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Organizational Effectiveness and Quality: The Second Generation[1]

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A fundamental shift has occurred recently in the literature of higher education. This shift has been more gradual and less dramatic than it has been in the broader organizational studies literature, but it has been significant nevertheless. It is a shift away from considerations of the construct of effectiveness to describe organizational performance in institutions of higher education and toward considerations of the construct of quality. Quality has begun to replace effectiveness as the central organization-level variable in higher education. With a few notable exceptions, effectiveness has largely been abandoned and quality has become the preeminent construct.

In this paper we discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such a shift—what is given up, what is gained, and what can be learned from both literatures that can inform future research on organizational performance and, especially, the performance of higher education institutions. We first document the nature of the shift away from effectiveness both in organizational studies and in higher education. Then, by taking a historical approach, we review the lessons learned from more than two decades of research on organizational effectiveness in higher education. We discuss the historical development and the emergent approaches in organizational effectiveness from the perspective of the organizational studies literature. It is this literature that served as the original source for higher education applications of effectiveness. We also summarize the main methodological issues associated with effectiveness and the guidelines developed over more than two

[1]The first part of this chapter is based on a longer review of the literature on organizational effectiveness by the authors entitled "Organizational Effectiveness: Old Models and New Constructs" in Jerald Greenberg (ed.), *Organizational Behavior: The State of the Science.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994.

decades that have steered effectiveness research. Then, in the second part of the chapter, we describe the "new effectiveness movement" in which the construct of quality is examined in light of its role in supplanting organizational effectiveness as the fashionable organizational performance variable of choice. A comparison is made between traditional effectiveness research and this new quality approach, and we examine the advantages of sticking with the construct of effectiveness versus shifting to a new construct. This discussion highlights lessons learned from past effectiveness literature as well as the utility of quality as a replacement construct that may help guide future research on organizational performance. We conclude the chapter with suggestions of the attributes that should characterize any newly emerging research stream relating to organizational effectiveness or quality in higher education.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EFFECTIVENESS MODELS

More than a decade ago, we organized a symposium at the annual Academy of Management meetings in which several well-known scholars discussed the current state of organizational effectiveness. That symposium highlighted the disarray and conceptual confusion that surrounded this construct. From that discussion emerged several conclusions: (1) Multiple models of organizational effectiveness are products of multiple, often arbitrary models of organization. No model of organization can be argued to be better than any other, so no model of effectiveness has an advantage over any other. (2) The conceptual boundaries of effectiveness are unknown. It is not clear what criteria are indicators of effectiveness, what criteria are predictors of effectiveness, and what criteria are outcomes of effectiveness. (3) The best criteria for assessing organizational effectiveness are unknown and unknowable. Because individuals often cannot identify their own preferences and expectations, because preferences and expectations change over time, and because contradictory preferences and expectations are held by different constituency groups, a stable set of effectiveness criteria simply are not available for organizations (See Cameron and Whetten, 1983).

That symposium occurred in the midst of ongoing debates in the scholarly literature about which models of organizational effectiveness were the best ones. Seven books were produced on the topic in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and a flurry of articles was published, each arguing for a particular effectiveness model. Bluedorn (1980), for example, argued that the goal model was best, i.e., organizations are effective to the extent to which they accomplish their goals. Seashore and Yuchtman (1967) and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) argued for a resource dependence model, i.e., organizations are effective to the extent to which they acquire needed resources. Nadler and Tushman (1980) proposed an internal congruence model, i.e., organizations are effective to the extent to which their internal functioning is consistent and without strain. Connolly, Conlon, and Deutsch

(1980) and Tsui (1990) maintained that a strategic constituency model was best, i.e, organizations are effective to the extent to which they satisfy strategic constituencies. Many other models were proposed as well, and Table 1 summarizes the most popular models of organizational effectiveness available during the 1980s.

TABLE 1: Common Models of Organizational Effectiveness

MODEL	DEFINITION	WHEN USEFUL
	An organization is effective if...	The model is preferred when...
Goal	It accomplishes its stated goals.	Goals are clear, timebound, consensual, and measurable
System resource	It acquires needed resources	Inputs and outputs are clearly connected.
Internal processes	It has smooth functioning and no strain.	Processes and performance are clearly connected.
Strategic constituencies	All constituencies are minimally satisfied	Constituencies have power over/ in the organization.
Competing values	Trade-offs are balanced.	Paradoxical pressures are encountered.
Legitimacy	It survives by engaging in legitimate activity.	Survival or demise is of interest.
Fault-driven	It has an absence of ineffectiveness indicators.	Mistakes are fatal.

Source: K.S. Cameron (1984)

None of these models of effectiveness emerged as the model of choice, and some writers became so frustrated by the confusion that they recommended a "moratorium on all studies of organizational effectiveness, books on organizational effectiveness, and chapters on organizational effectiveness" (Goodman, 1979, p. 4; also, Hannan and Freeman, 1977).

In 1983, we responded to this recommendation by arguing that "despite its chaotic conceptual condition, organizational effectiveness is not likely to go away" (Cameron and Whetten, 1983, p. 1). We recounted three main reasons why effectiveness was here to stay. First, organizational effectiveness lies at the center of all models and theories of organization. That is, all conceptualizations of organization have embedded in them some notion of the difference between effective and ineffective functioning. Second, we argued that effectiveness was the ultimate dependent variable in organizational research. Evidence of effective performance is required in most research on organizations. Third, individuals are constantly faced with the need to make judgments about the effectiveness of organizations. Pragmatic choices are continually made about effectiveness—

which public school will close, which institution will get a contract, in which organization an investment will be made, and so on.

Despite our prediction, however, scholarly research largely ceased on the topic of organizational effectiveness. From a total of more than 20 articles appearing on the topic of organizational effectiveness in the Academy of Management journals (*Journal, Review, Executive*) and *Administrative Science Quarterly* from 1975 to 1985, (and several hundred more before that time [see Cameron, 1982 for a review]), only one single article in *ASQ* (Tsui, 1990) and no books appeared on effectiveness during the next eight years.

This trend was also noticeable in the higher education literature. After a special issue of *The Review of Higher Education* on institutional effectiveness in 1985 (Vol. 9, No. 1), no articles on that topic have appeared in *RHE* since, and only one has appeared in *The Journal of Higher Education* (Cameron and Tschirhart, 1992). Similarly, one chapter appeared in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* in 1989 on the effectiveness of state systems (Chaffee, 1989), but no other chapters have addressed higher education effectiveness in *The Handbook* since then. John Smart has almost singlehandedly kept the effectiveness construct alive by continuing to publish analyses from studies of two-year colleges and from Cameron's NCHEMS data base on effectiveness (e.g., Smart, 1989; Smart and Hamm, 1993a, b; Fjortoft and Smart, 1994), but most other researchers have abandoned the topic. Two studies of institutional productivity (a frequent proxy for effectiveness) appeared in *JHE* (McGuire, Richman, Daly, and Jorjani, 1988; Levin, 1991), but in neither case was productivity treated as a proxy for effectiveness. The conclusion reached by most scholars seems to have been similar to that drawn by us in 1983: "...multiple viewpoints all may be equally legitimate but under different circumstances and with different types of organizations" (Cameron and Whetten, 1983, p. 274). The trouble was, by concluding that everyone in the previous years' effectiveness debates could be right, the bloom was taken off the effectiveness rose. Researchers lost interest.

However, it was only the construct of organizational effectiveness that faded away, not the need to assess organizational performance and to make judgments about excellent practices. With the publication of popular books such as Peters and Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (1982), Deming's *Out of the Crisis* (1986), Imai's *Kaizen* (1988), Pascale's *Managing on the Edge* (1990), Tichy and Sherman's *Control Your Destiny or Somebody Else Will* (1993), the emphasis changed from organizational effectiveness to excellence, quality, continuous improvement, transformation, revitalization, and so on. In addition, scholars began to investigate organizational phenomena that had been largely ignored prior to the mid-1980s—namely, high reliability systems, hyper-turbulent environments, one-of-a-kind disasters, and unusually high levels of performance (Weick and Roberts, 1992; Perrow, 1984). Both sets of events—the mushrooming popular interest in best practices, and the investigation of non-normal organiza-

tional dynamics—helped fuel the emergence of a new kind of research related to organizational effectiveness.

To understand the advantages and disadvantages of this new direction away from traditional effectiveness research, we review briefly the historical development of organizational effectiveness approaches. That discussion highlights the hard-won lessons associated with the theoretical and empirical writing that was central to the literature for many years. Whereas the construct of effectiveness may have seen its day, we argue that these lessons should not be abandoned so quickly.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS APPROACHES

Ideal Types

The earliest models of organizational effectiveness emphasized "ideal types," that is, forms of organization which maximized certain attributes. Weber's characterization of bureaucracies is the most obvious and well-known example (1947). This "rational-legal" form of organization was characterized by decisions based on rules, equal treatment for all employees, separation of the position from its occupant, staffing and promotions based on skills and expertise, specific work standards, and documented work performance. These characteristics were operationalized as dimensions of bureaucracy, including: formalization of procedures, specialization of work, centralization of decision making (Hall, 1963).

Early applications of the bureaucratic model to the topic of effectiveness argued that efficiency was the appropriate measure of organizational performance. Given this performance criteria, the more nearly an organization approached the "ideal" bureaucratic characteristics, the more effective (i.e., efficient) it was. Specifically, the more specialized, formalized, and centralized, the better. In defense of this perspective, Perrow argued that most of the criticisms of the "sins" of bureaucracy are actually the result of bureaucratic principles not being implemented fully. "Where all organizations strive toward efficiency as defined by the owners, the rational-legal form of bureaucracy is the most efficient form of administration known in industrial societies" (1986, p. 4).

Subsequent models of organizing began to challenge these assumptions, however, suggesting that effective organizations were non-bureaucratic. Chester Barnard's influential book, *The Functions of the Executive* (1938) argued that organizations are at their core cooperative systems. Furthermore, he argued that it was the role of leaders to channel and direct those cooperative processes to accomplish productive outcomes. An effective organization, therefore, needed to satisfy the needs of its members through providing adequate inducements to sustain their required contributions. It must ensure that the actions of members are bridled by institutionalized goals and decision making processes. In addition, it needed to

legitimate its role in society by shrouding its activities in broad social values.

Perrow (1986, p. 63) argued: "This enormously influential and remarkable book contains within it the seeds of three distinct trends of organizational theory that were to dominate the field for the next three decades. One was the institutional school as represented by Philip Selznick (1948); another was the decision-making school as represented by Herbert Simon (1956); the third was the human relations school (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1947)." In one sense, each of these schools of thought became a competing ideal type. It was logical for devotees to argue that effectiveness should be measured by the standard of their "ideal" organization. They disagreed over the criteria for assessing effectiveness; they agreed that effectiveness should be measured against the standard of an ideal type.

Over the years, the ideal types proliferated. Early researchers used as their ideal organizational goal accomplishment (Bluedorn, 1980). Then advocates of the "natural systems" view of organizations (Scott, 1992) argued that goal accomplishment ultimately depends on controlling critical resources, e.g., human and financial capital (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). This challenge to the rational model opened the flood gates of alternative standards, including the quality of an organization's communication and "interpretive" processes (Weick and Daft, 1983), the satisfaction of members (Schneider, 1983), and the extent to which organizational policies and practices complied with the norms of social equality (Keeley, 1978). In the higher education literature the collegial model (Baldridge, 1971), the professional bureaucratic model (Mintzberg, 1979), and the loosely coupled systems model (Weick, 1978) all captured additional advocates. The common ingredient during this era was a passion for finding the Holy Grail of organizational theory: the definitive, universalistic definition of organizational effectiveness.

Contingency Approaches

Challenges to the soundness of Weber's reasoning, coupled with mounting frustration over the truth claims of competing models, gave rise to "contingency theory." This perspective argued that effectiveness was not a function of the extent to which an organization reflected the qualities of an ideal profile, but instead, it depended on the match between an organization's profile and environmental conditions. The challenge for researchers became identifying the relevant environmental and organizational dimensions and building theories of "fit."

Burns and Stalker's (1961) classic treatise on organic versus mechanistic types represents an early bridge from ideal type to contingency theory thinking. They argued that mechanistic organizations (those high on Weber's bureaucratic dimensions) were best suited for highly stable and relatively simple environments. In contrast, organic organizations (those high on Barnard's characteristics) were better suited for rapidly changing, highly complex situations. This kernel of an idea bore fruit in several large scale studies of congruence between organizational and

environmental dimensions during the late 1960s and 1970s. These included Lawrence and Lorsch's (1967) study of multiple industries, the Aston studies in England (Pugh, Hickson, and Hinings, 1969) and Van de Ven and Ferry's (1980) development of the "Organizational Assessment Survey" (OAS).

The critical difference between ideal type and contingency theory thinking was that the former assumed that "one size fits all." That is, effective organizations were distinguished by their fit with a universal set of characteristics, an ideal type. An effective organization emphasized X, Y, or Z, depending on the theoretical bias. In contrast, contingency theory argued that effective organizations matched their profiles with prevailing environmental conditions. If the organization was in an X type environment, then it should emphasize X design features. What these two views shared in common was an emphasis on organizational dimensions. While the referent for judging effectiveness differed, the way it was measured, or assessed, was the same. Organizational dimensions like standardization, centralization, satisfaction, and size, and environmental dimensions like simple, dynamic, and patterned were common to both ideal type and contingency theory perspectives.

In the higher education literature, contingency approaches were exemplified by Cameron's (1981) studies of "domains" of organizational effectiveness in which different types of colleges displayed different patterns of effectiveness depending on their institutional types and characteristics. Smart (1989) found different effectiveness patterns among institutions in decline and with different organizational cultures. Effectiveness patterns in colleges, as reported in all of these contingency studies, differed depending on their environments.

Multiple Constituencies

An third approach to organizational effectiveness began to emerge when authors focused less on the assessment criteria of abstract dimensions and more on the concrete expressions of stake holders' expectations (Connolly, Conlon, and Deutsch, 1980; Zammuto, 1984). Effective organizations were viewed as those which had accurate information about the expectations of strategically critical constituents and adapted internal organizational activities, goals, and values to match those expectations. Proponents of the stake holders' perspective view organizations as highly elastic entities operating in a dynamic force field which literally pulls the organization's shape and form in different directions—molding the organization to the demands of powerful interest groups, including stockholders, unions, government regulators, competitors, customers, and so forth. Effectiveness is, therefore, a function of organizational qualities like learning, responsiveness, and influence management.

The "multiple constituencies" model spawned a large number of research studies (Whetten, 1978; Cameron, 1978; Mahoney, 1967; Osborn and Hunt, 1974; Tsui, 1990). Researchers using this approach encountered four difficult methodological challenges (Cameron and Whetten, 1983, p. 12). (1) When

asked, individual stake holders have difficulty explicating their personal expectations for an organization. (2) A stake holder's expectations change, sometimes dramatically, over time. (3) A variety of contradictory expectations are almost always pursued simultaneously in an organization. (4) The expectations of strategic constituencies frequently are unrelated, or negatively related, to their overall judgments of an organization's effectiveness (see Cameron and Whetten, 1983).

The multiple constituencies model is aptly portrayed in Zammuto's (1984) discussion of ways to deal with the dilemmas of unclear, contradictory, unrelated expectations held by an organization's multiple stake holders. He suggested four alternatives: (1) strive to provide as much as possible to each stakeholder without harming any one stake holder, (2) strive to satisfy the expectations of the most powerful or dominant stake holders first;, (3) favor the least advantaged stake holders who are most likely to be harmed, and (4) develop the capacity to be flexible and adaptable so as to be able to respond to the changing set of stake holder expectations. In higher education, discussions of value-added education, faculty reputation, student outcomes, and so forth (e.g., Astin, 1985; Bowen, 1977), while not representative of organizational effectiveness studies, nevertheless exemplify the orientation toward accounting for multiple stake holder perspectives.

Paradox Model

The recognition that organizations are simultaneously pulled in opposite directions by the expectations of multiple constituencies led Quinn and his associates (Quinn and Cameron, 1982; Quinn and Rohrbaugh, 1981; Faehrman and Quinn, 1985) to introduce the Competing Values Model of organizational effectiveness. This model recognizes the inherently paradoxical nature of organizational functioning. Administrators must not only make tradeoffs between day-to-day competing demands on the organization's resources, but, more importantly, they must balance competing expectations regarding the core identity of the organization as an institution. From this point of view, effective organizations are both short and long-term focused, flexible and rigid, centralized and decentralized, goal and resource control oriented, concerned about the needs of members and the demands of customers.

The "paradoxical model" of organizational effectiveness represents the natural, logical extension of earlier eras of thought. It borrows from contingency theory the emphasis on matching external and internal attributes. Like strategic constituencies it uses expectations (rather than dimensions) as the criteria for measuring effectiveness. In a sense, the paradoxical model can be viewed as a more complex form of its predecessors—it allows for the likelihood of organizations operating simultaneously in different environmental domains, with each domain conveying different expectations. Whereas contingency theory assumed a single domain for sake of matching organizational and environmental character-

istics, the paradoxical extension allows for multiple domains requiring multiple, simultaneous, and contradictory matches.

The role of paradoxical logic in the higher education literature is illustrated, for example, by Cameron's (1986) review of several empirical studies of effectiveness in colleges and universities. He found the presence of paradox to be synonymous with the presence of effectiveness in organizations faced with turbulence, change, and complexity. In a study of 14 declining colleges, 7 of which eventually reversed their declining trends, for example, the major difference between institutions that recovered and those that continued to decline was the presence of paradox: entrepreneurship and conservatism, enacting the environment and buffering against the environment, defensiveness and aggressiveness, reinforcing and destroying traditions. In another study of 334 colleges (see Cameron 1986b), a similar conclusion was reached: "These general findings help illustrate the presence of simultaneous opposites in organizations that are highly effective, or that improve in their effectiveness, particularly under turbulent conditions (p. 547)." The review of several empirical studies led to the conclusion that, "It is not just the presence of mutually exclusive opposites that makes for effectiveness, but it is the creative leaps, the flexibility, and the unity made possible by them that leads to excellence....the presence of creative tension arising from paradoxical attributes helps foster organizational effectiveness" (Cameron (1986, p. 549).

In the organizational studies literature, Peters and Waterman (1982) found that effective firms possess a variety of paradoxical characteristics such as simultaneous loose and tight coupling, productivity through participation along with a bias for action (nonparticipation), entrepreneurship along with sticking-to-the-knitting, and so forth. They asserted, "The excellent companies have learned how to manage paradox" (p. 100). Eisenhart and Wescott (1988) also found paradox to be inherent in successful just-in-time manufacturing. Their investigation of quality control, production planning, inventory control, and capital investments in manufacturing firms emphasized that "manufacturers who adopt the paradox philosophy which produced these [just-in-time] practices probably have greater and more continuous success" (p.192).

Proponents of paradoxical thinking (e.g., Quinn and Cameron, 1988) use these conclusions to argue that effective organizations are not those that simply match an ideal profile, or personify a universalistic model, nor are they characterized by hyper-responsiveness in juggling competing constituencies' demands. Instead, they are best characterized as hybrid forms consisting of uncomplimentary elements. They are both large and small, both growing and downsizing, both tightly coupled and flexible, both consistent and inconsistent.

Summary of Current Conceptual Thinking

Looking back over the past three decades, there have been at least three major evolutionary shifts in the prevailing views of organizational effectiveness. They

are summarized in Table 2. This intellectual odyssey has yielded progressively more complex views of organizations as behavioral systems. As a natural consequence, the theories of organizational effectiveness have also increased in complexity. In particular, they reflect more complex and dynamic views of organizational goals, outcomes, and constituencies.

TABLE 2: Evolution of Approaches to Organizational Effectiveness

	Examples of Authors	*Basic Approach*	*Common Models*
Ideal Types	Weber; Barnard; Price	Matching the organization's profile and the ideal type	Goal models Internal process models
Contingency Theory	Burns & Stalker; Aston studies; Van de Ven and Ferry; Seashore and Yuchtman	Matching the organization's profile and the environmental conditions	System resource
Multiple Constituencies	Pfeffer and Salancik; Tsui; Connolly et al.	Matching the organization's activities and the constituencies' expectations	Strategic constituency models'
Paradox Approach	Quinn and Cameron	Combining contradictory elements and managing inconsistent expectations	Competing values model

ASSESSMENT ISSUES

In addition to the evolutionary conceptual development of organizational effectiveness, issues relating to empirical assessment also have progressed. The bulk of empirical assessments in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s used generalized summary ratings of overall effectiveness (Webster, 1985; McGuire, et al., 1988). A single rating of overall performance was the norm in empirical investigations. In the higher education literature this was generally reflected as reputational ratings or prestige rankings. Relatively little sophistication characterized most of these assessments. Sometimes multiple outcomes were included (e.g., selectivity, productivity, student achievement), but few identified empirically the relationships among the dimensions or their predictors, and paltry attention was given to their association with objective performance criteria. Several efficiency formulas comparing input measures to output measures were introduced as substitutes for effectiveness (e.g., Lewin and Minton, 1986), but the reliable and accurate evaluation effectiveness in the organizational studies literature continued to be almost universally identified as a conundrum. It became clear that an informed assessment of organizational effectiveness must address several critical design parame-

ters, and we proposed the following seven questions as guidelines (Cameron and Whetten, 1983, pp. 269-274):

1. *What time frame is being employed*? Short-term effects may differ from long-term effects, and different stages in an organization's life cycle may produce different levels of performance.

2. *What level of analysis is being used*? Effectiveness at different levels of analysis in an organization (e.g., subunit activities versus organizational adaptation) may be incompatible.

3. *From whose perspective is effectiveness being judged*? The criteria used by different constituencies to define effectiveness often differ markedly and often follow from unique constituency interests.

4. *On what domain of activity is the judgment focused*? Achieving high levels of effectiveness in one domain of activity in an organization may mitigate against effectiveness in another domain.

5. *What is the purpose for judging effectiveness*? Changing the purposes of an evaluation may change the consequences and the criteria being evaluated.

6. *What type of data are being used for judgments of effectiveness*? Official documents, perceptions of members, participant observations, and symbolic or cultural artifacts all may produce a different conclusion about the effectiveness of an organization.

7. *What is the referent against which effectiveness is judged*? No universal standard exists against which to evaluate performance, and different standards will produce different conclusions about effectiveness.

To illustrate the richness of issues associated with each of these seven questions, we explain the first three in slightly more detail below. For an elaboration of all seven issues, see Cameron and Whetten (1983). Our purpose in elaborating this discussion here is to highlight some of the important considerations that have emerged from the effectiveness literature that may not have received as much attention in the recent literature. We discuss issues related to time frame, level of analysis, and constituencies.

Time Frame

The adage, "Timing is everything," has a special significance for research on organizational effectiveness. The "when" of an assessment will effect the outcome of the assessment in two ways. First, short-term and long-term measures of effectiveness often produced strikingly different results. For example, in a study of the U.S. tobacco industry, Miles and Cameron (1982) found that one company was the least effective of the six firms when short-term criteria were applied, but it jumped to second most effective when long-term criteria were used. Another firm was the most effective firm in the short term, but it dropped to fifth in the long term. Differences in long-term and short-term assessments may vary either because the

organization is deliberately sacrificing performance in one time frame in hopes of increasing it in the other, or because the effects of organizational performance are not detected because the wrong time frame is being utilized.

The second reason why timing may effect the outcome of an organizational assessment is related to the life cycle of organizations. The application of the biological metaphor to patterns of organizational change (e.g., Spencer, 1897; Parsons, 1964; Miller, 1978; Katz and Kahn, 1978; McKelvey, 1982), the generalization of small group stage models to organizational development (Cameron and Whetten, 1983b), and the application of product life cycle models to organizational strategy (BCG, 1970) has led most organizational scholars to conclude that organizations develop through certain identifiable life cycle stages over time. Cameron and Whetten (1981) found, for example, that the criteria of effectiveness held by participants in simulated organizations changed as the organizations progressed through different stages of the organization life cycle. They concluded that "...significant variation existed in the ratings of effectiveness of individual, department, and organization levels, depending on the organization's stage of development" (p. 537). Similarly, Quinn and Cameron's (1983) study of the formulation and maturing of a state government agency found that a different model of effectiveness predominated in each of four different stages of development. In the first stage (labelled entrepreneurial stage) the open systems model was most important. In stage 2 (the collectivity stage), the human relations and open systems models took precedence. Stage 3 (the formalization stage) was dominated by rational goal and internal process criteria, and in stage 4 (the elaboration of structure stage) the open systems and rational goal models were relied on to make judgments of effectiveness.

Level of Analysis

It follows from our understanding of organizations as complex social systems that the unit, or level of analysis in assessing organizational effectiveness matters a great deal. Judgments of "organizational" effectiveness can be made at the individual level (e.g., Is the human dignity of organizational members being preserved?), at the unit level (e.g., Is the work group cohesive?), at the organization level (e.g., Does the organization acquire needed resources?), at the population or system level (e.g., Does the organization's performance enhance the legitimacy of the entire system?), or at the societal level (e.g., What is the effect of the organization's outputs on society?). It is generally the case that assessments of effectiveness at one level do not match assessments made at another level. Indeed, Freeman (1980) argued that selecting the appropriate level of analysis is critical because data on effectiveness at one level are often nonsensical when viewed from another level.

This awareness is critical as knowledge is accumulated about organizational effectiveness at different levels of analysis. For example, Tsui studied effectiveness at the individual (1984) and unit level (1990), Cameron (1984) focused on

the organizational level, and Ehreth (1988) concentrated on the societal level. The well-known, but often overlooked, problems of making comparisons across levels of analysis include lack of construct isomorphism, cross-level effects, and emergent properties (Rousseau, 1985).

These concerns are reflected in what a recent task force of the National Academy of Sciences' Division on Human Factors referred to as the "productivity paradox" (Harris, Goodman and Sink, 1993). That is, when all the dollars that an organization invests in increasing the productivity of its various operations (everything from word processing to manufacturing) are added up and then compared with widely accepted measures of organizational-level productivity, a negligible correlation exists.

In the process of analyzing this problem, the task force concluded that the existing models of organizational effectiveness, personal performance, and group productivity are ill-equipped to guide investigations of the causes of this paradox. The core deficiency with all these models is that they focus on a single level of analysis (either the person, the group, or the organization). Therefore, they are appropriate for answering the question, "How can we increase the productivity (or effectiveness) of X (where X is a person, group, or organization)," but they shed little light on the question, "Given an increase in the productivity (or effectiveness) of X (person, group, or organization), under what conditions are we likely to see an increase in the productivity of Y (a different level in the organization)." In other words, we recognized that we knew almost nothing about cross-level processes or their effects.

Constituencies

The homily, "Where you stand affects what you see," captures the essence of the current writing on the differences in constituencies' perspectives. Studies by Whetten (1978) and Friedlander and Pickle (1968), for example, found low and even negative correlations among the ratings of effectiveness by different stake holder groups. Scott (1992), explained this phenomenon by predicting that different constituencies can be expected to espouse different criteria for measuring organizational performance. These preferences reflect the stake holder's interests in the organization or the organizational unit. For example, he identified four kinds of effectiveness criteria that differ among stake holders: (1) *Strategic focus*, or direction, has to do with whether the organization is doing the "right things." That is, are resources being deployed to solve the right problems or pursue the right objectives? (2) *Outcomes*, or effects, focus on the quality of the organization's services or products. This criteria examines whether the organization is doing "things right." (3) *Processes* focuses on the quantity or quality of the activities used by the organization to produce its outcomes. Whereas outcomes relate to effect, processes relate to effort. It is an assessment of an organization's "throughput." (4) *Structural capabilities* address the organization's capacity for effective perfor-

mance. These might include the quality and quantity of a manufacturer's equipment and the technical training of equipment operators. These factors are typically treated as "inputs" in econometric models of performance.

Scott (1992) argued that different stake holders focus on unique elements of the total effectiveness model and treat that particular element as a surrogate for the whole. Administrators, for example, focus primarily on capabilities, whereas employees (e.g., faculty and staff) focus on processes, clients, students, or customers focus on outcomes, and regulators or accreditors (and to some extent stock holders) emphasize strategic focus. Hence, different stake holders may rate effectiveness very differently from one another.

Summary of Empirical Issues

Again, the purpose of discussing in somewhat more detail three of these questions is to illustrate the complexity that has accompanied systematic empirical assessment of effectiveness over the past three decades. Measuring effectiveness has not been an easy task. A transition has occurred from single, universalistic evaluations of effectiveness to the identification and assessment of multiple, even paradoxical, effectiveness dimensions. Our seven guidelines for research have given evaluators of effectiveness research, at a minimum, an apparatus with which to assess the thoroughness, precision, and applicability of the effectiveness criteria being employed. Moreover, they help create a boundary for the conceptual definition of effectiveness in particular studies. Effectiveness in higher education, for example, that is measured from the standpoint of administrators, relying on long-term data, using financial performance, and being compared to peer institutions, would produce a different definition of effectiveness than if the construct was assessed using a different set of constraints. These assessment guidelines, then, link with the conceptual issues surrounding effectiveness by affecting definitions and approaches.

FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW EFFECTIVENESS MOVEMENT

This discussion of the evolutionary development of conceptual and empirical issues surrounding organizational effectiveness, and the three transitions that comprise that development, help provide a foundation with which to examine the new trends in research on organizational performance. Because current work seems to be leading toward another transition in effectiveness approaches, away from the effectiveness construct as a focus of research, the second part of this chapter highlights the rudiments of this "new organizational effectiveness movement." This movement currently occupies center stage in discussions about organizational performance. It presents a challenge to the predominance of the construct of organizational effectiveness in the organizational sciences and, in turn, in the higher education literature. Of course, this new movement may merely be a temporary intellectual fad, that is, an overly popular but underdevel-

oped trend which grabs a great deal of attention for a short time but adds little to our fundamental understanding of organizations. On the other hand, it appears that the challenge to traditional effectiveness research is nontrivial. Consequently, our comparison of the contributions of this new focus on quality with the contributions emerging from past learning about effectiveness helps fashion our recommendations for future research needs.

Precursors to Abandoning Effectiveness in Research

Recently, at least two additional modifications have occurred in conceptualizations of effectiveness that have dramatically affected its use (or lack thereof) in the organizational studies literature. Because these modifications have had the effect of halting empirical and theoretical writing on the construct of effectiveness per se, and of substituting another construct for it, a discussion of these modifications, the development of the replacement construct, and the applicability of the lessons learned from the effectiveness literature to this new movement should be informative. Knowing how approaches to effectiveness evolved in the past provide insight into the issues to be faced in the coming decade with a construct that, while capturing the attention of the organizational scholars, is still in its infancy in organizational research. Without scrutiny, it is not clear whether the new movement will cause effectiveness work to advance or to retrogress.

The first modification has been a dramatically intensified emphasis on pragmatics in organizational studies in the 1990s. With the escalating cry for relevance in schools, the attacks on scholarly research as lagging practice, the loss of competitiveness and high failure rate in U.S. businesses, (e.g., Whetten and Cameron, 1991, pp. 1-11), and the continued erosion of confidence in higher education, the approach to effectiveness took a decided pivot. As discussed above, whereas the 1960s through the 1980s were marked by debates about which definition, which criteria, or which framework of effectiveness were most appropriate, the 1990s are marked by little debate at all. Instead of arguing with colleagues about conceptual issues, scholars are now more often focusing on identifying "best practices" in organizations, or describing the changes, improvements, or blunders that organizations are experiencing. Less attention is being given to conceptual dimensions and definitions and more is given to identifying appropriate organizational practices and means for accomplishing desirable outcomes. Hence, a perceptible shift has occurred from discussions of effectiveness that were criticized by practitioners as too ethereal and theoretical to discussions of effectiveness that are now criticized by scholars as too pragmatic, thin, and over-simplified (e.g., Scott, 1992). This is represented by a significant trend toward identifying managerial implications in effectiveness research. Emphasis on definitional debates has given way to an emphasis on finding appropriate guidelines for management practice—a shift from ends to means.

The second significant modification is related to fundamental changes in the assumptions being made about the nature of effective organizations. These changes were at least partially motivated by the examination in recent research of new types of organizational performance and unusual occurrences, as well as by the influence of other academic disciplines in studying organizational phenomena. Specifically, at the beginning of the 1980s, a perusal of organizational effectiveness literature led to the conclusion that (1) bigger organizations indicate better organizations (e.g., Greiner, 1967), (2) unending growth is a natural and desirable process in organizational life cycle development (e.g., Cameron and Whetten, 1981), (3) slack resources, loose coupling, and redundancy are associated with organizational adaptability and flexibility (Weick, 1976), and (4) consistency and congruence are hallmarks of effective organizations (Nadler and Tushman, 1980).

By the beginning of the 1990s, however, a dramatic change had occurred in these fundamental assumptions underlying organizational performance. Each of these assumptions had been challenged, not because new theories were developed, but because of the changing dynamics observed and investigated in organizations. Researchers who had previously been guided by the four assumptions above were motivated to revise their perspectives on the basis of what they observed in highly effective organizations. The replacement assumptions were representative of the paradoxical approach to effectiveness in that they were opposite the original assumptions as well as being supplemental, namely: (1) smaller (as well as larger) organizations also indicate better organizations (Peters, 1993); (2) downsizing and decline (as well as growth) are also natural and desirable parts of the life cycle process (Cameron, Freeman, and Michra, 1993); (3) tight coupling and nonredundancy (as well as slack resources and loose coupling) are also associated with adaptability and flexibility (Weick and Roberts, 1992); and (4) conflict and inconsistency (as well as congruence and consistency) are also indicative of organizational effectiveness (Cameron, 1986). While these revised assumptions partly represent an integration of the concept of paradox into organizational assumptions, they, along with the new pragmatic focus, led work on organizational effectiveness (now called by a variety of different names in the literature, hardly ever by effectiveness) to begin moving in a decidedly different direction. The most frequent substitute for effectiveness, and the construct most responsible for the dramatic shifts in effectiveness research over the past half decade or so, is **quality**.

Clarifying the Meaning of Quality

In the scholarly literature prior to the late 1980s, quality was treated as a predictor of effectiveness (Campbell, 1977; Conrad and Blackburn, 1985). Quality referred to the rate of errors or defects in goods-producing organizations (Crosby,

1979), to institutional reputation in higher education organizations (Webster, 1981), to ambiance and talent in arts organizations (Tschirhart, 1993), to recovery in health care organizations (Scott, Flood, Ewy, and Forrest, 1978), and so on. In every case, quality was **one** of the desired attributes of the outcomes produced by organizations, and it was always used as a qualifier in describing some product or service, i.e., high quality products, high quality education, high quality art, high quality health care. It was merely an attribute of what organizations were interested in accomplishing.

However, motivated by the unmistakable and highly visible decline in U.S. competitiveness relative to the Japanese (in particular) because of poor quality products, the loss of consumer confidence in U.S. products and services (including education) as a result of perceptions of poor quality, the introduction of the prestigious Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award (MBNQA) by the U.S. Commerce Department, and the increase in attention to "best practices" in the popular press, the use of and focus on quality changed. More and more, quality began to take on the appearance of the *summum bonum* relative to organizational performance. Managers and organization members became converted to the pursuit of quality as the single most important organizational objective (Deming, 1986), and scholars scrambled to catch up by substituting quality as the dependent variable of choice. In 1993, for example, quality was the most frequently appearing topic in research papers at the Academy of Management, as well as in the various professional meetings associated with the field of higher education (e.g., ASHE, AAHE, SCUP). Whereas effectiveness had largely disappeared from the organizational studies and higher education literatures, articles and books published since 1985 on quality now number in the hundreds (see Peterson and Cameron, 1994, for an annotated bibliography on quality in higher education). This indicates, simply, that quality has begun to be elevated to a conceptual level formerly afforded only to effectiveness, that is, as a construct designated as the central objective of organizational action. It is beginning to encompass multiple outcomes, effects, and processes.

For example, a distinction was invented differentiating a "big Q" approach to quality from a "little q" approach (Juran, 1993). The former refers to quality as an overall, encompassing culture of the organization, and the latter refers to specific tools, techniques, activities, or product and service attributes within an organization. Little 'q' is associated with quality as an attribute of a product or a process. Big 'Q' is associated with the strategy and overall functioning of the organization in addition to the ultimate outcome produced by its products and services. The phrase "total quality management" (TQM) is generally substituted for big 'Q' quality (Sashkin and Kiser, 1993).

Quality only recently has taken on the TQM or big 'Q' connotation. Traditionally, quality was treated as a reliability engineering or statistical control issue and

appeared mainly in engineering, operations management, and applied statistics literatures. It was limited in its application to products or processes, not to overall organizational performance. For example, Garvin (1988) identified four "quality eras" in the United States: (1) *an inspection era*, in which quality was associated with mistakes and errors detected in products or services after they were produced; (2) *a statistical control era*, in which defects were reduced by statistical sampling and testing and by controlling variability in the processes that produced products; (3) *a quality assurance era*, in which quality techniques and philosophies were expanded beyond the production of outputs to "total quality control" where top management took responsibility for ensuring quality in all parts of the organization; and (4) *a strategic quality management era*, in which quality was defined from the customer's point of view and the organization's strategy became centered on quality. This shift from the first era to the fourth era was largely a shift from little 'q' to big 'Q' quality. It is this big 'Q' or TQM use of quality that has begun to appear in the organizational studies and higher education literatures and has begun to rival effectiveness as the key organizational-level dependent variable.

Interestingly, Garvin's quality eras also parallel quite closely the evolutionary shifts in effectiveness definitions. For example, the first two quality eras, inspection and statistical control, best characterized by Shewhart's (1931) classic *Economic Control of Quality of Manufactured Product*, represent an ideal type approach. Similar to the ideal type models of organizational effectiveness, Shewhart outlined universalistic techniques of quality control as well as a philosophy that emphasized one correct way to define and achieve quality. The next quality era—quality assurance—is similar to the contingency view of effectiveness. Juran (1951) and Fiegenbaum (1961), for example, motivated the shift to a new quality era by identifying different approaches to and different meanings of quality depending on which part of an organization was being considered. Quality definitions could differ among functions (e.g., manufacturing, purchasing, sales) as well as among activities (e.g., new product design, inventory control, assembly) (Fiegenbaum, 1961). The fourth era—strategic quality management—parallels the multiple constituency approach to effectiveness in emphasizing the key role of the organization's stakeholders (i.e., customers, suppliers, beneficiaries). Quality in this era is defined from the customer's point of view, and the organization's strategy, processes, measurements, and activities are focused on satisfying the customer (Garvin, 1988).

The similarities in these stages of development are immaterial except that, as a proposed replacement for effectiveness, the level of quality's theoretical development takes on added importance. In fact, in order to discuss the future of organizational-level quality research as a replacement for effectiveness, it is important to be more precise about the current definitions of quality so that an adequate examination of its merit can be made.

TABLE 3: Major Definitions of Quality

Approach	*Definition*	*Example*
Transcendent	"Quality is neither mind nor matter, but a third entity independent of the two...even though Quality cannot be defined, you know what it is" (Pirsig, 1974).	Innate excellence Timeless beauty Universal appeal
Product-based	"Quality refers to the amounts of the unpriced attributes contained in each unit of the priced attribute" (Leffler, 1982). attributes	Durability Extra desired attributes Wanted features
User-based	"Quality is fitness for use" (Juran, 1974). "Quality consists of the capacity to satisfy wants" (Edwards, 1968)	Satisfies customers Meets needs Fulfills expectations
Manufacturing-based"	Quality means conformance to requirements" (Crosby, 1979)	Reliability Adherence to specifications Variation within tolerance limits
Value-based	"Quality means best for certain conditions...(a) the actual use and (b) Value for the selling price" (Fiegenbaum, 1961)	Performance at an acceptable price. Value for the money spent Affordable excellence
System-based	"[Quality is] a system of means to economically produce goods or services which satisfy customers' requirements" (Japanese Industrial Standard Z8101, 1981	Utilizing accepted quality procedures Quality processes Integrated approach
Philosophical	"[Quality] means that the organization's culture is defined by and supports the constant attainment of customer satisfaction through an integrated system of tools, techniques, and training" (Sashkin and Kiser, 1993).	Management philosophy Life style Mind-set

One difficulty with studying quality, as with effectiveness, is that its definition is neither precise nor consensual. As is clear from our previous discussion, both effectiveness and quality are *constructs*, not *concepts*, and no objective referents exist. Their definitions are *constructed* in the minds of definers (Cameron 1981), so no one definition is ever completely correct. Table 1 (p. 267), for example, provided several of the most frequently appearing definitions of effec-

tiveness in the literature. Table 3 identifies several current definitions of (or approaches to) quality as well.

A common theme in the top five definitions is they focus on quality as an attribute of products and services (little 'q'). The bottom two definitions focus on quality from a more comprehensive, organization-level perspective (big 'Q' or TQM). This latter perspective is typical of the approach to quality that rivals the construct of effectiveness. These definitions of quality are generally described as incorporating a variety of attributes or characteristics. That is, when explaining big 'Q' quality or TQM, the following characteristics are an inherent part of that construct (see, for example, MBNQA, 1992; Deming, 1986; Juran, 1992):

Continuous improvement in all activities and people
Customer satisfaction for internal and external customers
Efficient deployment of resources
Employee, supplier, and customer development
Environmental well-being
Exemplary, visionary, and aggressive leadership
Fast response time
Full participation of employees, suppliers, and customers
Life-long relationships with customers
Long-range perspectives
Partnerships upstream, downstream, and across functions
Prevention of error by designing in quality
Process mapping and process improvement
Providing customer value
Quantitative measurement and management-by-fact
Root cause analysis
Shared values, vision, and culture
Standard quality tools (such as SPC, QFD, DOE, etc.)
Waste reduction and cost containment

These key attributes, while not comprehensive, are important in understanding why the construct of quality has begun to supplant effectiveness in organizational research. Without explaining each of these key attributes (which is impossible here because of space limitations), they introduce some of the advantages of quality over effectiveness. In particular, because the attributes include inputs, processes, outcomes, constituency preferences, and even paradox, they appear to provide some integration of the models usually separated in the traditional effectiveness approaches. In the next section we identify three attributes of quality that seem to provide an advantage over current approaches to effectiveness. We then identify some problems with the construct of quality and discuss attributes of effectiveness that provide advan-

tages over quality. We conclude with a summary comparison of quality and effectiveness and a suggestion regarding the future of research on organizational effectiveness.

Advantages of Quality Over Effectiveness

Several issues have continued to impede progress in effectiveness research that seem to be addressed by switching to quality. They include (1) discord among different models or approaches to effectiveness, (2) a lack of integration between processes and outcomes, and (3) a lack of comprehensiveness by ignoring organizational culture. Each of these issues is addressed in the big 'Q' or TQM definition of quality.

Integration. One advantage associated with quality that differentiates it from effectiveness is that current approaches to quality help to harmonize several models of effectiveness that have been treated as competing in the past literature. For example, consider the models listed in Table 2 (p. 274) as illustrations of the four developmental approaches to effectiveness—the goal model, the internal processes model, the system resource model, the strategic constituencies model, and the competing values model. The debates in the literature regarding which of these approaches to effectiveness is most appropriate have been intense and, sometimes, heated (Seashore and Yuchtman, 1977; Bluedorn, 1980; Steers, 1978; Connolly, Conlon, and Deutsch, 1980; Price, 1982; Quinn and Rohrbaugh, 1981). The current big 'Q' or TQM approach to quality, however, appears to encompass each of these effectiveness models. That is, the key attributes of quality include such things as the production of perfect, defect-free outputs and services and the continuous improvement of goals (goal model), the adoption of processes and practices that ensure smooth, efficient organizational functioning (internal processes model), the integration of suppliers and resource providers into the planning, design, and budgeting of products and services (system resource model), the satisfaction of customers (multiple constituencies model), and the simultaneous pursuit of innovation and creativity with stable, controlled efficiency (competing values model). The construct of quality assumes that each of these attributes is inherently necessary and interdependent in achieving high levels of performance. No tension is present concerning which model of effectiveness is best, therefore, since the substitution of quality for effectiveness reveals that all these models may be a part of a larger construct. Whereas the traditional debates surrounding effectiveness models were aimed at highlighting differences among the models and the superiority of one perspective over another, a focus on quality has emphasized the integration of these perspectives under one broad approach.

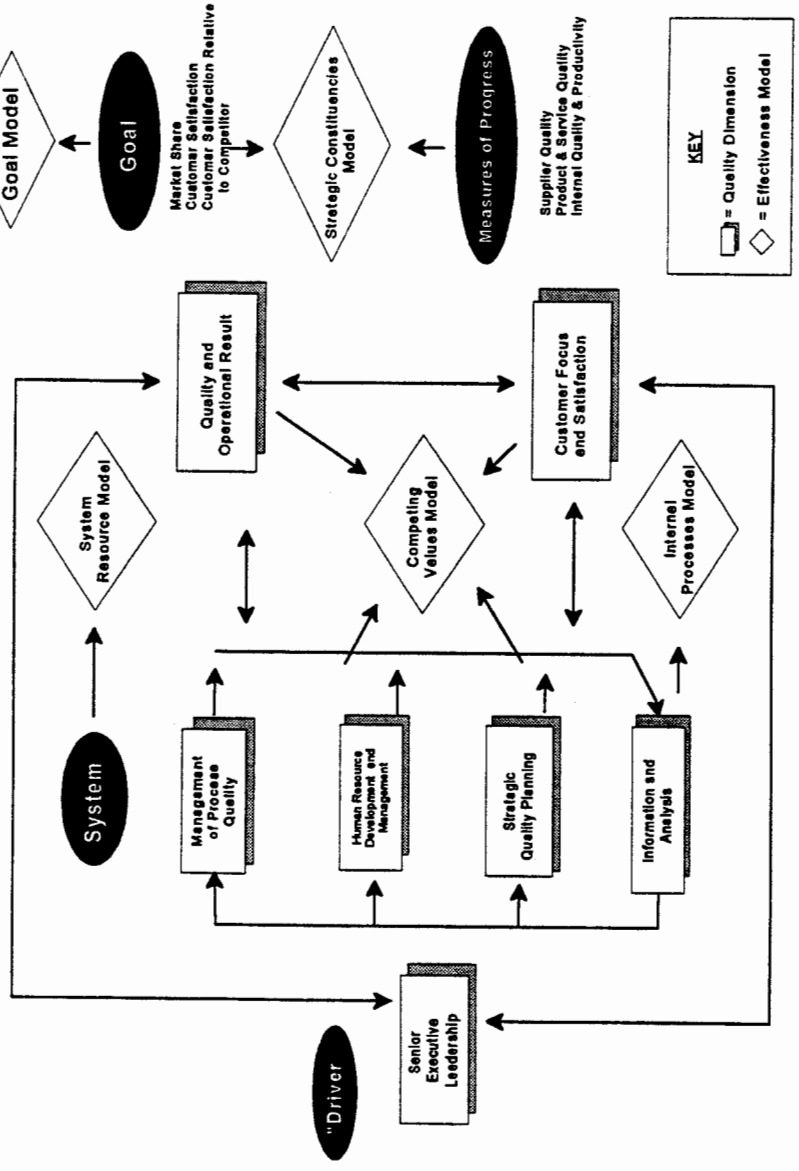

FIGURE 1. Comparing Effectiveness Models with Quality Categories

A specific example of this point is illustrated by comparing these five effectiveness models with the framework used by the U.S. Commerce Department to organize the seven MBNQA categories. These seven categories are clusters of criteria defined as the core attributes of a quality organization. Quality is defined by these categories, and the categories are assumed to be comprehensive. Figure 1, for example, illustrates how the five models of effectiveness relate to the seven quality categories. This figure, taken from the 1992 MBNQA Application Guidelines, symbolizes the fact that each model—organizational goals, internal processes, system resource, constituency satisfaction, competing values—is represented in this comprehensive model of quality. They are not in competition with one another as in the traditional effectiveness literature, but are integrated into a framework of total quality for the organization.

Processes and outcomes. A second apparent advantage of quality over effectiveness is that it integrates methods and tools for accomplishing quality along with desired organizational outcomes. An inherent part of the construct itself, in other words, is the assumption that particular processes and procedures are in operation in quality organizations in addition to the achievement of desired outputs. Greene (1993), for example, identified 24 "approaches to total quality" which describe the processes that comprise a quality organization. Whereas he indicated that no single organization may be characterized by all 24 processes (inasmuch as the processes he described are not all named and discussed in the U.S. literature nor are all named and discussed in the Japanese literature), they are, nevertheless, requisite to what constitutes a quality organization. Table 4 lists these 24 processes. This list, although not comprehensive or exclusive, illustrates that, unlike effectiveness, current approaches to quality almost always subsume methods, practices, and systems along with organizational outcomes and effects. In other words, quality appears to be more encompassing of both means and ends, how-to's as well as what-to's, than is effectiveness.

Some authors have been critical of the construct of quality precisely because of what they view as an overemphasis on processes and practices to the exclusion of outcomes and effects (e.g., Bowles, 1992; Crosby, 1992; Hammond, 1992; Crawford-Mason, 1992; McKoewn, 1992). They argue, among other things, that quality is a narrower construct than effectiveness because, in its common usage, it overemphasizes internal processes instead of accomplishments. Much criticism has been leveled at the MBNQA criteria, in particular. To investigate the extent to which common quality processes and commonly desired outcomes are associated with one another, the U.S. General Accounting Office conducted a study of organizations which had implemented quality processes to a high degree. The 20 firms being investigated all were finalists in the MBNQA competition in 1988 and 1989. Table 5 summarizes the annual percent improvement in four categories of commonly desired outcomes associated with prescribed quality processes. The

major conclusion of the study was that, not only does a high degree of positive correlation exist between quality processes and quality outcomes, a causal relationship is likely to be present as well. In other words, organizations that implement the processes commonly associated with a quality organization are highly likely to produce desirable outcomes as well. Hence, the emphasis on integrating processes and outcomes, which was seldom the case in the effectiveness literature, has helped quality begin to take priority over effectiveness as a descriptor of desirable organizational performance.

TABLE 4: Greene's Twenty Four Total Quality Processes

MAJOR APPROACH	Specific Process
Debuffering Approaches	
	Inventory Buffers: Just-in-Time
	Tolerance Buffers: Statistical Process Control
	Authority Buffers: Quality Circles
	Functional Department Buffers: Total Quality Control
Scientific Styling	
	Scientific Prevention: Total Preventive Maintenance
	Scientific Design: Taguchi Methods
	Scientific Cognition: 14 Statistical and Management Tools
	Scientific Application: High Technology Circles
Workforce Deployment	
	Automation Deployment: Buy Time
	New Technology Deployment: Buys Customer Satisfaction
	Quality Function Deployment: Buys Customer Understanding
	Policy Deployment: Anticipates Customer Needs
Process Engineering	
	Process Architecting
	Process Improving
	Process Deployment
	Process Execution Automation
Organizational Transparency	
	System Inclusion of Customers: Customer Aided Design
	Product Inclusion of Customers: Customer Managed Corporation
	Feeling Inclusion of Customers: Kansei Engineering
	Generation Inclusion: Middle-Up-Down Management
Cognitive Competitiveness	
	Learning Organizations: Cognitive Quality of Life
	Learning Self-Management: Meta-Cognitive Organization
	University Workgroups: Social Democratic Quality
	Learning Invention: Democratic Scientific Management

Comprehensiveness and quality culture. A third advantage, which is related to the two points above, is that quality may have a comprehensiveness advantage over effectiveness. Quality has begun to be treated as an "organizational culture," that is, as a paradigm, a set of values, a way of approaching work and people. In the big 'Q' or TQM sense, it represents a peculiar organizational mind-set in addition to being a set of processes and outcomes. It may, therefore, represent a broader construct than the one typical of the effectiveness literature. This cultural aspect of quality is illustrated by an assertion of George Bush (1992):

> Quality management is not just a strategy. It must be a new style of working, even a new style of thinking. A dedication to quality and excellence is more than good business. It is a way of life, giving something back to society, offering your best to others.

TABLE 5: Results of a General Accounting Office Study of the Relationships Between Quality Processes and Desired Outcomes

OUTCOME CATEGORY IMPROVEMENT	REPORTED ANNUAL PERCENT
Employee Related Indicators	
Employee Satisfaction	1.4%
Attendance	.1.0%
Turnover (decrease)	6.0%
Safety and Health	1.8%
Suggestions	16.6%
Operating Indicators	
Reliability	11.3%
On-time Delivery	4.7%
Order-processing Time	12.0%
Errors or Defects	10.3%
Product Lead Time	5.8%
Inventory Turnover	7.2%
Costs of Quality	9.0%
Customer Satisfaction Indicators	
Overall Customer Satisfaction	2.5%
Customer Complaints (decrease)	11.6%
Customer Retention	1.0%
Financial Performance Indicators	
Market Share	13.7%
Sales Per Employee	8.6%
Return on Assets	1.3%
Return of Sales	.4%

SOURCE: Government Accounting Office (1991)

Whereas we argued above that different models of organizational effectiveness arise from different conceptualizations of organizations, and that the conceptualizations may represent organizational paradigms, the effectiveness models that have emerged from these paradigms are all more restrictive than quality. Organizational effectiveness models have never been so broad as to include notions of organizational culture.

TABLE 6: A Model of Quality Cultures: Three Stages

Error Detection

Regarding Products

Avoid mistakes
Reduce waste, rework, repair
Detect problems
Focus on outputs

Regarding Customers

Avoid annoying customers
Respond to complaints efficiently and accurately
Assess satisfaction after-the-fact
Focus on needs and requirements

Error Prevention

Regarding Products

Expect zero defects
Prevent errors and mistakes
Hold everyone accountable
Focus on processes and root causes

Regarding Customers

Satisfy customers and exceed expectations

Eliminate problems in advance
Involve customers in design
Focus on preferences or "nice-to-have" attributes

Perpetual Creative Quality

Regarding Products

Constant improvement and escalating standards
Concentrate on things-gone-right
Emphasize breakthroughs
Focus on improvement in suppliers, customers, and processes

Regarding Customers

Expect lifelong loyalty
Surprise and delight customers
Anticipate expectations
Create new preferences

SOURCE: Cameron (1992)

A "culture of organizational quality" has only begun to be investigated in the scholarly literature, and only rudimentary conceptual development has occurred. Cameron (1991), for example, formulated a model of quality culture in which three different mind-sets or generalized orientations toward quality were described. These approaches were measured as cultural approaches to quality through interviews and surveys. Different profiles indicating various degrees of emphasis across these quality cultures were found to exist in a more than 100 manufacturing and service organizations. Table 6 summarizes the attributes of each of the three types of cultures. No organization was characterized by a single quality culture, but almost all had a dominant type of quality culture.

In explaining differences among the cultures, Cameron claimed that different quality cultures have emerged developmentally over the last few decades in for-profit organizations. Through the 1970s, for example, most U.S. organizations were characterized by a quality culture centered on *error detection.* Organizations emphasized inspecting and detecting errors, avoiding mistakes, reducing waste, and finding and fixing errors. Quality control auditors inspected products and services after they were produced. A major focus was to avoid irritating internal and external customers in service delivery. Systems were developed that responded to customer requirements and specifications accurately and on time.

In higher education this culture might be reflected by an emphasis on outcomes and final results, a reliance on audits, tests, and final exams to assess individual and institutional performance, and a focus on the essential needs of those being served and minimum standards in the education process. What might be most observable is the attention paid to auditing and accreditation, examination scores, assessments of student outcomes, or faculty publication counts as evidence of quality. Individual and institutional improvement opportunities are provided on the basis of specified need or requirement.

The 1980s saw the transition to *an error prevention* culture, or avoiding making mistakes instead of correcting them after-the-fact. The goal was to achieve zero defects (perfection) by doing work right the first time, and by emphasizing root (common) causes of problems, process controls, and holding all workers accountable for quality, not just end-of-the-line inspectors. A major focus was on pleasing and satisfying constituents (not just avoiding annoying them), and providing service that creates customer loyalty through exceeding expectations. Obtaining customer preferences in advance and monitoring customer satisfaction after service delivery were crucial aspects of this new approach.

In higher education this culture might be reflected by a greater emphasis on excellence in processes and methods for producing individual and institutional outcomes than the achievement of outcomes. The pursuit of quality and excellence in all activities becomes a way of life for each staff member and faculty. Emphasis is placed on designing processes and systems, both in the classroom and in support functions so that the possibility of mistakes and aberrations for

excellence are not allowed to occur. What might be most observable is the development of learning partnerships among students and faculty, assessments of the process of development, ongoing mechanisms for feedback and feedforward, and a customer orientation as indicators of institutional quality. Individual and institutional improvement opportunities are provided even before a specified need arises.

A third quality culture emerged during the late 1980s and 1990s centered on *creative quality and continuous improvement.* This culture, typical of only a few notable organizations, couples continuous improvement (small, incremental changes) with innovation (large, breakthrough changes), so that current *standards* of performance are always changing and improving. The focus shifts to designing and producing "things-gone-right" as well as avoiding "things-gone-wrong." Helping to improve suppliers' and customers' quality become equally important to improving the firm's own work processes and employees. Creating new expectations and surprising and delighting customers occur as a result of solving customer problems no one expected to be solved.

In higher education this culture might be reflected by a focus on producing peak experiences and defining events for both those being served (e.g., students) and those delivering the service (e.g., support staff or faculty). Improvement, in addition to achieving excellence, becomes a way of life and is associated with every activity pursued by the institution. Innovation and creativity characterize the work of all faculty and staff members in that those being served are regularly surprised and delighted with the processes and outcomes of the institution. What might be most observable is the frequency of defining moments available to institution members, assessments of continuous improvement, evidence of constant organizational learning, and indicators of breakthrough thinking as criteria for institutional quality. Individual and institutional improvement is continuous and focused on future developmental opportunities.

Cameron's (1992) research on these three culture types among more than 200 manufacturing and service organizations revealed that organizations in a status quo condition (paying little attention to quality) or that were dominated by an *error detection* culture were significantly lower performers on every process and outcome measure than were organizations which were dominated by *error prevention* and *creative quality* cultures. Organizations dominated by a *creative quality* culture scored highest on all process and outcome measures. The *error prevention* firms scored second highest. (The processes and outcomes used in the study included defect levels, financial performance over five years, ratings of organizational effectiveness, effective leadership, effective information gathering and analysis, appropriate structure, effective information use, effective planning, effective human resource utilization, customer satisfaction, use of quality tools, downsizing, and amount of past improvement.)

What is most relevant about these findings for purposes of this paper is that,

whereas a variety of process and outcome variables discriminated significantly among the different quality cultures, measures of organizational effectiveness did not discriminate. That is, measures and patterns of quality and of effectiveness were not synonymous in these organizations, and the quality culture of the firms was more predictive of desirable outcomes and processes than were measures of effectiveness. The construct of quality, therefore, seemed to provide an advantage over effectiveness in understanding the performance of these organizations.

Advantages of Effectiveness Over Quality

Of course, we are not arguing that the organizational sciences and higher education are to a point where we should throw out the construct of organizational effectiveness. Quite the contrary, a review of effectiveness research highlights some important reasons why the construct has endured and is useful in investigations of organizational performance. Organizational studies research on quality as an indicator of organizational performance, on the other hand, is still in its infancy. Whereas much publication has been done, little empirical work has appeared, and most writing has yet to tackle several important issues that have dominated the effectiveness literature for more than two decades. That is, organizational effectiveness still appears to have several advantages over quality as a construct of choice in the organizational studies and higher education. They relate to: (1) the prescriptive and normative nature of quality, (2) problems with customer preferences and customer satisfaction, and (3) a lack of conceptual bounding of quality.

Normative nature. As discussed above, the earliest models of organizational effectiveness were prescriptive in nature and were based on ideal type assumptions. The pursuit of scholars, and the debates among authors, focused on identifying the single best model of effectiveness. A similar tendency toward one ideal approach exists in the current literature on quality. Whereas multiple definitions of quality exist (e.g., Table 3, p. 283), by and large they are not in conflict with one another since they are treated as aspects of a more encompassing construct. (Exceptions exist, for example, in discussions about which "quality guru" is correct, Crosby, Deming, Juran, Taguchi, Ishikawa, and so on.) In the big 'Q' or TQM sense, however, organizational quality includes the definitions in Table 3 related to value, customers, product attributes, culture, and so on.

What was missing from the effectiveness literature in the ideal type era, however, was the realization that under different environmental conditions, different dimensions of effectiveness, even completely different models, became relevant. The uncovering of dimensions of effectiveness helped provide alternatives that could be matched with different environmental dimensions. Thus far, little work has been done on dimensions of quality (Garvin [1988] and the MBNQA are exceptions), and acknowledgment that different approaches to quality may be

appropriate under different environmental conditions is absent from the literature. The assumption that quality is inherently worthwhile under all circumstances and in all organizations still permeates most writing. Authors have discussed quality as it applies to different settings such as universities, hospitals, manufacturing firms, and so on (e.g., Seymour, 1992), but that discussion does not include an examination of contingencies that may alter quality's definition or dimensions.

An introduction to the rudiments of contingency thinking has occurred with the recent reemphasis on the concept of "value" (e.g. Sherman, 1992), but it is yet to be examined empirically in the organizational sciences. Value, simply defined, means that the organization produces exactly what the customer is willing to acquire and nothing more. That is, resources are not expended on product attributes, services, or other organizational processes and outcomes that do not have value to some constituency and for which they are not willing to spend resources. The basic assumption is that value may be defined uniquely by different constituency groups, and that different organizations may provide different types of value. In the effectiveness literature, that is a basic assumption; in the quality literature, it is as yet unacknowledged.

This introduction of value for customers raises a second issue that illustrates the advantage of effectiveness over quality. It relates to customer preferences.

Customer preferences. The growing trend in the quality literature is to treat customer satisfaction as the single most important indicator of quality (Heskett, Sasser, and Hart, 1990). In fact, some writers have equated quality and customer satisfaction as completely interchangeable constructs. The trouble is, as we have argued before, at least four important issues surround customer satisfaction: (1) customers often cannot identify their own preferences or expectations; (2) expectations change, sometimes very quickly, and sometimes as a result of having old preferences satisfied; (3) contradictory preferences are present among different customers; and (4) preferences are often unrelated to organizational performance (Cameron and Whetten, 1983, pp. 12-19). In cases where satisfying customer preferences is associated with a single product or service (little 'q' quality), it is simple to measure customer satisfaction with that product or service (for example, percent of customers satisfied with an automobile). But when quality refers to an organization's culture or the sum of its processes and outcomes (big 'Q' or TQM quality), assessing customer satisfaction becomes more complex. Little acknowledgment has been provided in organizational-level quality studies of such complexity.

The finding that different models of organizational effectiveness are associated with different life cycle stages (e.g., Cameron and Whetten, 1981) also has no counterpart in the quality literature. It is unclear if customer preferences change, if different customer groups represent different levels of priority to the

organization itself, if different quality processes are associated with different outcomes in different stages, if the concept of "value" changes over time, and so on. Moreover, distinctions in the effectiveness literature between, for example, doing *good* versus doing *well* (Miles and Cameron, 1982), *desired* results versus *desirable* results (Zammuto, 1984), and doing *things right* versus doing *the right things* (Kanter and Brinkerhoff, 1981), highlight the subtleties that have emerged as empirical research on effectiveness progressed over time. No similar refinements have emerged from the stream of research on quality.

In addition, among the most controversial issues surrounding the application of quality to institutions of higher education is the concept of customer. The questions is, who is a customer? Are students customers, suppliers, partners, or part of the production process? Are faculty customers? Of whom? What role do state government, benefactors, parents, and sponsors play? To what extent are they to be treated as customers? In the effectiveness literature, each of these groups is treated as a constituency with legitimate claims on the organization. In the quality literature, it is unclear if a customer satisfaction perspective can legitimately apply.

Conceptual boundaries. In the effectiveness literature, seven guidelines were proposed (as discussed earlier) that helped established boundaries for the definition and empirical assessment of organizational effectiveness. No similar boundary specification has occurred with the construct of quality. Whereas quality is treated as a comprehensive organizational performance construct that encompasses multiple processes and outcomes, what is inside and what is outside the construct has not yet been precisely established. For example, is satisfaction a predictor, an indicator, or an outcome of quality? Is efficiency a predictor, indicator, or outcome of quality? One might argue that satisfied customers *lead to* an evaluation of a quality organization, that satisfied customers are the most important *indicator* of quality, or that quality *produces* the result of satisfied customers. The same logic applies to efficiency. At present, writing on quality is not so precise as to address such issues, and writers largely base their construct boundaries on their own idiosyncratic preferences.

Another manifestation of the conceptual boundary issue is the development of different effectiveness models resulting from different paradigms of organizations. When organizations are conceived of differently—as networks (Tichy and Fombrun, 1979), information processing units (Galbraith, 1977), garbage cans (March and Olsen, 1976), social contracts (Keeley, 1980), rational goal achievers (Perrow, 1970), and so on—different phenomena are highlighted and different criteria become relevant for organizational performance. The quality literature, thus far, has not addressed the variety in criteria that may emerge from different organizational metaphors. The point, simply, is that more than two decades of theoretical and empirical work on effectiveness has produced a more well-devel-

oped and more precisely defined the construct than is typical of the current work on TQM or big 'Q' quality.

Summary Comparisons Between Quality and Effectiveness

What we are pointing out with these examples of the advantages of one construct over the other is that an increased understanding of organizational performance—whether labelled effectiveness or quality—may occur best if the strengths of each construct are used to inform future investigations. It may be less important which construct predominates than that future research be informed by the lessons of both. The comprehensiveness and integration associated with quality, especially the intermingling of means and ends, for example, can help expand conceptualizations of effectiveness and highlight compatibilities among models. Quality's tendency toward pragmatics and useful guidelines for organizational practitioners may be especially important in an era where research on improved organizational performance is badly needed by the practitioner community. The conceptual complexities uncovered by effectiveness scholars, on the other hand—such as underlying dimensions and multiple models—as well as the proposed guidelines for more precise empirical research on these kinds of amorphous constructs, can help inform empirical investigations of quality that are not now considered.

Whereas the current trend in scholarly writing in organizational studies and higher education is clear—quality is prevailing and effectiveness is increasingly ignored—it is not clear that future research will continue to follow this drift and that our understanding of organizational performance will be enhanced if effectiveness is forgotten. In fact, although quality seems to be the construct of the 1990s in relation to organizational performance, the field will retrogress if the advantages of decades of work on effectiveness are ignored. On the other hand, while it may be premature to completely abandon effectiveness as a central construct in organizational studies and higher education, to doggedly hang on to an outmoded construct is equally grievous. As a way to highlight the contributions and differences of each, several of the characteristics of effectiveness and quality are compared in Table 7 (p. 298). This table helps highlight the trade-offs that will be made as researchers use one construct as opposed to the other in future investigations.

With regard to definitions, for example, effectiveness has usually been defined from the standpoint of managers or administrators, and different constituencies have generally used different definitions. Effectiveness for students, for instance, is not the same as effectiveness for faculty or administrators (Cameron, 1986b). Effectiveness is traditionally contrasted with efficiency in focusing on "doing the right things" (i.e., effectiveness) as opposed to "doing things right" (i.e,., efficiency). A consensual set of values has never been associated with effectiveness definitions. On the other hand, TQM or big 'Q' quality is usually defined from

the standpoint of the customer, but no differences in definition occur when considering different types of customers (i.e., administrators and students can both be customers). Both efficiency and effectiveness perspectives are combined in defining quality, i.e., both "doing things right" and "doing the right things," and a relatively consistent set of values are associated with the definition of quality (e.g., improvement, empowerment, perfection, satisfaction).

The effectiveness literature has its roots in organizational behavior and sociology and, over time, more specific, but unique, models have emerged. Different conceptualizations of organizations led to different effectiveness definitions (see Table 2, p. 274). The quality literature, on the other hand, has its roots in engineering, manufacturing, operations management, and statistics. Time has led to a more and more consensual, overall model of quality rather than several differentiated ones, regardless of the organizational conceptualization adopted. For example, definitions of quality in the TQM sense have converged more and more on the latter two definitions in Table 3 (p. 283), whether higher education or, say, manufacturing organizations are considered.

Assessments of effectiveness have often been carelessly conducted in research and have frequently relied on one overall, summary rating. No necessary and sufficient set of criteria can be identified for effectiveness, although the seven critical questions discussed above have placed measurement issues at the center of the effectiveness literature (Cameron and Whetten, 1983). In the quality literature, on the other hand, virtually no empirical measures have appeared on organization-level quality. Yet, precise, quantitative measurement is a hallmark of the quality movement, and general agreement exists regarding key indicators of quality. The seven critical questions have not been applied to assessments of quality, however, and assessment issues do not play a major role in the quality literature.

In the effectiveness literature, quality is viewed as either a predictor variable or as a singular dimension subsumed by effectiveness. Effectiveness is viewed as the ultimate organization-level dependent variable, while quality applies only to qualifiers of products or services. In the quality literature, on the other hand, quality applies to everything that happens in the organization, including processes and practices, and effectiveness is viewed as narrowly focused on outputs. Quality is the ultimate dependent variable and transcends effectiveness from a TQM point of view.

Organizational effectiveness has sometimes been called a *divergent* problem (Zammuto, 1982) in that its definition is its central problem. A major challenge relating to this construct is identifying appropriate criteria and reliable dimensionality. Quality, on the other hand, is a *convergent* problem (Schumacher, 1977) in that its definition is not its most central issue. Instead, the major challenge associated with quality is identifying appropriate implementation procedures. Far more emphasis is placed on *how* to achieve quality than on *what* quality is.

The major criticisms of effectiveness relate to its being too imprecise and con-

ceptual for practitioners, and of overemphasizing outcomes at the expense of internal processes. Quality, on the other hand, is accused of being underdeveloped conceptually and theoretically, and overemphasizing processes and systems applications at the expense of outcomes. A common question, for example, is, "So what if you achieved high quality. Did you make money...or produce better students...or beat the competition?" The latter are all consistent with uses of effectiveness.

TABLE 7: A Comparison of Organizational Effectiveness and Quality

ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS	ORGANIZATIONAL QUALITY
1) The construct is usually defined from the standpoint of managers; different definitions are used by different constituencies.	1) The construct is usually defined from the standpoint of customers; similar definitions are ordinarily used by different constituencies.
2) Defined as "doing the right things" (contrasted to efficiency, "doing things right").	2) Defined as "doing the right things right" (a combination of effectiveness and efficiency).
3) Major puzzles have focused on identifying dimensionality.	3) Major puzzles have focused on identifying successful implementation techniques.
4) Over time, more specificity has developed; identifiable models of effectiveness have emerged.	4) Over time less specificity has emerged, with more and more concepts being subsumed under the rubric of quality (e.g., empowerment, teamwork, continuous improvement, customer focus, process control).
5) Literature accused of overemphasizing outcomes, especially goal accomplishment, at the expense of internal processes.	5) Literature accused of overemphasizing internal processes and systems at the expense of outcomes.
6) Quality was treated either as a predictor variable in effectiveness research or as a singular dimension of effectiveness.	6) Quality is treated as a dependent variable and transcends organizational effectiveness.
7) Assessments of effectiveness have often been carelessly done (mainly, using one overall subjective rating of effectiveness), but measurement issues occupy a dominant place in the literature.	7) Assessments of quality are mainly empirical and precise, but conceptual measurement issues are not yet central in the literature.
8) Effectiveness is applied to organizational attributes or outcomes, not to specific products or services.	8) Quality is applied mainly to products and services (e.g., actions, things) rather than to organizations.
9) The major effectiveness challenges relate to criteria, i.e., identifying the appropriate criteria.	9) The major quality challenges relate to application, i.e., identifying appropriate processes or tools.

TABLE 7: A Comparison of Organizational Effectiveness and Quality (continued)

ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS	ORGANIZATIONAL QUALITY
10) Different conceptualizations of the organization have produced different approaches to and definitions of effectiveness.	10) Different conceptualizations of organizations have produced largely consensual approaches to quality.
11) No necessary and/or sufficient set of criteria of effectiveness can be identified.	11) General consensus exists regarding core indicators of quality.
12) Approaches to research on effectiveness are idiosyncratic, depending on answers to the seven "critical questions."	12) Answers to the seven critical research questions have not been addressed in the literature discussing quality.
13) Effectiveness is a "divergent problem" (Schumacher, 1977) in that its definition *is* the problem.	13) Quality is a "convergent problem" (Schumacher, 1977) in that a solution and definition can be specified.
14) Effectiveness literature does not espouse or perpetuate a consensual set of values.	14) Quality has espoused and focused attention on some "inherent" human values—improvement, empowerment, caring, perfection.
15) The effectiveness literature was accused of being too conceptual for practitioners (i.e., focused on imprecise constructs).	15) The quality literature is accused of being too underdeveloped conceptually (i.e., focused on measurement and problem solving tools and techniques).
16) The effectiveness literature developed mainly in organizational behavior and organizational sociology.	16) The quality literature spans several disciplines including engineering, manufacturing, operations management, statistics, accounting, organizational behavior, and psychology.

SUMMARY AND PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

We began this chapter by suggesting that a review of the evolutionary development of organizational effectiveness would help guide future research on this construct in general, and in higher education organizations in particular. We described the conceptual sophistication that emerged during the formulation of new organizational effectiveness models and the increasing precision provided by the guidelines for empirical measurements. At the same time, we described the cessation of the appearance of effectiveness in the organizational literature after the mid-1980s and the ascendance of TQM or big 'Q' quality as a performance variable of choice. This increased emphasis on the construct of quality in the literature provided an opportunity to compare and contrast it with organizational effectiveness and to highlight strengths of each construct that can guide future research on organization-level performance. In particular, we highlighted the integrative function associated with the quality construct and the emphasis on

practical process criteria linked to outcomes and effects. We discussed advantages that quality has over effectiveness and that effectiveness has over quality, and we suggested that lessons learned from quality, coupled with the past effectiveness literature, can improve future investigations of organizational performance. Without any attempt to provide the last word on the future of effectiveness research or the most important future directions to be addressed, we offer two propositions that describe attributes we believe should characterize future research on organizational effectiveness in institutions of higher education.

First, research on organizational effectiveness in higher education should integrate processes, outcomes, and effects. Imai (1988) asserted that the most significant difference between Japanese models of organizational performance and American models is the prominent emphasis on process criteria in Japan and its absence from U.S. models. Process criteria relate to how work is done or how performance is accomplished as opposed to results criteria which relate to what is produced or what is accomplished. Imai argued that this omission accounts for the competitive success of Japanese organizations over U.S. organizations in the past as well as the likely triumph of Japanese organizations in the future. He included educational as well as goods-producing organizations in his prediction.

While we may disagree with Imai's conclusion and prediction, we do agree that much more emphasis is needed on the integration of processes, outcomes, and effects in future organizational effectiveness research. Instead of focusing exclusively on outcomes, as has been traditional, effectiveness research should give equal attention to process criteria and to the linkages among processes, outcomes, and effects (i.e., *how* outcomes are produced as well as *what* is produced and their *consequences*). In higher education institutions this means including the processes of educational delivery, their consequences, and the outcomes produced by the organization. Linkages among these factors also should lead to a reemphasis on integrating the various models of effectiveness. When quality is used in place of effectiveness, goal attainment, resource acquisition, efficiency, constituent satisfaction, and the pursuit of paradoxical criteria (c.f., Table 2, p. 274) all can be conceived as compatible. A similar transition could occur in the effectiveness literature, not because one grand definition or model triumphs, but because integration is often inhibited by the debates about which model is best. Rather than producing a better comprehension of or description for high/low performing organizations, traditional effectiveness writing has become mired too often in conceptual bantering typified by exclusivity. One lesson learned from our review of evolutionary shifts in effectiveness approaches, in fact, is that increased understanding can actually result from increased complexity of constructs. That is, integrating quality's emphasis on process with effectiveness' emphasis on dimensionality can help address questions such as: What specific processes are associated with what specific outcomes and effects in what specific environments? Under what circumstances are desirable processes not linked to desirable

outcomes? How are effectiveness-producing paradoxes managed and resolved? How do organizations reach a high reliability (zero-defects) state?

Our second proposal is, *research on organizational effectiveness in higher education should become both more comprehensive and more precise.* The seven guidelines for empirical assessment, the four issues related to constituency preferences, and the identification of paradoxical tensions in organizations were discussed above and are embedded in the traditional effectiveness literature. Each of these three sets of factors has the potential to make effectiveness research more precise and more accurate in definition and approach. Unfortunately, because the effectiveness literature waned before much empirical research was published in higher education using these factors, and because the quality literature has not yet considered these guidelines, issues, and tensions at all, very little research is available to address questions such as: Under what circumstances are specific answers to the seven guidelines more appropriate than others? Are certain choices relative to the seven guidelines more internally compatible than others? Can organizations supersede changing or contradictory constituency preferences by producing surprises and delights? Must paradoxes in organizations be resolved to produce effectiveness? How much paradoxical tension is compatible with effectiveness?

In addition to being more precise by means of the seven guidelines, effectiveness research also should become more comprehensive. For instance, with the increasing realization that high quality organizations are characterized by a special culture as well as by the ability to acquire resources, by efficient processes, by capacity, by appropriate structures, or by output production (e.g., Scott, 1992), research on effectiveness should begin taking into account more comprehensive criteria such as the nature of culture as well. The integration of culture into the construct of quality, for example, raises the possibility that a unique way of thinking, life-style, mind-set, or set of values may be inherently connected to high organizational-level performance. To date, meager attention has been paid to the integration of effectiveness and culture except as predictors of one another (e.g., Dennison, 1990). Yet, research questions such as the following remain unaddressed, based on findings from the quality literature: What are the dimensions of a highly effective organizational culture? Do cultural models match effectiveness models? What is the relationship between an advanced quality culture and organizational effectiveness? What contingencies affect the development of an effective culture?

In sum, the study of organizational-level performance in higher education seems to be on something of a cusp at the present time. The old approach focusing on the construct of effectiveness may be on the verge of a demise and a replacement construct may be on the verge of ascendance. On the other hand, higher education has a tradition of being caught up in intellectual fads with little resulting long-term contribution. Whether quality is a fad or a substitute for

effectiveness is, in our opinions, less important than that we learn from the contributions of both constructs in future work.

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