📖 2009**: I think it is important for [chief enrollment managers] in leadership level to have a doctoral degree; because, if you're in a private institution, you're probably small private or mid-size private, you're probably a vice president for enrollment management. If you're in a public institution, you're probably an assistant provost or an associate provost. That's typically what we see out there of enrollment management. So, if you're going to be sitting at the table with deans, if you're going to be sitting at the table with vice presidents in leadership, it's critical to have the doctoral degree for credibility purposes.

Chief enrollment managers with a reserved seat at the table, and particularly

those who have been invited to the table, vie for premium spots on the agenda.

Subsequently, they engage in persuasive conversations, promote enrollment agendas,

and aim to shape the perspectives of other seated participants. According to Putnam and

Fairhurst (2001) "talk is the way conversational events are accomplished or the way

discourse fuses with action to produce performances" (p. 95). More than simply an

"enrollment presentation," chief enrollment managers' talk is a "conversational

performance" (p. 95). Enrollment performances are enacted by chief enrollment

managers who talk about enrollment management in ways that influence and shape

institutional beliefs and understandings of enrollment management. Chief enrollment

managers employ enrollment management discourses to control and legitimate decisions

about resources, recruitment, persistence, and retention issues—ergo enrollment matters.

> **CEMgr9 2009**: I got put on the president's cabinet. I looked around the table
> and there weren't a lot of other AVPs [assistant or associate vice presidents] in
> that setting…."Ok, here's a spot on the agenda for [CEMgr9] to talk about
> enrollment." And I get to the point where they would be sort of surprised because
> I would start in on my enrollment presentation. I wasn't talking about
> [enrollment] numbers. I wasn't talking about finances, exclusively, or at the
> outset. But I was talking about, "What's happening in each of your colleges? I
> am really interested in what we need to do to help the students in your college be
> successful?" Or in some cases that involved recruiting—sort of front end
> conversations—but a lot of it had to do with persistence and retention types of
> things; but over time, shaping people's assumptions and shaping agendas, so that
> it began to get at shifting people away from the natural tendency.

It is suggested that executive and senior leadership's ability to operate an

institution successfully, depends on their recognizing that once adopted, enrollment

management is an essential component of the college or university. A distinction is made

between chief enrollment managers who are "on the academic side" vis-à-vis those in

"student affairs." Matters of effort and issues of legitimacy associated with each

structure are raised. As previously noted by CEMgr1, possessing a terminal degree—

notably a doctoral degree—is a determinant of chief enrollment managers' degree of

credibility at the table. Conversely, overcoming the credibility issue, and being a

mutual—not necessarily equal—partner at the table, is conditioned by the structural

location of the chief enrollment position at an institution. Although perhaps unavoidable, it is suggested that "common" obstacles can be effectively managed.

Henderson (2005) posits that "enrollment structure follows academic understanding" (p. 3). Enacting enrollment management within an "academic context"—as promoted by Dolence (1993)—is perceivably more laborious for chief enrollment managers who are located in student affairs units than for those in college or university academic affairs units. It is plausible that chief enrollment managers in student affairs may have to exert time and effort toward seeking an academic understanding of issues or validating their understanding— something that may not be required of chief enrollment managers in academic affairs, who by their mere structural location are thought to (and may) possess normative and episodic academic understandings.

> **CEMgr12 2009**: The president and senior administration need to understand that to operate an institution successfully, enrollment management needs a seat at that leadership table. I think being a truly effective enrollment manager, from a student affairs standpoint, puts obstacles in your way that can be navigated, but require your time and energy that you don't have to spend when you're in the academic context. So, from the student affairs standpoint, I'm able to execute at a level of 80% of what I really want to do; whereas when I'm in the Provost office, on the academic side, I don't have to exert 20% of my effort and energy overcoming that obstacle. The people that I know in academic affairs and student affairs, if you sat around the table and talk about the obstacles that they face—the real challenges they face—the most common threads of the student affairs people is overcoming that credibility issue and kind of becoming an equal partner at the table.

Upon challenging notions of equality amongst those sitting at the table, it becomes more plausible that individual interests around the table may be more or less important to other individuals and the larger body. It is noted that academic affairs and

student affairs have their respective tables at which—in terms of resource allocation—the issue of legitimacy manifests in perceptions of the significance of enrollment management "proposals" vis-à-vis other types of proposals. Moreover, that which is perceived as a top priority at one table may be at the bottom of the priority list at another table.

It is suggested that having a seat at the academic table is most desirable because of the availability of resources. Enrollment matters may be of less interest at particular tables. However, even as a lower priority vis-à-vis other institutional interests, chief enrollment managers' initiatives may be allocated resources to advance enrollments and enrollment management at an institution. To this end, some chief enrollment managers desire a seat at the tables with the greatest opportunity for resource allocation.

> **CEMgr4 2009**: At another institution, my enrollment management unit was a part of the division of student affairs. My proposals always rose to the top and were given top priority and often first billing for resources. However, the resource pool in the division was small. Now, in an academic structure, my proposals rarely rise to the top. In fact, they are often at the bottom. At times my proposals barely break the top 20. However, the resource pool is larger. So, I'd rather have the crumbs off the academic table than have a feast in student affairs.

The chief enrollment manager must explicate institutional health in the enrollment context, and encourage the constituents at the table to be a part of the enrollment management effort. Thus, the chief enrollment manager must be able to effectively communicate the potential of enrollment management and role of the chief enrollment manager in leading institutional efforts to achieve the enrollment potential.

> **CEMgr6 2009**: You've got to figure that out and try to help the bottom line, whatever that bottom line is for that institution, whatever health means. You have to figure out how that relates to the mission, how you make that work, and how you allow the mission of the institution to move forward—from both a leadership

and support role.

Securing a seat at the right tables may be achieved by way of title or position. It is emphasized, however, that chief enrollment managers must possess the necessary leadership skills to contribute to the talk and work that occurs at particular tables. More than simply holding a seat, chief enrollment managers must possess the necessary expertise and knowledge to address the issues of institutional vitality that are brought to the table.

Knowledge and Enrollment Logics

This section responds to my second research question: *What expertise and knowledge constitute enrollment logics?* These chief enrollment managers, who are unwittingly searching for the profession and vigorously making strategic and tactical moves toward securing a seat at the table, recognize that they possess skills, expertise, and knowledge that situate and enable them to make significant contributions to their respective colleges and universities, organizational field, and profession (albeit a profession that as suggested by study participants is still emerging). Skills, expertise, and knowledge are the building blocks for creating and sustaining recognizable, acceptable, and institutionalized ways of organizing enrollment management. Knowledge, however, provides the foundation for skills and expertise. Hence, the discussion in the subsections that follow will focus primarily on knowledge—although skills and expertise will be cursorily referenced.

Carrying, Converting, Communicating, and Crystallizing Knowledge

Professions are epistemic cultures that hold, promote, enact, and share specialized knowledge (Scott, 2008b). Nonaka and Takekuchi (1995) posit that knowledge is "about beliefs and commitment….a function of a particular stance, perspective, or intention….It is always knowledge 'to some end'" (p. 58). Skills signify knowledge in action and context. And expertise connotes possessing, but also sharing, specialized knowledge to advance certain skills and generate new knowledge.

Understanding how knowledge is typified and the processes by which knowledge is transformed from one form to another allows for more nuanced discussion and penetrating interpretation of knowledge that constitutes enrollment logics. At one extreme, knowledge is completely tacit, inasmuch as it dwells inside the minds of individuals (Leonard & Sensiper, 1988; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Polanyi, 1966). At the other extreme, knowledge is completely explicit, inasmuch as it is codified, structured and accessible (Leonard & Sensiper, 1988). Knowledge, however, typically resides somewhere between the two extremes and is continuously transformed from one form to the other. Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995) conceptualize the conversion of tacit and explicit knowledge as the *knowledge conversion cycle*. The knowledge conversion cycle is comprised of four processes: *socialization*, *externalization*, *combination*, and *internalization*.

S*ocialization* is the "process of sharing experiences and thereby creating tacit knowledge such as shared mental models and technical skills" (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995, p. 62). Knowledge socialization can be viewed as non-reactive, proactive, or

reactive. Non-reactive socialization occurs between chief enrollment managers and organizational and field constituents; the process enables chief enrollment managers to independently complete tasks associated with their professional roles. Proactive socialization is an indicator of chief enrollment managers' awareness and willingness to seek out required knowledge *before* undertaking an enrollment task that is at risk of either ineffective or inefficient completion. Conversely, Reactive socialization occurs *after* an enrollment task has been characterized as "a failure to…"

Externalization is the "process of articulating tacit knowledge into explicit concepts" (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995, p. 64) and is triggered by dialogue or collective reflection (Austin, 1962; Graumann, 1990; Searle, 1969). Externalization processes involve converting enrollment management knowledge into enrollment information. Information and knowledge are often treated interchangeably until tacit knowledge is externalized in explicit forms (e.g., enrollment descriptions and instructions). Moreover, information is an artifact of knowledge—codified knowledge—which left unregulated becomes subject to contextual and temporal non-legitimacy (Deetz, 1995). Waern and colleagues (1992) note that "knowledge should be understood as information which can be used instrumentally in the pursuit of given goals" (p. 214).

Combination is the "process of systemizing concepts into a knowledgeable system" (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995, p. 67) and involves the integration of explicit knowledge captured during the externalization process. During the combination process, explicit knowledge is: 1) organized 2) evaluated for its legitimacy and value, 3) transferred to other individuals, groups, or organizations, and 4) leveraged for continued

use. A major barrier to the combination process is accessing knowledge repositories.

Internalization is the "process of embodying explicit knowledge into tacit knowledge" (Nonaka & Takeuchi, p. 69). The internalization process draws upon socialization, externalization, and combination processes. When these three modes of knowledge conversion are internalized "into the form of shared mental models or technical know-how," (p. 69) chief enrollment managers' knowledge base is enhanced. Thus, tacit knowledge can become a valuable organizational and professional asset. The completion of the knowledge conversion cycle advances chief enrollment managers' professional knowledge and thus the body of knowledge held by the profession.

Enrollment Management Knowledges

Enrollment logics are rooted in contextual and relational actions that signify bodies of knowledge held by chief enrollment managers. All action is a recursive "continuity of practices" that possesses neither a starting nor ending point (Giddens, 1979, 1984). Furthermore, Giddens emphasizes that all action is grounded by practical and discursive knowledge that is inherently reflexive. Practical knowledge is comprised of the tacit knowledge that chief enrollment managers unconsciously access in the course performing routine enrollment activities. Discursive knowledge, on the other hand, necessitates explicit attention to enrollment activities that must be talked through and about—signifying the combination of knowledge processes.

Contrary to the enactment of normative interpretive schemes, non-routine or contingent actions can result in the discursive rationalization of action rather than practical knowledge derived from standard tacit, heuristic, and shared understandings.

Discursive and practical knowledge facilitate and impede interpretive schemes that

mediate meaning at an (inter)action level. Action is thus rationalized by moving outside

of said action and directing attention to it. Hence, action is made sensible through

retrospective meaning-making.

Communication knowledge is meta-knowledge that facilitates the meaning-

making of communication that occurs between chief enrollment managers and their

constituent organizational, field, and professional communities. Chief enrollment

managers struggle for their profession while simultaneously trying to gain access to and

participate in executive settings where they want to be received and perceived as

knowledgeable professionals. In these setting, communication knowledge specifies the

'best' way to convey domain (enrollment management) expertise for the purpose of goal

attainment. In this work, communication knowledge is comprised of: *discourse*

knowledge, *mediating knowledge*, and *domain-related knowledge* (Waern et al., 1992).

Enrollment management *discourse knowledge* entails timing, tailoring, and

clarifying discourse to reach a target audience; it also involves constructing a

representation of "performed" interactions that "provide the participants in the

communication with the ability to refer back to previous events, previously mentioned

items, their interrelationships and the intentions behind the interactions" (Waern et al.,

1992,pp. 219-220). Chief enrollment managers tell stories about the nature and

significance of their professional work—signifying the socialization of knowledge

process. Chief enrollment managers aim to first educate, and then persuade

constituencies to align their goals and efforts with those of enrollment management.

CEMgr12 2009: Part of my job is to educate people on this campus about how enrollment management works, what they're role is, why it is important, what the data tells us, what we can expect, and how we can influence change. We can't assume that people understand what we do, why we do it, and how we do it—unless we tell them. So I think a big part of the enrollment manager's job is to build a message that permeates campus. You've got to live in a glass house when you're an enrollment manager. And you've got to get out there and beat the bushes, and get up in front of anybody who will listen to you to help tell your story—so that story and that rationale and that thinking becomes a part of their thinking. Whether they agree with it 100% or not, at least they have an awareness. So, one of the things I always do, I send out a nice four-color brochure to every dean, department chair, director, vice president—you name it—enrollment management year-in-review. And I go from office to office and tell them how many schools we get, how many increases we get, how many scholarship dollars we have, how many visits we have here. We've got to tell our story about all the things we're doing to shape and build a class—the things we did last year and the things we're going to do this year, so they understand what we're doing and how they can be a part.

Enrollment management *mediating knowledge* ensures cohesion and thus is used "to decide under what circumstances, to whom and what way a particular kind of knowledge element and knowledge relationship should be presented" (Waern et al., 1992, p. 224). Mediating knowledge connects organizational constituents and constituencies to enrollment management activities within and across organizational, organizational field, and professional boundaries. Chief enrollment managers mediate the construction of domain knowledge and therefore organize, but do not necessarily, control enrollment-related data and information that flows from, into, and across institutional and organizational boundaries.

CEMgr17 2009: You use data to analyze, to be strategic, to understand what the issues are, what the problems are and for assessment and [key performance indicators]. And so after the very first SEM conference, I went back to my institution and said I am going to get together an enrollment data group. I am not going to call it a committee. I'm going to get my colleagues from the institutional research to work with me and my team—my admissions recruitment team—so we could sit down and understand what is it that the data is telling us. What

information do we need? We were meeting every two weeks. And that group is still meeting at that institution almost 20 years later, every two weeks looking at enrollment data. Because of course the more data you look at the more questions you ask, the more there is to get.

Enrollment management *domain-related knowledge* is comprised of the contemporary knowledge claims and expertise that constitute enrollment logics enacted and diffused by chief enrollment managers and other enrollment workers. Practical and discursive knowledge (Giddens, 1979, 1984) are subsumed into domain knowledge. Holsapple and Whinston (1987) offer several domain knowledge types that are useful for explicating a typology of enrollment management knowledge: 1) descriptive knowledge, 2) procedural knowledge, 3) reasoning knowledge, 4) derived knowledge, 5) semantic knowledge,[11] 6) assimilative knowledge and 7) presentation knowledge.

Descriptive knowledge is an understanding (tacit) and representation (explicit) of past, present, and anticipated states of enrollment (e.g., an enrollment trends). Chief enrollment managers use one, all, or a combination of eight levels of enrollment analytics and reporting (Table 7) to construct an enrollment representation that constitutes descriptive knowledge. Davenport & Harris (2007) note, "analytics are the extensive use of data, statistical and quantitative analysis, explanatory and predictive models, and fact-based management to drive decisions and actions" (p. 8).

The level of analytics produced by and made available to a chief enrollment manager signifies the level of enrollment management development—nominal, structural, tactical, strategic (Dolence, 1993)—at the associated college or university.

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[11] Holsapple and Whinston's typology includes linguistic knowledge. This study did not involve gathering data that would facilitate making such a broad claim that linguistic knowledge is evidenced. Thus, linguistic knowledge is supplanted with semantic knowledge. Noteworthy, semantic knowledge is one of many elements of linguistic knowledge.

Contrary to simply looking back at historic data and past trends, chief enrollment

managers use analytics to chart an institutional course toward an ambition and

predictable enrollment future.

> **CEMgr14 2009:** When I started in the business, the most proficient tool was a smile and a winning personality. I mean, it was just kind of a handshake and "you all come now." And that is what you had in your arsenal. But today when you think about what enrollment managers can use, there are very sophisticated tools—so when you think about things like probability modeling, for example, regression analysis, mathematical modeling tools, You don't have to be a statistician to be an enrollment manager, but it certainly helps to understand what the right statistics are and what the right statistical techniques are. And to look at something like probability modeling and say, "I understand what it is; but, I also understand what it's not. And I know its strength and I know its limitations."

> **CEMgr9 2009:** Sometimes I say it like this in my presentations—you might have heard me say it before— I say it sort of like a Zen deal, right? The way you get to the numbers is let go of the numbers. And the other way I would say it is, "Just let go of the damn numbers." Just forget the numbers for a little bit. Focus on student success. Focus on helping students—creating a clear pathway for them to get to where they decide they want to go. And the numbers take care of themselves.

Table 7 Enrollment Analytics and Reporting

	Level	Types of Analytics & Reporting	Issue Focus
Analytics	8	Optimization	What's the best that can happen?
	7	Predictive Modeling	What will happen next?
	6	Forecasting/Extrapolation	What if these trends continue?
	5	Statistical Analysis	What actions are needed?
Reporting	4	Alerts	What exactly is the problem?
	3	Query/Drill Down	Why is this happening?
	2	Ad Hoc Reports	How many, who, how often, where?
	1	Standard Reports	What happened?

Adapted from Davenport & Harris (2007)

Procedural knowledge is the sequences of steps that identify how certain tasks can or will be accomplished (e.g., determining enrollment projections). Chief enrollment managers rely upon up-to-date data to achieve institutional enrollment goals. Enrollment projections enable campus units to provide timely and quality academic, student, and auxiliary services. Determining enrollment projections (e.g., admitted→confirmed →enrolled → retained → graduated students) for an enrollment cohort (e.g., all freshman entering the university in the fall term) necessitates tracking the number of students who have completed enrollment-related tasks with various university departments—e.g., confirming acceptance for admissions; securing scholarship, grants, and loan with financial aid; submitting a deposit to housing; registering for courses; paying registration fees to student accounts; and remaining enrolled until the official census date for determining enrollment. Hence, chief enrollment manager must possess substantive procedural knowledge to track, assess, and project institutional enrollment.

> **CEMgr15 2009:** For me—my own personal mindset—I'm a person that likes numbers. I'm part of Generation X—the prove-it-to-me-generation, for lack of a better word. I like that in SEM it's much like taking a Geometry class. Step one leads to step two, leads to step three. And you can engineer those steps as you go.

> **CEMgr11 2009:** You have to customize that tool box to the institution in some way. So I would say to start with you have to have the ability to customize your tool box. And then secondly I think you have to think in terms of what is the underlying thing to all that, which would be the leadership that we're talking about. So then you got the mechanics of it—understanding People Soft versus Banner what have you [12]—you've got all the mechanics that are involved in supporting your system. And then you've got the steps that you need to take to be able evaluate. Do you have an effective system in place? And when I say system, you would hear from me a constant echo of what are you doing comprehensively

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[12] PeopleSoft and Banner are two of the major student information systems used by colleges and universities.

throughout the institution. Where's the cohesion to it? So, it seems to me you can't very well have your tool box without realizing the purpose of those tools.

Reasoning knowledge specifies the conclusions that can be drawn from certain situations and embodies rule configurations where each rule has a premise and a conclusion (e.g., determining why there is a drop in enrollment). Reasoning knowledge is invoked on an as needed basis for problem-solving. Chief enrollment managers possess many road maps, in the form of historical enrollment trends, which are often used to guide accurate enrollment planning. However, road conditions caused by student, institutional, or environment factors are encountered along the way; these conditions call for closer inspections, accurate assessments, and thoughtful plans of action to mitigate the impact of a particular enrollment problem.

> **CEMgr6 2009:** We're trying to look at who is not doing well at the institution. I think SAP [13] is one area that we can get into looking at students who are ill. They've got the illness. We're seeing it because they come to us in financial aid. And they're very upset that they can't get aid. And they go complain to the president and their faculty. It's about trying to figure out who are those students, very specifically. And then what are the meaningful interventions that we can have with those students, so that they never get sick? It's the hand washing, not the flu shot—Tamiflu at the end. You want to keep them from getting the flu. I think that's about the structure of the retention counselor committee at your organization. And how you're looking at data within the

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[13] All institutions that participate in Title IV federal financial aid programs must develop, implement, and disseminate a satisfactory academic progress (SAP) policy for all Title IV aid recipients. The federal minimum SAP standards call for two distinct components to be included in an institution's measurement of student SAP—*qualitative and quantitative.* These two components provide a framework that defines what constitutes reasonable progression by a student toward the successful completion of a course of study. Federal rules define minimum standards for each of these components for recipients of federal financial aid. The qualitative component consists of grades, work projects *completed*, or comparable factors that are measurable against a norm. The institution must set the qualitative expectations that must be met. Institutions usually use grade point average (GPA) as a key indicator of academic progress for the qualitative component. A quantitative component is also required to accurately assess a student's advancement toward the successful completion of his or her program of study since the maintenance of a high GPA does not provide for a limit on the number of courses, credit, or clock hours attempted/completed by the student. *Source:* Higher Education Act 34 CFR Part 600.

organization to diagnose the patients, to find out who's not being successful here—not in this global kind of you know everybody with below a 2.0 GPA is unsuccessful. Well, maybe they're below a 2.0 GPA because they disengaged from the learning at this institution one and a half semester into it—and they stopped going to class and stopped turning things in. And that's why they got failing grades. Why did they disengage from the organization? Why did they disengage from the learning process? That's where they got sick. The outcome was the low GPA. And so people start to look at students that have low GPAs and say oh, "Oh, well you know this is a global." It's like, "No, hold it." Let's slice these students apart. Let's look at the students who didn't complete the number of credits they attempted. Let's look at it through a different lens. Do they have any preparation characteristics in common? Do they have debt levels in common? What is it about these students? And once you know what it is they might have in common, let's try and intervene. First of all, maybe the intervention comes at orientation. Maybe these students, who have these issues, need a second session on orientation about these types of things: studies skills, debt management. Do we need to prescribe them do something, as opposed to inviting them to do something on our campus?

Derived knowledge is the active use of procedural and reasoning knowledge, which can be descriptive (e.g., an enrollment forecast), procedural (e.g., developing an enrollment forecast model), and reasoning (e.g., determining at-risk enrollment factors). Once preserved, derived knowledge can take on the form of another knowledge type—signifying the combination and externalization of knowledge processes. Once conjoined, descriptive enrollment forecasts, procedural enrollment forecast models, and reasoning at-risk enrollment factors comprise derived knowledge that may form elements of an enrollment management plan focused on recruitment and retention. Subsequently, the outcomes of the plan execution become descriptive knowledge.

> **CEMgr18 2009**: Predictive modeling; when I first came to [State University 18], people looked at me like, "Oh my God you can't do that here." But let me tell you, using predictive modeling to identify the likely leavers before they arrive at the institution, I have a way in which I can tag students who have all the characteristics of a student who will leave the university—which is a combination of emotional intelligence kind of factors and some demographic situational attitudinal kind of factors all blended together in one model. We have

students complete a survey that is composed of those things on the way in the door, and then we tag them. And then I know who to focus on. So let's say I have 2500 incoming students, if I know that 400 of them are likely leavers, I can focus my resources on those 400 differently than the other 2000 and change. So that's what predictive modeling does for me. It really gives me chance to really develop and implement things that I would have never been able to do if I didn't have it.

Semantic knowledge connotes the relationship between enrollment words, objects, subjects, actions, discourses, and discursive practices (hereto referenced in this paragraph as "enrollment part") to create and convey meaning (e.g., enrollment management is not recruitment). Spradley (1979) points out that "semantic relationships are not the most obvious part of any utterance. In fact, semantic relationships usually lie beneath the surface, "hidden by the more apparent folk terms for things and actions" (p. 108). In their talk, chief enrollment managers reference the relationship that one enrollment part of their institution has with, and is experienced by another part. Thus, enrollment parts are defined by referencing the relationship to other parts (e.g., attributive, contingency, function, spatial, operational, comparison, exemplification, class inclusion, synonym, antonym, provenience, grading, and circularity).[14] Enrollment parts, relations, interrelations, and interdependence influence and shape enrollment work and impact resulting institutional enrollment.

> **CEMgr18 2009:** I don't actually believe that people do really know what enrollment management is, but we talk a lot about—particularly at my current university—we talk a lot about faculties or colleges being responsible for the enrollment and what that means in budget terms and so on and so forth. A lot of individual units now are benefiting from their own enrollment successes and not benefiting from their failures. And so to that extent enrollment has kind of crept into the higher ed kind of language a little bit more than it has before. But I still would tell you that if I wander out on the campus and I talk to—I don't care

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[14] See Spradley (1979, pp. 107-119) for an explication of domain analysis, in general, and specifically semantic relationships.

whether its deans or directors or department deans—when I talk about the word "enrollment" to them it equals recruitment.

Assimilative knowledge controls and influences what new knowledge will be accepted from external sources, filtering out incorrect, irrelevant, and perceivably useless messages (e.g., enrollment management innovations). There is collegial reciprocity that occurs between chief enrollment managers and other field members. Chief enrollment managers rely on colleagues in the field, in general, and specifically those in their professional associations to share expertise and advance knowledge which in turn they use to advance their own institutions. In some cases, information is gathered out in the field and the chief enrollment manager carries acquired information back to his or her institution. In other cases, however, chief enrollment managers seek out expertise and information from a distance. For example, a chief enrollment manger might solicit information about enrollment initiatives and associated elements that have been tried and tested by field colleagues at their respective institutions.

> **CEMgr15 2009:** I think what has really allowed AACRAO to move SEM forward are the hundreds and hundreds of professionals who work in the field who participate in that conference, who share best practices, who aren't territorial about their information. So I might talk to a private college on the East Coast, who on the surface appears to have nothing in common with my open door, public institution here on the West Coast, yet because of the collegiality proffered forth by AACRAO, we're able to share information back and forth. I can provide them with resources; they can provide me with resources that we can replicate on one another's campuses.

CEMgr12📖 **2009:** The AACRAO SEM conference serves as a tremendous place to validate what you are doing, to evolve what you're doing and to think differently about the things you are doing and not doing. Because what I love about AACRAO is it oftentimes happens that someone says, "You know we should be doing this. And I can say, "You know what, that is an interesting concept. In fact I talked to the director of admissions, or registrar, or the dean of enrollment management at [University of State 12a] and they implemented that. And these were some of the unintended consequences that happened. This is the way in which it cost them more than they thought." You can kind a ground that, even if you built this distance network. I'll never forget, I called someone at [University of State 12b] two years after a program. This person didn't' know me from Adam. I said, "We had this conversation a couple of years ago and you were talking about this and this." Forty minutes later, I had data. I had a budget they had used. I had a Power Point. I mean I had this thing to kind of reinforce that these models and things that we are doing are tested and validated and true. There's only one of me on this campus, whereas there are six deans. So, they can look at each other and see what they're doing. I don't have anybody to look at. I have to look outside my institution for best practices and creative ideas and those sorts of things.

Presentation knowledge controls and influences how extant knowledge can be disclosed (e.g., enrollment charts and graphs). Chief enrollment managers look for ways to present large quantities of enrollment data in formats that are straightforward and easy to consume by those who perhaps neither care to know nor understand more than 'enrollment management will be used to achieve recruitment goals'. Schemas like enrollment funnels, pipelines, and cycles are used to illustrate a vivid enrollment picture that reflects entry and exit points into and out of the institution, but also critical points in between. It appears that some chief enrollment managers have an astute awareness that they must cover a lot of ground in the limited time allocated to them on an agenda. In the course of delivering their enrollment brief, they must make a lasting impression, and hopefully influence key constituents to support the strategic implementation of enrollment management; sometimes they succeed, other times they fall short.

CEMgr17 2009: At the senior management retreat, the president said, "OK we have to focus on enrollment. So you have half an hour and then we will have some discussion to tell us what some of the issues are." So I came back and I did a little presentation on what the SEM framework was and how important retention was as well as recruitment. And then we took a look at the some charts showing the real decrease in terms of enrollment. And then the president said, "Very nice, very nice we are focusing recruitment I don't care about retention." I made a big point of saying, "Well, the SEM framework it is not another name for the registrars' office. And it's not just focusing on the top of the funnel." But he sort of said, "Thank you very much. Good we're all focused on the issue at hand. We got to go out and recruit more students."

Summary

This study promotes chief enrollment managers as knowledge workers who strive to attain recognition as a profession that holds, advances, and adjudicates specialized knowledge in the institutionalized organizational field of enrollment management. To avow that a profession is epistemic is to suggest that knowledge construction, negotiation, and conversion are essential processes in the emergence, development, and sustainability of that profession. Profession status notwithstanding, the interview narratives elicited during this study allude to questions of professional legitimacy, in respect to enrollment management being a bona fide organizational construct. Thus, the interview narratives signify an indirect challenge to the organizational and professional identity of chief enrollment managers and the enrollment logics that underscore their enrollment work.

Enrollment logics and knowledge go hand in hand. Enrollment logics are essential to how enrollment decisions are made and enrollment work is accomplished. Moreover, enrollment decisions and work are enacted by enrollment workers, such as chief enrollment managers, who possess specialized knowledge that materializes into

specialized work. Chief enrollment managers accomplish their enrollment work by invoking and using explicit and tacit knowledge to advance particular enrollment logics. Furthermore, promoted and reinforced by enrollment management knowledges, certain enrollment logics emerge from instrumental, appropriate, and orthodox enrollment behaviors that render enrollment management diffusion and appropriation visible and heard.

Enrollment knowledges extend beyond organizational boundaries out to and around the organizational field-level and up to the institution-level. The nexus between enrollment logics and discourse are knowledge claims that advance enrollment management as institutionalized professional work. Ironically, in the section that follows the social constructivist approach toward meaning-making, representing, and analyzing (ergo crystallizing) enrollment management as an institutional phenomenon simultaneously constructs and problematizes enrollment management and intraprofessional discourses, thus revealing the "indeterminacy of knowledge claims" (Ellingson, 2009, p.4).

Crystallizing an Institutional Palimpsest: An Introduction

Foucault (1966) posits that "content is made visible only because it is represented by the representation" (p. 64). Cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative carriers signify institutions through various representational elements. An institution is deemed representational when it presents or makes visible *essential* institutional elements that are *outside* the space or context of being *strictly institutional*. The outside—an organization field—is assumed to exist before its institutionalized state. In other words,

an institutional phenomenon, such as enrollment management, is defined by other means than being strictly institutional, and is assumed to exist in itself before it is represented and recognized as being institutionalized, by and within the institution of higher education. When an institution represents or makes an organizational field visible, the institution transcends being the signified and becomes the signifier. Biro (1982) concludes:

> Here then, is the deepest paradox of the sign: on one hand it makes visible what otherwise would remain inaccessible, and on the other hand, we must discover in it something other than what is visible, something that is beyond the senses, that can only be understood in an indirect way. (p. 31)

Contrary to an "indirect way," reading and writing the palimpsest is an ancillary method of meaning-making; it is an endeavor to understand enrollment management as institutional, communicative, and professional phenomena. Dillon (2007) defines the palimpsest as "an involuted phenomenon where otherwise unrelated texts are involved and entangled, intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other' (p. 4). The palimpsest re-presents discourse that has been constructed and presented at different times and in difference spaces. Inscribed on and etched into the palimpsest, chief enrollment managers' interview narratives ground historical contexts with contemporary discourse, thereby cohabitating and inhibiting historical discourse in a palimpsestuous construction.

A palimpsest is typically inscribed on a parchment. The layering, concealment, and disclosure of palimpsestuous text is determined by the characteristics of the parchment surface vis-à-vis the characteristic of writing instruments and actions of the writers. I have chosen Institutional Theory as the clean surface (parchment) upon which

R. W. Scott's *Institutional Pillars and Carriers* institutional framework of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive carriers of institutional element across dimensions (symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, artifacts) has been written (bottom layer of text). Structuration is the writing instrument that shapes and inscribes the discourse; structurating is the enactment of discursive practices that guide the writing instrument and thus inscribes inter/actions onto the palimpsest.

To facilitate the reader's understanding of how palimpsestuous crystallization unfolds as an analytical and representational method, I have summarized the enrollment management institutional elements that have been inscribed onto the institutionalized parchment and explicated in the sections that follow this introduction to the palimpsest (Table 8). In this work, palimpsestuous crystallization is a relational and ironic process that locates, connects, and relates texts by dislocating, detaching, and demarcating those texts from their original context. Thus, the palimpsest is an inter-location, inter-connection, and interrelation of the text among and within other texts and contexts that brings together, reveals, and represents a fragmented and interspersed phenomenon.

In sum, the exemplars offer the reader a prelude to the conclusion that enrollment management is comprised of various institutional elements; thereby suggesting that enrollment management has transcended its storied beginning as an organizational phenomenon and evolved into an institutionalized organizational field. But for now, the enrollment management institutional exemplars are simply a layer of text upon which discourses—interview narratives, AACRAO SEM Conference session texts, *EMR* newsletter texts, and autoethnographic accounts—will be written.

Table 8 Institution Pillars and Enrollment Management Carriers

Pillar

Carriers	Regulative	Normative	Cultural-Cognitive
Symbolic Systems	Affirmative Action Admissions Rulings	Institutional Mission and Values	Enrollment Categories, Schema & Orientations
Relational Systems	Boards of Regents & Boards of Trustees	Regional Accrediting Bodies	Enrollment Mgmt Frameworks & Identities
Routines	Course Transfer Articulation	Chief Enrollment Mgr Job, Role, and Duty	Enrollment Mgmt Plans
Artifacts	State and National Data Reporting Requirements	Standardized Tests & Applications	Ranking Systems & Publications

(Based on Scott, 2008a)

The construction and consumption of the palimpsest, respectively, incites both inscriber and reader to shift and sift between and through texts toward discovering association, fragmentation, resemblance, incongruence, and contradiction in the discourse. Moreover, to engage with the palimpsest provokes a paradoxical enactment of palimpsestic conservation and renovation. In other words, in its inherently fragile state, the palimpsest induces the reader to act as a conservator of the palimpsestuous construction, while simultaneously enticing the inscriber/renovator, within the reader, toward a palimpsestic reconstruction. For the sake of clarity, it is necessary to provide rudimentary guidance to the reader. Accepting the direction offered is noncompulsory; thus, the reader may chose to liberate himself/herself from it as soon as they have taken it in. In other words, the palimpsest is to be experienced in an archeological sense, much

like a found artifact that has yet to be fully discovered.

The prologue for each institution carrier and its associated institutional elements is inscribed on the top layer of the palimpsestic construction (Figure 4). The context lies beneath this descriptive surface, which has been written over the contextualized phenomenon and institutionalized elements being explicated. Enrollment logics embody lower layers of discourses and discursive practices that alter, affirm, or disconfirm enrollment management structure, process, and context—thus, action and meaning are intertwined. Furthermore, discourses and discursive practices dually function as the product and medium of writings inscribed on the palimpsest.

The brief introduction of the institutional elements acts as a guide, first bringing attention to institutional matters, and then enhancing the reader's inspection and interpretation of the palimpsest. In the text immediately following each palimpsestic construction, a phenomenological exposition (noted by **MLSnowden 2010)** is provided that connects the institutional elements and enrollment management discourses with my autoethnographic accounts. Reflections of my lived experiences of enrollment management and thoughts emerge from the modalities of truth (necessity, possibility, and contingency) that promote/d and place/d limitation on my agency as an emerging professional in the field.[15] Attention is thus focused on the conditions that contribute/d to my personal, organizational, and institutional experiences of enrollment management.

Autoethnographic accounts emerge from *Layer 4 Intersubjectivity* of the

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[15] Ellingson (2009) points out that a crystallization project might interrupt "conceptual explication and methodological presentation with playful and personal segments"; thereby creating an alternative way of communicating issues and thoughts to the reader (p. 21).

palimpsest. The palimpsest layers are: *Layer 1 Descriptive*, *Layer 2 Discursive*

Practices, *Layer 3 Discourse*, *Layer 4 Intersubjectivity, Layer 5 Context*, and *Layer 6*

Structure. From the top, lower layers are etched with inscriptions written on the more

surface layers. From the bottom, top layers are susceptible to bleed-through from lower

layers because the parchment may be thin and some writings below may be heavily

inscribed. From the top, lower layers may also reflect similar tracings when the

parchment caliper, or thickness in terms of parchment density, enables saturation.

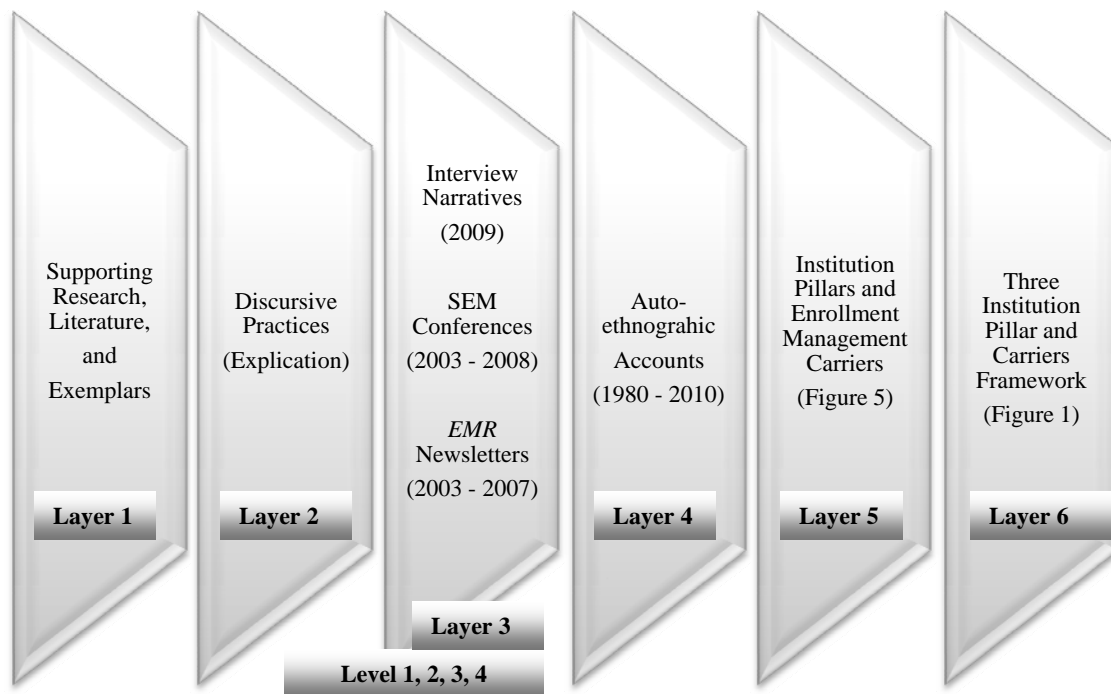|					
Supporting Research, Literature, and Exemplars	Discursive Practices (Explication)	Interview Narratives (2009) SEM Conferences (2003 - 2008) *EMR* Newsletters (2003 - 2007)	Auto-ethnograhic Accounts (1980 - 2010)	Institution Pillars and Enrollment Management Carriers (Figure 5)	Three Institution Pillar and Carriers Framework (Figure 1)
Layer 1	**Layer 2**		**Layer 4**	**Layer 5**	**Layer 6**
		Layer 3			
		Level 1, 2, 3, 4			

Figure 4 Enrollment Management Palimpsest Layers and Levels

Layer 5 Context and Layer 6 Structure form the figure and ground of the palimpsest respectively. Layer 3 Discourse interrupts Layer 2 Discursive Practices, and inhabits Layer 4 Intersubjectivity. Open brackets "{" are used to signify levels of Layer 3 Discourse. The maximum number of levels represented in the palimpsest is four. The number of brackets and indentation are used to connote leveling of the discourse. Layer 3 Discourse, Level 1 always begins with interview narrative of a chief enrollment manager. Further, each palimpsestic construction ends with Layer 4 Intersubjectivity, represented by phenomenological and authoethnographic accounts. A nonsense example of a palimpsestic construction reflecting the aforementioned explication may assist the reader's consumption of the palimpsest:

Layer 1 Descriptive

Layer 2 Discursive Practices (an explication)

        {ZZZZZ – Layer 3 Discourse; Level 1, Interview Narrative

Layer 2 Discursive Practices (an explication)

           {{YYYYY – Layer 3 Discourse, Level 2

                {{{XXXXX – Layer 3 Discourse, Level 3

Layer 2 Discursive Practices (an explication)

                   {{{{WWWWW – Layer 3 Discourse, Level 4

Layer 4 Intersubjectivity – Phenomenological and Authoethnographic Accounts

In the example above, {ZZZZZ represents the most recent discourse, written on top of and contextualized by lower level discourses {{YYYYY, {{{XXXXX, and {{{{WWWWW. Conversely, {{{{WWWWW represents the oldest and thus deepest

level of discourse inscription on the palimpsest. Leveled discourses entangle, interweave, and interrupt each other while simultaneously inhibiting lower and higher layers as well. In the next section, three data sources comprise Layer 3 Discourse. Crystallization of discourses signifies pervasive issues, standard solutions to institutional enrollment dilemmas, and dominant voices in the organizational field and profession. First, chief enrollment manager interview narratives are marked by the identifier used in previous sections of this chapter (e.g., **CEMgr3⬚ 2009**). Second, AACRAO SEM Conference data is marked by the venue city and year of the conference (e.g., **Boston 2003**). And last, *Enrollment Management Review* data is marked by the issue quarter and year (e.g., ***EMR* Summer 2005**).

Crystallizing an Institutional Palimpsest: Construction and Consumption

The palimpsest is a representation and thus is not equivalent to the subject under study. Representing enrollment management as a palimpsest is not an attempt to pass the representation off as factual. To the contrary, representing is play on the representation's difference from the *real*. Thus, representations free the reader from "reciprocal obligation" (Baudrillard 1983, p. 84) to the palimpsest, or to its inscriber for that matter. In other words, the reader is not obligated to accept the palimpsest as either true or false.

Ironically, the construction of the palimpsest challenges the notion of enrollment management as an imaginary or real institutionalized phenomenon of higher education. Post-consumption, the reader may be reoriented by my autoethnographic reflections and thoughts. Consequently, the reader may be provoked to appropriate the palimpsest toward a reconstruction and subsequent re-presentation. Although the layering,

intertwining, and fracturing of the palimpsest is open for interpretation by inscriber and reader, it is acknowledged that the top and bottom layers restrain, but do not necessary eliminate, interpretive and thus representational possibilities.

Whereas the representational power of the palimpsest may be in its initial writing, its interpretive power is in the reading and subsequent re-presentations of the palimpsest. It is most likely that the reader will submit to consuming the palimpsest in the manner by which he or she has been socialized to read, which differs depending upon one's language system (e.g., top to bottom and left to right for readers of English text). The reader however, can be liberated from the ordering and hierarchical structuring of writing, and thus should feel free to consume the fragments of discourse from top to bottom, bottom to top, left to right, and right to left. The reader is reminded that the brackets and indentation delineate and structurate the discourse; the reader however ascribes meaning to the content and presentation of the discourse.

<u>Symbolic Systems</u>

Semiotics, the study of signs and symbols, focuses on how meaning is constructed and evolved from signs, where a sign is anything that symbolizes something else. According to Scott (2008a), symbols are transportable, versatile, and malleable. From an institutional standpoint, "the symbols of interest include the full range of rules, values and norms, classifications, representations, frames, schemas, prototypes, and scripts used to guide behavior" (p. 80). Directing attention to symbolic systems as institution carriers of enrollment logics stresses the significant role that individual and collective perceptions play in "interpretation, theorization, framing, and bricolage" (p.

140).

Regulative Symbolic Systems

Regulative symbolic systems are transported in *rules* and *laws* that control what are permissible enrollment management policies, procedures, and practices. Matters of access and equity in college and university admissions are irrefutably the most legally-contested enrollment management practices. The reader is reminded that enrollment management emerged at Boston College circa 1974 and Jack Maguire's seminal article, "To the organized, go the students," appeared in Boston College's *Bridge Magazine* in 1976. In 1978, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered a landmark decision on affirmative action in college and university admissions programs. In *California v. Bakke*,[16] the high court struck down quota systems in college and university admissions, but confirmed the constitutionality of affirmative action programs toward meeting the compelling interest

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[16] The Medical School of the University of California at Davis had two admissions programs for the entering class of 100 students -- the regular admissions program and the special admissions program. Under the regular procedure, candidates whose overall undergraduate grade point averages fell below 2.5 on a scale of 4.0 were summarily rejected. About one out of six applicants was then given an interview, following which he was rated on a scale of 1 to 100 by each of the committee members (five in 1973 and six in 1974), his rating being based on the interviewers' summaries, his overall grade point average, his science courses grade point average, his Medical College Admissions Test (MCAT) scores, letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities, and other biographical data, all of which resulted in a total "benchmark score." The full admissions committee then made offers of admission on the basis of their review of the applicant's file and his score, considering and acting upon applications as they were received. The committee chairman was responsible for placing names on the waiting list and had discretion to include persons with "special skills." A separate committee, a majority of whom were members of minority groups, operated the special admissions program. The 1973 and 1974 application forms, respectively, asked candidates whether they wished to be considered as "economically and/or educationally disadvantaged" applicants and members of a "minority group" (blacks, Chicanos, Asians, American Indians). If an applicant of a minority group was found to be "disadvantaged," he would be rated in a manner similar to the one employed by the general admissions committee. Special candidates, however, did not have to meet the 2.5 grade point cutoff and were not ranked against candidates in the general admissions process. *Source:* Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978). Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (No. 7811) 18 Cal.3d 34, 553 P.2d 1152, affirmed in part and reversed in part.

of diversity in higher education.

> **{CEMgr3📖 2009**: I think all the push and legal contestation around affirmative action and so forth then puts the whole enrollment area in the midst of another. There are very few institutions that don't want to be doing, and don't want to be seen as playing an important role in advancing diversity and equity in this country. And one of the ways you end up doing that is by attracting and retaining people of color.

Lucas (1996) points out that "the question about who ought to be allowed or denied admission to higher education needs to take into consideration the sort of institution one has in mind" (p. 90). Moreover, although an applicant may not gain admissions into the institution of their choice, "there is always a school willing to accept a determined applicant" (p. 90). Allan Bakke, a white male, was a determined applicant who charged the University of California, Davis School of Medicine of denying him admission twice, while admitting less qualified and self-proclaimed "economically and/or educationally disadvantaged" applicants from minority groups. Moreover, Bakke claimed that *only* minority applicants were successful in gaining admissions under UC Davis' special admissions program.

> > **{{Anaheim 2008**: Even when affirmative action is allowed for admission, the size of the available applicant pool and the academic preparedness of underrepresented students may be problematic.

In general, college and universities are permitted to set their admissions policies. An admission policy is "the *criteria* (academic, cultural, personal, etc) that govern decisions of inclusion and exclusion, the *procedures* for assessing admissions, and finally the *practices* of the office of admissions, which may not correspond to the official criteria and procedures" (Karabel, 2005, p. 559). According to Karabel, the cornerstones of admissions policies traditionally have been discretion and opacity—which yield

predictable outcomes. In other words, institutions aim to admit students at their own discretion; a discretion that is beyond the purview of public scrutiny. The author suggests that an institution's "admissions regime" will "retain a particular admissions policy only so long as it produces outcomes that correspond to perceived institutional interests" (p. 2).

U.S. courts have ruled in favor of individual interests and rights in their quest for admission into college and universities, while also upholding admissions policies that promote diversity in the institution of higher education as constitutional. To this end, civil rights laws and court rules structurate how admissions decisions can and should be made to assure equal access to education.

> {{{*EMR* **Summer 2005**: This summer will mark the two year anniversary of the landmark University of Michigan cases on affirmative action.[17] In those decisions, the courts decided that race is a compelling state interest, but that to use this element in an admissions decision, narrow tailoring must occur.[18]

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[17] On June 23, 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court issued landmark decisions in two cases addressing affirmative action in college and university admissions. The Court ruled that student body diversity in higher education is a "compelling state interest" that can justify race-conscious admissions policies. It upheld the University of Michigan law school admissions policy as a "narrowly-tailored" means to achieve that interest, but held unconstitutional the University of Michigan undergraduate admissions system. *Source:* The Supreme Court decisions in Grutter v. Bollinger and Gratz v. Bollinger, Prepared for The College Board by Hogan & Hartson L.L.P. July 2003

[18] Under the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, classifications based on race are inherently suspect, and race-conscious policies are, therefore, subject to "strict scrutiny." Under this standard, the consideration of race in conferring benefits at both public universities and private universities that receive federal funds will be upheld only where the given program serves a "compelling state interest" and is "narrowly tailored" to achieve that interest. Strict scrutiny thus involves an examination of both the ends and the means of race-conscious decisions to ensure that the interests pursued are sufficiently compelling and that the means are narrowly tailored to those ends, so that "there is little or no possibility that the motive for the classification was illegitimate racial prejudice or stereotype." *Source:* College Board Seminars on the Implications of the Supreme Court Decisions: In the University of Michigan Admissions Cases

{{{{**Boston 2003**: Increasing legal challenges to affirmative action strategies may require rethinking policies and procedures to assure they withstand legal scrutiny.

Like Allan Bakke, admissions applicants want to be assured that college and universities comply with civil rights laws in admissions policies. To this end, the U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights (OCR) [19] investigates claims that admissions practices at college and universities are discriminatory, in terms of violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

{**CEMgr3**📖 **2009**: So anyway, I think you bring all those things together and you create an environment where, if you think about that, some of the most pressing institutional and public policy issues in higher education, right now, sit at the intersection of what happens on the enrollment side of the house. So, it's going to be an important function for I think a long time.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *legal discourse* to signify *regulative symbolic systems* institution carriers? My phenomenological question[20] took me to a time and place when and where much of what I had done in higher education, up to that point, had been free from legal contestation. In 1997, however, the discourse shifted on my campus, particularly around freshman admissions and the recruitment of students with an underrepresented presence on my campus, namely Hispanic and African American students. For the next decade, university decision-making processes and ensuing decisions pertaining to freshman admissions were driven and influenced by legislative bills, state mandates, and enrollment compliance. The threat of litigations loomed in the air for most; but for me, that which was in the air emerged in enrollment management discourse and discursive practices. The reflection and thoughts that follow connect my admissions experiences and entrée into collegiate admissions with an instantiation of

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[19] The mission of the Office for Civil Rights is to ensure equal access to education and to promote educational excellence throughout the nation through vigorous enforcement of civil rights. We serve student populations facing discrimination and the advocates and institutions promoting systemic solutions to civil rights problems. An important responsibility is resolving complaints of discrimination. Source: http://www2.ed.gov

[20] This question was introduced in Chapter III of this work: How is (has) my professional engagement in and experiences with enrollment management vis-à-vis my lived experiences as a first-generation, female, African American, moderate need, and freshman/transfer/graduate college student affecting (affected) the co-constructions and understandings of my selves, others' selves, and phenomena being studied?

history on affirmative action and some associated regulating effects in the State of Texas and on my campus.

Reflections and Thoughts: Hopwood, Grutter, and Me. I became engaged in higher education enrollment policy as a direct result of the 1996 Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals decision in Hopwood v. State of Texas.[21] Subsequently, the Texas Attorney General issued a formal opinion prohibiting Texas public colleges and universities from using students' racial or ethnic background as a factor in recruitment, admissions, financial aid, and retention. For almost a decade thereafter, to mitigate the enrollment effects of Hopwood at Texas A&M University, I led and supported initiatives to restructure the university's marketing, recruitment, enrollment policies, and enrollment services.

In 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court abrogated *Hopwood* in *Grutter v. Bollinger*. The executive leadership of Texas A&M, however, by the authorization of the university system's Board of Regents, decided to maintain race neutral admissions and financial aid. In response to that decision, the director of admissions and I were charged by our supervisor, the university's chief enrollment manager, to study the implications of a

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[21] The *Hopwood* decision was issued on March 18, 1996. In *Hopwood,* a panel of the Fifth Circuit ruled that the defendants had shown no compelling state interest for an affirmative action program at the University of Texas School of Law that granted preferences to African-American and Mexican-American applicants. Specifically, the *Hopwood* panel ruled that: (1) diversity was not a compelling state interest; and, (2) the defendants had not presented sufficient evidence of a remedial need for the affirmative action program. As to the diversity basis for affirmative action, the Fifth Circuit concluded: In sum, the use of race to achieve a diverse student body, whether as a proxy for permissible characteristics, simply cannot be a state interest compelling enough to meet the steep standard of strict scrutiny. These latter factors may, in fact, turn out to be substantially correlated with race, but the key is that race itself not be taken into account. Thus, that portion of the district court's opinion upholding the diversity rationale is reversibly flawed. *Source:* Letter Opinion No. 97-001, Office of the Attorney General of Texas, February 5, 1997

holistic admissions review process and the subsequent implementation of a technology solution to support the process. This particular instance of a holistic review of admissions applicants was aimed at devising a process that could yield a diverse student body and withstand the strict scrutiny of probable and future litigations by freshman applicants denied admission into the university.

Between 2003 and 2006, institutional efforts resulted in three year double-digit percent increases in applications and enrollment of underrepresented undergraduate and graduate students. In September 2006, my understanding and engagement in enrollment initiatives at the University resulted in an appointment as interim director of admissions. During my year "at the table," I secured a freshman class of 7804 vis-à-vis an established target of 7800—a feat that many of my colleagues would refer to as "managing enrollments," which is decidedly different from Enrollment Management (emphasis on capital E, capital M connotes that Enrollment Management should be strategic, as opposed to merely structural or tactical).

I became a member of AACRAO in 2001—two years before the University of Michigan case ruling—when I joined the Office of Admissions and Records (OAR) as the founding director of the department's enrollment (information) technology unit— responsible for delivering and maintaining enrollment technology and conducting and supporting enrollment research. Prior to joining OAR, between 1995 and 2001, I led enrollment technology and research initiatives as an employee of the university's Computing & Information Services and the Department of Student Financial Aid.

My entrée into enrollment management was by way of technology. I was

immersed daily in enrollment data and fully engaged in both maintaining university

technology systems to manage enrollment processes and shaping the perceptions of,

orientations to, and appropriation of enrollment subjects and objects. During my twelve

year tenure at Texas A&M, I often contemplated how might my lived professional and

personal experiences in enrollment management have been markedly different had

Hopwood surfaced and played out at Texas A&M rather than the University of Texas.

Moreover, how did the convergence of *Hopwood v. State of Texas, Grutter v. Bollinger*,

the racial composition of the State of Texas, my position at one of Texas' two flagship

state universities, and my breadth and depth of knowledge about enrollment issues at the

Texas A&M make it more probable that I could and would make the leap from an

information technology professional to a chief enrollment manager? In short, my leap

into the profession was propelled by affirmative action rules and laws and thus through

the medium of a regulative symbolic system institution carriers.

Normative Symbolic Systems

Normative symbolic systems are carried in shared *values* and *expectations* that

accent and guide behaviors respectively. The enculturation of new organizational field

members, such as chief enrollment managers, induces field member assimilation to

organizational standard practices and values (Jackall, 1988). Moreover, organizational

field-level values are encoded and recoded into the field culture by and through

individual and collective action. Van der Wal and colleagues note:

> Despite the conceptual confusion and the different ontological attributions to the
> value construct, broad agreement exists on the fact that values cannot actually be
> seen or heard, and can only be observed in the ways in which they manifest

themselves through attitudes, preferences, decision making and action….The best we can say is values never come just by themselves, never appear unaccompanied. Values are always attached to a value manifestation, a choice of action such as a decision-making preference, and express a quality or general standard of conduct. (Van der Wal, Zeger, de Graaf & K. Lasthuizen, 2008, p. 468)

Value manifestations and normative expectations guide individual and collective actions that are deemed more or less appropriate vis-à-vis the shared values of a cultural community of actors, such as chief enrollment managers. Fairhurst, Jordan, and Neuwirth (1997) point out that "managers" tend to communicate missions, visions, and values in clinically framed terms, marginalizing others' concerns over relevance or importance" (p. 245). Conversely, "leaders" are believed to "relate in more intuitive and empathic ways, paying close attention to what situations and circumstances meant" (p. 245).

{CEMgr12 2009: What are we doing here? And how do we define ourselves? And what's our core values and mission?

{{Anaheim 2008: Everyone lives what and who we are.

{{{*EMR* Fall 2007: Presidential leadership needs to make the difference in what is important and can do so by leading campus conversations on core values. We do not see presidents leading the charge on defining their institutional values. Instead, they often focus on short-term gains such as raising money for the institution.

The cultural difference among colleges and universities is located in their respective organizational values (Hofstede, 1991). Moreover, organizational values espoused by colleges and universities are embodied by chief enrollment managers and subsequently enacted as a set of principles that shape actions in ways that aim to align with institutional mission and secure an envisioned future. In short, a chief enrollment

manager depends on clearly articulated and aligned institutional vision, mission, and

values to guide their enrollment work.

> **{CEMgr8⬠ 2009:** Community colleges have a different mission. We're going to talk about different things. And we're going to have slightly different demands on us. And our responses are going to be complicated by the extraordinary mission that we have.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *organizational identity discourse* to signify *normative symbolic systems* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I followed the development of a major visioning initiative on my campus. The process began over a decade ago (another decade remains to achieve the vision). My university president led the charge, which involved developing imperatives that would guide the alignment of subsequent actions with the institution's mission and values. Taking into consideration the extraordinary mission of community colleges, I am reminded that some missions transcend organizational boundaries and operate at an institutional level. For example, the mission of American community colleges—which emerged at the turn of the 20th Century—is shifting as community colleges are becoming more comprehensive (e.g., offering bachelor's degrees). Moreover, in 2009, community colleges were touted by current U.S. President Barack Obama as having a key role in boosting an ailing U.S. economy and producing an additional five million community college graduates by 2020 [22]—coincidently my university's plan is *Vision 2020*.

> **Reflections and Thoughts: Institutional Vision and Mission Manifested.** I

earned my bachelor of business administration degree, with a concentration in business

analysis, from Texas A&M University in December 1990. Five years later, I returned to

College Station to attain a master's degree in management information systems. In

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[22] "Fifty years ago, [U.S.] President Harry Truman called for a national network of community colleges to dramatically expand opportunities for veterans returning from World War II. Today, faced with rapid technological change and global competition, community colleges are needed more than ever to raise American skills and education levels and keep American businesses competitive. President Barack Obama called for an additional 5 million community college degrees and certificates by 2020 and new steps to ensure that those credentials will help graduates get ahead in their careers.... Community colleges are the largest part of [the U.S.] higher education system, enrolling more than 6 million students, and growing rapidly. They feature affordable tuition, open admission policies, flexible course schedules, and convenient locations, and they are particularly important for students who are older, working, need remedial classes, or can only take classes part-time. They are also capable of working with businesses, industry and government to create tailored training programs to meet economic needs such as nursing, health information technology, advanced manufacturing, and green jobs, and of providing customized training at the worksite." Retrieved from http://www.whitehouse.gov on April 30, 2010.

September 1996, I started my masters program in the Mays School of Business. In

1997, approximately 250 internal and external Texas A&M constituents undertook a

visioning initiative for the university to be recognized as one of the ten best public

universities in the nation by the year 2020. The visioning process culminated in the

creation of the plan *Vision 2020: Creating a Culture of Excellence*. I was at the end of

my masters program, and about 2 ½ years into my twelve-year tenure as a Texas A&M

employee, when the workgroup was commissioned into action.

My plan had always been to finish my masters program and then re-enter the

corporate job market, where I hoped to rise in information technology leadership ranks.

That plan took a drastic turn, however, when I enrolled in my first organizational

communication research seminar in January 1998—the last term of my masters program.

In May 1998, at the end of the spring term, I was encouraged to apply for admission into

the organizational communication doctoral program at Texas A&M. I applied and was

admitted. I started my doctoral program in August 1998, with the inaugural class of the

recently approved program.

The Vision 2020 plan was adopted in 1999. By that time, I had received my

master's degree, started my doctoral program, and was responsible for directing the

operational planning, project management, and client services for the four functional

areas of the university's student information system—admissions, registration and

records, financial aid, and student financial accounts. Serving in a pivotal leadership

role on campus, while simultaneously being immersed in the communication discipline,

had a profound impact on how I interpreted the Vision 2020 plan and its construction

(vision content), diffusion (vision articulation), and appropriation (vision implementation and routinization).

My doctoral studies broadened my understanding of dualisms of leadership, particularly in terms of individuals and systems. Moreover, I came to view institutional values from an organizational culture lens, and culture from a communicative perspective. Organizational phenomenon that had previously swept over and by me began swirling around me. In this newfound state of consciousness, I read the introduction of the Vision 2020 plan, "Our core values have been re-articulated and re-affirmed during the extensive process of reviewing our progress. We are dedicated to the search for truth. We hold the public trust sacred. We seek excellence in all we do. We welcome all people. We desire the enlightenment brought by true diversity and global interaction. We will manage ourselves to the highest standards of efficiency and productivity."

From 1987 to 1997, I was an embodiment of and witness to the enactment (or lack thereof) of the university's vision, mission, and values as a student, alumna, employee, and citizen of the State of Texas. In the span of two years, from 1997 to 1999, my alma mater/employer had constructed and diffused a vision plan, an updated mission statement, and a values proclamation. On occasion, I recall the visioning initiative at Texas A&M, in the late 1990's, and subsequent creation of the university's Division of Marketing & Communications in 2006. Enter a Vice President for and division of marketing. The values put forth by the Vision 2020 plan spawned six core institutional values: Excellence, Integrity, Leadership, Loyalty, Respect, and Selfless Service. The

university community is reminded, "Keep these points in mind in all that you do, and you will not only be supporting the university's brand, but your own as well."

I believe chief enrollment managers seek out and flourish at and within institutions where they can visualize (future direction) fulfilling the institution's broadly articulated mission (purpose) and enacting its espoused institutional values (principles). Chief enrollment managers, in partnership with faculty and institutional executive/senior administrators, are responsible for assuring that the college or university not only promotes, but lives up to and delivers on its brand promise—through the embodiment and enactment of institutional core values by students, alumni, faculty, executive leadership, senior administrators, mid-managers, and line staff. Environmental factors notwithstanding, such as economy and labor market trends, enrollment downturns may indicate constituents' (e.g., prospective and current students) loss of confidence that institutional representatives (e.g., chief enrollment managers) and bodies of representatives (e.g., board of trustees/regents) will safeguard the college or university's reputation by acting in ways that reflect the institution's normative values and individual and collective expectations.

Recently, I shared with a group of colleagues my belief that director of admissions and chief enrollment managers' search for institutional fit has similar decision points as prospective students' college search and choice processes. In the course of my career in higher education, I have found a fit at three universities: Texas A&M University, Northwestern University, and most recently Fielding Graduate University. In November 2008, I accepted my first position as a university-level chief

enrollment manager. Ironically, I came upon the position at Fielding while conducting research for this study. I was drawn to the position by what I perceived as an extraordinary vision, mission, and values[23] vis-à-vis my two previous institutional affiliations. I was particularly intrigued by the opportunity to lead the development of an enrollment management culture and ethos at a graduate university with strong doctoral education. Since starting my position—in March 2009—as the associate provost for enrollment management, I am more convinced that the means and ways by which normative symbolic systems play out in day-to-day activities of enrollment management is inextricably tied to institutional mission and values.

Cultural-Cognitive Symbolic Systems

Cultural-cognitive symbolic systems are comprised of common *categories*, *typifications*, and *schema* that shape perceptions and interpretations (Scott, 2008a, p. 80). Organizational field leaders conceptualize and diffuse mental models to frame institutional experiences, influence institutional actors, and convey institutional visions (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001). Enrollment management categories, typifications, and schema are cognitive heuristics that aid chief enrollment managers in interpreting and

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[23] In pursuit of a more just world, Fielding Graduate University sets the standard of excellence as a global network of lifelong learners engaged in innovative scholarly practice and research. Fielding Graduate University serves a community of scholar-practitioners dedicated to transformational learning and social justice. The Fielding community values: **Academic Excellence**: a commitment to the highest quality academic performance. **Transformational Learning**: a fundamental re-evaluation of one's vision, rules, goals, and priorities resulting in new understanding of self and a new commitment to lifelong learning and future life possibilities. **Community**: an appreciation for a lifelong learning environment built on collegiality, mutual respect, and compassion. **Human Diversity, Dignity, and Worth**: a respect for the dignity and worth of all individuals within an inclusive environment that celebrates openness and diversity in the service of social justice. **Truth, Integrity, and Meaning**: a willingness to serve others as ethical change agents in our search for truth in learning, in our work and in our lives.

managing enrollment patterns; guiding enrollment decision making; and promoting

enrollment management discourses that ascribe enrollment meanings through

interpretive schemes, justify enrollment sanctions through norms, and reify enrollment

power structures through allocative and authoritative resources.

Categories. Scott (2008a) suggests "we organize our material world in

accordance with our mental categories, and the two become self reinforcing" (p. 127).

Enrollment management heuristics and ensuing categories aim to bring meaning to

enrollment work and make visible the underlying assumptions and conceptual

frameworks that are used when interpreting enrollment problems, processing enrollment

information, and guiding enrollment actions. Enrollment categories are used by chief

enrollment managers to group and classify prospective and current students.

> **{CEMgr16 2009**: I was one of those students that grew up in a really poor neighborhood. I was a first generation college student. And I didn't plan on going to college necessarily. So I ended up going to the University of California because they had an outreach program where they went to all the schools. They rustled up a bunch of students, took them on tours on campus and said you can do it; you know, it's important, blah, blah. I was one of those kids; so, I ended up going to the University of California at Riverside through special admission.

>> **{{Anaheim 2008**: High schools with predominantly underrepresented enrollments have traditionally sent few, if any, students to the University of California.

>>> **{{{New Orleans 2007:** The primary goals of these initiatives are to stream line the college search and application process and improve access to higher education with a particular focus on first generation underrepresented students.

>>>> **{{{{Phoenix 2006:** Serve ALL students but target messages to first generation, low income students.

Subsequently, enrollment strategies and tactics are devised to address the

enrollment state and conditions associated with particular groups or classifications of

students. Further, categories of students are linked to institutional types and missions

that structurate admitting, retaining, and advancing the enrollment and goal attainment of

particular groups or classifications of students.

> {**CEMgr4**📖 **2009:** Mission is about outcomes—measures, ratios, and
> population. Mission is manifest. A student who is white, first generation, and
> affluent: Is this a mission student? Do all three have to come up cherries in order
> to count? If low income, minority, and first generation are the targets, then if the
> goal is to "hit all cherries," only 3% will meet all targets, versus 30% who will
> meet at least one target.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *public-civil discourse* to signify *cultural-cognitive (symbolic systems) categories* institution carriers? My phenomenological
question took me to a time and place when and where I found myself faced with not only
how others perceived me on my campus, but how easily I classified myself when
confronted by those who questioned my presence in a space. I am intrigued by the notion
of a mission student. Such a notion incites the embodiment of an institutional mission
that can make clear(er) how a mission is lived, experienced, and perceived "in a body"
rather than seeing the mission materialize on campus walls, in a student center, and
between inner and outer doors that left me wondering if I was inside or outside of the
institution. Did my pull of the lever come up all cherries? How, and perhaps most
importantly, did I count to others and myself?

Reflections and Thoughts: Being, Living, and Working on the Enrollment-

Grid. During the course of my doctoral studies, I visited many works by and about

Foucault. To facilitate my reading of Foucault, and so that I may develop a local and

more nuanced understanding of the dense text, I sometimes supplant his terms with more

familiar constructs and phenomena. For example, the following modified text supplants

'madness,' with 'enrollments,' and 'psychiatric' with 'enrollment management':

> Discourse finds a way of limiting its domain, of defining what is talking about, of
> giving it the status of an object—and therefore of making it manifest, nameable,
> and describable (p. 41)….We must analyse the grids of specification: these are
> the systems occurring to which the different 'kinds of [enrollments]' are divided,

contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another as objects of [enrollment management] discourse. (Foucault 1972, p. 42)

In the last five years, I have come to realize that my career in higher education administration, in general, and as an enrollment management professional specifically, has involved significant *enrollment grid-work*. Beyond their involvement in recruiting, retaining, and graduating enrollment subjects (i.e., prospective and current students), chief enrollment managers produce enrollment objects (e.g., enrollment forecasts and reports) and engage in enrollment management discourses by which subjects are specified in enrollment classification systems which include: *demographics* (e.g., race, ethnicity, age, gender, sex), *geography* (e.g., in-state, out-of-state, resident, non-resident, domestic, international), *academic preparedness* (e.g., honors, at-risk, provisional, probation), *class-level* (e.g., freshman, sophomore, junior, senior), *career-level* (e.g., undergraduate, graduate, professional), *program-level* (e.g., associates, bachelors, masters, doctoral), *transition status* (e.g., first-time freshman, 2-year transfer, 4-year transfer), *access and equity* (e.g., minority, first-generation, low-income), *academic goal* (e.g., degree seeking, non-degree seeking, continuing education) and *distinct groups* (e.g., non-traditional, adult learner, distance learner, commuter, residential, veteran, disabled).

The simple fact is: All who attend a college or university are plotted on the enrollment grid. I surmise that in the course of doing enrollment grid-work, many chief enrollment managers are frequently reminded of their own postsecondary enrollment grid classifications. I inherently connect with individuals who co-inhabit spaces on the enrollment grid that specify me. For example, I have attended two community

colleges—one for summer coursework and the other from which I received an associate degree—and a large public university. My undergraduate classifications included: first-generation, African American, female, 18 – 22 years old, in-state, minority, residential, 2-year transfer, degree-seeking, and resident. In the words of Foucault, I was necessarily divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, and derived.

During my junior year in college (as new transfer student), I stood in between the inner and outer doors in front of the Texas A&M University Memorial Student Center— waiting for a ride to my apartment—when two elderly white not-so-gentlemen came to occupy the same space I was in for only about five minutes. The brief interaction that would ensue is vivid in my memory. In fact, those few moments have stayed with me for over two decades as I have recalled and told the story many times. How did I come to be in that particular space, at that particular time?

From the sixth through the twelfth grade, I was a student in the Houston Independent School District (HISD)—the largest public school system in Texas and the seventh-largest in the United States. As a child I informed my parents of my aspiration to someday be a lawyer. Now and again, until I was well into my early teens, I repeated that pronouncement. During my eighth grade year, on career day, representatives from the various magnet schools/programs in Houston, set up information tables in the main hallway of my middle school. Keeping in step with my plans, I spoke to a woman representing the High School for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (HSLECJ). HSLECJ, an exemplar of the school-within-a-school model that was beginning to take hold in Houston during the late 1970's and early 1980's, was located *within* George

Washington High School.

I returned from summer vacation on what I came to realize was the weekend

before the beginning of my ninth grade year. A mix-up in dates resulted in my failure to

meet a hard-and-fast deadline. Consequently, my academic files were sent to the high

school to which I was zoned; and it was not HSLECJ. Fast forward. I graduated from my

neighborhood's Booker T. Washington High School/The High School for Engineering

Professions. Begrudgingly, and at my mother's insistence, I transferred into the

engineering magnet school/program my tenth grade year. I was fortunate to have

attended the inner school; but, I am proud to have graduated from the outer school—the

oldest high school in Houston (and Texas) originally established for "colored"

children.[24] I was/am deeply affected by my educational experience and connection with

those who were like me, walked down the hallways and sat in the classrooms of

Houston's magnet schools. While my magnet school was one of the first four established

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[24] Booker T. Washington High School, which opened in 1893, is the oldest school in Texas originally
established for African-American students (originated as Colored High and was renamed to its current
name in 1928). The High School for the Engineering Professions (HSEP) was established as a school-
within-a school in 1976. It was one of the four original Magnet programs created in the Houston
Independent School District to achieve desegregation. Franklyn D. Wesley was named principal of
Washington in 1965 and oversaw the successful integration of the school in the mid-1970s, as Washington
became an engineering professions magnet school and attracted students from all over the Houston
Independent School District. During his 57 years in HISD and 42 years as principal of Washington, Mr.
Wesley touched many lives. HSEP now has a diverse population of 300 students representing 17
nationalities. Ethnically, the HSEP student body consists of 50 percent African-American students and 35
percent Hispanic students, with the remaining 15 percent made up of white and Asian students. In 2005,
the school's graduating class of 65 seniors garnered more than $5,000,000 in scholarship opportunities.
Source: "Board Honors Retiring 88-Year-Old Washing High School Principal," *HISDConnect, June, 15
2007.*

While the inner school (HSEP) has remained academically strong, in 2007, the outer school (BTW) was
dubbed a "dropout factory" in an Associated Press commissioned study conducted by researchers at John
Hopkins. The study listed Washington as one 42 Houston-area high schools with a retention rate of less
than 40%. According the study, only about 50% of the freshman (~ 98% student body is minority and
~72% are on the free-lunch program) entering Washington make it to their senior year and graduate.

in the HISD, today there are more than 100 magnet schools in the district.

I was supposed to be a lawyer. But, there is an interesting thing that happens to you at a magnet school—at least it happened to me and number of my high school friends—despite the reason you ended up at that particular magnet school, you come to believe that your future vocation is necessarily aligned with the focus of your program— a phenomenon that persists with college students who have chosen a major course of study. My magnet school experience resulted in me attending a university with a quality engineering program (goals shifted, but I did not reestablish a vision for my life).

So, there I was, standing between the inner and outer doors in front of the Texas A&M University Memorial Student Center—waiting for a ride to my apartment—when two elderly white not-so-gentlemen came to occupy the same space I was in for only about five minutes. His back was to me, at first, and so too was the other's. Then he turned and faced me. He looked at me, and when the other turned around, he looked at me as well. He pointed at me—his right index finger and hand shaking uncontrollably— and spoke these words to the other while looking directly into my eyes, "And they're letting them in now." I quipped, "What, blacks or women?" He snapped back, quick and sharp, "Both!" In that space, in those few minutes, I was divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, and derived.

Typifications. Typifications signify the distinctive characteristics of an institutional phenomenon and facilitate universal readings and common interpretations of the phenomenon. How chief enrollment managers perceive enrollment management and orient themselves to and around that perception is an essential step toward

understanding enrollment management in-practice.

> **{CEMgr1📖 2009:** Everyone has a key and an important role in helping to manage enrollment for an institution. If you are on the advising side, it has to do with your academic advising effectiveness and all the things that go along with that. If it is on the academic support side, it has to do with providing the kinds of support services in the academic support arena that are necessary to help students to succeed.

> > **{{New Orleans 2007:** This session will present a market-centered, collaborative approach to program development, including identifying the appropriate target audience(s), estimating market demand to develop enrollment forecasts, and marketing plan development and execution.

> > > **{{{Orlando 2004:** Collaboration that is focused on putting the student at the heart of the enterprise drives excellent student-centered outcomes and contributes to effective workplace practice and sustainable institutional success.

Perceptions of enrollment management are structured by the presuppositional frameworks (e.g., student-centered and market-centered) held by chief enrollment managers. Unpacking these perceptions and their associated frameworks reveals nuanced orientations and appropriations of enrollment management.

> **{CEMgr15📖 2009:** But you also got to say, "OK, if this is our target population, if we're going to take a very market-centered approach, that's fine; let that market-centered approach get students in the door. But how are we going to keep them here so they can reach their goals?" And I think that's where the market-centered approach stops and a new approach kicks in.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *individual identity discourse* to signify *cultural-cognitive (symbolic systems) typifications* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I stood before of a group of university trustees, on an organizational stage, about to begin a performance about my field and profession. Inherently, there are many individuals on and beyond a university campus that will view enrollment management from a lens that is most aligned with their professional orientation—e.g., university relations workers will most likely have a market-centered perspective. Therefore, introducing enrollment management personas to heterogeneous group enables them to connect with people rather than getting hung up or lost on the concept. The reflection that follows personifies and inscribes enrollment management and me.

Reflections and Thoughts: Orientating Others to the Field and Profession. In May 2009, I was introduced to Fielding's Board of Trustees. As introduction to this important arm of university governance, I gave a presentation to the board's Academic Affairs Committee. The charge from my Provost, from her vantage point, was perceivably simple: Explain enrollment management. The task was made more difficult because of the varied background of the trustees. While some trustees have extensive backgrounds in higher education, most have careers beyond the perimeters of higher education. There are a number of one-liners that situate enrollment management into a recognizable context that may lead individuals toward a path of understanding what enrollment management is, and perhaps what it is not. I view the board's Academic Affairs Committee, more than other committees, as paramount to the success of realizing an enrollment management culture that is entrenched in the academic context of the university.

For my presentation, I explicated the four orientations to enrollment management (Kalsbeek, 2007), which is perhaps one the most useful symbolic tools for helping individuals understand theirs and others' organizational view of the university. For example, registrars typically orient themselves to enrollment management from a very administrative perspective. The role of a registrar, in the enrollment management organization, calls for him or her to focus on points of efficiency and strict adherence to policy by students, faculty, and staff. Whereas the director of student advising is oriented to the 'exceptional needs of one,' the registrar aims for broad applications of policy, standard procedures, and predictable processes.

As I have progressed in my career, my orientations to higher education have broadened. Having begun my professional career as a programmer/business analyst, I felt/feel a kinship with registrars and their ambition for finely-engineered processes, fluid workflow, compliant subjects, and calculable outcomes. My affinity for the administrative orientation of enrollment management has been rewarded over the years, as I have become valued for my ability to lead reorganizations and business process reengineering initiatives. In fact, my path to the interim director of admissions position at Texas A&M was set in motion by a special appointment as the managing director of admissions processing. My charge was to implement a document imaging and workflow solution that would streamline the operation, increase staff efficiency, and improve time-to-response in addressing prospective student inquiries.

These days, in addition to administrative orientation, I frequently re-orient myself to academic, student-focused, and market-centered views and approaches to enrollment management. It is my belief that becoming or being a successful chief enrollment manager, necessitates being able to shift fluidly between and combine orientations in one's discourse and discursive practices. It is essential that organizational actors see themselves in enrollment management, including board members/trustees. Thus, the various orientations are just as much about enrollment management identity as they are about the four perspectives of enrollment work and objects. Depending on institutional and environmental factors, the degree to which a chief enrollment manager orients himself or herself from one orientation to the others will differ.

Schema. Schemas function as frameworks for analyzing and responding to phenomena. Chief enrollment managers use various schemas that originated in marketing and sales: pipeline, funnel, pyramid, and life-cycle. The student pipeline represents the various American educational systems that students move through: primary, secondary, postsecondary, graduate, and professional schools. At the turn of the 20th century, the university-builders underestimated their dependence on a base of primary and secondary education.

> **{CEMgr2⌨ 2009:** I think I went to my first [AACRAO] SEM Conference in 1995. SEM fifteen years ago was heavily focused on marketing, recruitment, and kind of developing the idea of the power of creating an organizational structure that was aligned to support those activities. If you were to go to SEM now, you would hear, you would see—although the marketing and recruitment and the structure discussions are still happening—it really is a more expanded discussion of the student pipeline.

According to Thelin (2004), "the health of the American university was directly intertwined with the availability of the American public high school, an institution that was not yet universally acceptable" (p. 134). Once institutionalized, American secondary education yielded a predictable flow of students qualified for postsecondary education. Thus, the pipeline schema suggests that undergraduate enrollments at colleges and universities are dependent on access issues and student development outcomes of secondary (and primary) education.

> > **{{*EMR* Fall 2006:** What may have been a nice pipeline of enrolling students coming from a sending institution yesterday can become the source of many withdrawal slips or low grades. As a profession we are not here to set people up for failure, thus we need to develop careful systems that allow periodic checking of how a course prepares students to be successful.

The traditional admissions-enrollment funnel is a top-down representation of student enrollment, where prospective students enter the enrollment process at the top of the funnel and conditionally flow downward toward becoming an active alumnus of a college or university. A funnel schema implies that increasing the number of individuals in the funnel can be achieved by simply attracting a larger supply of prospects, or perhaps widening the funnel to allow for more prospects to flow down simultaneously. The funnel however is porous; therefore, it is not probable that all who enter the funnel will flow down each stage and ultimately reach alumnus status. Maguire, Butler, and Associates (2008) note that funnels are *so* Newtonian; moreover, as it "turns out, that good old, reliable metaphor—the enrollment funnel—is leaking like a sieve. And if not to hold conceptual water, what's a metaphor?" (p. 23).

Bontrager (2004) offers the "enrollment pyramid" as an alternative to the admissions-enrollment funnel. As students' relationships with an institution strengthen, more personalized attention is necessitated to support their "rise" to the coveted active alumni status. In contrast to the funnel schema, the pyramid schema counters the notion of a gravitational pull moving students from one stage to the next. Conversely, the various stages in the enrollment pyramid are comprised of enrollment-related activities that are designed to optimize populations of individuals climbing toward the pyramid's peak.

> {{{*EMR* **Spring 2005:** He challenges contemporary thinking of the admissions funnel. Instead, he conceptualizes a pyramid or mountain and that each part of the lifelong relationship necessitates different activities. Imagine then prospective students at the bottom, then admits, deposits, enrolled, retained, engaged, fulfilled, graduates, and active alumni at the top of his

"Enrollment Pyramid." The activities start out somewhat impersonal, and then as the relationship strengthens, it becomes highly personalized.

The student lifecycle represents the enduring engagement students may have with an institution, particularly as they graduate and become active alumni and donors. The lifecycle schema signifies students' lifelong relationships and loyalty to their alma mater. Alumni commitment is assessed by individuals' philanthropy toward the advancement and development of their alma mater. Furthermore, alumni may deepen their relationships with an institution by becoming prospective students for additional educational offerings beyond receiving their initial and subsequent academic credentials. For example, individuals who earn a baccalaureate degree may seek a graduate education or continuing education at the same college or university.

> **{CEMgr17 2009:** We raised the quality of the student body. And that's how I got into SEM. It did work. That was a long time ago. And now I am in different institution, implementing the same framework. I am more concerned about trying to take a holistic approach and not focusing only at the top end of the funnel or at the left hand side of the student life cycle continuum.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *educational progression discourse* to signify *cultural-cognitive (symbolic systems) schema* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I acquired an acute awareness of how I moved through American educational systems. My engagement with collegiate admissions, and professional development in enrollment management, enabled me to better understanding structures that shape/d and influence/d my educational path trajectories. My reflection connects me to the various positions within student enrollment schemas—at entry and exits points, and a few junctures in between. Reflective and reflexive contemplation of these positions places me in the flow, swill, ascension, and swirl of movement in elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education.

Reflections and Thoughts: My Schematic Passage into and through Higher Education. Those who entered into higher education have flowed through the student-

enrollment pipeline, swilled down the admissions-enrollment funnel, ascended to the peak of the enrollment pyramid, and swirled about in the student life cycle. The journey for most however is not fluid. Pipelines clog. Funnels leak. Pyramids crack. Cycles break. I have spent the greater portion of my career in higher education addressing issues of access to and persistence through higher education—issues that play out in pipelines, funnels, pyramids, and cycles of American educational systems. My lived experience of enrollment schema is one of confrontation, engagement, perseverance, and serendipity.

I aimed for an education higher than that obtained by anyone in my immediate family. I graduated in the top 2% of my high school class. Toward securing an affordable and quality engineering education, I applied for and was subsequently offered admission and academic scholarships to attend either the University of Texas or Texas A&M University. To the surprise of my classmates and high school counselor, however, I declined both offers from Texas' flagship universities. Alternatively, I attended an open enrollment community college on an athletic scholarship.

I subsequently transferred to Texas A&M on academic scholarship; majored in business analysis; worked as a student employee in the Department of Speech Communications and Theatre Arts; graduated and accepted a computer programmer/analyst job in Austin, Texas; lived and worked in Tokyo, Japan; became an active alumni; invested time in and donated money to Texas A&M women's athletics; and ultimately returned to my alma mater as an employee. Along the way I moved forward in the student pipeline and re-entered the student life cycle as a graduate student. As fate would have it, approximately 20 years after declining that initial offer of

admittance to Texas A&M, I was appointed interim director of admissions. In my new and unexpected role, my interaction with prospective students and their parents invoked memories of my own journey into and through higher education—from Wharton County Junior College to Texas A&M University.

My decision to attend a community college, en route to Texas' land-grant university, heightened my awareness and deepened my understanding of the many issues concerning access, affordability, and accountability in higher education—an awareness and understanding that I put to practice daily. Much of my enrollment work has involved unclogging pipes, plugging leaks, sealing cracks, and fusing breaks that hinder students from achieving their college dreams and ultimate success. A colleague of mine makes light on enrollment management consulting engagements at colleges and universities; he says, "Recruitment is the sexy young lady, and retention is the grey old lady." In other words, (feminist perspectives aside) there is an allure on college and universities campuses toward recruitment activities for new students that does not necessarily exist for retention activities aimed at promoting the continuous enrollment of students.

One of the common adages in enrollment management is: It costs more to recruit a new student than to retain a current student. Recruitment garners campus-wide attention and support. It's sexy. Retention on the other hand, requires continuous engagement, but is less likely to capture the attention of those who rather act as sentries in enrollment schemata. Supporting students through the pipeline, to the bottom of the funnel, to top of the pyramid, and around the cycle may not be perceived as sexy enrollment work; but, supporting students beyond recruitment is like one of my

colleagues says, "noble [enrollment] work."

<u>Relational Systems</u>

According to Scott (2008a) relational systems "are carriers that rely on patterned interaction connected to networks of social position: role systems" (p. 81). In terms of relational systems, enrollment logics are coded into position attributes and organizational roles that instantiate institutional elements. Professions and communities of practice rely upon actors who span and thus transcend organizational boundaries, thereby extending learning opportunities (Brown & Duguid, 1991). Moreover, relational systems reveal the intersection of institutionalized roles.

Regulative Relational Systems

Regulative relational systems are comprised of governance and power systems. Regulative relational systems monitor and sanction activities of institutions through the creation and enforcement of codes, norms, and rules (Scott, 2008a). Coercive power is the institutional mechanism by which governance and power systems control resources that are allocated and authorized to and within an institution. Coercive power is evident in the link between enrollment managers' use of enrollment-related discourses, governing bodies' judgments of the discourse around enrollments, and the consequential outcomes of enrollment-related relations.

Institutional enrollment goals are typically established by collectives (e.g., state legislative bodies and boards of regents/trustees) and individuals (e.g., presidents and

provosts). Depending on institutional type, human and financial resources may be

allocated to college and universities based upon projected or actual student enrollment.

> {{**CEMgr10**📖 **2009:** If the Board of Trustees wants your SAT score at 1300, you find a way to get it to 1300.

>> {*EMR* **Spring 2007:** Enrollment goals are established by boards of trustees, presidents, and provosts. It becomes the task of enrollment managers to achieve those goals.

The composition of an institution's student body (e.g., percentage of lower

division student who are freshmen/sophomores vis-à-vis upper division students who are

juniors/seniors) can be a significant factor in determining the level of resources allocated

to college and universities by governing bodies. Furthermore, governing individuals or

bodies may mandate specific enrollment performance goals that must be achieved for an

institution to receive their anticipated fiscal appropriations. For example, community

college enrollments are growing exponentially; as a result, there are mandates that call

for community college coursework to transfer and articulate to coursework offered at 4-

year institutions.

>>> {{{*EMR* **Winter 2004:** In many states higher education coordinating boards or state legislatures have or are attempting to mandate "seamless articulation" for 100 and 200 level courses between two- and four-year institutions and 2+2 agreements in many majors.

> {**CEMgr7**📖 **2009:** I don't see enrollment management as the profession structured in a way that it's going to do a wrong or right thing. It's a set of approaches that can be used to reach an end that is determined elsewhere—often by a board of directors saying this is what our mission in the community is. And that enrollment manager's job is to try to shape the institution in a way that it will attract enrollment in a way that has been specified by a board of directors.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *accountability discourse* to signify *regulative relational systems* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took

me to a time and place when and where my actions were mandated by executive leadership of my university. (My) Truth be told, the discursive space between me, my supervisor, and the mandate, was quite constrictive. Ironically, institutional policies— particularly those that are loosely-written—can allow for more discursive space than kneejerk mandates that all too often demand quick action without the benefit of necessary discussion and negotiation of means and ways to reach plausible ends. Discussion notwithstanding, the expected end may have already been determined without your informed consultation. As some say in Texas, "Just get 'er done!"

Reflections and Thoughts: Behind and Beneath being Governed. I was sitting in the office of my supervisor, the assistant provost for enrollment at Texas A&M, when I received the mandate: "The President has decided to increase the incoming undergraduate class by 500 students—350 transfer students and 150 freshmen." There is a misperception on many college and university campuses that admissions targets are set by the director of admissions. When I was leading the operation and maintenance of the student information system, my admissions programmer/analysts would vent frustrations about the executive director of admissions and his ever-changing enrollment targets, particularly for freshman admissions. From the vantage point of an information technology leader, I did not understand the governance and power systems that monitored and established institutional enrollment goals.

Sitting in my supervisor's office, I all too understood the nature and conditions of a collegiate admissions directorship. There were about 3 months remaining in the recruitment season. As the interim director of admissions, I had been charged with increasing the size of the incoming undergraduate class. It was most unlikely that my staff and I could secure 350 new transfer students in three months. Noteworthy, it is considered an unethical practice in postsecondary admissions for a 4-year institution to recruit students from other 4-year institutions. Therefore, securing 350 transfer students

would require additional and aggressive community college recruitment.

Unlike students graduating from high school, who indicate a desire to enter postsecondary education by taking a college entrance exam, community college students indicate their interests in continuing their postsecondary education at a 4-year institution by inquiring about course articulation, embarking on campus visits, and most often submitting an admissions application. Although securing 350 transfer student in three months was most unlikely, I proceeded to communicate the presidential mandate to the recruitment staff out in the field.

Some of the recruiters asked, "Why not just increase the incoming freshman class by 500?" I surmised that the estimated net revenue had been calculated. Texas A&M, a public state university, receives subvention funding for student enrollment in courses. The level of subvention the State pays is determined both by the level of the course and the classification of the student taking the course. In this context, not unlike many other universities, incoming freshman will typically enroll in 100-level (freshman) and 200-level (sophomore) courses—i.e., lower division undergraduate courses. Transfer students, however, will enroll in mostly 300-level (junior) and perhaps some 400-level (senior)—i.e., upper division undergraduate courses. The financial reality is that upper division undergraduate courses, in which upperclasswo/men enroll, yield more subvention funds for university. Thus, the target was 350 transfer students and only 150 freshmen.

Working in admissions for a large-public university exposed me to board of regents and university presidents who set admissions policy at the university-level;

legislatures who lead initiatives and set mandates that effect postsecondary enrollment patterns at state-levels; and chief enrollment managers and directors of admissions, who are sometimes asked in very short order to achieve emergent enrollment targets. As it turned out, we increased the incoming undergraduate class by 500 students—they were all freshman.

Normative Relational Systems

Normative relational systems are comprised of regimes and authority systems. Normative relational systems authorize and legitimate institutional activities and status through processes of certification and accreditation (Scott, 2008a). Regimes and authority systems, such as accrediting bodies, promote colleges and universities by means of monitoring, sanctioning, and typifying what is more or less appropriate in higher education. According to the U.S. Department of Education:

> The goal of accreditation is to ensure that education provided by institutions of higher education meets acceptable levels of quality. Accrediting agencies, which are private educational associations of regional or national scope, develop evaluation criteria and conduct [voluntary] peer evaluations to assess whether or not those criteria are met. Institutions and/or programs that request an agency's evaluation and that meet an agency's criteria are then "accredited" by that agency.[25]

Normative relational systems follow and enact dominant methods that legitimate institutions and their associated practices. In terms of accreditation and enrollment

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[25] The U.S. Department of Education does not accredit educational institutions and/or programs. However, the Secretary of Education is required by law to publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting agencies that the Secretary determines to be reliable authorities as to the quality of education or training provided by the institutions of higher education and the higher education programs they accredit. The U.S. Secretary of Education also recognizes State agencies for the approval of public postsecondary vocational education and State agencies for the approval of nurse education. Retrieved from http://ope.ed.gov/accreditation/ on January 29, 2010

management, college and universities typically publish their accreditation status on

websites and in recruitment materials. Admissions policies will affirm an institution's

normative acceptance of accreditation, which is a voluntary process and designation for

institutions. There are however funding and enrollment implications for colleges and

universities that do not obtain and sustain recognizable and reputable accreditation.

> **{CEMgr1 2009:** We see an accrediting agency which is a very, very big piece
> to [enrollment management]. We're part of middle states out here. I can't think
> of any accrediting agency that doesn't look at how an institution manages it
> enrollment now. That is an important piece of those agencies as well. So I think
> when you see the pressure at all those different levels as well, you also see a
> profession that is geared up to develop and accelerate its development. And that's
> what I see happening.

High schools, and therefore the transcripts submitted by postsecondary

admissions applicants, are deemed certifiable when sanctioned by an accrediting agency

for primary and secondary education. For transfer, graduate and professional admissions,

however, most non-profit college and university admissions offices and admissions

decision committees will look for evidence of an U.S. applicants' past academic

performance at colleges or universities legitimated by one of the six regional accrediting

bodies.[26]

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[26] There are six regional accrediting bodies recognized by the U.S. Council for Higher Education
Accreditation (CHEA). Recognition by CHEA affirms that the standards and processes of the accrediting
organization are consistent with the academic quality, improvement and accountability expectations that
CHEA has established, including the eligibility standard that the majority of institutions or programs each
accredits are degree-granting.

**Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools Middle States Commission on Higher Education
(MSCHE)** covers Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania,
Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and several locations internationally. **New England Association of
Schools and Colleges Commission on Institutions of Higher Education (NEASC-CIHE)** covers
Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Two institutions in
Greece, three in Switzerland, and one in Bulgaria, Bermuda, and Lebanon, respectively, are also affiliated
with CIHE. **North Central Association of Colleges and Schools The Higher Learning Commission**

{{**Anaheim 2008:** Learn how a community college, utilizing a team approach, created a vision and strategic plan emphasizing student success and tying together accreditation, continuous quality improvement, state mandates, national initiatives, and performance measures.

{{{**Chicago 2005:** With increasing pressure to show accountability to constituents, community colleges must be able to tie together accreditation, continuous quality improvement and performance measures.

Verification of international educational credentials is a very involved process that has spawned an industry and professional specialization in reviewing and certifying the authenticity and equivalency of what is often referred to in U.S. enrollment management organizations as "foreign" educational credentials.

{**CEMgr15📖 2009:** I also think the sheer nature of SEM, the metrics that come with it, the benchmarking, the assessment that comes with it, has been matched by similar movements in education and in society. You know there's so much about assessment, whether it's through a grant, or through your accreditation process, or whatever that type of thing happens to be.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *assessment discourse* to signify *normative relational systems* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I had a peripheral experience with a peer-review regional accreditation process. Since that time, I have been more centrally involved in critical institutional reaccreditation and program review activities. These days, regional accreditation, which has been broadly accepted but rarely challenged, is garnering much attention. The major players in higher education have shifted. For-profit, propriety colleges and universities have experienced significant enrollment growth in a very short

(NCA-HLC) covers Arkansas, Arizona, Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, New Mexico, South Dakota, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Wyoming. **Northwest Commission on Colleges and Universities (NWCCU)** covers Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington. **Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) Commission on Colleges** covers Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and Latin America and other international sites approved by the Commission on Colleges that award associate, baccalaureate, master's, or doctoral degrees. **Western Association of Schools and Colleges Accrediting Commissions** covers California and Hawaii, the territories of Guam, American Samoa, Federated States of Micronesia, Republic of Palau, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, the Pacific Basin, and East Asia, and areas of the Pacific and East Asia where American/International schools or colleges may apply to it for service.

span of time—mainly through online program offerings—and have been of late challenged on matters of educational quality and effectiveness. The regional accrediting bodies and the peer-review accrediting processes are at the center of debate about what constitutes a quality education; and perhaps more importantly who gets to decide if an institution and their academic programs are on par? From my purview, both for- and non-profit institutions should seek to better understand the relationship and implications of enrollment management vis-à-vis accreditation.

Reflections and Thoughts: Credence Withstanding. In 2002, Texas A&M was preparing for a SACS reaccreditation visit. Prior to beginning my tenure with the Office of Admissions and Records (OAR), it is very likely that I provided data to support our reaccreditation. It was not however until after I began my new position in OAR, and while engaging in a short dialogue with the associate provost for undergraduate programs, that I became acutely aware that I had a role in our reaccreditation process. The request was simple; particularly given an initiative that I had began a few weeks before. I'll come back to the request.

My new unit in OAR was allocated space in Heaton Hall—citadel and sovereignty of the University Registrar. My office was on the second floor. On the first floor there was a windowed counter that separated walk-ins from the degree audit/certification staff who were located in office spaced behind the counter. The office space was cater-cornered—across a narrow hallway—from an exposed stairway to the second floor. There were two flights of about 15 stairs each that winded to the right at the beginning of the second flight of stairs. Each morning I arrived to work, I took the stairs with ease, never encountering any traffic. That changed however at the beginning of the summer semester in June 2001.

There was a short time span between the start of the summer semester and the

deadline for applying to graduation for August. In 2001, the process for applying for graduation for approximately 2000 – 3000 students three times a year necessitated a visit to the Office of the Registrar, for many degree candidates. At the least, many students wanted assurance that their names would be spelled and printed correctly on their degrees. So, what were typically peaceful days turned into a hallway and stairway filled with students coming in from the heat of a Texas summer.

As the founding director of information technology for OAR, I decided something had to be done. To that end, implementing an online graduation application process was one of the first projects my team undertook. It would be the first of many projects that were borne from the inconveniences that students and staff encountered with university processes that were not only paper-based, but required their physical presence to initiate and complete.

Back to that request made by the associate provost for undergraduate programs. He asked, "How difficult do you think it would be to implement an exit survey for graduating students?" I smiled. The task was made all the easier, because the online graduation application was in the process of being designed and implemented. The survey was added at the end of online application. The data were well-received by our SACS site visit team, the associate provost for undergraduate programs, and the University Registrar. Another added benefit was that I once again could look forward to peace in the land of Heaton Hall—citadel and sovereignty of the University Registrar.

Since that first known contribution to an accreditation process, I have had the

great fortune and opportunity in my career to contribute to others—in 3 of the 6

accrediting regions. Also, in 2007, the Executive Director of AACRAO, Vice

President for the U.S. National Student Clearinghouse, and I traveled to Tokyo, Japan

to participate in an information exchange with Japan's National Institution for

Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (NIAD-UE) about accreditation and

transfer credit.

By virtue of our leadership position, in respect to many critical student services

units, it is becoming essential that chief enrollment managers understand our role and

responsibility to ensure that *between* accreditation reviews, our colleges and

universities are contributing significantly to the success of our students. Moreover, I

firmly believe that over the next decade that knowledge of and ability to positively

affect institutional accreditation, particularly in matters of student services vis-à-vis

educational effectives, will be noted in the job and positions descriptions for chief

enrollment managers.

Cultural-Cognitive Relational Systems

Cultural-cognitive relational systems are comprised of regimes and authority

systems that place limitations on the selection of structural forms that institutions

produce and reproduce and the range of activities employed by institutional actors. Scott

(2008a) notes that "some relational arrangements are widely shared across many

organizations, creating structural isomorphism (similar forms) and structural

equivalences (similar relations among forms)….Classifications and typifications are

often coded into organizational structures as differentiated departments and roles" (p.

82).

When enrollment management was named and structured at Boston College in the mid-1970's, bringing together "disparate functions having to do with recruiting, funding, tracking, retaining, and replacing students" (Maguire, 1976, p. 16) was a novel ideal. Since that period in time and space when the financial exigency of one institution of higher education called for its staff in the admissions, financial aid, and registrar's office to integrate and coordinate their efforts, enrollment management's various structural forms have evolved. What began as the coordination of enrollment-related activities has transcended the pragmatic integration of disparate functions.

> **{CEMgr16 2009:** I think that the idea that [enrollment management] is a made up thing, is sort of centered around the idea that you got a director of financial aid; you got a registrar; you got a director of admissions; you got a marketing person—and you know all those people have to do is talk to each other and they can do just fine. They can do a lot of enrollment management just fine among themselves. Why do you need an AVP [Associate Vice President] for enrollment? Well, you need an AVP for enrollment because the fact is that these people, their ships don't always go in the same direction. They don't have the same institutional view. I mean somebody has to decide this is who we are. This is what we are going to prioritize. And this is how we're going to organize our efforts to achieve whatever goal the institution has. And you know the reality is that the president and provost don't have time. They may have a perfectly good vision, but they need to have a division that organizes its resources towards achieving that vision, so that they can turn their attention to actually building the university, establishing those donor relationships. And they might dabble, they might know here and there, and you know have expertise here and there in admissions or financial aid or something; but, they're not really going to take the division and be able to move it forward in a way that someone who has that sort of background and training would do.

>> **{{Boston 2003:** The goal of this workshop is to stretch the thinking of participants and to demystify the enrollment management enterprise.

Every year enrollment management units (e.g., departments and divisions) are established at U.S. colleges and universities that have previously used committee,

coordinator, and matrix models of enrollment management. There are also Canadian and

European institutions that are establishing localized, or more aptly, globalized

implementations of enrollment management. While the number of higher education chief

enrollment managers is increasing, institutional searches for individuals to lead

enrollment management departments and divisions do not necessarily yield desired pools

of applicants that have led an enrollment management department or division.

Consequently, many chief enrollment managers are emerging from leadership helms of

once disparate departments and are now leading enrollment management divisions.

> **{CEMgr3📖 2009:** Enrollment management outside of all these other areas has
> started to become what I might call a normative function within college and
> universities. Part of the reason now more and more institutions have enrollment
> managers is even if it happens to be an institution where there are really no
> problems with revenue, prestige all those things, you're increasingly getting
> presidents and provosts who come from a place where there was a senior
> enrollment officer. And since most of the people in administration they don't
> come out of higher ed programs, I think we're just seeing this process that on top
> of all these other pressures, it's just becoming normative.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *mimetic discourse* to signify *cultural-cognitive relational systems* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I wanted to be assured that there was thoughtful purpose behind the hiring plan and interviewing actions associated with a position *and* job. One phenomenon that I have consistently experienced in higher education—which was not the case when I worked in the corporate sector[27]—is that I am often held responsible for developing and modifying my own job description (what an incumbent must do), which should be aligned with my position description (what a prospect or incumbent must be able to do). In short, one of my job duties is to define my job duties. I have often heard individuals speak of opportunities to "create your own job." The notion of shaping the particulars of one's day-to-day work activities is alluring to some. In my professional opinion, however, the notion of defining one's job to meet unarticulated, and worst yet, undetermined expectation is not ideal. I maintain that the adoption of

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[27] It is becoming more difficult to typify organizational sectors in higher education. At one time, I would have opted to write "private sector" as opposed to "corporate sector" when speaking of my work outside of higher education. There are however an increasing number of corporate universities, which will most assuredly necessitate more attention to distinctions of public, private, corporate, for-profit, non-profit, and proprietary institutions.

normative structures, with reasonableness of purpose often leads way to negation as opposed to negotiation of one's professional position and status.

Reflections and Thoughts: My Pursuit of Just and Diverse Logics. During my telephone interview for my current position, I posed this question to the search committee: "Why are you hiring this position. In other words, why do you think you need an associate provost for enrollment management?" My question was met with a brief moment of silence. And then an associate dean for student development in one of our three schools filled the empty air with her voice. I was most impressed with the fact that she had a thoughtful response. In fact, I cannot remember much of what she said. But, I do remember that her response was clearly student-centered.

I must admit, although I enjoy my role and work at Fielding, I am struck by the number of institutions that hire chief enrollment managers as a panacea to problems; moreover, whoever accepts the position, may quickly discover that "enrollment management as I know it cannot thrive here." Enrollment management is contextual and thus best articulated in terms of a particular institution's mission, enrollment goals, priorities, and resources. In my reflection of my presentation to the Board of Trustees Academic Affairs Committee, I failed to mention how I toiled over the naming of the presentation. I revisited text I had written in my letter of introduction for the position. I wrote:

> Perceived as both a profession and practice, enrollment management is often guided by institutional goals that are most associated with undergraduate education. It is therefore my firm belief that many chief enrollment officers are disengaged from and at the periphery of graduate and professional education at their respective institutions.

> I came to rest on the title EnrollmentManagement@fielding.edu. I firmly believe

that enrollment management, at its best, is rooted in the culture of the particular college or university at which it is or has been implemented. Furthermore, when such an entrenchment is achieved, then enrollment management becomes simply the way an institution significantly contributes to its students' success. In the year that I have been engaged with Fielding, my conviction on this point has become much stronger. I am in search of my profession in the context of a social justice and diversity mission that the University community promotes, but sometimes struggles to evidence.

The participants in this study reveal their desire and quest for a seat at the table. Moreover, they aspire to have their roles viewed as significant—profession and/or discipline. My current institution is a graduate university where approximately 75% of our students are enrolled in doctoral programs; this academic context has situated me at some very interesting tables. Enrollment management discourse that is void of SAT and ACT scores (or other standardized tests), the "admissions arms race," and *all things undergraduate* lead me to challenge notions of isomorphic appropriations of enrollment management.

<u>Routines</u>

Routines as institution carriers "rely on patterned actions that reflect the tacit knowledge of actors—deeply ingrained habits and procedures based on unarticulated knowledge and beliefs" (Scott 2008a, p. 82). Routines rely on relational systems for their sustainability. In contrast to transportable symbolic systems, routines "are not readily transportable to new and different settings involving new actors and relationships" (p. 83). Thus, novice and emerging chief enrollment managers rely upon the community of

practitioners to aid their mastery of the necessary knowledge and skills. Acquired

knowledge and skills are then localized in the form of habitualized behavior and

organizational routines at their college and universities.

Regulative Routines

Regulative routines are comprised of protocols and standard operating

procedures which prescribe rules and principles of practice that yield actions and

behavioral regularities. Further, these regularities structurate when, how, and who

performs routines. Regulative routines operationalize as generally acceptable practices

that conform to protocols and standards that may have significant negative consequences

for non-compliant institutions. For example, the standard operating procedures for

financial statement audits are set by the American Institute of Certified Public

Accountants (AICPA). AICPA has established financial audit general standards,

fieldwork standards, and reporting standards, which if followed can reveal collusion

between organizations and public accounting firms—for example, Enron and Arthur

Anderson—and result in the dissolution of those organizations.

In the context of enrollment management, the National Association of College

and University Business Officers (NACUBO) sets generally accepted standards for

institutions to treat tuition discounts, offered through the form of scholarship and grant

aid, as an expense on their institutional financial statements—thus maximizing

institutional net revenue.

> {**CEMgr6**📖 **2009**: When institutions are in trouble financially, they always talk
> about growing the enrollment, when actually to be healthy, they want more net
> revenue off of the students they already have. Because growing the enrollment,

means growing the faculty, growing the services—all the cost expand at the same time the revenue expands. And that is usually not what institutions need, but institutions cannot see that about themselves.

It is important to note that "generally" acceptable standards and operating procedures are just that. Conceivably, protocols and standards can be highly contested by entities that comply with their use despite dissonance. In terms of enrollment management standards, admissions applicants and enrolled students expect and depend on colleges and universities' regulative routines to yield quality services and equitable outcomes. Meritocratic admissions involves adhering to deadlines and clearly defined procedures that order institutional practices and bind students to standard paths toward admission into a college or university. On the hand, open admission provides students more flexibility, but makes managing student enrollment a challenging endeavor.

> **{CEMgr15 2009:** SEM is about more than numbers. It's about setting your students up for long-term success. That being said, as far as our role in educating the masses that are coming our direction—our institution—we will have grown 72% in three years. That's unheard of. We're bursting at the seams. But as a community college [that's] committed to our institutional mission of serving our community, we have no other choice. We <u>must</u> open our doors even wider, so that our local citizens can have the skills they need to go out and get those jobs— once the jobs return.

> **{CEMgr1 2009:** Our transfers make up a huge portion of our new students coming in. And we work very closely with our community colleges. So we are very publically accountable and need to be transparent to our community.

> **{CEMgr8 2009:** The fact that our mission is so different; we moan and groan about being all things to all people; being unable to get a handle on being able to manage enrollment, because it's open; being under pressure that we're always seen as being so accessible. We have to admit everybody, <u>not</u> admit. I mean most of us don't even have an admission process. It's a "get 'em in process." And that is for me problematic. This year we've seen such a surge everywhere. And everybody's saying, "Oh, you know they were just coming and coming. And now we're behind in our financial aid. We got too many students"— and yackty yack. And I must say that I pause and say, "Why are the community colleges so stuck

on this?" To me, we shouldn't be admitting absolutely everybody at the last minute. Because what happens is your services go crashing down. You're not getting them in the right course. You're not doing a proper orientation. They're standing in a lot of lines. It's not the way to get a lot of people started.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *pragmatic discourse* to signify *regulative routines* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I relied upon college and universities to have strong and formal connections that made transitioning from one institution to another an efficient and reliable process. In the course of setting and achieving a goal that from the onset necessitated a transition from one place to another, I first looked for the presence of bridges that would enable me to locate and subsequently use pre-established crossings. Next, I sought assurance that the bridge I took was the right one and that it was well-constructed and well-traveled; thus the connection could bear the weight of me and *all* my academic baggage. Finally, I trusted that when the time came for my crossing that all would have remained the same.

Reflections and Thoughts: From My Community into Their Community,

and Once Again. I made two phone calls to Texas A&M when I decided to decline their

offer of admittance and alternatively attend Wharton County Junior College (WCJC). I

first sought out someone with whom I could discuss the availability and eligibility

requirements for transfer scholarships. The second call I placed was to the Office of the

Registrar to inquire about what I would later come to know as transfer course

articulations between WCJC and Texas A&M. I wanted to make sure that most, if not

all, of the credits I earned at WCJC would transfer to Texas A&M. In the absence of a

formal articulation agreement between the two institutions, I had successfully relied on

course-by-course articulation documentation. As it turned out, my WCJC coursework

was well-aligned with courses offered at Texas A&M. As I had hoped, most of my

courses transferred *by equivalency*, while others transferred *by title*. I was granted

elective credit for non-equivalent courses. All my academic credits were transferred.

Years later, I came to understand that I was the benefactor of the hard work by

dedicated individuals in one of my former professional associations. In1973, the Texas

Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (TACRAO) voluntarily

appointed a committee to explore the feasibility of implementing a uniform course

numbering system for all postsecondary institutions in Texas. Approximately 15 years

later, my smooth transfer to Texas A&M—as a student—was made possible due in part

to the Texas Common Course Numbering System (TCCNS).[28] Governed by an 11-

member board, including three members from TACRAO, the Texas postsecondary

education community takes pride in the TCCNS' beginnings and history:

> TCCNS arose as a grass-roots cooperative effort among junior/community
> colleges and universities. The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board and
> its staff have provided advisory support as TCCNS grew from an idea in the mid-
> 1970s to a regional consortium in the late 1980s to a statewide organization in
> the early 1990s, but colleges and universities themselves are principally
> responsible for the emergence of the TCCNS.

The development of the TCCNS was not mandated by the Texas Legislature.

However, in 2004 the system was formerly adopted by the 78th Legislature and pursuant

to the legislative change a new rule (Texas Administrative Code – Title 19, Part 1,

Chapter 4, Subchapter B, Rule §4.35) was imposed on "all public institutions of higher

education in Texas" by the coordinating body of Texas' higher education system. The

rule requires all public colleges and universities in Texas to include the TCCNS numbers

in their printed and electronic catalogues.

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[28] The TCCNS System provides a shared, uniform set of course designations for students and their
advisors to use in determining both course equivalency and degree applicability of transfer credit on a
statewide basis. When students transfer between two participating TCCNS institutions, a course taken at
the sending institution transfers as the course carrying, or cross-referenced with, the same TCCNS
designation at the receiving institution. Retrieved from http://www.tccns.org/default.asp on January 29,
2010.

The TCCN is a regulative artifact that facilities course-by-course equivalent articulations and promotes articulation agreements (oftentimes referred to as 2+2 agreements) between postsecondary institutions in Texas. Articulation agreements typically stipulate general admissions requirements, eligible courses of study under the agreement, required coursework, minimum GPA in coursework at the origin institution, number of earned course credits required, and individual course grade requirements. Course number standards and articulation protocols are extremely important standards for many individuals who opt to begin their postsecondary education at community colleges. Thus, various forms of articulation agreements have and continue to be developed between community colleges and 4-year institutions across the U.S.

Normative Routines

Normative routines are constituted by jobs, roles, and obedience to duty. Scott (2008a) notes that "routines involve both a generalized idea and a particular enactment….To carry out a routine is not simply to 'reenact' the past, but to engage with and adapt the context" (p. 145). Functional perspectives of routines promote idealized roles that align with normative expectations of individual action vis-à-vis a job description. Duty stipulates and reinforces sanctions that are structured by role-based and individual authorization, access, and a sense of responsibility.

> **{CEMgr3 2009:** And so when the Chancellor first asked me, if I would take the lead role in this, I said no. I said, "I knew enough to know that we were really underfunded, and it's a really political process; and I have never aspired to know anything about student systems." But six months later, he asked again. And when your boss asks the second time, you either step down or you do it.

> When individuals perform their job duties, idealized roles actualize into situated

roles, thereby revealing the "other duties as assigned" noted on most job descriptions.

Enrollment management jobs and roles render certain individual and collective actions

as obligatory, permitted, discretionary, or prohibited. As enrollment management

becomes more institutionalized, certain jobs, roles, and behaviors are likely to be

perceived as more or less appropriate.

> **{CEMgr7 2009:** I think the roles of registrar, student aid directors, admissions, and bursar will become more integrated and some of those names may in fact just fade away. I think the lead on that is registrar. They in fact have gone through probably more change than most. And, I think partly to begin with they were more susceptible to efficiency brought about through information technology. A simple example, when you used to sign up for courses, you go into a large gymnasium and people would be passing, and you'd sign up for course on three acres of floor with tables and hundreds, and hundreds of people working behind them. That's certainly the experience I went through and I assume you went through. And that's all gone.

The institutionalization of enrollment management involves a complex interplay

between the processes of interaction and replication (Hull, 1980, 1988) acting on two

classifications of entities, ecological and genealogical (Eldredge, 1985, 1989).

Enrollment management involves the interaction and replication of genealogical—

routines, competencies, and organization—and ecological entities—jobs, workgroups

and organization. Genealogical processes of replication involve extant routines that serve

as templates for the 'rules of behavior' that not only record organizational history, but

also shape an organization's future course (Baum & Singh, 1994).

> **{CEMgr16 2009:** It's almost like you're a qualitative researcher entering a new community. And you have to know quite a lot about that community before you can promote it, before you can know it. Because here's the deal: What I know is that you can't just go into a community and ask questions. You can't ask the director of institutional analysis, I mean you certainly can and you should, ask all these different constituencies questions; but you have to be prepared for the fact that sometimes they won't know the answer, but they'll tell you what

they think the answer is. Or sometimes they'll know what the answer is but they'll tell the socially acceptable answer. Or sometimes there are just all these different versions of the truth and willingness to tell you the truth. It's too politically unsafe to tell you the truth, to tell you what they think you need to know, or what they want to tell you, or what they think you need to hear.

> **{{Orlando 2004:** Enrollment Management is unique as a profession in higher education requiring strong relationships with multiples external audiences and with virtually everyone internally. It demands skilled relationship management and equal concern for relationships with grounds men and the President.

Ecological processes bind organization entities—jobs, workgroups, and

organization (Baum & Singh). Thus, the migration of individuals from one position to

another represents not only a shift in connectedness to organizational roles, but variable

institutional history and individual meaning-making about what routines, roles, and jobs

constitute enrollment management and its associated organizing structures.

> **{CEMgr2📖 2009:** The individuals that have risen from the admissions side to becoming chief enrollment officers is really focused in two arenas. One is from an operational or pragmatic perspective. Your admission office has to know a little about all the aspects of the institution. And so because of that background, it is a little more natural for someone to be able to rise up and have the capability to lead in a more macro perspective over the other units. The second item—which the general public may focus on more—is that the admissions officers, the chief admissions officers usually have the stronger marketing or student marketing. Well, I guess you can say general marketing. The chief admissions officer tends to have stronger overall marketing perspective for how to best present the University. And it's not that registrars, and financial aid officers, and orientation officers don't have those same abilities; but, they're not pushed to do that in their daily work as much as admissions.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *deontic discourse* to signify *normative routines* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I made the conscious decision to alter the path of my career in higher education. Growing up and well into my adulthood, my father would share stories about his tour of duty during the Vietnam War. Like many veterans of that era there were feelings and thoughts he did not share because they could have easily muted the pride he felt in having served; and the fact that he served with honor. Many of us find ourselves in the midst of organizational conflicts—holding back our feelings and thoughts while

struggling to realize our aspirations and preserve that which we hold important. I recall vividly the day when I received the first call to serve—pride—and the sendoff bestowed on me when I left Texas A&M after twelve years and numerous tours of duty—honor.

Reflections and Thoughts: Answering the Call and Defying the Norm. I had

been in my new position as the director of information technology for the Office of

Admissions Records for approximately six months. My initial charge and the impetus

behind the creation of my position and unit was the implementation of a state-of the-art

document imaging and workflow system. Like other technology projects, we had our

share of problems; one problem being that we were almost two weeks behind in moving

admissions applications submitted to the Texas Common Application system through

our electronic workflows. The open date for submission of freshman admissions

applications was September 1st. After a restful weekend, things were starting to look

promising. We were hopeful that tomorrow we would have a breakthrough and move

full steam ahead.

Staff started arriving at the office around 7:00 AM CST. Things were looking up;

workflow was working. Then it happened. Look up. It was Tuesday, September 11, 2001

and the flow of work stopped—but not for long. Admissions processing requires

multiple computer applications to be open simultaneously. Although the processing staff

was allocated dual monitors to facilitate their work efforts, few were scanning the

Internet for updates on the terrorist attacks. Alternatively, small televisions began

emerging from storage spaces that I was unaware existed—the office space had been

previously been occupied by a law firm and had many cabinets and nooks.

On and post-9/11, admissions processing kept moving. Plastics gloves were

introduced into the unit after the Anthrax scares. Staff complained however that the gloves slowed down the mailroom, document imaging, and document indexing processes. So, stock piles of plastic gloves were stored away in now familiar places—where the televisions had emerged. Work continued to flow until one day a FedEx letter envelope was opened. There was a white substance on what appeared to be foreign education credentials. In the bottom of the envelope was more of the white substance. The university's emergency response team was called and the established protocols followed. As it turned out the envelope had originated in the Caribbean and the white substance was actually very fine white sand.

University admissions is more than recruitment, and thus involves many more actors than directors of admissions and recruiters. Admissions processing is one of the motors behind the brand; it is comprised of transcript analysts, international credential evaluators, document imaging specialists, mailroom supervisors, processing counselors, application reviewers, and for a university which at that time received approximately 40,000 admissions applications per year, lots of student-workers. We made it through the 2001 – 2002 admissions processing season. Deadlines came and passed. Applications were received, logged, and reviewed. Essays were read and assessed. Transcripts were scanned, indexed, verified, and evaluated. Applicants were admitted. Applicants were waitlisted. Applicants were denied.

The Texas A&M admissions season of 2001- 2002 is one that I shall never forget. The entire year was difficult—every month, every week, nearly every day, and sometimes it felt like almost every minute. In March 2002, about one year after having

entered into my new position, the assistant provost for enrollment made a bold move: I was given a special appointment as the managing director of admissions processing, while also retaining my position as director of information technology. The admissions processing unit was moved from the director of admissions' leadership to mine. That was my first call to duty for Texas A&M enrollment management. There was not much that was normative about the task ahead. What is perhaps normative is that many chief enrollment managers step into those unfamiliar appointments, as I did, and assume what others may deem as uncalculated risks. We look for ways to create space to innovate at our colleges and universities. I believe there is a tendency for chief enrollment managers, particularly those who lead a (strategic) enrollment management division, to deny the normative its inherent and reserved place in our units and on our campuses.

Cultural-Cognitive Routines

Scott (2008a) emphasizes that scripts incite compliance "because other types of behavior are inconceivable; routines are followed because they are taken for granted as 'the way we do these things'" (p. 58). From a cognitive linguistic perspective, scripts are "mental representations or stereotypical sets of conversational events" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p. 87). Normative perspectives stress the "force of mutually reinforcing obligations"; cultural perspectives, however, "point to the power of templates for particular types of actors and scripts for action" (Scott, p. 58). Emerging from and guiding individual and collective actions, scripts aid the meaning-making of organizational activities and processes.

In this study, enrollment management plans are conceptualized as organizational

scripts. Most enrollment management plans represent a goal-setting collaborative that

involves many individuals; a significant amount of energy; considerable patience; and

dyadic, small group, and organizational communication. Once constructed, an

enrollment management plan serves as a road map for sanctioned action. Treated as an

emerging script, however, an enrollment management plan can yield contingent actions

to manage unexpected road conditions.

> **{CEMgr12📖 2009:** I think what you're going to find is the presidents who
> understand it— that put the leadership and pieces into place and allow those folks
> to really implement an enrollment management plan—they're going to be
> successful institutions.

>> **{{Chicago 2005:** Outwit, outlast, outplay using practical planning
>> strategies to build or rebuild your Enrollment Management Plan. Using a
>> common sense approach to enrollment management planning, session
>> leaders highlight workable tactics for building or expanding your
>> institution's enrollment management plan. Along with reviewing EM
>> Plan basics, specific topics include: new planning process strategies;
>> avoiding wheel reinvention; recognizing, accepting, and conquering (or
>> bypassing!) institutional obstacles; building relationships; and accepting
>> the dynamic nature of the emerging plan.

For example, Slippery Rock University posts on their institutional research

website[29] that "every effort was made to avoid creating a plan that would be simply

prepared, written, and placed on a shelf to collect dust." The "dynamic and fluid

process" of developing, assessing, and modifying an enrollment management plan to

respond to environmental conditions perhaps necessitates presenting the plan as a fluid

enrollment management script that guides but does not necessarily limit action.

>>> **{{{Orlando 2004:** A strategic enrollment management plan—
>>> organized around a compelling purpose and embraced by
>>> institutional leadership--is foundational to college or university

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[29] Retrieved from http://www.sru.edu/pages/9312.asp on January 29, 2010

success.

Thus, through a cultural-cognitive lens an enrollment management plan is not canonical text, it's an improvisation—a situated plan enacted by organizational and institutional actors.

> **{CEMgr13📖 2009:** What I've done at our institution, what I've seen other enrollment managers do is really go beyond that and really talk about that's a big part of the enrollment process and that would be the simple way to explain enrollment management. But I see it much larger. And that's why again reference and start to speak to, "No one wants to hear about a strategic enrollment management plan, but everyone buys into a student success plan." And really I see enrollment management very much equivalent to student success plans. And that's why I see it and describe it in a different way, because I do see this is where the field is headed—and should be headed.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *localized discourse* to signify *cultural-cognitive routines* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I had an epiphany: Developing a strategic enrollment management plan is a localization project. Every institution has a distinct set of characteristics that shape its enrollment. For the most part, many of those characteristics rise from and are deeply entrenched in institutional history, culture, and location. Enrollment planning however enables an institution to rewrite its history, shift its culture, and alter perceived location. On one hand, enrollment management plans are typically comprised of the same standard components; on the other hand, the best of those plan represents a localized view of enrollment management that is perhaps most understood by the indigenous college or university community.

Reflections and Thoughts: On Forgoing the Script and Discovering the Plan.

I was looking out of my hotel window at what appeared to be a very large parking lot.

And then I noticed some structures between the cars and trucks. At first glance they looked like tents. Then I saw a man get out of a truck, remove what appeared to be fishing equipment, and then walk into a wooden structure. He was an ice angler; those structure, well, they were ice fishing houses and portable shelters. What I mistook for a parking lot was actually Lake Bemidji. Bemidji, Minnesota is birthplace to American

actress Jane Russell and of perhaps greater fame, home to the statues of Paul Bunyan and Babe the Blue Ox.

In 1992, for about six months, I lived in Minneapolis, Minnesota while on a consulting engagement at North American Life and Casualty (NALAC). I arrived in Minneapolis four months after what was dubbed by meteorologist as the Halloween Blizzard. The storm shattered previous snow fall records for Eastern Minneapolis. In the matter of three days—October 31st thru November 2nd—the twin cities, Minneapolis/St. Paul, received 28.4 inches of snow. When I arrived in Minneapolis during the first week of February, signs of the historic snow/ice storm were still present.

It was now 2007 and I had not traveled to Minnesota in the winter since 1992. I was working for Northwestern University when I accepted a consulting engagement in Bemidji. I had never been to Northern Minnesota and mistakenly thought that my experience living in Chicago had prepared me for "extreme" weather. I was wrong. Despite the debilitating cold, in November 2007, I came to know and understand that the students of Bemidji State University (BSU) chose an institution that offers a quality education, at an affordable price, and "four-season outdoor fun"—including a lake that freezes over in late-November, and therefore offers its visitors ice fishing every winter.

Engage. Embrace. Educate. I was engaged in and educated by the enrollment planning at BSU. The BSU mission statement proclaims, "As northern Minnesota's university, we engage in new worlds of thought, embrace responsible citizenship, and educate for a future that can only be imagined." Centrally located among three large Indian reservations (Leech Lake, Red Lake, and White Earth), BSU offers a minor in the

widely spoken Native American Ojibwe language. In addition, the university offers an undergraduate degree in Indian Studies, thus enabling students to work toward a career in education, social services, tribal government, and law enforcement. The Indian Studies and Ojibwe language programs are located in an approximately 11,000 square foot American Indian Resource Center. The center is a hub for learning, support, and cultural interaction between Native Americans and those from other cultural backgrounds.

My experience at BSU had a profound impact on me. I became more cognizant of how enrollment management is conceptualized and operationalized in alternative spaces. In September 2007, BSU enrolled 177 students classified as "American Indian," representing 3% of its student body. For the same census period, Texas A&M enrolled 252 students classified as "American Indian or Alaskan Native," representing .05% of its student body. In my twelve years at Texas A&M, I cannot recall one substantive conversation about "American Indian or Alaskan Native" prospects, students, or alumni. In the spaces I occupied, Native American Aggies were invisible, muted, and unacknowledged.

From an institutional perspective, there is a cultural-cognitive taken-for-grantedness that is inherent in scripting enrollment routines. Thus, institutionalized constructions of enrollment management plans involve planning activities that are routinized and thus yield plans that are conceivably standardized. Enrollment planning at BSU evidenced—at least for me—how enrollment work, particularly constructing an enrollment management plan, is cultural work. The ontological and epistemological

distinctions of how enrollment management comes to exist at a college or university, and the different ways institutions come to know enrollment management, have significant impacts on enrollment management plan construction, form, diffusion, and appropriation.

Artifacts

Stohl (2001) asserts that "all organizational artifacts are seen as communicative manifestations of culture." M. Suchman (1995) concludes that, "an artifact is a discrete material object, consciously produced or transformed by human activity, under the influence of the physical and/or cultural environment" (p. 98). Thus, artifacts are cultural constructions, constitutive of human action, and embodied in technical and symbolic elements. Artifact appropriation is frequently isolated from its construction setting and the actors that constructed the artifact; hence, in use, artifacts may be ascribed meanings in different times and places, and by non-constructing actors that can tighten or loosen the artifacts' signifying embrace.

Regulative Artifacts

Objects complying with mandated specifications. Data are artifacts. Regulative artifacts, "like resources contain important material aspects, but their meaning and use can vary over time and space" (Scott, 2008a, p. 145). The responsibility of U.S. colleges and universities to gather, assess, and disseminate enrollment data heightened as for-profit postsecondary education providers grew exponentially. On one side, there are increasing pressures, through mandates, for

institutions to be more accountable to external agencies (e.g., Department of Education

and Regional Accrediting Commissions), students, and the public. On the other side,

institutional focus on promoting student success necessitates data initiatives for the

explicit and pragmatic purpose of engaging in enhanced institutional planning.

> {**CEMgr16**📖 **2009:** You have to have a really good data management system. And you have to talented people who can draw information out of that system for reporting purposes.

>> {{*EMR* **Spring 2006:** Another development that should be monitored closely by enrollment managers is the emergence of integrated unit record databases at the state level and their potential implications for how institutional and state policy makers track student persistence.

An institutional research unit—which may a part of the enrollment management

organization—typically works in close and frequent collaboration with Registrar staff to

ensure adherence to mandated data specifications that structurate institutional reporting

requirements for colleges and universities.

>>> {{{**Chicago 2005:** Why are data, its analysis, and its interpretation important to your higher education organization? Our campuses are flooded by data stored in our legacy systems and data warehouses, as well as data from external sources, such as comparative statistics provided by NCES and IPEDS. What administrators seek from enrollment leaders is their ability to utilize relevant data, and place it in context in order to create meaningful connections between the institution's current state and its business objectives.

Reporting requirements depend on various factors, such as institution type (e.g.,

public universities may 'open records' stipulations),[30] funding structure (e.g., community

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[30] Texas Government Code, Chapter 552, gives you the right to access government records; and an officer for public information and the officer's agent may not ask why you want them. All government information is presumed to be available to the public. Certain exceptions may apply to the disclosure of the information. Governmental bodies shall promptly release requested information that is not confidential by law, either constitutional, statutory, or by judicial decision, or information for which an exception to

colleges are responsibility to constituents in their municipalities), and eligibility status

(e.g., federal and state financial aid granting institutions require participation in specific

data surveys). In the U.S., the Department of Education's National Center for Education

Statistics (NCES) sets specifications stipulating which institutions must adhere to a

mandatory submission of data to populate its integrated Postsecondary Education Data

System (IPEDS)[31] and how submitted data must be structured. Known in the

organizational field as simply IPEDS, these data are objectified in various reports that

are constructed and published by NCES.

> **{CEMgr17📖 2009:** I had to go back to my country and say is there anything
> comparable to IPEDs data? I hadn't begun to look to see what national data do
> we have, or provincial state data. What do I have? And where does my institution
> fit in, in terms of ranking? What's my market share? I didn't know. What was the
> market share that our institution had? Who were our real competitors?

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *analytic-accountability discourse* to
signify *regulative artifacts* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me
to a time and place when and where I was a guardian, controller, analyzer, and presenter.
In 2004, I was invited by the Texas State Library to present at an e-Records Conference
on Compliance and Conversion Solutions. My presentation, "Managing Data Quality:
Record Matching and Data Cleaning," is an artifact of my guardian and controller days
as a director of information technology. In 2007, I relinquished the role of enrollment
data custodian and processor. As a chief enrollment manager, I am now an analyzer and
presenter of enrollment information. These days, I am challenged by data vacuums. I
struggle to hold down the enrollment data guardian/controller that lives in me—she
knows how, but has neither time nor responsibility to serve the enrollment information
analyzer/presenter that now works on the surface of me.

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disclosure has not been sought. Retrieved from http://www.txstate.edu/about/open_records_act.html on
January 29, 2010

[31] The Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) is a system of interrelated surveys
conducted annually by the U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).
The completion of all IPEDS surveys is mandatory for institutions that participate in or are applicants for
participation in any federal student financial aid program. IPEDS collects data on postsecondary education
in the United States in seven areas: institutional characteristics, institutional prices, enrollment, student
financial aid, degrees and certificates conferred, student persistence and success, and institutional human
and fiscal resources. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds on January 29, 2010

Reflections and Thoughts: Domesticating and Cultivating Feral Data. After working in the corporate sector for nearly five years, I was back at my alma mater providing technology support for student financial aid. There was something evocative about supporting a student information system. At the onset, although I did not know how to move a software program change into the production system and have it take effect, I felt a sense of familiarity unlike what I experienced while working for a financial service software firm. When working in the student system, I was engaging with objects and subjects I knew. I was now responsible for making things happen for those who reminded me of one of my former selves.

That version of me wondered if the Department of Education would return her FASAFA (Free Application for Federal Student Aid) results with a notification that she had no identifiable errors; she waited for her financial aid to be disbursed to her student account; and she hoped for a refund large enough to enable her to partake in the "other education." She waited for her financial aid to happen *to her*. This college educated version of me, who was making program changes, was anticipating and affecting what was going to happen to students like her. I felt a tremendous responsibility to move objects around to best serve these new enrollment subjects; images of her.

During my undergraduate years at Texas A&M, I had many available options from which to choose a specialization. I always felt comfortable with data work. I could hold my own as a programmer, but I felt energized when working with data and databases. As an employee, my most memorable programming projects involved presenting analytics of various surveys, seeking out the layers of meaning beneath the

survey data. One of my programming comrades in-training, at the firm I worked for after graduating from Texas A&M, used to hit her computer when her programs returned data she wasn't expecting. One day I told her, "It is most likely that the program is giving you what you asked for. Restructure of your question and ask again."

Data needs you to lead it. For me I am most frustrated when I am put into a situation where I have to face off with someone else's data. My reality is that data is a fierce and unrelenting contender. Therefore, I challenge data with other data. To reveal data is to show both its aptness and imperfections. Akin to change, when we keep data close to us it is fitting and proper, but when we put data "out there" its reach and depth are beyond our control. Those times when I am about to unleash enrollment data from my grasp, I feel indebted to mandates—such as IPEDS—that make clear what is absolutely required. In the absence of standardization, I would be left to wonder how these data might be interpreted without me accompanying them. Thus, IPEDS are a lingua franca, or common language, for chief enrollment managers whose enrollment data vernacular is indigenous to their respective campuses.

Normative Artifacts

Objects meeting conventions and standards. Data obeys the rules. Normative artifacts conform to transferability, compatibility, and interoperability standards aimed toward improving data distribution/reception, combination/integration, and communication/interpretation respectively. Data conventions such as naming and coding systems render data more comprehensible for both sender and receiver. Data standards such as configuration (e.g., numeric, alphanumeric, date), association (e.g., independent,

dependent, conditional), protection (e.g., encrypted or plain-text), and administration (e.g., storage media and retention schedules) render data more predictable, reliable, and secure.

Inherently, standardized data, privileges the ideal and abstract over the contingent and specific. L. Suchman argues (1995) that normative accounts of standard phenomena "depend for their writing on the deletion of contingencies and differences" (p. 61). In theory, the power of representational data resides in its generality and standardization. In praxis, however, situated—customized, unique, fit, local, and valid— representations yield data readings that are severed from the representational construction and perhaps dislodged from context.

> **{CEMgr10⌨ 2009:** You know you go into enrollment planning meetings and you know it's, "Have you done enrollment projections? What do they look like? How can you move this freshman class? Are you going to cap this class?" Then you start looking at the mix and the demographics. All the tools that we use now, 19 years ago were kind of like a figment of our imagination. We knew that was the direction to go, but didn't know how exactly how to get there.

Standardized test scores are essential artifacts in college and university admissions, new student orientation, and academic advising. The submission of test scores to a college or university, however, severs the score from the test takers and the conditions that made those scores more probable.

> > **{{*EMR* Summer 2007:** This study examines the relationships between standardized admissions test scores and indicators of success such as graduation rates or college grades. The authors look across SAT/LSAT scores and demonstrate that test scores alone are by no means perfect predictors of subsequent success. The authors demonstrate that many subsequently successful students might not be admitted if high test scores are the primary determinant of admission. This paper should cause many enrollment managers committed to diversity and equity to be careful about too much emphasis on standardized test scores.

One of the prominent standardized tests used to assess the academic ability and predict the probable success of admissions applicants is the SAT® (Scholastic Aptitude Test, which owned and administered by the College Board):[32]

> The founders of the College Board sought initially to standardize college admissions testing to overcome problems caused by colleges having different entrance requirements and examinations. The board grew in influence partly as a result of the leadership, political acumen, and power of the people behind it. But the board benefited mainly from its ability over the years to promote testing to fit important national trends and events (Crouse & Trusheim, 1988, p. 16).

> > {{{**Boston 2003:** The SAT and ACT have become synonymous with college admissions. The gatekeepers of higher education, these standardized tests serve as the yardstick to measure everything from "merit" and selectivity to academic excellence and prestige. In this workshop, participants will be able to walk through a plan for conducting an analysis of the use of standardized tests in enrollment management practices.

Trends reveal the general direction in which enrollment is headed and may also reveal patterns that underscore the conditions that induce and impede certain enrollment behaviors. Analyzing and predicting enrollment trends can be achieved by aggregating what may seem on the surface to be unrelated data. Defining, standardizing, and associating data in the form of predictive data models is a normalizing activity. Once data has been standardized and represented in a comprehensive and strong predictive model, those data can be analyzed using data mining technology which offers many

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[32] The College Board is a not-for-profit membership association whose mission is to connect students to college success and opportunity. Founded in 1900, the College Board is composed of more than 5,700 schools, colleges, universities and other educational organizations. Each year, the College Board serves seven million students and their parents, 23,000 high schools, and 3,800 colleges through major programs and services in college readiness, college admission, guidance, assessment, financial aid, enrollment, and teaching and learning. Among its best-known programs are the SAT®, the PSAT/NMSQT® and the Advanced Placement Program® (AP®). Retrieve from http://www.collegeboard.com/about/index.html on January 29, 2010.

different analytical methods to discover trends and better understand enrollment

conditions and behaviors.

> **{CEMgr2⌨ 2009:** You know the predictive modeling that can be used now is at a level where most institutions—if they will embrace it—can find some significant operational savings, budget savings, if they will use it. I'm still surprised at how many institutions don't use it. They continue to rely on practices of what they've been doing for the last 10, 20 years.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *analytic-assessment discourse* to signify *normative artifacts* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where I served as an institutional representative on what was then called the Texas Common Application Committee and subsequently served as chair of the Postsecondary Electronic Standards Council (PESC) committee responsible for developing a national standard to support the electronic submission and institutional-specific evaluation of admissions applications data. As I recall, the talk in those standard-driving committees were focused on processing efficiency, mandated and institutional reporting, and prospect tracking. Although first-order efficiency, effectiveness, and compliancy gains appeared to be the generative motors behind those standard setting initiatives, I contend that second-order effects have significantly altered the spirit of collegiate admissions. Historically, the college admissions application process was a rite of passage into higher education, in general, and specifically into a particular college or university. Today, however, standardized applications enable institutions to received larger volumes of applications and thus deny more students passage into the institution of their choice. Moreover, while the uniqueness of institutions used to be reflected in their admissions application process—which made clearer to applicants the nature of denial decisions—standardized application processes now lean much more to quantitative rather than qualitative factors that leave denied admissions applicants to perceive the admissions process as merely a numbers game.

Reflections and Thoughts: (Un)Common Sense Aside? The omnipresent

"great sorting" process, where individual demand meets institutional capacity, is "under

the influence in part of calculations and estimates…and in part of beliefs, opinions,

whim, ancient loyalties, and areas of ignorance scarcely amendable to rational estimate"

(Thresher, 1966, p. 3). An astute awareness of the supply and demand of higher

education—and gateway enrollment processes—reveals that rather than merely rules and

customs, admissions processes mediate the social complexities of individual choice vis-

à-vis market dynamics.

Since the 1975 establishment of The Common Application[©] "by 15 private colleges that wished to provide a common, standardized first-year application form for use at any member institution,"[33] public college and universities in various states have followed suit and created online common applications for admissions. For example, "ApplyTexas was created through a collaborative effort between the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board and the colleges and universities represented on the website. The goal of the project is to offer a centralized means for both Texas and non-Texas students to apply to the many outstanding postsecondary institutions available in Texas."[34]

In 2007, Theodore (Ted) O'Neil, then dean of admissions at the University of Chicago, announced that the university would be decommissioning its UnCommon Application. O'Neil noted on his blog that, "even though we loved and patted ourselves on the back for being different and clever, we always feared that the students who might turn away from the UnCommon might be disproportionately the least comfortable with competitive college admissions." As suggested by O'Neil, normative conventions and standards have utility, particularly as it relates to matters around increasing access and assuring equity in college and university admissions.[35]

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[33] The website for the Common Application is https://www.commonapp.org

[34] The website for the Texas Common Application is: https://www.applytexas.org

[35] O'Neill argues that "a good college admissions process is not like computer dating -- it's like love letters. Moreover he stresses that, "current trends in online applications take away students' individuality and result in 'generic' and 'utterly boring' essays. Retrieved from http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/11/02/online 2010.

During my tenure at Texas A&M, I recall my own struggle with the Office of Honors and Scholarships about the common application for freshman admissions used by Texas' 4-year public (and some private) college and universities. The leadership in the honors department argued that a high academic performing student (particularly National Merit/Achievement Scholars) would steer away from submitting an admissions application that suggested that he or she was "common," despite their desire to attend the offending college or university. Although there were plausible efficiency gains associated with the common application for applicants and university —which included the application serving as a joint admissions and scholarship application—,the distinct honors application process persisted for a number of years thereafter.

Conceivably, an institution's move to "common" admissions spaces may be motivated by a desire to increase its applicant pool. I believe however that no matter the motivation, there is significant utility in colleges and universities being thoughtful about consequences that their unique stances have on underrepresented and disenfranchised populations in their respective student bodies. It took some time, but the University of Chicago and O'Neil finally heeded to what I can only suspect they already knew: As uncommon as an institution may be internally or externally perceived, its leadership should aim toward the altruistic goal of promoting access for "commoners" to attain the best postsecondary educations our country has to offer.

Cultural-Cognitive Artifacts

Objects possessing symbolic value. Data signifies. Objects possessing symbolic value "can embody and represent constellations of ideas….the symbolic freight can

outweigh their essence (e.g., the bread and wine in the communion service or the goal

post in the football match)" (Scott, 2008a, p. 85). Arguably, the most hotly contested

symbolic artifacts constituting and constituted by enrollment management activities are

college ranking systems. Morse,[36] data research director for the education rankings of

U.S. News & World Report, notes:

> When *U.S. News* started the college and university rankings 25 years ago, no one imagined that these lists would become what some consider to be the 800-pound gorilla of American higher education, important enough to be the subject of doctoral dissertations, academic papers and conferences, endless debate, and constant media coverage….Today, it's hard to imagine there ever was a void of information to help people make direct comparisons between colleges, but such was the case in 1983 when we first ventured into the field. (2008)

In 1990, *U.S. News* expanded its rankings to include "America's Best Graduate

Schools," for medical, engineering, law, business, and education programs. The notion

that individuals who seek admittance into colleges and universities are education

consumers does not sit well with organizations like the Education Conservancy.[37]

> **{CEMgr17 2009:** About a year and a half into that position our institution had—well over the course of a few years—got hit by some of rankings, the Canadian rankings Maclean's issue—which was similar to *U.S. News & World* report.
> However, neither heated contestation nor a handful of college and universities

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[36] *For readers who might not be familiar with it, what's the methodology behind the rankings?* Morse: [They're] based on 15 indicators, [including] a reputation survey, admissions data, faculty data, financial-resources data, alumni giving and graduation and retention rates. We're not comparing all 1,400 schools. We're dividing them up into 10 categories, like national universities and liberal arts. We assign a weight to each of the variables. The peer survey, or the academic reputation, is the highest-weighted variable — it's 25% (Fitzpatrick, 2009).

[37] The Education Conservancy helps students, colleges and high schools overcome commercial interference in college admissions. By affirming educational values, EC works to reestablish educational authority, equity and access as college admission precepts. It unites educational principles with admission practices. It returns control of college admissions to those who are directly involved in education: students, colleges, parents and high schools. It calms the frenzy and hype that plague contemporary college admissions. Retrieve from: http://www.educationconservancy.org/aboutus.html on January 20, 2010

deciding not to opt-out of the rankings will bring about the demise of college ranking

systems, particularly *U.S News*, which has reached critical mass.

> **{{*EMR* Winter 2004:** Some enrollment managers have crafted strategies
> to reduce the number of first-year, first-time students they admit and
> enroll in order to be more selective with this population, while expanding
> their enrollments of transfer students. The benefit of this strategy is that
> the academic indicators of first-year students affect the academic profile
> and rankings of four-year colleges and universities while new transfer
> students do not have an impact on the academic profile of campuses.

> > **{{{*EMR* Spring 2003:** A ranking or incentive system built around
> > graduation rates would immediately undermine the distinctive
> > missions adopted by various institutions. It would punish
> > institutions that serve as gateways of access to higher education
> > for at-risk populations, and provide them with a strong
> > inducement to become more selective in their admissions policies.

Whether framed as student or consumer, the stark reality for incumbent chief

enrollment managers and to be realized by new chief enrollment managers is: Rankings

indeed matter to college and university constituencies—boards, faculty, students, staff,

alumni, donor, and prospects.

> **{CEMgr3 2009:** In conference presentations I often make the point that many
> of the most pressing public policy issues affecting postsecondary education are
> related to the practices of enrollment management. Whether dealing with issues
> of access and equity, the role of SAT and ACT tests in admissions, affirmative
> action, or the appropriate use of merit aid, enrollment managers often find
> themselves at the intersection of institutional aspirations and federal and state
> policy. Though many college presidents and boards of trustees are not fully
> aware of them, the complex set of pressures that face enrollment managers often
> include being asked to find simultaneous and optimal solutions to issues of net
> revenue from tuition; to raise the institution's position in the *U.S. News & World
> Report's* college rankings; to enhance the institution's racial, ethnic, and
> socioeconomic diversity; and to achieve visible, tangible results in the areas of
> access and equity.

MLSnowden 2010: Why did I choose to layer *analytic-mimetic discourse* to signify *cultural-cognitive artifacts* institution carriers? My phenomenological question took me to a time and place when and where the conditions of my professional life were shaped by how my university fared in various rankings systems. I also recalled how my shift from Texas A&M to Northwestern University began with a conversation that led me to one interpretation of the top twenty universities in the country. After a few unsuccessful attempts to secure a position at Rice University, my mentor (an executive at Rice) asked me poignantly if I was willing to leave Texas to advance my career. After I responded yes, he gave me this advice: "Go home. Get your *U.S. News & World Report*—I know you have one—and draw a line after the top 20 ranked national universities. Apply for senior-level jobs at universities above that line; then maybe you will one day get a job at Rice." At that time, Rice was ranked in the top 20 (now #17). Northwestern was also in the top 20 (now #12). And Texas A&M was ranked #61. Of particular interest to me, at this time and at this place, is where those same institutions rank in doctoral degrees conferred to African Americans and the associated raw number of African American females - Texas A&M #22 (21), Fielding #36 (10), Northwestern #72 (7), and Rice (not ranked).[38]

Reflections and Thoughts: Ranking on the Rock or Ruins of Higher

Education. This section is a serendipitous ending to my "reflections and thoughts" in

this chapter, which has come full circle to where this work began: Mission (acropolis)

and Market (agora). The agora represents the field of competition reflected in the

collegiate admissions arms race, where 'medallion' selective institutions maintain strong

market positions through competitive advantage—high rankings, surplus applications,

limited spaces, premium pricing, and post-graduation achievements. College rankings

operationalize as market artifacts that are ostensibly generated to mitigate individual risk

and aid student college choice; the aim being the selection of institutions that are the best

fit with an individual's personal and educational needs.

O'Neil (2004) argues, however, that institutional dependencies on rankings and

standard measurements, not necessarily imposed by the market, are guided more by

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[38] *Diverse Issues in Higher Education* publishes an annual issue on the top 100 degree producers of African Americans, Asians, and Hispanics.

promoting institutional self-interests than meeting institutional responsibility to prospective and enrolled students. Thacker (2004) makes a proclamation: "Education is a process, not a product. Students are learners, not customers. Colleges can be assessed but not ranked. Students can be evaluated but not measured" (p. 193). Troubled by the commercialization of college admissions processes, Thacker calls for an affirmation of education values by means of "a socially responsible alternative to inappropriately invasive market-driven rationality" (p. 193).

My lived experience as a student and administrator of higher education renders unpacking institutional mission both a professional and personal endeavor. As one small strip of the administrative lattice, hindsight and foresight abound, I reflect on and imagine my personal mission as a contributing administrator and life-long benefactor of higher education. As a former interim director of admissions, at a selective university, I was a participant observer of the undergraduate admissions arms race. Admittedly, while in the midst of the race, aptly framed as the market, I rarely thought about the mission casting the race. As an associate provost for enrollment management at a graduate university with a social justice mission, however, I am challenged daily by a community that keeps mission in the fore, but often denies the market—a denial that can be detrimental to accomplishing the mission. In sum, I posit that mission is manifested in thoughtful and ethical administrative behaviors that can yield institutional efficacy, mission attainment, and transformative discourse that extends beyond superficial mission-talk and market dogma.

Crystallizing an Institutional Palimpsest: Diffusion and Discourse

This section responds to my third, and last, research question: *How are enrollment logics diffused?* Scott (2008a) notes that "substantial literature exists that deals with the subject of [institution] carriers, but is illusive because it is associated with labels, including diffusion" (p. 79). This study situates diffusion in an institutional framing and concludes that enrollment logics are diffused through institution carriers—symbolic systems, relational systems, routines and artifacts— and associated regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive elements that constitute enrollment management as an institutionalized phenomenon.

Institutionalization is the "process by which actions are repeated and given similar meaning by self and others" (Scott, 1992, p. 117). Chief enrollment managers connect their organizational roles to the larger institutionalized organizational field through enrollment management discourses (see Table 9) that form an institutional discourse in the organizational field, intraprofessional discourse among field members (particularly among chief enrollment managers), and the organizational discursive practices that are constitutive of enrollment logics. Chief enrollment managers ascribe meaning to enrollment structures, define and navigate enrollment rules, allocate and authorize enrollment resources, and exercise enrollment "managing" power within their organizations and the across the organizational field. Enrollment logics shape—constrain and empower—the actions of chief enrollment managers and contexts within they operate.

Table 9 Enrollment Management Discourses

Institution Pillar	Pillar Element	Enrollment Management Discourses
Regulative	Symbolic Systems	legal discourse
Regulative	Relational Systems	accountability discourse
Regulative	Routines	pragmatic discourse
Regulative	Artifacts	analytic-accountability discourse
Normative	Symbolic Systems	organizational identity discourse
Normative	Relational Systems	assessment discourse
Normative	Routines	deontic discourse
Normative	Artifacts	analytic-assessment discourse
Cultural-cognitive	Symbolic Systems	public-civil discourse
Cultural-cognitive	Symbolic Systems	individual identity
Cultural-cognitive	Symbolic Systems	educational progression discourse
Cultural-cognitive	Relational Systems	mimetic discourse
Cultural-cognitive	Routines	localized discourse
Cultural-cognitive	Artifacts	analytic-mimetic discourse

Institutions are constituted through discourse and thus can be understood as products of discursive practices that influence action (Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 2004). Institutionalized enrollment management activities exist to the extent that ongoing discursive practices produce and reproduce them; chief enrollment managers develop a mutual awareness that they are engaged in an enrollment enterprise through their intraprofessional and enrollment management discourses; and associations like AACRAO facilitate the creation, negotiation, and maintenance of professional agreement on enrollment management knowledges and constituent logics that guide field activities.

Enrollment management discursive practices institutionalize enrollment logics that reinforce isomorphic structures, such enrollment management divisions. Enrollment management divisions, however, provide a limited repertoire of interpretive schemes that are embodied by the division and its operating systems, thus signifying the presence of an organizational archetype. Furthermore, field-level pressures will encourage college and universities to utilize structures and systems that manifest a single underlying interpreting scheme; once adopted, organizations will tend to retain the same archetypes.

Enrollment management knowledges, enrollment management discourses, and intraprofessional discourses are the discursive motors behind the diffusion of enrollment logics. A turn of discourse can move the institution, organizational field, and profession (Figure 5). Converse arrows illustrate how discourses at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels can be confronted by and act against discursive inertia. Figure 5 suggests that knowledge and discourses are interlocking mechanisms which have an impact on the movement of enrollment management and direction of that movement in the three contexts presented. Thus, for example, an institutional turn diffuses enrollment logics in the field and profession. Conceptually, a reversal of the ratchet is possible; but, in praxis such a phenomenon requires the wrench of deinstitutionalization.
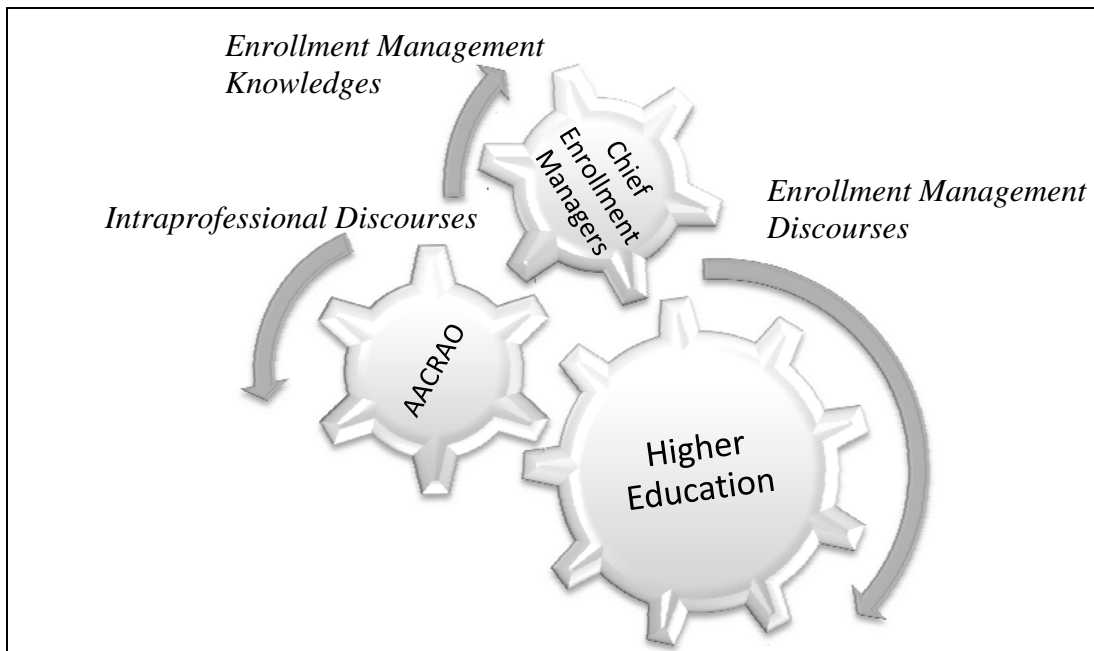
Figure 5 Discursive Motors and the Diffusion of Enrollment Logics

Crystallizing an Institutional Palimpsest: Concluding Thoughts

This brief section concludes this chapter. I should first acknowledge the long

journey that the reader has traveled from the emergence and defining of a construct;

through the search for the profession and struggle for a seat; and then finally coming to

reset between, beneath, and on the layers of the palimpsest. Viewed from an institutional

lens, enrollment management is quite complex. There were an infinite number of choices

that I could have made in selecting the institution carrier elements to reveal the

institutionalized nature of enrollment management. I am even more convinced than

when I started this project that if viewed from a broader theoretical lens, enrollment

management opens up and reveals its institutionalized and professionalized presence.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS:

PROFESSIONALIZING ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT

This study situates enrollment management as an *institutionalized organizational field* that is driven by the notion that college and university enrollments can be planned and managed, despite the form-shifting consumption of higher education and ever changing student perceptions, attitudes, and motivations vis-à-vis institutional missions and goals. Second, enrollment management embodies *discursive practices* which are rooted in action, shaped by enrollment logics, and constituted by enrollment management knowledges held and enacted by chief enrollment managers who frame enrollment issues and influence enrollment outcomes. And last, enrollment management is *qua profession* which is cultivated by a well-established professional association that develops and promotes its members as field professionals at an annual strategic enrollment management conference—an environment that yields and advances member reciprocity, intraprofessional discourse, and enrollment management discourses.

This chapter concludes this work by discussing how I have addressed the grand research purpose: *To discover how enrollment logics form enrollment management and intraprofessional discourses that push at the institutionalization of higher education enrollment management and toward professionalizing organizational field members, in general, and specifically the chief enrollment manager.* To this end, I first step back from the work and identify the limitations of this research. Second, I discuss how the role of the chief enrollment manager is being discursively constructed and

professionalized. Third, I identify the methodological, analytical, and theoretical contributions this work makes to organizational communication, institutional theory, qualitative methods, and enrollment management. I also recommend future research that might advance the findings of this study. Last, I conclude this work with the words of a few field members.

Limitations: A Broad, Yet Narrow View

As is the case for most research projects, this study is marked by certain limitations that were preconceived, and thus planned for. And then there are unexpected constraints created and encountered during an emergent research process. First, my decision to only include "participating" chief enrollment managers who are members of AACRAO and frequent attendees of the AACRAO SEM Conferences conceivably excluded individuals employed by college and universities with budgets that do not enable them to frequently attend the selected conferences. Therefore, by excluding nonparticipating chief enrollment managers, I may have unintentionally controlled for divergent and competing logics. Next, the organizational field includes a significant number of enrollment management organizations that are neither a college nor university (e.g., prominent consulting firms, testing agencies, enrollment service/technology vendors, and other higher education associations). Some of these entities are represented in this study; however, they are not included as study participants. Hence, enrollment subjects are severed from the enrollment objects (and discourse) they produce. This representation dilemma also applies to enrollment workers at the colleges and universities that each chief enrollment manager represented. Last, the ambitious goal of

using the institution carrier framework (Scott, 2008a) to construct a *comprehensive* map of enrollment management limited my representation of each of the institution carrier elements. In short, I was challenged to keep this work at a consumable volume. Hence, I opted for breadth, which inherently limited the depth of analysis, interpretation, and discussion for each institution element.

I recognize that enrollment management may be unfamiliar, as a construct and practice, even to those who are higher education scholars and professionals. Therefore one of the indirect goals of this study has been to familiarize the reader with a significant organizational phenomenon that I affirm has become institutionalized. Limitations notwithstanding, this work aims to incite new lines of inquiry that expand the awareness of and manner by which enrollment management is studied and represented. Thus, in general, I aspire to unlock and reveal possibilities for enrollment management researchers and practitioners to create new directions for higher education administration scholarship and practice.

This study offers more than an exploratory view of a higher education organizational construct. On one hand, the narrow context in which institutionalization and professionalization have been studied may limit the reach of this research primarily to audiences that find enrollment management or higher education administration of particular interest. On the other hand, however, this study offers a broad range of opportunities for those with an interest in organization development, institutional, and most important for this researcher, (organizational) communication studies. More specifically, the intersection and interplay of professions, institutions, and discourse

offer rich ground to push at the limitations of this work toward what I perceive as vast and interesting ways to expand the conception of institutions, professions, and (intra)professional discourse. To this end, in the section that follows, I aim to begin by pushing and thus revealing what perceivably is a takeover of a professional and disciplinary arena.

Status Mobility and (Dis)Located Professions

Henderson (1998) points out that "enrollment management was a practical necessity before it became a theoretical basis for organizing" (p. 12). The constitutive and transformative power of enrollment management, in general, and specifically chief enrollment managers, is not necessarily perceived as desirable and beneficial to American higher education. Hossler (2004) recalls that while attending an advisory board meeting for a national higher education organization, "a leading scholar who focuses on issues of access and equity leaned across the table and said quietly: 'Enrollment managers are ruining American higher education.'"

Quirk (2005) admonishes that chief enrollment managers have imposed business strategy techniques and "market-driven competition at the heart of the university" (p. 128). To support his position, Quirk quotes Bob Bontrager—then Assistant Provost of Enrollment Management at Oregon State University, and currently director of the AACRAO SEM Conference and AACRAO Consulting:[1]

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[1] While in attendance at the 2008 AACRAO SEM Conference in Anaheim, CA, I went to a plenary panel presentation, "SEM: The Ethical Debate." The panel included: Matthew Quirk, Staff Editor, The Atlantic; Lloyd Thacker, Executive Director, The Education Conservancy; Don Hossler, Professor of Educational Leadership & Policy Studies, Indiana University Bloomington and Bob Bontrager, Director, AACRAO SEM Conference . During the panel discussion, in a cursory remark, Bontrager informed Quirk that the

I personally prefer kicking their [other universty's] ass….It's a zero-sum game. There's a finite number of prospective students out there. Are you going to get them, or is your competitor going to get them? You face the pressure and say, "That feels burdensome to me; I don't want to deal with that." Or you say, "That's a pretty interesting challenge; I'm going to go out there and try to eat their lunch. I'm going to try to kick their ass.'"That defines people who are more or less successful and those who stay in the position. (p. 128)

Quirk comes to rest, in the same article, where the introduction to this study began: mission and market. Taking a more balanced position, he challenges the claim that chief enrollment managers are ruining American higher education. Contrary to merely engaging in ass-kicking and predatory snacking, he steps back and considers the "work in the profession":

Although competition increasingly threatens a university's principles, the most innovative work in the profession comes from enrollment managers who attempt to align market with mission….Indeed, the sophisticated methods of enrollment management may be the only way for schools to hang on to their principles while surviving in a cutthroat marketplace. (p. 129)

From an outsider's purview, Quirk recognizes chief enrollment managers as belonging to a profession that engages in significant and meaningful work on behalf of colleges and universities. From an insider's standpoint, competitive discourse and institutional goals notwithstanding, Bontrager alludes to the notion that some individuals are "more or less" suited for the position of chief enrollment manager; thus they are better equipped to move the profession forward and serve as leaders in the field. Black (2003) addresses the matter of professionalizing enrollment management straight on:

To become a profession, enrollment management should have a body of

journalist had quoted him out of context.

published research and literature, ethical standards that guide the profession, a systematic approach to training and evaluation professionals in the field, and a valid and reliable method of evaluating enrollment management operations, as a set of operation standards (p. 173).

One might be inclined to agree with Black, particularly in respect to developing "a body of published research and literature" that can propel enrollment management as a profession. Furthermore, prima facie, the interview narratives in this study (Chapter IV, Searching for the Profession) lead to a similar conclusion. A clarion call from the field for a significant and respected body of literature suggests that either the extant literature is no longer relevant (and perhaps disregarded) or that there is a dearth of literature for an emerging field/discipline/profession. On one side, the former signifies a shift in logics; on the other side, the latter suggests the possible displacement of extant logics to make room for new organizing contexts in the field. Thus, beneath the surface-level discourse is a more discerning and interesting proposition; the dismantling of an old order to make room for a new institutional arrangement—a status mobility project:

> The transformation of institutional logics—the tearing down of old logics and the construction of new ones—opens up possibilities for actors to make new kinds of status claims. Since fields and associated logics provide the context within which status orders are reproduced (Bourdieu, 1984), a shift in the logics that solidify positions in a field facilitates status mobility projects that have to do with efforts of actors to move from a lower status to a higher one. Typically, status mobility projects involve a set of actions and claims that are intended to result in outcomes that are correlated with the attainment of a higher status (Lounsbury, 2002, p. 255).

Where logics are displaced, it is perhaps inevitable that some professions, and therefore professionals, are susceptible to dislocation. Thus far I have focused on the emergence of the chief enrollment manager without taking into consideration how that emergence has perhaps dislocated other professions and professional identities. It seems

plausible that the professionalization of the chief enrollment manager role could bring about and perhaps even necessitate the deprofessionalization of other higher education administrative roles. In this context, deprofessionalization is the process by which members of a high-status postsecondary education administrative profession lose their prerogative or autonomy—authority and control—to regulate themselves within their own sphere of skill and knowledge.

According to Du Gay (1996), "every identity is dislocated because it depends upon an outside which simultaneously denies and affirms that identity. Thus every identity is always an ambiguous achievement because its emergence is dependent on its ability—power—to define difference" (pp. 48–49). The chief enrollment manager and registrar are relational in the sense that their contingent identities are constituted in relation to what the other is not. Furthermore, the nature of identity contingency suggests that the status of the chief enrollment manager is established in the presence of and in relation to the status of the registrar. Therefore, a change in identity and status of one is bound to a change of identity and status of the other.

Chief enrollment managers' discourse suggests that as their role is being entrenched in higher education, the role of the university registrar is undergoing a substantive change in its perceived role and status. Enrollment management roles and associated statuses are signified in enrollment behaviors that reveal dominant, subordinate, persistent, and shifting enrollment logics. Enrollment management organization attains constancy and stability when its members carry out the behavioral expectations of their prescribed enrollment roles (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Barley and

Kunda (1991) point out:

> Roles are dynamic and behavioral; not only are their components negotiated and renegotiated in the flow of activity, but over time old roles disappear and new ones emerge. By studying situated rather than idealized roles, organizational theorists could revitalize our appreciation of how roles link work to forms of organizing. What is required is a conceptualization of role that emphasizes action and interaction and that also articulates with an image of organizational structure in an empirically specifiable manner. (p. 89)

As noted earlier in this work, Mastenbroeck (1993) argues "to integrate better, we must first differentiate well" (p.143). The adoption of a division enrollment management model most often dismantles, reconfigures, and realigns long-established differentiated organizational units toward the goal of appropriating centralized, tightly coupled, and integrated enrollment management. Thus, organizational entities, identities, and associated processes are reconstituted in an integrative enrollment management context. In this organizational context, I argue that the rise of individuals from ranks of admissions, namely directors of admissions, to chief enrollment managers creates discursive space for the dislocation of the registrar. Moreover, the dislocation is promoted by individuals who at one time held lesser statuses and authority in admissions roles. Noteworthy, according to higher education history, at one time admissions professionals reported to the collegiate registrar (Thelin, 2004). To support my position, I take the reader to the discourse of those in the perceivably "located" profession.

> **CEMgr14⌨ 2009:** I think Registrars are a different kind of individual. That's why registrars haven't emerged as great enrollment management people. They are much more concerned about the data aspect of it, almost to the exclusion of others. You know the traditional registrar role: keeper of the records, compile the data, secure them from getting lost, manage the process of where the student runs into the curriculum through registration. I don't think their own individual backgrounds have equipped them to do

[enrollment management].… I mean you see a registrar interface with a faculty member, it could be a disaster. You see a registrar interface with someone in the humanities, it's a disaster. Somebody doesn't want to be quoted the rules and regulations; they want to create a solution. And so, the admissions people didn't have any better answers, but they knew enough not to quote chapter and verse of the regulations.

CEMgr15 2009: AACRAO started out as a registrars' organization. And if you look at the leadership over the years and the membership over the years, it has been primarily a registrar's conference—and you can see it in the program, in the sessions. But what has happened lately, is that in the practitioner's world—in the universities where we live and work—enrollment management has been the umbrella and the registrars function has fit underneath a larger set of activities that are together more important than just the registrars function.

CEMgr5 2009: The registrars tend not to flip to being the leaders in enrollment management.

CEMgr5 2009: AACRAO of old was dominated by the registrars. Admissions officers who were doing process stuff were there. But it wasn't really a Big Ten operation. It was controlled by the registrars and they wanted to keep it that way. That mindset is what holds AACRAO back; has held it back now for probably the better part of 30 years at least. You think about the history of AACRAO; those 20 or so people who gathered in Detroit in August of 1910 were very very powerful people on their campuses. The only person who was in any way shape or form more powerful than the registrar in 1910 was the president. And on many campuses, the registrar was more important than the president. The registrar came from the faculty; was the leader of the faculty; was the principal officer of the university next to the president—and next to the president; not under, but <u>next</u> to the president. And going forward for at least the first 60, 65, 70 years of AACRAO, that continued to the case. The registrars were incredibly powerful on campuses. I can remember—I was a student working for [State University 5]—there was a guy who was an associate registrar and he brought some stuff in boxes. The boxes were kind of jumbled up behind where we were. We were doing arena registration, as you did in those days. And this guy says, "Dr. [Smith] is coming, you got to get this cleaned up or he'll have your hides." And the registrar <u>swept</u> into the arena with about maybe five or ten people in train behind him. And it was a royal progress through the arena. This guy was one heavy duty. And Bert Ockerman, you know the state regional award is named after Bert Ockerman. He had an entire building at Kentucky. His office was a shrine. They referred to him as Dr. Ockerman. He was <u>never</u> called Bert and this was in the 70s and early 80s. Then with technology, the registrar started to diminish in power. There started to be reallocation. You know you bring in a

new student system; you don't necessarily need all of those people to type—typing the transcripts. So registrars started seeing you know 10 %, 20%, 30% reduction in their ranks—the staff ranks. And as their ranks shrank their power shrank. And with the technology allowing the moving of capability out to the units, the units could do things that they had been dependent on the registrars' office for in the past. The Registrar was not nearly as important to the campus. And there was a real feeling of marginalization on campuses among registrars. But you had this mindset of, "I don't want to do anything other than be registrar because it's the greatest job I can have," is a leftover from the days when the registrars were real loci of power on a college campus.

CEMgr16 2009: You have to have a damn good registrar, somebody who is going to make sure that the institution rules are followed—in terms of graduation, in terms of grades, and managing information....Registrars are being pushed, new age registrars are being pushed to look for intersections to manage enrollment and to promote retention. So it's not just the registrars' function the way it was in the olden days. How do you mine the data that is available in the registrar's office to inform advising; to go after students at points where their struggling—but and only you know it because you've got those mid-semesters grades? And how do you position advisors and the one-stop shop enrollment services center and other participants in the university to intervene at a point when it's going to make a difference for students?

CEMgr17 2009: I made a big point of saying, "Well, the SEM framework it is not another name for the registrars' office."

Grounding these narratives—which suggest the dislocation of the registrar—in organizational and institutional theory can facilitate an informed interpretation of the discourse. Another salient move is to link the potential deprofessionalzation of the registrar to study results which signify chief enrollment managers' quest for status mobility (see Chapter IV, Sections: Searching for the Profession & Securing a Seat at the Table). Raelin (1989, p. 103) identifies three possible reasons for deprofessionalization to occur:

1. A profession may over the course of time lose partial professional status due to a loss of the value of professional attributes or to a relative

inability to mobilize political support on behalf of the profession.

2. A profession may not sufficiently cope with a decline in the importance and vitality of its services or with well-constituted challenges by clients, other occupations, or social and consumer groups about its monopoly over certain practices.

3. A profession may lose mastery over its own knowledge base, or its ethical standards may be compromised by self-interest or narrowly vested group interests.

The narratives point out that the registrar, who at one time was one of the most powerful positions on campus, has been relocated under the leadership of chief enrollment managers. Another significant occurrence to emphasize is that within most enrollment management divisions, the Office of the Registrar no longer operates as an autonomous unit; rather it functions among various enrollment management units toward meeting holistic and strategic enrollment goals. I surmise that the dislocation of the registrar precedes the relocation of the registrar function. Furthermore, there appears to be a recognizable progression to dislocation, which could, but does not necessarily lead to the deprofessionalization of the registrar.

First, the advent of technology enabled colleges and universities to automate and decentralize work that had been previously performed by staff in the registrar's unit. Second, the decentralization and federated authorization of registrar work resulted in downsizing registrar unit workforces, losses of process control, and the integration and disintegration of registrar functions. Third, the diffusion and isomorphic adoption of

enrollment management as a new institutional arrangement at colleges and universities, particularly the enrollment management division model, created opportunity for a status mobility project. And last, while organizational concessions were being made for enrollment management as a structural phenomenon, discursive space was created for the emergence of enrollment management discourse. The ideal chief enrollment manager subject is a discursive juxtaposition of the registrar subject. Juxtaposed professional identities, individual personalities, and strategic skills enabled admissions professionals to see and seize opportunities to move up in status. So, on one side the chief enrollment manager is located, and on the other, the registrar becomes dislocated.

In Chapter IV, chief enrollment managers make efforts to secure a seat at the table. In light of this discussion about the dislocation of the registrar, it comes to mind that tables have a limited number of seats. So, perhaps chief enrollment managers are not merely "securing" seats; it is probable that they are "taking" seats previously occupied by others—e.g., registrars. This may particularly be the case at colleges and universities where the chief enrollment manager is either a vice or associate provost. As alluded to in one of the narratives, in past times, registrars were faculty and thus bona fide members of the academic arm of the university. Conversely, as registrars increasingly emerged from staff ranks and became a part of the administrative lattice,[2] the registrar role moved away from the academic core toward administrative perimeters. Hence, it became more

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[2] Zemsky, Wegner, and Massy (2005) point out that the administrative lattice grew to cover functions that were once in the faculty domain, like advising. Zemsky and colleagues go to state that the turn of "academic ratchet" enabled faculty more time for teaching and research responsibilities, exploring specialized interests, and in some cases pursuing commercial ventures.

likely that the registrar function, and therefore the registrar, would one day be subsumed into a comprehensive administrative unit under a "chief" administrator.

There are of course registrars who have "become" chief enrollment managers on their campuses, and perhaps less who have been "hired" by another institution to lead enrollment management. Registrar mobility notwithstanding, their positions still appear to be in between dislocation and deprofessionalization. Moreover, and ironically, the rise of the registrar to the chief enrollment manager serves to strengthen my position. My active engagement as a member-leader in AACRAO leads me to believe that there are few registrars leading enrollment management divisions at comprehensive universities.

Now back to the chief enrollment manager. Chief enrollment managers' denial and disaffirmation of the registrar is a stamp of self-approval and affirmation that they themselves are well-suited for *their* position. I believe that chief enrollment managers are aware of their discursive power in terms of dislocating registrars on their campuses. I do not believe however that those same chief enrollment managers are astute to their probable role of deprofessionalizing the registrar in higher education administration. After all, these same chief enrollment managers seem to struggle identifying what it takes to professionalize enrollment management and their own roles. Therefore, it is plausible that they would not be astute about the process of deprofessionalization. What is clear, however, is that there is heightened awareness in the association that the role, impact, power, and influence of registrars are changing both on college and university campuses and in AACRAO.

Based on an observation that is drawn from the study data and conjoined with my experience, I posit that in many ways the institutionalization of enrollment management and the professionalization of the organizational field and chief enrollment manager is a status mobility project within AACRAO. If the reader recalls, it took almost 40 years before admissions officers were formally brought into the association fold. Moreover, it has been approximately 60 years since that formal expansion occurred. Today, many who started their careers in admissions are now chief enrollment managers. While many may be are active members in AACRAO, few have yet to rise to AACRAO executive leadership, namely on the Board of Directors.

> **CEMgr7 2009:** We see AACRAO in a world of change. Where the other fields are being worked at— admissions, financial aid, registrar, and international education officers—we see enrollment management as being an umbrella idea that kind of encompasses all of those. And so it provides a certain amount of rationality to AACRAO as an organization. There are so many different fields of professions, depending upon what you want to call them represented by AACRAO; there is a danger of it splitting apart. And so there needs to be a unifying theme. And we think strategically, the unifying theme is enrollment management—and as a result have paid a good deal of attention to it.

The discourse in AACRAO, at one time in harmony, appears to be shifting and conflicting. Perhaps seminal in the history and development of a professional association, a single moment of professional accordance is rarely revolutionary or monolithic. To the contrary, such a punctuated moment (Tushman & Romanelli, 1985) most often proceeds long convergent periods of advancement, interposed by relatively short periods of discontinuous or discordant discourse that demarks and sets bearings for an ensuing convergent period. To this end, the ontological and epistemological foundations of a professional association may be traced to many historical moments

during which a community of professionals mobilize around the nature and uncertainty

of a common set of fundamental questions that are destined to lead to theoretical,

methodological, and philosophical divides.

The reader may recall that on August 15, 1910, common and overlapping

concerns, regarding aspects of higher education administration, culminated in a

discursive occasion when fifteen college registrars and nine college accountants gathered

in Detroit, MI to talk about how they performed their job duties. As the story is told, the

registrars in attendance engaged in a discussion that culminated in the creation of the

American Association of Collegiate Registrars (AACR).

> The most important topics and questions discussed at that first meeting are
> familiar to the profession today. Topics such as the duties and functions of a
> college registrar, the form and the content of an academic transfer from one
> college to another, the best and fairest method of reckoning the relative standing
> of students when the letter system of grading is used, and how to get in touch
> with prospective students were all issues of great concern to the early AACR
> members.[3]

Having established when, where, and how AACR(AO) began, where does the

association stand now? Over the last fifteen years, there has been a movement by the

AACRAO leadership (namely the Board of Directors)[4] to shift what has been a long-

standing organizational identity that has been mostly aligned with registrars to an

enrollment management identity. AACRAO is a membership organization, which by it

name recognizes "Collegiate Registrars" and "Admissions Officers." Therefore, as shifts

in association membership occur (or goals and objectives that might shift membership),

the organization may encounter new members, from unnamed professions, that have

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[3] Source: http://www.aacrao.org/
[4] Members elected to the Board of Directors serve a 3-year appointment.

incongruent perspectives vis-à-vis historical perspectives about the direction the

association should take in terms of the development and promotion of its identity and

diversity of offerings—e.g., conferences, publications, and member services.

> **CEMgr5 2009:** There was a large group of us that were potent, saying, "We have got to change. We have got to make the organization reflect the fact that there are a lot of enrollment management people, financial aid people, even advising people coming into AACRAO because of strategic enrollment management." And we need to welcome them into the fold." So that's what led us to do the strategic planning we did in '95, '96, and '96, '97 trying to shift the group a little bit. And that didn't really work because we were ahead of our time. It wasn't time and we didn't do it well. We screwed up. We failed to adhere to the old adage of a leader, "Excuse me, there go my people, I have to follow them to find out where I am leading them to." And instead we got way too far out in front and they weren't ready. And you know that of the 11 items up for a vote before the membership in '97 in Salt Lake City, they turned down 10 of them and in the ensuing 12 years, 9 of those 10 items have been approved by the membership. So it really is great leadership, a great example of how not to do leadership. You can have the right agenda. You can be totally right about what you need to do. But if you don't position it with your membership, with your followers, you are not going to be able to advance it.

This chief enrollment manager's short narrative offers a number of insights about

how the leadership of a member association recognizes, introduces, and brings about

change in its composition, identity, status, and operation. The notion of organizational

"readiness" for change and having the "right agenda," but being "too far out front," is a

pervasive organizational and leadership dilemma. In the context, of a professional

association, however, the dilemma has implications on the emergence and development

of the profession and institutionalization of the organizational field. I conclude this

section with an observation that may incite future lines of inquiry: Professional

associations offer a site for organizational communication research that breaks free from

bounded organizational perspectives of roles, identities, status, and change.

Contributions & Recommendations: Methodological, Analytical, and Theoretical

Thinking about the contributions of this work inevitably brings to mind how those contributions may have fallen short of their potential, mainly due to time, energy, or space—and in some cases a combination of all three. Therefore, I decided to present my perceived contributions of this study and recommendations for future studies in the same section. In the course of analyzing my data and writing this dissertation, I came to believe that this project could make solid professional, methodological, analytical, and theoretical contributions to my emerging profession of enrollment management, well-established discipline of (organizational) communication, and the ever developing landscape of qualitative research. However, my feelings of optimism were consistently met with a voice of pragmatism that made that first clarion call (before Ellingson, 2009; Lammers & Barbour, 2006; Scott, 2008a). Black (2004c) pronounces:

> Practitioners, as well as associations like AACRAO and perhaps even corporate entities, have an opportunity, if not an obligation to pick up the leadership mantle and help move the profession forward….We need to match our talents with the identified gaps and contribute to this evolving profession. Help define the enrollment management profession for generations of practitioners to follow. (p. 19)

This contribution to "move [my] profession forward," has covered substantive ground. In the course of this study, I came to understand how I view the field and the undecided, yet ostensibly emerging, profession from a critical lens. I felt it necessary to challenge the origin and foundation of the field so that I might unearth and then unpack what I perceive as a most intriguing development in higher education administration. In my attempt to trace my steps in this emergent research project, I first typed a list of the constructs and concepts presented in this work. But after reading the following text, I

deleted the list and opted for constructing a representation (Figure 6) that could

encapsulate the list, but also engage the constructs and concepts I discovered, recovered,

and explored in the course of conducting and recording this study:

> The writer knows her field—what has been done, what could be done, the limits—the way a tennis player knows the court. And like that expert, she, too, plays the edges. That is where the exhilaration is…Now gingerly, can she enlarge it, can she nudge the bounds? And enclose what wild power? (Dillard in Ellingson, 2009, p. 190)

Employing institutional theory to examine enrollment management enlarged and

challenged me to get to know my field in ways that I had not previously considered. As I

engaged each of the 14 institution carrier elements mapped in this work, I had to step

back from the field and look at its operation from an institutional-level, not just

organizational-level. Figure 6 brings the framework that guided and evolved from this

study into full view. Looking at the figure while writing these words enabled me to

disconnect from its construction and recognize what has emerged from this work. What

strikes me is that this is first time I have seen a figure wholly representing enrollment

management that does not contain any structural references to the components that

comprise enrollment management units and related functions.

Thus, I would say that Figure 6 signifies the various contributions of this work.

As I look at the figure again, and again, I am reminded of my multi- and trans- selves

(field, profession, and disciplines) that constructed the figure. The figure emerged from

my experiences and knowledges. The figure represents my attempt to play on the edges.

Indeed it is exhilarating to use one's experience to nudge, enlarge, and enclose the wild

power scholarship of my field, profession, and discipline.

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION

LOGICS   **DISCOURSES**   **KNOWLEDGES**

Institutional-Level

Higher Education Enrollment Management

Signification
Cultural-
Cognitive

Organizational Field-Level

Profession & Professional Association (AACRAO)

Legitimation
Normative

Interpretive
Schemes

Organizational-Level

College/University & Chief Enrollment Manager

Norms

Domination
Regulative

Sanctions

Meaning   **Rules and Resources**   **Power**

INSTITUTIONALIZATION   **PROFESSIONALIZATION**
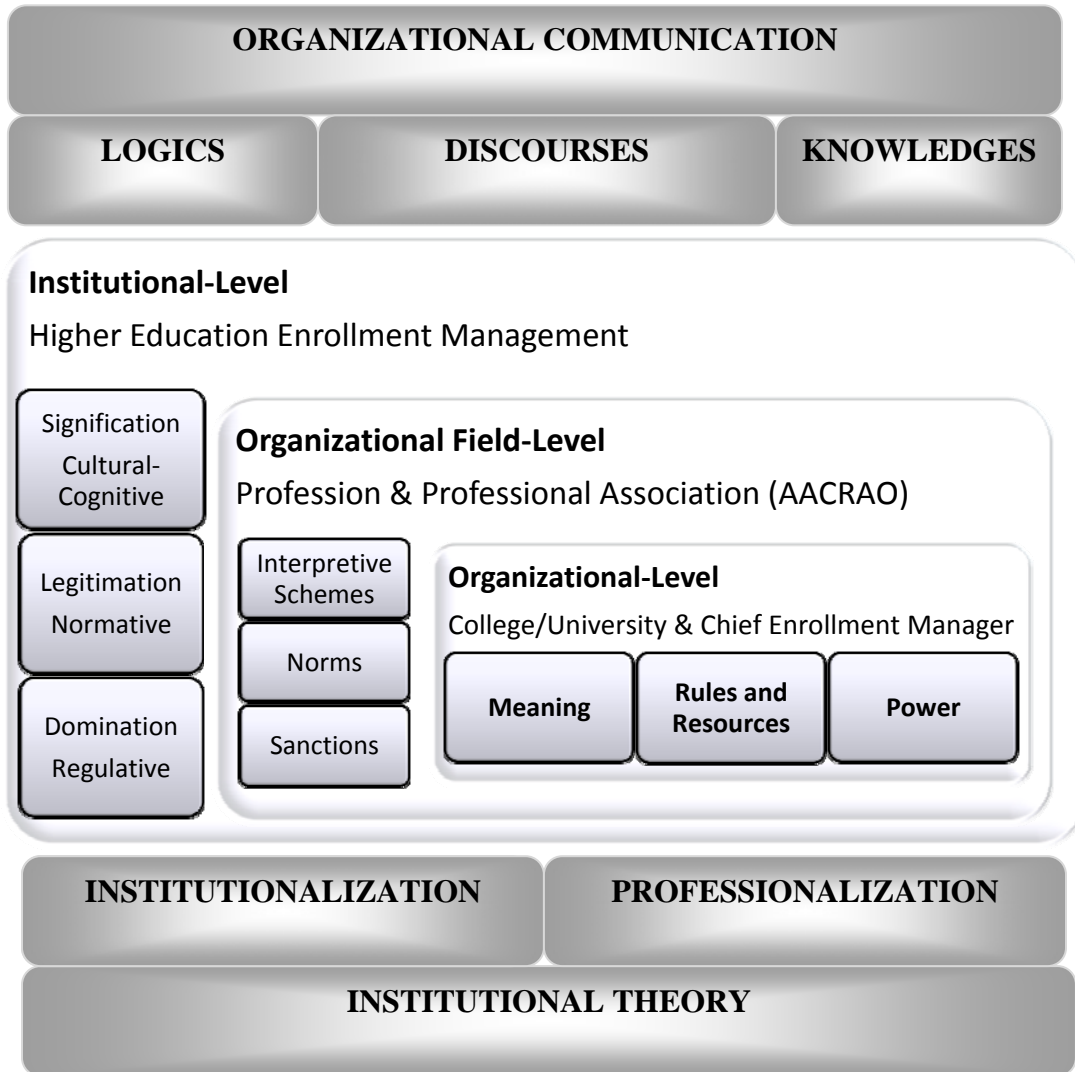
INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

Figure 6 Enrollment Management: A Palimpsestuous Crystallization

Methodological Contributions

The first contribution is methodological. I want to first acknowledge that I could have pushed crystallization further in this study, but found it difficult to do so because I came across Ellingson work's toward the end of this project. From the onset, I planned on using the palimpsest in my methods. I struggled, however, with moving the construct from a metaphorical concept to a methodological approach; that is until in an earlier draft of this work I used the term "crystallization."[5] One of my dissertation advisors challenged me on the use of the term and consequently asked me to distinguish my usage of the term from the qualitative method of crystallization.

As it turned out, I excluded the questionable text in a later draft of this work. I did however discover, embrace, and expand on Ellingson's integrated crystallization typology (woven and patched). My methodological contribution is palimpsestuous crystallization. Crystallization is a relatively new qualitative method and thus requires nuanced research to fully develop the method by focusing on providing rich exemplars of it use. I am particularly interested in future research that might push palimpsestuous crystallization as an analytical approach for conducting discourse studies that crystallize, analyze, and re-present different levels of multi-genre professional texts and discourse.

In this work, I make a methodological contribution to my discipline by opening the door further for qualitative organizational communication studies, particularly discourse studies, which bring together and embrace intextuality and interdiscursivity.

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[5] Kanter (1983) posits that "change involves the crystallization of new action possibilities (new policies, new behaviors, new patterns, new methodologies, new products, or new ideas) based on reconceptualized patterns in organizations" (p. 279). Kanter, R.M. (1983). *The change masters*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Bhatia (2010) notes, "intertexuality has been paid some attention in discourse and genre theory; interdiscursivity, however, has attracted relatively little attention (p. 33). I posit that palimpsestuous crystallization is a method that can advance communication scholars excavation, treatment, exploration, and representation of organizational texts and discourses. For example, Bhatia (2004, 2010) examines simultaneous and overlapping discourses in professional communication, explicating professional culture, professional practice, genre and text in terms of text/context and discursive practice/professional practice. Grounding palimpsestuous crystallization in a context such as discourse and genre theory, which offers communication researchers substantive theoretical ground, can advance the development of crystallization as a solid and defensible qualitative method.

<u>Analytical Contributions</u>

The second significant contribution is analytical, with theoretical implications. Scott (2008a) discourages against using the Three Pillars of Institutions framework too broadly in research projects. Once again, he emphasizes "rather than pursuing the development of a more integrated conception, I believe more progress will be made at this juncture by distinguishing among the several component elements and identifying their different underlying assumptions, mechanisms, and indicators." (p. 51).[6] I found significant utility in using the framework, however, in studying an emerging institution and profession. To this end, this work suggests that the framework can be used to

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[6] I first presented this quote in Chapter II to inform the reader about Scott's position and why I was going against his advisement.

advance institutional development theory. Scott goes on to state, "by employing a more analytical approach to these arguments, we can identify important underlying theoretical fault lines that transect the domains" (p. 51).

Theoretical implications of using Scott's framework surfaced from the analysis of an emerging institution and profession that is perceivably in the midst of a status mobility project. In analyzing and mapping enrollment management to the various institution carrier cells, it became clear that the emergence of both the institution and profession does not necessarily break with institutional theory convention, but perhaps offers an opportunity to revisit and reinvigorate earlier works in the theoretical field. For example, Meyer and Rowen (1977) advanced the notion that as institutionalized organizations are formalized and rationalized, the status of certain professions become highly institutionalized rules (normative and cognitive) that are "sharply distinguished" from prevailing organizational behaviors. Moreover, the authors emphasize that "professions, policies, and programs are created along with the products and services that they are understood to produce rationally" (p. 340).

As an organizational communication scholar, I am interested in the analytical and theoretical possibilities that Figure 6 implies, particularly at the organizational field-level where professions and professional associations support the development of institutions and organizational appropriation of institutionalized and professionalized cultures and constructions. I believe, however, that enrollment management researchers and practitioners might be most interested in the results represented using Scott's Three Pillar framework. The institution carrier mappings offer much toward advancing

different analytical approaches for enrollment management research (Chapter IV, Table 8). This study offers an exemplar that covers all the institution elements across the three pillars. I recommend enrollment management studies guided by research questions that focus one or a few cells, or pillars, toward discovering elements that can be mapped to that or those cells/pillars.

For example, I mapped "State and National Data Reporting Requirements" to the Regulative—Artifact cell. Data was my artifact of choice; therefore, I decided to explore regulatory data requirements. In light of accountability initiatives in higher education, this cell (as do the others) has significant potential for future research. Future research possibilities include either focusing on a particular pillar (e.g., cultural-cognitive) or a particular dimension across pillars (e.g., relational systems). Researchers' choices of which institution carriers to study will differ based on his or her discipline and interests.

Theoretical Contributions

The third, and last, contribution is theoretical. This body of work contributes to the dearth of organizational communication research and literature that places foci on institutions and professions. Lammers and colleagues conceive institutions and professions as communication phenomena which lack sufficient organizational communication attention, explication, and theory. Lammers and Barbour (2006) call for the development of an institutional theory of organizational communication. The researchers view institutions as "constellations of established practices guided by formalized, rational beliefs that transcend particular organizations and situations" (p. 364). Further, institutions are manifested in practice and beliefs; involve individuals as

actors and carriers of practices and beliefs respectively; are characterized by low rates of change; and are relevant conceptions of organizational communication as formalized and rationalized phenomena.

This work represents a significant step toward cultivating the fertile ground from and upon which organizational communication theory can emerge on at least four fronts. First, this work formally connects the institutional construct organizational field to organizational communication theorization; thus it constructs a theoretically sound bridge to advance well-grounded organizational communication research from an institutional lens. Second, as evidenced by this work, enrollment management is a fully developed organizational field with numerous institutional elements to explore from a communication perspective. Third, this work defers the call for communication studies to consider the "professional" in well-established institutions/professions. Alternatively this study promotes exploring the discursive construction of emerging professions and the role of discourse in connecting institutionalization and professionalization processes. Last, this work offers an exemplar for testing Lammers and Barbour's (2006) propositions against enrollment management, which based on the result of this study is presumed to be an emerging institution.

Lammers and Barbour specify five propositions for an institutional theory of organizational communication and subsequently apply those propositions to an exemplar (see Kuhn & Nelson, 2002) that explores professional roles and identities. All together, the technical definition and propositions are intended to represent a macro-perspective of organizational communication. The propositions employ fundamental *components*

(behaviors, actors, and beliefs), *derived elements* (formal knowledge and established practices), and *concepts* (membership, rational myths, isomorphism, and hierarchy) of institutions.

Reframing the propositions and supplanting 'institutions' with enrollment management sets up future research that can build on this work and test how Lammers and Barbour's theoretical propositions hold up and operate vis-à-vis an emerging, as opposed to a well-established, institution/profession:

1. Communication *sustains* [enrollment management].

2. Communication *aligns* organizing with [enrollment management].

3. [Enrollment management] *operates* in organizing through formal communication.

4. Success of boundary-spanning communications *depends* on the presence of [enrollment management].

5. [Enrollment management] hierarchy is *manifested* in organizing.

Taken in part, each proposition sets up a line of inquiry that centers on an action (sustains, aligns, operates in, depends on, manifests in) that connects communication with an institutional phenomenon, in this case enrollment management. A first step toward establishing a research agenda for testing the propositions might be to take one proposition and work through one of the three institution pillars, or a single institution carrier cell, from a communication lens. For example, to test the first proposition, using the Regulative—Artifacts cell, one might ask how regulative communication about enrollment management artifacts (e.g., analytic-accountability discourse) sustains enrollment management (see Table in Chapter IV). This same line of inquiry could then

be applied to regulative symbolic systems, regulative relational systems, and regulative routines elements. Alternatively, to test the first proposition vis-à-vis the enrollment management knowledges, one might ask what types of knowledge are necessary to sustain enrollment management. Conceivably, the two aforementioned lines of inquiry will lead to modifications, deletions, or additions to the propositions.

Conceptualizing enrollment management as an organizational field allows for a range of theoretical perspectives that can yield more nuanced institutional theorizations of organizational communication. For example, although this study does not place foci on institutionalized power structures that emerge from enrollment logics, it does address how chief enrollment managers' discursive enrollment practices produce, reproduce, and reify institutionalized power relations and structures that once enacted "at the table"—where resources are allocated and key institutional decisions are made—then shape organizational field perspectives and practices. Thus, one might view one, all, or a combination of the propositions from a power, or more aptly political lens.

Conceptually, power and influence are subsumed into the construct *politics*. Politics is a communicative process by which power is enacted and resisted (Mumby, 2001). Thus, enrollment influencing is conceived as a political process that promotes the formation of professional connections and reifies power relations enacted by enrollment management professionals whose "cognitive frames" (Stohl, 2001) are embodied in power structures. Furthermore, power is a function of enrollment managers' professional dependence upon and structural position vis-à-vis others in cultural networks (Monge & Contractor, 2001), such as professional associations and organizational fields.

Kalsbeek (1997) views politics as an essential mechanism used by individuals who are charged with influencing enrollments by way of the enrollment management "push." He suggests that organizational problem-solving necessitates pushing forward and exercising "the influence required to make things happen and then having the political will to do it" (p.169). Thus in the context of enrollment influencing, securing a seat at the table juxtaposed with Lammer and Barbour's third proposition, particularly the notion of successful boundary spanning, might be viewed as a power move toward solidifying enrollment management as essential to organizational problem-solving.

Summary

This work makes solid contributions that expand how enrollment management is theoretically viewed, methodologically studied, and analytically understood. The various components, derived elements, and concepts that constitute enrollment management as institutional, professional, and communication phenomena invokes research choices, stances, and interpretations that bring to light ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the organizational field. Moreover, grounded by institutional values, the axiological foundations of enrollment management are entrenched in palimpestic constructions of a developing institution and emerging profession. The palimpsest embodies enrollment management as locution and illocution. Simply stated, the palimpsest represents, conceals, and reveals that which it signifies and implies.

In *Our* Final Words

Beyond the theoretical, analytical, and methodological contributions I have

previously discussed, this research has both professional and personal meaning to me.

This work is a representation of my multiple and intersubjective views of the institution

and profession that I have inscribed and contextualized in this text; layered, crystallized,

and entrenched into the palimpsest; and conveyed to the reader. Enrollment management

matters to be because it has enabled me to see the university—those I have worked for,

and the one that I consider my alma mater—in ways that have challenged my

perceptions of American higher education. I came upon this profession while engaging

in another—information technology—and soon realized that it deserved my attention.

I decided to focus this research on the institutionalization and professionalization

of enrollment management because I truly believe that few who work in postsecondary

education—administrators, faculty, or staff—understand how significant the

development and diffusion of this organizational field are to American higher education.

Therefore, it should go without saying that the American public has a stake in enrollment

management, particularly those who are planning to or currently enrolled at a college or

university where a chief enrollment manager and their enrollment management workers

are taking strategic and tactical steps to manage the enrollment lives of others.

To provide the reader some useful perspective, I offer a brief summary of a few

enrollment conversations and decisions I was involved in yesterday as a chief enrollment

manager. I started the day by discussing with my supervisor (Provost) how I will utilize

next year's budget for the units under my leadership: admissions, advising, financial aid

and scholarships, institutional research, marketing, and registrar/academic records. I made decisions on whether a number of students would receive financial aid that need those monies to continue and complete their academic programs: some will receive the aid, others will not. I engaged in decision making about whether a student would be readmitted to the university who had subpar academic performance when she voluntarily withdrew: the decision has not yet been finalized. I did however finalize some details for a market test that I will use to inform one of the university's deans as to whether a proposed academic program is viable in the market. I spoke with one of the university deans about a faculty appointment that will allow me to develop my academic identity, engage in my discipline, and directly contribute to the university's academic mission: an expectation of my position as an associate provost and personal goal I have strived to reach. There were a number of other discussions and activities, including disabilities student services, throughout the day. I ended the day by meeting with one of my directors and discussing how her particular enrollment management unit will provide necessary and expected student support in light of a recent and significant staff resignation—a position that will take perhaps a few months to replace.

This year marks my 15th anniversary working in higher education. During those years—and the years I worked in the corporate sector—I led many projects, teams, functional units, and direct reports. I humbly admit that I have a wide range of professional experiences that enable me to lead very diverse groups that are responsible for what I call "all that is student enrollment." I have come to realize by engaging in my profession, participating in my association, and communicating with colleagues in the

field that there is a lack of awareness, even among chief enrollment managers, of the significance of this field to the landscape of American higher education administration. The fact that most of the chief enrollment managers that I sat with in conversation questioned the achievement of profession status for enrollment management did not surprise me. What did surprise me, however, is that these particular individuals—chiefs among the chiefs—seem to have an ideal of what it takes to become a profession, but they struggle with how *we* will achieve such a status. However, there does seem to be congruent thought about the need for more substantive research and a broader reach for enrollment management literature. On this particular note, I believe this work will spawn such research and literature, and therefore is most meaningful and significant to *our* profession.

In the spirit set forth by this research project and out of deep admiration and appreciation for those who continue to push at the brink toward advancing our profession, and particularly for those who gave unselfishly of their time, thoughts, and collegial reciprocity to contribute to study, I think it most befitting to end this work with a few of their words:

> **CEMgr17 2009:** I don't know if we are profession or not. I think that if we are doing our job right we facilitate. We coordinate. We bring people together. We take a very wide view; or we should be taking a very wide view within our institutions. We should be providing the data and information so that people understand what issues are, so that they can make what I might think of as right choices to impact the mission and vision of the institution. But I do not know if we are really a profession.

CEMgr5📖 2009: You know what takes us over the brink and into real profession-hood? The comment that several people made on Saturday—with the richness of the conversation around the table—shows the maturation of AACRAO growing into a much more cohesive group of people that are in positions to carry strategic enrollment management much further in its development. And we're vessels, vehicles to do that. We are to a certain extent the leadership of the next generation of strategic enrollment management.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

<u>Opening Inquiry</u>

- Describe your career progression in higher education, in general, and specifically enrollment management.

<u>Logics Inquiry</u>

- How would you define enrollment management to someone who is unfamiliar with the concept?
- What types of knowledge and skills are essential to becoming a successful chief enrollment manager?
- Tell me about a few memorable "on-the-job" experiences that have contributed to you being a successful chief enrollment manager.
- Tell me about some significant professional development activities that have contributed to you being a successful chief enrollment manager.

<u>Association Inquiry</u>

- Talk to me about your participation as a member/leader in the American Association of Collegiate Registrar and Admissions Officers (AACRAO).
- What significance do you feel AACRAO serves toward the development and advancement of enrollment management?

<u>Profession/al Inquiry</u>

- In your view, what constitutes enrollment management as a profession and chief enrollment managers as professionals?

<u>Relational Inquiry</u>

- Who do you consider to be the enrollment management experts and why?
- Who do you view as the "rising stars" of enrollment management and why?

<u>Closing Inquiry</u>

- Explain how you have contributed to advancing enrollment management as a practice and profession.
- Do you have any closing comments or perhaps something you were not able to share during the interview?

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